

EASTERVILLE:
A CASE STUDY IN THE RELOCATION
OF
A MANITOBA NATIVE COMMUNITY

by

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ABSTRACT

With the ever-increasing need for hydro-electric power in Canada, it is inevitable that the interests of the government agencies charged with the development of such resources will come into conflict with the interests of those native peoples resident in the areas affected by such developments. One policy toward such communities that has been pursued by the Government of Manitoba, has been the relocation of the affected communities. It is the objective of this thesis to examine, evaluatively, the reformulation of such a relocated community. In this case, the reformulation of the community centers around the establishment of a co-operative economic structure in the community of Easterville, Manitoba. The co-operative was introduced to reformulate the economic base of the community following the disruptions of a relocation and the upsetting of the ecological balances in a newly formed water reservoir. The conclusions reached at the end of this thesis are critical of the specific relocation, and of the co-operative structure as failing to meet the needs of the community.

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

Scope and Nature of the Study

The purpose of this study is the analysis of the structure and operation of a co-operative enterprise among the Swampy Cree and Metis of northern Manitoba, with the explicit intent of evaluation the effectiveness of this type of economic structure in the satisfaction of the wants and needs of the Cree Indian and Metis population of Easterville, Manitoba. Although the data used in this case study represents the economic condition and social relevance of one co-operative in Manitoba, it is expected that the conclusions reached on the basis of this study will be relevant to all native Canadian co-operatives.

One noticeable weakness implicit in the following study is the reliance of the writer on what may be termed "conjecture". The writer is fully aware of the dangers inherent in such a weakness, but because of the short duration of the field season upon which this study is based; and because of the inaccessibility of much data relevant and

necessary to the study, this conjecture is regrettable, yet unavoidable.

This conjecture is basically a reliance upon the information supplied by local informants as to the pre-relocation community experience and the history of the relocation itself. As such it is not unbiased, yet cannot be totally discounted. This is the relocation as seen by the people themselves, who, after all, must be the final jury in the evaluation of the scheme.

Private enterprise, as represented by those concerns which are and have been involved in the development and exploitation of the natural and human resources of the Canadian north, has not always been successful in adequately fulfilling the needs and satisfying the wants of northern communities with a majority or concentration of native personnel. In turn, each of the fur trade, forestry, mining and fisheries industries have generally proven unable to provide a stable economy for the native peoples of Canada. As a result of this situation, the co-operative structure has been offered as an alternative structure for the advancement of social development and economic well being among the Indian and Eskimo communities of the Canadian north (Manitoba D.M.N.R. 1968:14).

The question that this study will attempt to answer is:
Do co-operatives provide a satisfactory or even superior

alternative to private enterprise in the development of northern communities with primarily native personnel? A concomitant question about the nature of the co-operative structure and program of development must also be answered: Can an economic structure such as that of the co-operative, even one designed for minimally educated southern personnel, be transplanted successfully without significant alteration to a northern situation with native Canadian personnel?

Industrialization and Economic Development

Salz (1955:1) has distinguished between the radical process of economic development, which he views as a more general, less reified, and holistic process; and industrialization. The latter Salz defines as:

a qualitative change of an economy, a frequently fundamental alteration of existing skills, and the introduction of entirely new techniques in, and organization of, productive work. Industrialization means transformation of non-industrial people into industrial workers.

Economic development on the other hand, is seen by Salz as development designed to operate within all of the aspects of the society at the same time, thereby upgrading the society as a whole, rather than merely the production, allocation, and consumption of goods and services. It is one of the contentions of this thesis that the programs of the agents of private enterprise developers of the north have operated within the construct of industrialization,

rather than that of economic development as defined above, and that this option has been, in the main, supported by government agencies and policy in regards to northern development and Indian affairs.

In general, northern development has been conceived of in the non-human terms of production, allocation, and consumption of goods and services in terms of the utilization of natural resources. The concept of economic development as defined above (supra:3) represents the opposite of this process. The attitude toward undeveloped lands and peoples characteristic of the process of industrialization, parallels the colonial policies of Spain in the development of the area that is now Mexico, in that the area was looked upon as primarily a source of raw materials, and to a limited extent as a source for the consumption of the manufactured goods produced in Spain (Wolf 1959:188). In New Spain this policy of colonial economic exploitation has led to the formation of a highly atomistic indigenous rural society (Wolf 1959:453). Because of comparable historical development in northern Canada, due specifically to the influences of the fur trade, the concept of the atomistic society has also been applied to various Canadian Indian groupings.

The Atomistic Society

The concept of the atomistic society has been variously

applied to Latin American peasantry (Foster 1960:174ff); peasant society in general (Foster *ibid.*); and to North American Indian societies (Dowling 1968:236 and Balikçi 1968:191) specifically the Wisconsin Onieda, and the Vunta Kutchin of the Yukon region of Canada. Arthur J. Rubel and Harriet J. Kupferer (1968:189), in introducing the concept, define the atomistic society as one in which the nuclear family represents the primary or most frequent formal social entity and structural unit. Beyond the bounds of the nuclear family structure, interpersonal relations are characterized by "contention, suspiciousness, and invidiousness" as the normal pattern for such relationships. That this atomistic society type exists outside of the distribution of peasant societies where it was first observed has been postulated by Rubel and Kupferer (1968:189) who recognize "the existence of an atomistic type society which not only occurs cross-culturally, but in disparate ecological and demographic contexts as well."

From the presentations on the atomistic society as put forward by Rubel and Kupferer, there is more than an indication that the appearance of the atomistic society type correlates with the modernization processes initiated by contact with European culture and material goods (Balikçi 1968:192 and Wolf 1959:188). That the process of acculturation and industrialization leads to the formation of the

atomistic type society should provide material support to the thesis that economic development as defined by Salz (supra p.3) should prove more eufunctional than the process of industrialization in the development of northern areas and indeed all areas with a predominance of native personnel.

The Human Aspects of Industrialization

One may rightly ask: What are the human aspects of the problem of industrialization? Salz (1955:2) states that "industrialization (of an area and of peoples) will be guided primarily by the availability of capital and capital equipment, raw materials and domestic and foreign markets". These factors are mitigated by the nature of the labour force. It is at this point in the discussion of industrialization that the human aspect becomes paramount in importance to the problem of the industrialization process. "Recruitment, training, education, rehabilitation, prevailing or emerging labour relations, old customs and established habits" have always plagued the industrialization program. The costs of these labour problems, these essentially human problems "are likely to be in direct proportion to the capacity and willingness of a given population to answer the stringent requirements of industrialism" (Salz 1955:2). What is indicated by the foregoing passages from Salz is that if the members of an industrializing society resist the changes in culture necessary to shift to the industrialized

process, the costs of labour problems will increase accordingly. This cost of human adaptation contributes to the costs of production, yet in most cases is ignored by the industrial structure in its relationship with the operant personnel within it, or the organization may refuse to accept labour from the group or society in question, and import labour, thereby decreasing the costs of production.

In itself, industrialization as defined by Salz is neither good nor bad. However the objections that industrialization is "dehumanizing" and that the modernization programs that accompany this process are destructive of the essential good in "primitive" societies cannot be ignored. That there are dysfunctional aspects to both the modernization and the industrialization processes cannot be denied. However, industrialism is merely a method of organization of the production, allocation, and consumption of goods and services within formalized structures, and as such is neither good nor bad. What may be looked at in terms of eufunctionality and dysfunctionality are (1) "the aims for which it (industrialization) is called into being" and (2) how the behavior and deportment appropriate to industrial work are elicited" (Salz 1955:5). Both of these are dependant upon the policies of the personnel and agencies whose role is the direction and design of the industrial structure.

Aims of the Study

Specifically the aim of this study is the analysis and evaluation of the "trade" and "co-operative" economic structures in the satisfaction of the needs and wants of the native Canadian community. This evaluation involves a comparison of the two types of economic structures on the levels of individual and community relations in the following cases and with the following aspects:

I. The Private Enterprise or Trade Relationship:

A. The Trader - individual relationship:

How do the trader and individual band members relate? On what bases do they relate? What actions on the part of each characterize the trade relationship?

B. The trader - community relationship:

How does the trader relate to the community and alternately how does the community relate to the trader? On what basis or bases is the community-wide relationship maintained? Is it a totally, primarily, or partly economic relationship? To what degree is the relationship inclusive of the non-economic aspects of human relationships?

In this regard I propose to test the hypothesis that the relations between the institution of the trader, and that of the band and individual band member will be inclusive of more than merely the economic aspects of a social relationship, to the extent that it will be based on affect to a

large extent.

II. The Co-operative Enterprise Relationship:

A. The co-operative - individual relationship:

How does the co-operative and individual relate, and on what basis is this relationship maintained? What actions on the part of each characterize the co-operative relationship?

B. The co-operative - community relationship:

How does the co-operative relate to the community, and alternately how does the community relate to the co-operative? On what bases are the community-wide relationship supported and furthered? Is it a totally, primarily, or partly economic relationship? To what degree is the relationship inclusive of the non-economic aspects of human relationships?

In this regard I propose to test the hypothesis that the relations between the co-operative and the band, and individual will be inclusive of little more than the economic aspects of the social relationships because of the nature of the co-operative structure, and the poor perception of the structure by management and by the individual member.

The comparison outlined above will be inclusive of the following structural analyses:

I. The ideal co-operative structure:

A. The ideal co-operative structure from the view-

point of the management and co-operative theorists.

B. The ideal co-operative structure from the native consumer point of view, and the expectations of the natives in the operation of the co-operative.

II. The actual co-operative structure:

- A. The co-operative structure as seen by the management.
- B. The co-operative structure as seen by the native personnel.
- C. The co-operative structure as seen by the writer.

Objectives of the Thesis

As has been indicated (supra:3) the objective of this study is primarily the evaluative analysis of the co-operative movement in a northern Manitoba community as compared and contrasted with the so-called private enterprise structure as represented by the "free trader" (free in this case referring to the absence of ties to a larger economic structure such as The Hudson's Bay Company). For the purposes of comparison, reference will be made to the characteristics of the trader and his relationship with the Indian in the literature on the fur trade, and other trade relationships; and to the characteristics of the co-operative structure and the relationships between the structure and the individuals who comprise it. In this way it is hoped that a clear understanding of each of the structures and their

relative success in promoting economic and social well being in the community will result.

It is basic to the understanding of this thesis that the change from a free trader to a co-operative structure at Easterville was intended to facilitate a transition from the economic control of a single individual, to a more democratic structure in which the consumers and producers would be involved on the direction of their own economic affairs, and as such is representative of a technique of community development. The essential problem in this thesis is: Was this transition representative of "industrialization" or "economic development"?

It will be my hypothesis that, contrary to expectations, it will be found that the co-operative movement has enjoyed little success in the community of Easterville, Manitoba, in the field of economic development as contrasted with industrialization. This failure is directly linked to the failure of the co-operative to substitute the ideals of economic development for the ideals of industrialization. The co-operative has generally failed to initiate a program of education and action in keeping with the ideals of the structure which state that:

"Co-operation is an economic system with social content. Its idealism affects the business enterprise, its methods and operations. The social ideals have a direct bearing on the association of persons comprising the society, particularly as they affect the membership and personnel relations." (Hough 1966:IX)

The co-operative is then a primarily economic structure dedicated to the principles of universality, democracy, liberty, fraternity, unity, and self help through a planned economy. In addition, according to Hough (1966:ix):

"important as planned development is in co-operative effort, the necessity for individual and group initiative has to be kept in mind, and government control and participation, essential as these may be to many co-operative societies, kept to a reasonable limit."

It is the contention of this thesis then, that in both the areas of "the principles of co-operation" and the strength of government control (from the point of view of the personnel), and the ideals of industrialization, that have dominated the philosophy of those in control of the co-operative, the Co-operative at Easterville has fared little better than the "private enterprise" structures operating in the area. As a final section to the thesis, the researcher hopes to pose what could best be described as recommendations for the alteration of either or both of the co-operative and free enterprise structures involved in the economic development of the north so that they may more effectively deal with the special problems and requirements of the native personnel involved in their operation.

Sources of Data

The primary sources of data for this thesis are the field notes and records compiled by the researcher during a field season among the residents of Easterville during the summer of 1968, and the winter of 1969. Although oriented primarily to the study of the relocation of the community from Chemuhowan, the former reservation site, to the community site of Easterville, considerable data as to the structure and operation of the co-operative, and its relationship with its consumers and the community in general, was secured.

The remaining data comes from the following sources:

I. Interviews with representatives of the co-operative movement in Winnipeg, Manitoba.

II. Analysis of the records of the various co-operatives in Manitoba through the courtesy of Mr. Darwin Chase of the Co-operative and Credit Union Services Branch, of the Department of Agriculture for the Province of Manitoba.

III. Interviews with co-operative personnel, members, and opponents in the Easterville community.

IV. Documentary data on:

A. co-operatives

B. influences of trade on social structure on a cross cultural perspective.

Methodological Considerations

BACKGROUND TO THE STUDY

The thesis is a product of a total of three months field research completed by the researcher during the summer of 1968 and the winter of 1969. Financing for the research was initially undertaken by the Water Resources Commission of the Government of the Province of Manitoba, and was continued in its later stages by the Institute for Northern Studies at the University of Manitoba. The grant was administered by the Project Director, Dr. John Matthiasson of the Anthropology Department of the University of Manitoba. The research was conducted in conjunction with research being carried out by Dr. Matthiasson on single enterprise communities, through the Centre for Settlement Studies at the University of Manitoba.

THE PROBLEM OF ENTRY

As this was the researcher's first program of field work, as well as his first "total immersion" in a native community, considerable care was taken to devise a role that could be assumed by the researcher on entry into the community, and to devise an approach to the community and individuals that would maximize the receptivity of the community to the queries of the researcher. I initially contacted the Treaty Chief, Walter Mink, late in May of 1968. This was accomplished during the course of a three day visit to the community before

"moving in". The approach used was to outline to Chief Mink the problems I wished to investigate, with an emphasis on the fact that the study was being conducted independent of governmental interests, by the University of Manitoba. Mr. Mink responded positively to the prospect of an outsider doing research on the problem of the community's relocation, and the problems of the producer and consumer co-operative.

As planned in consultation with Dr. Matthiasson, I pointed out to Mr. Mink that the provincial government was planning to relocate two or more communities, those of Southern Indian Lake and Granville Lake, to allow for the development of the full potential of the Kettle Rapids power development. The Chief viewed this fact with a good deal of interest. After listening to me, Chief Mink stated that the government had broken promises made to the people of Chemuhowan, and concluded that the study "would be a good thing". He then terminated the discussion saying that he would be in touch with me soon. Continuing the conversation the next day, the Chief agreed to assist me in finding accommodation in the community. With this assurance I returned to Winnipeg. I re-entered the community to begin research one week later.

PROBLEMS OF IDENTIFICATION

As one might anticipate, I encountered certain specific problems of identification in relating to the people of

Easterville. These will be dealt with briefly below. It is difficult to assess the degree to which these problems interfered in the establishment and maintenance of desirable relationships with the people of Easterville, as the individuals in the community always greeted my approaches with interest and demonstrated good will and a willingness to assist me in any way. They were most co-operative in responding to questions, albeit with carefully considered answers. To what extent this consideration was a determination of "what was expected" is difficult to assess. The people tended not to give opinion freely, and were careful to speak only for themselves in most cases.

The most serious problem of identification which I encountered was the tendency of the people to identify me with "government". This was apparent in the tendency of the people to bring certain problems to me for assistance in dealing with them. I attempted to counter this association problem from the beginning of my relationship with the people by emphasizing my position as a "university student". I believe that I was successful to a large extent in dispelling that specific misconception among most of the residents of Easterville, to the extent that the citizens of Easterville felt free to criticise government interference and policy in my presence. These criticisms were strongest in the area of discussions of the relocation of the community from Chemuhowan to Easterville.

A second major problem of identification was also related to the identification of the researcher with "government". That is his status as wapí skusuki¹ or white man, is a status which defines the limits and types of relations between researcher and informant. The "white man" is authority in the community -- it is to him that one turns for aid and advice, and this authority is a denial of the individual's status as a "free agent". Closely associated with this problem is the status of the researcher as a "stranger"; neither kin nor kind.

These problems are neither unique to the Easterville situation nor readily overcome. In approaching such problems as these, the best solution seems to be limited to the recognition of their existence.

The third problem of identification that I experienced, was the tendency for myself to be identified and associated with the "white power structure" of the community. This problem was compounded by the following "realities":

- (1) My reliance on members of the Euro-Canadian community for data on the Co-operative; historical background to the community problems; records on birthrates, deathrates, kinship; and health and welfare data.
- (2) The tendency of these people to "seek out" and associate with myself, although this was minimal due to a high degree of sophistication of these people in the principles of field

research; and my own tendency to gravitate towards such personnel and their proffered hospitality. Again the effects of such problems are difficult to assess, and equally as difficult to mediate. For obvious reasons, the fieldworker should not antagonize local personnel in order to ensure his welcome in the community as a whole, and the availability of important data; however it is necessary to minimize such contacts, and to resist the temptation to gravitate towards the more familiar Euro-Canadian sphere of the community. These problems may be successfully mediated if the field worker has properly assessed the priorities of his research program and exercises care and insight in the human relations aspects of his research.

THE PROBLEM OF CONTACT

Under the assumption that the best approach to the problem of establishing contact with the members of the community was the direct approach, I proceeded to frequent what I assessed to be the focal points of most of the visible community activity, contacting individuals and generally explaining the purpose of my presence in the community, as I had done with Chief Mink; partly for reasons of consistency, and partly because of the success that this approach had led to gaining the confidence of Mr. Mink. Again I emphasized that I had no "government" connections, and was concerned with "understanding the problems of the Easterville people as

you see them". The focal points of activities immediately visible were the Co-operative Store, the community pool hall and cafe, the dock area, and fish packing station. All of these areas were the scene of highly different activities, and thus I was able to talk to people under varying circumstances.

TYPES OF FIELD NOTES

The field notes taken during the course of the research included two main types. The first type could best be described as "stream of consciousness notes", the second as "categorized notes". The former characterized the products of the first two weeks of research, utilizing the advantages in the volume of data generated by this approach to data recording. As well, this technique was used during the time period spent at the Chemuhowan site later in the summer of 1968, and again during the ten day visit to Easterville made during the months of January and February of 1969. A second advantage of this type of note recording is the impressionistic nature of the data resulting from this approach.

The categorized notes that were utilized after the two week period of stream of consciousness note taking, were divided into the following general categories:

- (1) The co-operative store
- (2) The fishing co-operative

- (3) The relocation of the community.
- (4) Community activities and recreation.
- (5) The relationship of the community to the provincial administration.
- (6) Stratification, status hierarchy, and community factionalism.
- (7) Income sources.
- (8) Life crises.
- (9) Relations of the community with the external communities, both "Indian" and "Euro-Canadian", before and after the relocation.
- (10) Health and welfare.
- (11) The Chemuhowan reserve before the relocation, and after.
- (12) Occupational and kinship analyses, and age distribution.

The field notes were typewritten in duplicate on 8½ x 11, #30 paper and contained the following reference data on each sheet:

- (1) Date:
- (2) Time:
- (3) Place:
- (4) Category or class of data:
- (5) Source of data:
- (6) Circumstances of communication or observation:

Field notes were kept in duplicate to guard against loss during or after the field season. The duplicate notes were sent to Dr. J. Matthiasson, the Director of Research, by mail;

then, because of a Postal strike across Canada, by truck whenever possible.

MECHANICAL AIDS

(1) Typewriter:

The typewriter was used to record all field notes in duplicate. The model already in my possession was small enough in size to facilitate ease in transportation.

(2) Tape recorder:

The tape recorder was used for the dictation of field notes during the day for speed in recording of data, and as an aid in the compilation of a more complete record of field notes. This technique was also employed in the recording of interviews, although to a limited extent due to the logistics involved in transferring a large volume of taped material to a visible medium. With that in mind, I opted for the tape recording of select data in the context of the interview.

(3) Camera and accessories:

The camera was used for the recording of the following visual data for the purpose of later exposition:

- a. the setting
- b. the people
- c. house types and characteristics
- d. commercial structures and community centres.

(4) Mapping equipment:

The mapping equipment included a compass and 50 foot

tape measure, and was used to prepare a general map of the community, and representations of the floor plans of houses in the village.

FOOTNOTES

Chapter I

1. wapi skusuki. Cree, lit. "white skin" (Faries (Ed.)
1938:224).

CHAPTER II

SETTING FOR THE STUDY

Geography

The single most significant feature of the geography of Manitoba with regard to pre-historic and historic settlement would likely be the remains of glacial Lake Agassiz. During the Pleistocene Epoch, circa 600,000 years ago, a great ice covering known as the Laurentide, engulfed most of north-central, and north-eastern Canada, its advance carving out the gross features of the topography of Manitoba.

The effect of the movement of this gigantic ice cap was to alter many aspects of the pre-glacial topography of the region. The drainage system of the pre-glacial land forms was totally altered by fill and by the carving out of new water courses; and large areas of northern Manitoba were flooded by the accumulated waters of the melting glacier, forming glacial lakes in the newly created basins. According to Weir (1960:10) "the complete disorganization of the drainage in the Shield is responsible for the myriad of lakes, swamps, and bogs" that characterize the present condition of most of the total land area of Manitoba.

As what is known as the "Red River Ice-lobe" (Weir 1960:10) retreated northward, glacial Lake Agassiz was formed by the waters of the melting glacier collecting into the basin carved out by its advance. During its history, the lake probably drained first into the Minnesota Valley and Mississippi Basin: twice into Lake Superior, interrupted by low water levels; and finally into Hudson Bay to the north (Weir 1960:10). Today, all that remains of this vast inland sea that at different times covered from 110,000 (Weir 1960:10) to 200,000 (Elson 1967:37) square miles, are Lakes Winnipeg, Manitoba, Winnipegosis, Cedar Lake and Moose Lake. There are other smaller lakes which are undoubtedly remnants of glacial Lake Agassiz, but because of their size, those listed above are considered to be the most significant.

The Agassiz basin today receives the inflow of three major river systems; those of the Saskatchewan, the Assiniboine-Red, and the Winnipeg Rivers, all of which were of great importance to the early history, and likely the prehistory of Manitoba. Myriad other rivers empty into the remnants of glacial Lake Agassiz, but the largest and most significant have been mentioned above. The basin is drained by the Nelson River System, north to Hudson Bay.

The main geographical focus of this study is the area surrounding Cedar Lake. One of the main bodies left by the recession of the westerly arm of the Laurentide ice sheet,

Cedar Lake is situated in the limestone glacial drift that characterizes the geology of the region of the Interlake; that area bounded on the east by the western shore of Lake Winnipeg, and on the west by the Duck, Porcupine, Riding, and Turtle Mountains. The lake is fed by the Saskatchewan River, which seems to have deposited a delta of lacustrine materials (clay and silt with bog and rock outcrop) as the lake level fell. At present, the delta type formation, the Pasquia alluvial, is cut by the Saskatchewan and Summerberry River inflows. The lake is drained by a continuation of the Saskatchewan River, through a series of lakes and rapids, into Lake Winnipeg.

The soils of the delta are characterized by Weir (1960:13) as "immature alluvial" which he characterizes as silts deposited along river flood plains and deltas, and immature in that time has not allowed the evolution of a soil profile. These soils are normally fertile, unless they contain excessive salts or are poorly drained. The remainder of the Cedar Lake area is characterized by "degraded rezina" soils, or grassland soils evolved from a lime parent material, and containing at least 40% calcium carbonate, sufficient to discourage tree growth, but allowing the growth of grasses, scrub poplar and oak in the better drained areas (Weir 1960: 12).

Climate is defined by Weir (1960:14) as:

"the generalization of daily weather conditions over a period of many years. It results from the interaction of various controls such as air masses, pressure systems and topography; producing variations in temperature, humidity, forms of precipitation, and local winds."

The figures in table one outline the basic features of the climatic characteristics of the Cedar Lake region, and are taken from the Economic Atlas of Manitoba (Weir 1960:14-19).

The flora of the Cedar Lake region show two main regional variants. The Pasquia alluvial of the Saskatchewan and Summerberry deltas is described by Weir (1960:20f) as swamp.

"Swamp vegetation is usually divided into two main categories: bogs and fens which develop on substrata made up primarily of organic matter (peat) and marshes which occur on primarily mineral soils, such as the extensive alluvial deposits at Netly, Delta, and Summerberry, near The Pas. Marshes are dominated by tall grasses, rushes, and sedges, the commonest species being reedgrass (*Phragmites*), cat-tail (*Typha*), sprangle-top (*Scolochloa*) and bulrush (*Scirpus*). They are of importance as nesting and feeding grounds for wildfowl, and natural habitat of muskrats."

The remaining, and largest portion of the flora of the Cedar Lake area is characterized by Weir as "Northern Coniferous". Composed of black spruce, white spruce, and balsam fir; with jackpine, aspen, white birch, and balsam poplar in "burn-outs", the area surrounding Cedar Lake other than in the Summerberry Delta, is marshy with limestone surface outcroppings and shallow soils. The underlying rock

formations are of Precambrian origin.

The fauna of the area can generally be broken down into three broad categories: fish, fowl and mammals. The fish population consists of pickerel, whitefish, sturgeon, sauger, tullibee, pike or walleye, suckers, trout, bass, perch, and goldeye (Weir 1960:65). Of these, all but sturgeon and sucker are fished commercially in the area. The water-fowl of the area includes species of duck including four main types: Surface feeders such as mallards, black duck, gadwall, pintail, green-winged teal, baldpate, shoveller, and wood duck; diving ducks such as the redhead, ring-neck, canvas-back, greater and lesser scaup; American goldeneye, bufflehead, and white-winged scoter; the ruddy duck; and mergansers such as the hooded, American, and redbreasted. According to Weir, all but the fish eating mergansers are palatable. Geese of the region include the greater and lesser Canadas, the white-fronted goose, the blue goose, and the snow goose. Uplands game birds include six native species; the sharptailed grouse, pinnated grouse, ruffed grouse, rock ptarmigan, willow ptarmigan, and spruce grouse (Weir 1960:66). Large game animals include the moose, woodland caribou, white-tailed deer, and black bear. Fur bearing animals include the muskrat, mink, beaver, weasel, red squirrel, otter, lynx, red fox and jack-rabbit (Weir 1960:68).

The preceeding overview of the more significant features

of the geography of the Cedar Lake region of Manitoba, presents us with a picture of the region as it likely was during the early phases of human occupation. It is likely that the flora and fauna of the area have undergone little change since the recession of the last great ice-age, and the stabilization of the remains of glacial Lake Agassiz. The stage at that time was set for the human occupation of the region.

Archaeological Prehistory

The archaeology of the Cedar Lake area has been investigated by Mayer-Oakes in his Grand Rapids Survey (Mayer-Oakes 1967:355). He cites evidence to "expand the range of the cultural complexes reported by MacNeish for southeastern Manitoba". Through typologies and some stratigraphic evidences from the Tailrace Bay site (GRS - 3) Mayer-Oakes suggests occupation of the site from 2500 B.C. to the present, although the evidence does not indicate continuous occupation of the area. McKean Lanceolate projectile points characterize the lowest levels of the Tailrace Bay site, which MacNeish cites as a characteristic of the earliest cultural units in southeast Manitoba. These points, at the Tailrace Bay site, are loosely associated with end and side scrapers, and "Laurel Pseudo-Scallop" ceramics.

Ethnological Prehistory

It is not known, with any degree of certainty, when the arrival of the first Indians in Manitoba took place, nor "who these people were". However during the time that the Laurentide ice sheet covered most of Manitoba and Ontario, the majority of Indians in North America were resident in the southern areas of the United States, migrating northward as climate conditions improved. There is evidence that tribes of many different cultures have occupied various regions of what is now southern Manitoba. Indeed parts of southern Manitoba have been successively occupied by the Crow, Gros-Ventre, Blackfeet Hidatsa, Assiniboine, Cree, Saulteaux and Sioux (Legassé 1959:I:17).

The trend in the occupation of Canada by various tribal groupings up to historic times shows a general east - west spread, from the Atlantic Coast to the Rocky Mountains.

"In southern Manitoba the Assiniboine replace the Blackfeet and the Hidatsa, while in the north the Chipewyan are pushed out of their recently won hunting grounds by the Crees. By 1800, the Crees were to be found as far west as the Peace River District" (Legassé 1959:I:17)."

The Saulteaux gradually pushed westward until by the mid-nineteenth century they had succeeded the Assiniboine in the south of Manitoba and forced the Cree northward and west across Saskatchewan and into Alberta (Legassé 1959:I:17).

Early Historical Contacts

The earliest penetration of Europeans to the Cedar Lake region was accomplished by LaVerendrye who, in 1741 constructed Fort Bourbon "at the mouth of the Poskoyac (sic), i.e., at the Saskatchewan" on Cedar Lake (Morton 1939:196). Three problems have generally made the location of Fort Bourbon difficult to determine with certainty. First, the placement of this post has been thought to have been below Grand Rapids, on Lake Winnipeg, where the Saskatchewan River finally discharges. However according to Elliot Coues (1897:465) "the Saskatchewan, or at any rate the Poskoyac (sic), was taken to end in Cedar Lake" thus supporting the Cedar Lake location for the post. The second difficulty in the location of Fort Bourbon is the difficulty associated with its name. According to Coues (1897:465), the Nelson River was originally named the Rivière Bourbon by the early French explorers; and York Factory, or a post near the present location of York Factory was known as Fort Bourbon. This particular Fort Bourbon was established by the French in 1679 and rebuilt in 1682. A third Fort Bourbon was located "at the mouth of the Rivière aux Biches (what is now the Red Deer River) which flows into the northwestern part of Winnipegosis, known as Dawson Bay" (Crouse 1956:25).

The name "Cedar Lake" dates back to 1763 (Coues 1897:465), when Dominion yielded to English control in the north-

west. For a few years after, few traders ventured beyond Lake Superior, but in 1770 Thomas Curry (sic Corry) a trader out of Montreal, wintered at Cedar Lake; Coues (1897:465) indicates that Corry spent one winter at Cedar Lake, however Wallace (1932:393) indicates that he returned a second year. He was succeeded in the area by one James Finlay who ventured up the Saskatchewan as far as Nipawin, the most westerly of the French posts on the Saskatchewan.

Various posts occupied many sites on Cedar Lake, first controlled by the "Pedlars from Quebec"; the Northwest Company; and the Hudson's Bay Company. Coues (1808:465) places the fort "adjacent to several of the mouths of the river Sascatchiwaine (sic)" as reported by Henry, of Henry, Frobisher and Frobisher; "situated on a small island, dividing this (Cedar Lake) from Mud Lake" as reported by Sir Alexander MacKenzie; and on "the narrows, leading E. from the Lake, ...on the W. bank". the location of the Hudson's Bay Company Post built in 1858.

Commenting on the location of Fort Bourbon, Coues states:

"The place where the Saskatchewan finally discharges into Lake Winnipeg does not seem to have changed much in historic times; but the delta of the mighty river which Henry now enters from Cedar Lake is continually changing to such an extent that topographical details of his day may have but a general resemblance to those now existent. This throws the absolute position of old Fort Bourbon a little in the air, or under water, perhaps, though there is of

course, no question of its location on the West side of Cedar Lake, 'at the mouth of the Saskatchewan'. Above the delta for several miles the river can hardly be said to have any main channel. It comes through a maze of inter-lacing collateral branches in mud flats or muskegs only a foot or two above average water level, liable to annual overflow and shift after any such inundation" (Coues 1808:467).

2.

The Chemuhowin Community

The Cedar Lake, or Chemuhowin community, before its relocation in 1964, was located on the Chemuhowin Indian Reserve, 55 miles southwest of The Pas, Manitoba (Keeper 1963:1) where the Saskatchewan River flows into Cedar Lake. The Reserve land area constituted approximately 6000 acres of land divided into five "blocks". The settlement itself

3.

was located on the block IR 32A, township 50, range 20; between 53° 15" and 53° 20" north; and 100° 20" east. The settlement was divided into two sections, for the Treaty

4.

Indians and Metis or non-treaty people; the Metis occupying a low lying island north of the reserve in the main channel of the Saskatchewan River, as well as the north shore of the channel. The white population, including a trader, teachers and missionary, occupied part of the reserve or treaty community.

At the time the writer made his first visit to the site of the original Chemuhowin community, little more than traces remained of the once large community. In relocating

the village, agents of the Manitoba Government moved many of the better homes, the government buildings such as the school and nursing station. Generally speaking, all buildings in good repair were moved or otherwise salvaged by either of the government on behalf of the people of Chemuhowin, or the trader. The single noticeable exception is the Anglican Church, deconsecrated, but still in good repair.

The community was laid out on a peninsula which separated the main channel of the Saskatchewan River from a large bay, part of the main body of Cedar Lake. This peninsula is oriented from the southwest to the northeast; the northern point jutting out into the channel of the Saskatchewan River, and Cedar Lake. The peninsula, at the time of the writer's visit, was approximately 4 miles in length, and about one-half to three-quarters of a mile wide. The low areas of the peninsula were flooded by the raised lake level, transforming the peninsula into an island. The majority of the Treaty homes were scattered in this area, with a considerable distance between the houses. Given the wooded surroundings of the peninsula, it is obvious that the majority of the houses were at least "out of sight" of one another, a factor that will be recalled later in the course of this thesis. All that remains of many of the houses and buildings are the concrete foundations, and blocks upon which they rested. Of the houses that remain, few were in any

state of good repair at the time of the writers first visit to Chemuhowin.

The peninsula may be divided into a number of zones of occupation distinguishable by the activities that were associated with each, and the nature of the residents of each. The first zone, the northeast portion of the headland was occupied by the community's cemeteries, and the Anglican Church and Mission House. The second zone, to the south of the first, was occupied by a number of homes of the Treaty people, and large buildings connected with the commercial fishing operation. The third zone constituted the commercial zone, containing the residence and establishment of the trader. This zone also contained buildings associated with the school, such as the school-houses and teachers residences. It was in this zone that the Euro-Canadian section of the community was concentrated. A fourth zone, extending south from the first three, was made up of dwellings belonging to the Treaty people. As has been pointed out, the non-Treaty people or Metis did not occupy the mainland site, but a low-lying island in the river channel, which was subject to periodic spring flooding. These people however, made use of the same facilities as did the reserve or Treaty people; such as the school, health services, trading establishment and
5.
church.

Since the flooding of Cedar Lake to serve as a

reservoir for the Grand Rapids Hydro-Electric Project; and the concomitant relocation of the community, the Chemuhowin site has been used as a summer fishing camp by the residents of the new community of Easterville. During the summer of 1968, when the writer was engaged in the fieldwork for this project, many of the Cedar Lake people returned to Chemuhawin to reconstruct the village as a summer fishing camp, and entire families returned to Chemuhowin four years after the relocation.

The Chemuhowin community interacted primarily with two other communities in the region. These inter-community relations may be analysed into two component types of relations, a function of the "type" of community involved. First, the administrative centre for the Chemuhowin reserve was The Pas, the site of the Indian Agency charged with the administration of a large area of northern Manitoba's native population. As a result of this, all contacts with governmental agents were conducted at The Pas, or at Chemuhowin with agents from The Pas. Moose Lake, a reservation 20 - 25 miles north of Chemuhowin is generally considered to be the sister community to Chemuhowin, in that they shared a common fishing and trapping economy, and the problems associated with this type of economic base. However informants indicate that the original Chemuhowin settlers were, in fact, from the Moose Lake area. One informant places the arrival of his family

to the Chemuhowin area at approximately 150 to 175 years ago.

In 1963, a report on the Cedar Lake or Chemuhowin community by Joseph Keeper of the Manitoba Community Development Service, put the population of Chemuhowin at 352, comprised of 244 Treaty Indians, 100 Metis and 8 Euro-Canadians (Keeper 1963:1). The community evidenced a yearly population increase of 6 percent between the years 1958 and 1962, against a national average of 3 per cent (Keeper 1963:1). The community's religious affiliations were with the Anglican and Roman Catholic churches. Of the 344 individuals, about 80 per cent were affiliated with the Anglican Church.

Two day schools were operated in the community, by the Anglican Church, offering instruction in grades up to grade eight. Until recently, however, the schools taught up to grade six only. In 1963, 70 students attended the two schools; four others attended residential schools outside of the community. Among the adults at Chemuhowin the standard of education was reportedly low. Keeper (1963:4) stated that the average grade attained at Chemuhawin was lower than both the national average for Indians in Canada, and the national average for Canadians in general. Keeper states that males attended school for an average of 4.6 years, females for 4.9 years, for a group average of 4.7. However, Renaud (1958:1-49) gives the following figures for Indian educational standards, 1945, 2.9 years; 1950, 3.3

years; and 5.3 years for the national average for Canadians. Using Renaud's figures, it is evident that the educational standards of the Chemuhowin community compares favourably with the national average for Canadian Indians, and as well with the national average for all residents of Canada.

The Chemuhowin Economy

A discussion of the economic base of the Chemuhowin community will entail the examination of four main economic pursuits. These are trapping, fishing, forestry and casual labour.

The area of concentration of the muskrat, the basis upon which rested the trapping activities of the Chemuhowin band, was the Summerberry fur block, a section of the alluvial Pasquia Delta. Keeper (1963:5) indicates that the majority of the Cedar Lake men took part in the winter fishing activities, rather than trapping, because the former offered more constant and dependable returns. However, in spite of the less profitable nature of the trapping activities, Keeper (1963:6) estimates that the number of trappers in the community varied from 15 in the slow fall season, to up to 70 in the peak spring season. Table II contains figures reported by Keeper (1963:6) for the years 1959 to 1962 which should serve as a useful profile in estimating the economic contributions of trapping to the total community economy.

Hunting, as a subsection of the general category of trapping as an economic pursuit in the Cedar Lake community, was also significant to the total economy of the village. Keeper (1963:9f) estimates the total value of moose, deer, fowl and fish consumed yearly at the community to have been approximately \$59,000, an average of \$882 per family annually.

The fishing operation during the winter season was managed by the community's free trader, as was the trapping operation, at least with regard to the supply of equipment and purchase of the produce. For the last 10 or 15 years, the summer fishing operation was organized and financed by various commercial fisheries. Table IV, including yield return figures for the years 1959 to 1962 (Keeper 1963:7) gives a profile of the significance of the fishing operation to the general economy of the community, and the cash income it contributed per fisherman.

A winter logging operation managed by the trader added approximately \$30,000 per year gross, to the economy of the Cedar Lake community in terms of wages paid by the operator (Keeper 1963:7). Added to this is an estimated \$9,000 to \$10,000 additional income for the Cedar Lake people, from salaries paid for fighting forest fires (Keeper 1963:8). A possible inclusion in the category of forestry is the return from the sale of dried seneca root, used in

the production of medicines by commercial enterprises in the "south". In the last two or three years before the relocation of the community, in response to the above average returns for fishing, this source of income supplement was not utilized to any extent. In years previous to this, however, the people harvested 1,000 to 4,000 pounds (dried) of root for sale to the trader. Depending on the amount paid by the trader, a function of the demand for the produce in the "south", seneca root contributed from \$650 to \$2,500 per year to the total community income, and provided a valuable stop-gap commodity (Keeper 1963:8).

In the years immediately before the relocation of the community in 1964, casual or wage labour, including employment in centres other than Chemuhowin, constituted the most significant single source of cash income for the community, adding an estimated \$19,000 to \$20,000 annually (Keeper 1963:9). It is likely that this source of cash income is a comparatively recent addition to the Chemuhowin community economy.

Evaluating all sources of income on a four point scale of importance to the overall economy of the Cedar Lake people, we find the breakdown from least to most important as follows:

Hunting and Trapping	4
Fishing (commercial)	3
Forestry and Logging	2
Casual labour	1

Computing all sources of income as indicated by Keeper (1963: 5-11) for the Chemuhowin community, the maximum and minimum average total income for the Cedar Lake family, ranged between \$4,038 and \$2,834 in the years immediately preceding the relocation of the community in 1964, although Keeper indicates that he may have over estimated the upper level of the income range. However, "even allowing an error factor of 20% and using the minimum income figure, it can be seen that the people of Cedar Lake have been able to exploit their natural resources" and minimize their reliance on external (to the community) sources of income.

Welfare costs at Chemuhowin were consistently low before the relocation of the community in 1964, the only recipients of welfare on a permanent basis were families whose head was mentally or physically disabled, deceased, or no longer supporting the family. Welfare costs for the Metis between 1960 and 1962 averaged \$4,800 per year (Keeper 1963: 3). Of this figure, over 80% went to four families who drew welfare on a permanent basis, averaging \$66 per family per month. Temporary assistance amounted to the remaining \$800 per year. An additional \$3,000 for medical expenses was also included in the figures. Keeper also estimates the welfare costs for the Treaty community at about \$11,000 per year.

Additional forms of welfare paid into the community include old age assistance and pensions (at \$65 per month for

13 recipients, totalling \$10,140); family allowances (at \$8 per month for 70 school children, and \$6 per month for 103 pre-schoolers, totalling \$14,136); and disability payments \$50 per month for 3 families totalling \$1,800 per year). Total payments from all types of welfare per year amounted to \$41,876 (Keeper 1963:3).

From this brief outline of the economic foundations of the Cedar Lake community and people, as they appeared before the relocation of the village in 1964, it is evident that the economic pivot of the community at Chemuhowin was the free trader. According to Keeper (1963:11) for the twenty years before the relocation, the people through the free trader, "have been able to exploit all the possible natural resources in the area." At the same time, it is to be expected that the people of Chemuhowin would have developed a high degree of dependency upon the aid and largess of the trader.

FOOTNOTES

Chapter II

2. Chemuhowin. Cree, "the place where they fish with nets. Also written Chemuhowan and Chemuwawin.
3. National Topographic Series sheet number 63F.
4. The legal distinction between the Indian and Metis in Canada involves the question of Treaty Status. Only those descendants of native peoples who concluded treaties with the Government of Canada, and who maintain permanent residence on one of the Reservations set aside for them, are entitled to the protection offered under the Indian Act of Canada. Non-treaty native people include members of groups that did not sign treaties with the Government of Canada, or Treaty Indians who have left the Reservation and the Metis, or descendants of Indian and non-Indian marriages.
5. The church at Chemuhowin was established by the Anglican Church of Canada, and the majority of the residents of the community were of Anglican Affiliation. There is, however, a small Roman Catholic community within the larger group. These people participate in the Anglican Ceremony, and during the services conducted by the Oblate Missionary, the Anglican group similarly participates. This has been the case at Easterville.

CHAPTER III

THE RELOCATION OF THE CHEMUHOWIN COMMUNITY

Historical Background

Intimately tied to the industrial development of a region is the production of electric power in sufficient amounts and at rates sufficiently low, to attract industrial complexes into the region in question. This problem of the production and distribution of large amounts of power has caused those people in Manitoba concerned with the supply of power, to take full advantage of the two great northern river systems of Manitoba, the Nelson - Saskatchewan Rivers and the Churchill River. It was this demand for large quantities of low-cost hydro-electric power that led to the relocation of the Cedar Lake community from the Chemuhowin Indian Reserve. On February 10, 1954 the Winnipeg Free Press published an account of a "one-hundred million dollar" northern power project for Manitoba, "expected to be at Grand Rapids" on the Saskatchewan River. Between 1954 and 1958, the decision was made to proceed with the proposed project. Announcement of the development indicated a starting date of 1959, however the actual construction did not begin until 1961. The development of the Grand Rapids site was to be the first

phase of a program to develop a series of hydro-electric plants on the major river systems of northern Manitoba.

The intent of the Manitoba Government to relocate the community of 388 persons at the Chemuhowin Indian Reserve was initially communicated to the people of the community through a letter of "intent" dated 1962. The responsibility for the relocation was passed from the Manitoba Hydro Corporation to a committee of senior Provincial Administrators. The committee thus formed became known as the "Forebay Committee" so named because it held the responsibility for the administration of the area affected by the raised water levels behind the dam, or the forebay. In addition, this committee was charged with the planning and execution of all aspects of the Chemuhowin relocation, and community rehabilitation programs. The reason for this delegation of authority and responsibility outside of the structure of Manitoba Hydro a public utility, was to ensure the effective co-ordination of the various provincial government departments whose areas of interest were affected by the flooding of the lake, and the relocation of the Chemuhowin community, as well as the representation of these departments on the Forebay Committee. There were no representatives of the communities affected by the plans for the "forebay" on the committee proper, nor were there representatives of local Indian or Metis organizations; however, local "forebay" committees were set up to concern

themselves with local problems for referral to the larger body. It was the senior body, the "Forebay Committee" proper which drafted the "letter of intent" received by the community in 1962, outlining the plans that had been drafted up to that time for the relocation and reconstruction of the Cedar Lake community.

The location of the new community site was left to the residents of Chemuhowin to an extent. The community elected a committee made up of representatives of both the Treaty and Metis sections of the community. This committee, in consultation with agents of Manitoba Hydro, visited some eleven sites in the Cedar Lake region and chose the present site of Easterville on the woutheast shore of Cedar Lake. According to one informant, the Easterville sit:

"was chose during the winter. They couldn't see the rock and no soil. They couldn't see that there was no fur or birds."

According to another:

"They (the local committee) went to pick three sites -- one at North End was good but they told us they couldn't build the road there. We moved here for the road and a hospital. We moved here, then the hospital at Grand Rapids closed and was moved to Ashern"

The primary motives for the selection of this particular site seems to have been first, proximity to a population centre and its services, that of Grand Rapids; second, the promise of a road to the community; and third, access to the electric

power generated by the Grand Rapids Development. Local residents feel that much of the pressure to accept the Easterville site was generated by the Hydro personnel concerned with the relocation of the community.

The new community site was cleared and constructed by the residents. The roads and lots were surveyed by government contractors; however, all construction including homes, buildings, and facilities was done by the residents of Easterville. In addition to the new homes constructed by the residents, those homes at Chemuhowin that met the standards applied by the Manitoba Government for northern communities were moved from the former reservation site to Easterville. The demography of the new community suggests that the design of the community was intended to perpetuate the tri-partite nature of northern communities which seem to be "zoned" for Treaty, Metis, and Euro-Canadian residences (see map page 102). The rationale for this "separation" involves the legal distinction between the Treaty and non-Treaty or Metis; and the role of the "reservation" in this distinction, as has been pointed out above (supra:p33). The placement of the residents of Treaty status enabled the formation of such a reserve within the general boundaries of the Easterville community. The evolution of "zones of Euro-Canadian residences" is a natural outgrowth of the social and economic gap between the Euro-Canadian northerner

and his native neighbours. The Euro-Canadian is usually a government employee and as such, is heir to superior housing and services which is viewed by governments as necessary to attract people to the northern service. To ensure the provision of extra services, the homes of the government personnel are usually grouped, facilitating the installation of plumbing, running water and other services. At the same time, this ghettoization of the Euro-Canadian residences maintains and increases the social separation between the native peoples and Government personnel.

Work on the new community was completed by 1964. Occupancy of the village was completed in the summer of the same year; during the same period the water level began to rise in Cedar Lake, due to the closed floodgates at the Grand Rapids Dam. The actual transfer of the people and their belongings was accomplished by aircraft and boats supplied by the provincial government and Manitoba Hydro.

Effects of the Relocation

As stated previously in this presentation (supra:p39), the economic base of the community at Chemuhowin, from the least to the most significant in terms of cash value to the community, was: hunting and trapping; commercial fishing; forestry and logging; and casual labour. According to Keeper (1963:6) expectations were that about 90% of the trapping

grounds, the Summerberry Fur Block, would be destroyed by the raised lake level. Trapping returns from the records of the Easterville Co-operative store, when compared to the data supplied by Keeper and reproduced in tables II and III indicates a sharp decline in both the productivity and the number of individuals involved in trapping (see Table IV). Most recently, the people involved in trapping activities in the community have been adolescents laying traps for spare cash. The pelts were sold by them on the licences of other licenced trappers rather than on licences purchased by themselves. The records indicate that since the relocation and the raising of the level of Cedar Lake, trapping has ceased to be of major importance to the economy of the Easterville community. In the words of one informant:

"I didn't kill a fur since I come down (here) just one squirrel and one weasel. Every day at Chemuhowin I used to kill mink."

Keeper has estimated the cash value of the animal protein consumed by the residents of Chemuhowin to have been approximately \$59,000 annually, or \$882 per family yearly. This is increasingly significant in view of the fact that no meats or meat products were imported into the store at Chemuhowin -- the residents being totally self sufficient in this type of food, with the exception of lard. Since the relocation however, the role played by imported meats in the

community economy has greatly increased. Hunting is generally regarded as poor by the residents of Easterville. During the period of my term of residence at the Chemuhowin community site in August of 1968, I remarked upon the hunting success enjoyed by the band chief. He countered this remark by indicating that before the flooding of the lake, close to 200 moose were killed in a year. This figure has dropped by three-quarters. Now it is rare to get a moose within 35 miles of Chemuhowin. The most productive area now is The Pas ridge, high ground 35 miles upstream from Chemuhowin. In addition, the hunters also resent the competition from Euro-Canadian and American hunters who come into the area during the moose season and compete with the community members for an already scarce commodity. In spite of the diminishing returns from hunting, the pastime is still highly regarded by the majority of adult males in the community. This seems to counter the claim that hunting has ceased not due to scarcity of game, but to anomie, as has been suggested for the residents of Cedar Lake.

Waterfowl as well as moose seem to have been adversely affected by the flooding of Cedar Lake, further reducing the value of these resources to the economy of the Cedar Lake people. The marshy areas favoured by moose and waterfowl alike as feeding grounds, and in the case of the latter, as nesting grounds, were in the course of a single summer

submerged beneath four to six feet of water, destroying the nesting and feeding grounds. In addition to this initial destruction of a generation of waterfowl in this region, informants report that many of the adult birds in the area have been afflicted with a parasite that infests the breath-apparatus of the fowl. Many of these birds have been found floating dead on the lake.

While it would not be accurate to assume the total destruction of the game animals in the Cedar Lake area, it is evident that this source of animal protein has been drastically depleted to the extent that it cannot support the needs of the community as it did before the relocation in 1964. As indicated, the Chemuhowin community imported no fresh meat, while on the other hand, the residents of Easterville have become increasingly dependent upon the supplies of frozen meats and fowl imported by the Co-operative store. Due to costs of transportation, these products are usually available to the residents of Easterville at prices generally five to ten percent higher than those for comparable products in more southerly communities. This dependence on external sources of meat indicates a drastic change in one phase of the Easterville economy.

During the summer fishing season, commercial fishing regulations for Manitoba have stipulated that only licenced fishermen may operate or be employed on a craft fishing

commercially. This regulation holds only for the summer season. However, as the number of licences available to the people of Easterville prior to the summer of 1968 was 50, and was increased by 10 to 60 during that summer, it is doubtful that the summer operation could support even most of the more than 100 adult males in the community. With an estimated seven shore packers, boxmakers and staff, the maximum number of individuals who could find employment in the fishing industry in Easterville could not exceed 70, under the present conditions.

With an estimated \$1500 to \$2000 cash outlay necessary to equip a fisherman with boat, motor, nets and other necessary gear for summer fishing, and a motor-toboggan for winter fishing, one might expect a large number of partnerships to reduce the total capital expenditure of each fisherman, and to ease the strain on the Co-operative in outfitting the fishermen. This however, is not the case. Such partnerships can and do arise, but are usually short lived. Most of the fishermen prefer to work alone or hire helpers rather than strike up equal partnerships. The evidence indicates that it is usually the low volume producer who accepts employment in the crew of one of the larger producers who often have larger boats and superior equipment. These findings compare with those of Balikçi (1968:191) who remarked upon the notable instability of trapping partnerships among the Vunta

Kutchin of Old Crow in the northern Yukon Territory. As among Balikçi's Vunta Kutchin, the individualistic enterprise is favoured by the people of Easterville, and most of the fishermen prefer to work alone or "hire" help. Balikçi attributes this preference among the Vunta Kutchin, to the essential atomism of the group. In Easterville it is possible that the preference for the "hired man" over the partner is another aspect of such atomistic behaviour functioning to ensure the integrity of the individual's position and social prestige in the hierarchy of the community.

Forestry at Chemuhowin included logging, forest fire control and the harvest of seneca root. The logging operation was managed by the free trader who owned the mill, as was the winter fishing operation. Since the relocation of the community to Easterville, a parallel operation has been set up at Denbeigh Point, a location 17 miles south of Easterville on Lake Winnipegosis. Originally established to process timber felled during the preparation of the Easterville site and to provide an alternative for fishing, the mill was re-located to the Denbeigh Point area because of the higher quality stands of timber in that region. The mill and logging operations were established under the auspices of the Department of Northern Affairs of the Manitoba Government in conjunction with the general plans of the "Forebay Committee" to redevelop the economy of the Cedar Lake people. However

this enterprise employs only about 14 men, of whom only a small number are actually from Easterville. The remainder are from other depressed fishing communities on Lake Winnipegosis. Of the Easterville residents employed at the mill site, almost all have been forced to take up residence in inferior housing at the mill site in order to keep their families with them. Residence in Easterville is prohibited them by the 17 mile trip necessary to reach the mill site from the community. In addition the operation of a retail outlet in the mill area is handled by a group of outside entrepreneurs rather than the Easterville Co-operative; thus as yet, the benefits accruing to the Easterville community from the presence of the mill near the community, are severely limited. It is planned that the logging operation will be supplemented with a box factory to supply the commercial fishing operation with the packing boxes necessary to ship the fish, however development of this support industry is proceeding slowly and until it is fully established and operational, an estimated \$40,000 annually will leave the community for the purchase of boxes elsewhere.

The harvest of seneca root is no longer pursued at Easterville, although there is still some demand for the product for the preparation of patent medicines. The local informants claim that the returns for such a commodity are too low to justify the time and labour expended in its harvest.

The men of Easterville are available for fire fighting duties as are all northern residents. However, during the summer I was resident in Easterville and Chemuhowin, the services of the people on this count, were not required. It is unlikely that this source of income could be considered an integral part of the community's economy.

The availability of casual labour opportunities outside of Easterville have dropped off since the relocation of the community in 1964. Although Keeper (1963:9) had reported a considerable proportion of the residents of Chemuhowin participating in casual labour, he gives little or no data on the nature and source of such jobs. It is likely however, that many of these jobs originated in increased opportunities for casual labour in connection with the Grand Rapids Project. As well, The Pas would have attracted some of the community's labour force, as would the work on construction projects farther north. Informants have indicated that some residents of Chemuhowin found work in northern mining communities, at The Pas, and in areas in southern Manitoba. However, in spite of the loss of relative isolation that has characterized the relocation of the Chemuhowin community, it would appear that the opportunities for work outside of Easterville has been severely reduced. Few residents work outside of Easterville, none for Manitoba Hydro. Those that have found regular employment away from Easterville have done so through

the Manitoba Department of Northern Affairs.

It is evident from the preceding discussion that the economy of the Cedar Lake people has undergone drastic alterations since their relocation in 1964. The primary occupational base has shifted from hunting, trapping and fishing, with additional cash from casual labour, to commercial fishing. Much of the natural resource base of the region has been destroyed or depleted, and further reductions in fish productivity are not beyond the realm of possibility. Fisheries authorities have indicated to the people of Easterville that the cycle of fish productivity could level off and even drop considerably within the next few years. As yet this has neither been confirmed or denied by representatives of provincial resources agencies.

That as yet an insufficient base for a sound economy has developed for the residents of Easterville is evident in the conclusions of a report on the economic condition and prospects for the community submitted to the Department of Mines and Natural Resources for Manitoba. At the time of preparation of this thesis, this report has not been made public, however the following quotation concerning this report is taken from the Winnipeg Tribune of November 12, 1968:

"The report also says only forty-eight of the one-hundred strong work force here can possibly find work at Easterville; twenty-four in fishing;

fourteen in forestry; five in casual work; and five in community work such as the school."

It is evident that the people of Easterville themselves are generally dissatisfied with their new economic condition and locale. They tend to idealize the way of life and the superior environment associated with the Chemuhowin community site. They are as well, aware of the changes that have overtaken them.

"We had a good life at Chemuhowin. There was lots to do. It was good land. Not like this ugly and scarred place. Who can make a living in a place like this?"

"I don't like the stones here now. The people cannot eat stones."

"At Chemuhowin I liked the trapping. And I had a garden. You can't make a little garden here. I liked shooting ducks and geese over there. We have to go a long ways (for ducks and geese) here. Everything is drowned. It was just a nicer place to live."

"I don't like the rocks here. I don't feel it is my home here. My home is at Chemuhowin, but we can't go back there now. It's gone."

"I think most of the people dislike it here. There are a few people that are working fishing. They get a little more money than other people. They can't go for any other work in Easterville. There are only about four Indians that have a steady job in Easterville. This is why these (other) people don't seem to like this place. They couldn't get as much as us. At least we have enough to buy our food."

"We liked the hunting (at Chemuhowin). We just go out a few miles and always get game. Now it's no good here (at Easterville) or there either."

At this point the question must be asked: How well prepared for the relocation were the Cedar Lake people? It is evident that considerable effort was expended by the various agencies of the Manitoba government to mediate many of the difficulties that were to face the relocation of the community. However, that reaction has set in against the move, and that the people are not satisfied with the provisions made by the Forebay Committee for assistance to the new community in the post-relocation period, indicates that at some point there was a breakdown in the preparedness of the people for the move.

The residents of Easterville describe their preparation for the relocation and the problems that they recognize in the program of preparation as follows:

"Those peoples came from Chemuhowin to find out which was nice place to live. Someone came in to say that Chemuhowin was going to be flood. Had a meeting and said what they (Manitoba Hydro) were going to do. The people were pretty happy at first, they were promised a lot."

"They said that the dam at Grand Rapids is going to flood and we have to move away. No lawyer was for the people then. If we had a lawyer we would have been better off. We should have had more meetings. We had four years. It was enough time to think about this, but lots of people didn't understand what was said in the meetings."

"First of all there was a group of surveyors came and worked around Easterville, and all of a sudden a man called Mr. Wells came along and held meetings saying Chemuhowin is going to be flooded and you got to move out of here because this place is going to be flooded. All I know

is that we had three places to go and this is where we came, to Easterville."

"We were notified that this place (Chemuhowin) was going to be flooded completely."

"They should have given us more explanation why we had to move, but all they said was to get out as soon as possible. They should have given us more details before they told us to get. Everyone said we had to get out."

"The first time we had a meeting down there (at Chemuhowin) he didn't give the members a chance to say what I think now. Mr. Wells said everyone must move now. Nobody he give a chance to talk."

"There were meetings held there, but this was all what we were told, that this place was going to be flooded and you have to move. Once the people agreed to move, and each time they had another meeting, they started making promises little by little. They're not finished (the promises). We didn't see very much about them. That's why we've got a lawyer now, to get these promises."

"Mostly I don't think the people understood what was happening. They should have had someone who spoke Cree to help."

"In some cases people misunderstood a lot of these meetings because of interpreting. Some good interpreters should have been there. A lot of people didn't understand."

"They should have someone could speak Cree. So everyone could understand. Some of them couldn't talk English even a little."

As indicated in one of the quotations above, the community has secured the services of legal counsel. The Indian and Metis communities of both Easterville and Moose Lake have hired a legal representative to ensure the

compliance of the Manitoba government with the commitments outlined in the "letter of intent" received by the communities of Chemuhowin and Moose Lake in 1962.

During February of 1969, a meeting or series of meetings were held between the Easterville community and its legal counsel. The purpose of this meeting was to determine first, the "promises" made by the Manitoba Government and Manitoba Hydro; second, those promises which have not as yet been fulfilled, or not complete to the satisfaction of the community; and third, to plan a course of action which would best insure the well being of the community.

It is to be recalled at this point that the people of Easterville were to be reimbursed for the loss of fertile land at Chemuhowin due to the flooding; and the transfer of the Reserve land from the Crown (Federal Government) to the Province -- in effect, the termination of the Reserve on that site. In this connection, the Manitoba Government offered the community, in addition to the area of the townsite occupied by the Treaty community, agricultural land in various parts of Manitoba to replace the Reserve lands lost. Counsel requested that the community decide at the meeting and through a vote of adults, whether the community wished this land; and second, whether they wished to remain at Easterville or to press for a second relocation to a better area. The majority of the community members appeared to have misinterpreted the

choice offered to be that of "staying in Easterville, or returning to Chemuhowin". It was not until the community had voted overwhelmingly "to go" that the misconception on the part of the community members was discovered by those conducting the meeting. After several hours, counsel and the two Chiefs and Councillors were able to correct the error in interpretation. However, this is indicative of the power of the drive to return to the Chemuhowin community, and way of life associated with it, on the part of a large portion of the community. A second vote was subsequently held, and the decision was reached that Easterville was to be their home. It was obvious during the course of the meeting that the community leaders see no possibility of returning to Chemuhowin and picking up the pieces of a shattered way of life. Of the new land offered to the community, one member stated that they (the government) would have to wait and ask his son if he wants the land. "How can I talk for him (my son)? I don't know what he will want in the future." No concrete decision on the offer of the new land was made at the meeting.

Up to this point, the effects of the relocation of the Chemuhowin people has been expressed in terms of economics. However, the disruption of the community was evident in more than the economic aspects of social life. Disruptions are also evident in the spheres of community leadership patterns;

the occurrence of socially disruptive behaviour; the increase in the use and abuse of alcohol; and related problems.

In the evaluation of a relocation scheme in order to assess the impact of the social and economic disruption of the community involved, the researcher should have access to data on the type, intensity, and frequency of occurrence of the symptoms of social and cultural dislocation and disintegration in the community before the relocation was accomplished. However, as there is little or no material available on this phase of the Chemuhowin community life, the researcher has been left with the evaluations and observations of local informants as to the disruptions that have occurred in the community before and after the relocation, and their evaluation of the role that the relocation played in lessening or increasing the incidence and intensity of such occurrences.

It is evident from the study conducted by Keeper (1963:9) at Chemuhowin that the source of most of the leadership, at least in the economic sphere of community activity, was the free trader. It was his ability in terms of the organization of labour and the marketing of produce, as well as his control of the commodities available from the "outside" which enabled the community to provide for most of its needs. The Chief at Chemuhowin, for whom the new community was named, worked closely with the free trader in the organization and

the maintenance of the community as a whole. Being the "economic pivot" of the community, the free trader was in an ideal position to exert a great deal of influence on behavior patterns within the community (Barnouw 1950:44-49).

Since the relocation, this source of strong community leadership is no longer available to the residents of Easterville. The free trader is no longer resident in the community. At Easterville, none of the Euro-Canadians have taken up such a position of authority, this type of behavior not in the terms of reference of the employment roles these people occupy. Further, the office of chief has shifted from the former chief. This action followed closely the actual relocation of the community, indicating a shift in power and authority within the community. The present Chief was successful in the election against one of the previous Chief's sons. This rejection of both the free trader and the power structure of the old guard, indicates a dissatisfaction with the old regime, and a search for a new.

At present, community affairs reveals a tripartite factionalization along kinship lines. The three main factions were represented in the band elections. In addition, on many issues, the community factionalizes along age lines, such as in the question of the banning of liquor on the reserve. The older people favour this, the younger oppose it. The tripartite factionalization is manifested to an extent in the

demography of the community, where there is a marked tendency for certain extended families to group their dwellings. This tendency is observably true for the patriline.

In the election for the office of chief shortly after the relocation, representatives of all three factions contested the ballot and finished with less than 10 votes separating them. While the election was won by the present Chief, the second place candidate was the son of the old chief. This close finish illustrates that although the old line has lost power, it is still a major force within the community. In addition, the successful candidate was accused of using unfair tactics in influencing voters, thus securing his election. However, his mandate has been confirmed as recently as October of 1968, indicating his maintenance of a firm power base.

Leadership and the direction that community development should take in terms of that leadership, is a vital concern of many of the members of the community. These people are aware of the necessity for the emergence of stable community affairs in terms of stable leadership.

In addition to a crisis in leadership, the relocation of the Cedar Lake people has, from all appearances, and from the evaluations of local informants, given rise to increases in the occurrence and intensity of socially disruptive behavior. This behavior is evident in the following forms:

alcoholism, family and marriage breakdown, petty crime and juvenile delinquency, and hostile expressions of overt aggression between community members. These problems do not exist independent of one another, and most cases show a strong correlation of two or more of the problems in each case.

Legassé (1969:156) indicates that most definitions of alcoholism include two basic elements, "excessive drinking and some form of compulsion for drinking." While this does not exhaust the results of research into the nature and causes of alcoholism, the definition presented is descriptively useful. Patterns of alcoholism differ from society to society. This is not to say that one society may be more prone to alcoholic use and abuse, but merely that the types of behavior, or patterns of behavior associated with alcohol, differ from society to society, and from culture to culture. The pattern for Indian alcoholism indicated by Legasse and supported by my own personal observations and those of my Easterville informants is characterized by periodic terms of continuous use, lasting from one to two days or until the supply of liquor is consumed. Legassé (1969:156) indicates that:

"It could be said however, that the particular role that Metis and Indians have been assigned to play in our society could give birth to all the reasons usually listed in studies on the motivation of alcoholics. In other words,

Indians and Metis have more reasons than other ethnic groups to develop the kind of personal conflicts and inner tensions which could be relieved through drinking."

My Easterville informants generally agree that alcohol, whatever its roots in the community, has become an increasingly disruptive influence since the relocation. They see it as an important problem in the new community, yet do not know how to best tackle the problem.

"I don't like the liquor here. I like it sometimes but not every day like these people".

"The booze (is an important problem in Easterville). Some of them that's all they does. That's why the sawmill doesn't work right. He (the manager) got to run it himself. They overdo it I guess."

"Just one thing is good for my friends, (that is) to drink. I don't like my friends to use the liquor now. The drinking is a bad problem. Before they not get drunk like that."

"There was a good living down there (at Chemuhowin). Quiet down there. No liquor. Here now it's closer to Grand Rapids and liquor. I don't like that they drink all the time now, my children. I like them to put money in the bank. It's like putting that money in the fire now, if lot of drinking. They use money for the children, to drink."

Access to sources of alcohol is much freer in Easterville than was the case at Chemuhowin. Where the nearest outlet previous to the relocation was an estimated 7 hour boat trip upriver to The Pas, the source for the Easterville residents is a 90 minute automobile trip to Grand Rapids. As well, cash is much freer in Easterville than was the case in Chemuhowin as the community has shifted from a credit economy

to a cash economy.

The majority of the accidental deaths that have occurred in the community since the relocation, can at least indirectly be attributed to the misuse of alcohol or alcohol substitutes. It is not likely that the increased use of alcohol has resulted solely from the increased access due to the relocation, but it is likely that the relocation has intensified some of the basic causes of alcoholism. Barnouw (1967:329 and 1950:15) implies that alcoholism and the behavior patterns associated with alcohol are related to the essential atomism of northern Algonkians, and the Ojibwa in particular. Balikçi (1968:191) defines atomism as:

"The general weakness of formal organic bonds between individuals or subgroups in the kinship, economic, political, or religious fields."

Balikçi indicates that such atomism may derive from:

"The disappearance of such formal structures as the moiety system and traditional military, economic, and religious leadership; various patterned dyadic relationships and collaboration in subsistence activities; the introduction of individualistic acquisitive techniques; the instability of the family; the weakness of the intrusive political organization established from above."

Balikçi offers that this social atomism:

"Leads to the relative isolation of the individual or the family."

and forms the basis for the development of forms of "negative behavioral complexes" such as were observed by Balikçi at Old

Crow among the Vunta Kutchin, and myself at Easterville among the Swampy Cree. This type of complex has also been observed by Barnouw (1950:15, 19-20) among the Ojibwa of northern Minnesota.

We may conclude then, that alcoholism is not a cultural tendency of Algonkians, but atomism is. To the extent we can attribute the use of alcohol to the tensions of this atomism, and to the extent we can say that the community disruption of the relocation increased these tensions, it is likely that the use of alcohol in the community has increased accordingly.

There are evidences that the family structure is breaking down in Easterville. Parents report lack of control over the behavior of young children and adolescents; Separation of spouses is reported; and cases of severe child neglect due to the use of alcohol for long periods is also one of the main complaints of local informants and health officials as well. Little comparative data exists for these problems at Chemuhowin, but informants state definitely that these problems have steadily increased since the relocation in 1964.

Petty crime, juvenile delinquency and the breakdown of parental control may be considered aspects of the same problem in Easterville. According to local informants such problems were non-existent at Chemuhowin. They attribute

this to the physical distances separating the residences at Chemuhowin, making it difficult for young people to congregate and more effective family controls operant at Chemuhowin. Easterville has however, developed a sizeable juvenile problem. Vandalism such as the breaking of windows in community buildings and private homes is a common occurrence. Interference with the equipment of fishermen prompted the hiring of a night watchman for the dock area during the summer of 1968.

One serious incident involving juveniles occurred in the spring of 1968, several days before my arrival in Easterville. At that time a group of young people between the ages of 13 and 21 broke into the Co-operative Store. Goods taken during that break-in included cigarettes and soft drinks. Significantly, no cash was taken only confections. Before the R.C.M.P. constables were called in, a few of the younger members of the group went to the manager to confess their actions. In addition to the store break-in, a few of the older youths in the group broke into the residence of one of the teachers at the school. The offenders were dealt with by the local magistrate at Grand Rapids in the case of the break-in at the store and authorities at The Pas handled the more serious break-in at the residence. The former were given suspended sentences and were put on probation, while the latter were sentenced to terms in provincial institutions. It is significant that five or six of the older youths in Easterville

have had jail and reformatory experience, and speak highly of the kind of life led in these institutions, thereby encouraging a lack of fear of punishment for law-breaking among the younger individuals.

While the socially disruptive behavior referred to here cannot be attributed directly to the relocation of the community, the evidence of local testimony indicates that the occurrence of such behavior has increased considerably since the relocation. If indeed, as Legassé has suggested, that this type of behavior is a response to stress, then it is reasonable to attribute much of the maladaptive or dysfunctional behavior evident in Easterville to the stresses brought about by the social and physical dislocation experienced by the Cedar Lake people in the course of their relocation.

The Euro-Canadian Community at Easterville

The Euro-Canadian Community at Easterville numbers approximately 20 persons, and includes teachers, an Anglican lay-missionary and family, an employee of the Manitoba Community Development Service and family, the manager of the Co-operative and family, a resident nurse and an Oblate Father who maintains residences in both Grand Rapids and Easterville. The relations between the Euro-Canadian and native communities are generally on a "business only" level.

The reluctance of the majority of the Euro-Canadian populace to involve themselves in the activities of the community is striking. To a limited extent one can attribute this reluctance to the lack of knowledge of spoken Cree on the part of most of the Euro-Canadians. As of the winter of 1969 only the Oblate Father and the Community Development Officer spoke Cree to any extent while the language remains the lingua franca for the community among both Indian and Metis. However, the majority of the residents of Easterville speak English to some degree, making communication between the groups not at all difficult. Apart from the Oblate Father and the Community Development Officer, few of the Euro-Canadian residents of Easterville evidence any understanding of the community and its problems, and few think in terms of working outside of their rigid job definitions to aid in the resolution of community problems. A case in point is the refusal on the part of the school principal to act on a suggestion to mobilize those parents in Easterville who have a high interest in the school and its operations, into a "home and school" type of organization to increase interest among the parents in "education". The proposal was rejected on the grounds that there was already in existence, a committee of the residents of Easterville to provide liason between the school and the community. This committee did not function however, and relations between the school and the

community are not good. By their own admission the majority of the contacts between the teachers and the adults of the community occur when they are forced to consult the parents in matters of proper clothing for the children, proper lunches and absenteeism. By far, the relationship between the teachers and the students outside the classroom, evidences more concern on the part of the teacher than does the relationship between the teacher and the parent in Easterville. The remainder of the Euro-Canadian community shows the same apparent lack of interest in abandoning their status as "whites" for a closer relationship with the Indian and Metis of Easterville. The notable exception to this is the Community Development Officer who maintains close personal contact and a professional relationship with many of the Eastervillians. Generally however, the Euro-Canadian community has not found an existence apart from its position as an "enclave" within the larger community, yet separate from it, with the exception of the terms of reference they hold as professionals and technicians.

CHAPTER IV

THE EASTERVILLE CO-OPERATIVE

"A co-operative is a group of people organized to meet a human need. Most co-operatives conduct their business according to the following rules of procedure: Open membership to all who will co-operate in good faith, with no restrictions regarding race, religion, sex; voluntary membership and voluntary withdrawal of membership and any invested property; democratic organization with one vote per person and only one, with no proxy voting; a limited and predetermined interest on capital; net savings are distributed to members on the basis of purchase of goods through the co-operative unless otherwise voted by the members; distributing of quality goods and services on a cash basis at fair market prices; auditing of accounts regularly; and meetings of members to hear the reports, to discuss and vote on policies, and to discuss co-operative principles and practices (Bogardus 1954:36)"

This "definition" of a co-operative enterprise is based on the principles of co-operation as set forth by the Rochdale Society of Equitable Pioneers who instituted the first co-operative store on Toad Lane, Rochdale, England on December 21, 1844. Since that time the types of co-operative enterprises have multiplied but the general principles upon which they were founded have been maintained (Bogardus 1954: 36).

The Easterville Co-operative is generally considered to be among the largest and most complex of the co-operative enterprises in Manitoba (Department of Mines and Natural

Resources 1968:10) Comprised of both a consumer and producer - marketing co-operative, the Easterville co-operative is the single largest commercial enterprise and means of support in the community and as such it supports an estimated 65% to 75% of the total labour force in Easterville. It is doubtful at this time however, that this large number of individuals will find a livelihood in terms of the producers' and marketing section of the co-operative enterprise.

The consumer section of the co-operative operates the only retail outlet in the community, the nearest competitive outlets being situated some 17 miles away, at Denbeigh point, servicing the sawmill at that site; and at Grand Rapids some 70 miles away. The role of a consumer co-operative in a community is defined by Bogardus (1954: 37f) in the following manner:

"An association of persons engaged in meeting their needs for goods and services of the best quality that they can afford at the lowest cost consistent with fair dealing with all concerned. The emphasis on buying on a cash basis was developed in order that the society might not lose bad accounts, in order to have cash available with which to re-stock its store in order to receive discounts in making cash wholesale purchases, and in order to save the expenses of bookkeeping and of collecting credit accounts."

Bogardus similarly defines a producers' - marketing co-operative as:

"Made up of a number of farmers (producers) who

join together to sell the produce of a given kind of all of the members at the highest price possible. The members receive a pro rata share of the net returns, which are considerably larger than if each farmer (producer) tried to sell his produce individually, and the convenience is much greater."

The co-operative in Easterville is as new as the community itself, having been conceived in 1963 as part of the plans for the relocation of the Chemuhowin Indian Reserve. The Forebay Committee, in planning the relocation offered the community the option of continuing the relationship it enjoyed with the free trader at Chemuhowin, or the establishment of a co-operative retail and marketing society. The free trader stated at the time that he would be amenable to relocating his establishment to Easterville, but stated that his methods of operation in regard to the community would remain unchanged. This apparently was not satisfactory to the Cedar Lake Community who, through a vote of all members during a pre-relocation meeting, indicated a preference for a co-operative organization. The buildings in which the co-operative is housed were constructed contemporaneous with the construction of the community in 1964.

Provincial assistance for the new co-operative was preferred by the Co-operative and Credit Union Services of the Manitoba Department of Agriculture. This assistance included organizational and supervisory aid aimed at the establishment of a sound operation. The finances for the

co-operative were a part of the allocation of funds from the Manitoba Hydro Corporation for the redevelopment of the area affected by the flooding of Cedar Lake. The funds were administered by the Forebay Committee and allocated to the Co-operative and Credit Union Services agency. This agency also supplies managerial and accounting - audit services to the new co-operative. It is in this setting of provincial government involvement that many of the most serious problems faced by the Easterville Co-operative are evident.

In evaluating the pros and cons of state participation and involvement in the organization and administration of Co-operative enterprises, Elaine Hough (1966:ix) postulates that, although state financial assistance is indispensable to the growth of co-operative institutions, experience has taught that effective state control prejudices the prospects for success in co-operative enterprises. Emory Bogardus (1964:36) further states:

"Not all co-operatives measure up fully to the rules as set forth (by the Rochdale Society) but all strive for decentralized control, for control by individual members upward and not from the top down, for control by individual members and not by any form of statism."
(Italics mine).

and further yet:

"A co-operative that is controlled by the state is not a co-operative even though the name be retained." (Bogardus 1954:36, footnote 2).

Similarly, problems of "statism" or state control of co-operatives have arisen in such areas of co-operative activity as Pakistan and Israel where the promotion of co-operative enterprise is integral to state economic and developmental policy. In his review of "co-operatives in Pakistan" John E. Owen (1960:250) points out that:

"It is significant that the movement in the subcontinent (India and Pakistan) was originally sponsored, not by the people themselves, but by the then governing colonial power, toward which many persons felt suspicious and hostile."

Harry Viteles (1953:24) in his article on "The Co-operative Movement in Israel states that:

"Also, in the case of the Moshavim (collectives) for immigrants, as in the case of the workers productive and service societies, and consumer co-operatives organized for and not by the immigrants, problems and doubts have arisen about their future. In the case of about one-third of these consumer co-operatives which are in immigrant villages and work camps (and whose management includes non-members, several tens of these immigrant consumer co-operatives already are inactive."

Alex Weingrod (1966:98) in his study of an immigrant community in Israel is of the opinion that:

"Central planning and control, in which the settlers did not participate and regarding which they had only limited information, made them highly dependent; they reacted to situations rather than controlling them themselves. Passivity of a kind as well as "illegal acts" or sabotage were products of this relationship."

It is evident from the above quotations that state involvement

in the corporate affairs of the co-operative enterprise is seen by some theorists as retarding the development of the organization and severely weakens this type of a "community development" technique.

The role of the state in the formation of the Easterville Co-operative has been outlined (supra:74 - 75) and the extent of state involvement in the operation of the co-operative at the present time will be dealt with further. In fairness to those involved in the establishment of the Easterville Co-operative, it should be emphasized that state control of the enterprise was not part of the plan for the venture; and the subsequent assumption of control over the co-operative at Easterville by a government agency was brought about by the appearance of severe internal problems within the co-operative.

From its inception, the Easterville Co-operative has been beset by difficulties. It is evident in retrospect than an inadequate program of public education as to the aims and processes of co-operation has been conducted among the people of Easterville. There were no evidences of any type of educational program among the co-operators at Easterville during the course of my association with them. This in spite of:

"The significant function of co-operation is reflected in its educational and welfare policies, worker training programs and membership

recruitment. The educational and welfare work of the organizations, in addition to the fulfillment of the consumers needs, has been a major factor in enhancing the popularity of the co-operatives and in strengthening their influence" (John E. Owen 1953:234).

There does exist among certain of the people of Easterville, a general knowledge of the aims and processes of co-operation. However these people number among the most sophisticated and successful of the fishermen, and in some cases these are employees of the co-operative. It is to be expected that these people would have internalized a degree of knowledge about the operations of the co-operative. Conversely, the philosophical backgrounds to the concept of "co-operation" is all but unknown among the majority of the Easterville co-operators. The following statements are characteristic of the responses of the members of the former group to the question, "What is a co-operative, and how does it work?"

"The only thing I understand is a group of people working together. That's all I understand. Just like a whole community working here. The people here don't understand it like I understand it."

"People in a group working together. They got a President. This man, he's the guy decides with the Board of Directors, things. Making decisions. They have a meeting and all these people talk out the situation. They listen and if they all agree the Board of Directors decides what to do and what not to do."

"We all work together. Well if we don't help each other, we don't work. We have to help each other to work. Sometimes when these guys get no credit we help them."

"It means that everybody is in it. You're not listening to one, but to everybody. Everybody speaks out. Everybody has the same voice. I don't really know. The people involved decide what is best. Like the Board of Directors, and the Supervisor of Co-operatives."

Conversely, the responses following, characterize the less sophisticated co-operators view of the co-operative and co-operation:

"I don't know (what a co-operative is). I didn't see (one) before now. This is the first time I see a co-op."

"I don't understand the co-operative at all. The only thing I understand is that we were told that this was the people's store. Now I understand that it is a government store."

"A co-operative means people supposed to help together. But it don't. If I have trouble nobody helps me. If they see you have trouble they go right on by. They don't seem to want to help each other. Suppose to work that way. That's what they told me but it doesn't work that way."

Of paramount importance to the principles of co-operation is the concept of democratic ownership and control. The following statements by residents of Easterville characterize the concept of ownership held by a vast majority of the members of the co-operative:

"The manger looks like he owns it. It's supposed to be the people but the people think it is a government store. Even _____ thinks that it is a government store."

"Co-op. Services (owns it) I guess. I don't think the people of Easterville own it. That's the only thing I understand, because these white guys come along and nobody asked them to come."

"It doesn't belong to the people. That's the way I understand (it). It is something like a government co-op. I guess maybe the government owns it."

The background to the situation that has given rise to the "misconception" about the ownership of the Co-operative is related directly to the problems of education and management relations. As indicated previously, a minimal effort to educate the co-operators in Easterville to the philosophy of co-operation has been offered by the government agency involved. Coupled with this is a lack of managerial continuity and efficiency in the Co-operative itself. Since the initial establishment of the Co-operative in 1964, the Easterville co-operators have had relations with no fewer than five managers. Although in initially sound financial condition, in the course of five years of mismanagement and indebtedness of the co-operators, the Co-operative was so deeply in debt that the Co-operative and Credit Union Services agency felt itself forced to assume control of the Co-operative to save it from Bankruptcy. It should be pointed out that only one of the five managers were of native descent. There is some question in the minds of the residents of Easterville of the relative merits of

Indian versus Euro-Canadian managers, but all agree that the ability to speak Cree would ease the strains in the relations between the producers and consumers, and the manager. As well as the problems of indebtedness and mismanagement, liason and communication between the management and the board of directors of the co-operative had deteriorated to the point of non-existence by the summer of 1968. This was due to a language problem (the lingua franca of the community being Cree) difficulties in convening the entire Board of Directors as a given time due to the distances at which some of their fishing boats operated from Easterville, a lack of leadership within the board itself, and in the case of some of the management personnel a total disregard for the democratic principles of co-operation.

The final blow to participatory democracy within the Easterville Co-operative came during the summer of 1968. At that time the fishing season had been underway for approximately one month. In preparing a monthly statement on the operations of the Co-operative in connection with audits by the Co-operative and Credit Union Services staff, the manager discovered that due to the costs of the transportation of the fish to Winnipeg from Easterville, (the fish were contracted for at that time f.o.b. Winnipeg), the Co-operative was losing several cents per pound on the shipments. As the price received by the Co-operative was fixed, the

solution to the problem was to lower the price per pound paid by the Co-operative to the fishermen to make up the difference. At this time however, a large number of fishermen, including most of the members of the Board of Directors were residing at Chemuhowin for the summer. Assessing the situation as critical and needing of immediate action, the manager of the Co-operative decided that it was necessary under those circumstances, to bypass the Board of Directors of the Co-operative whose responsibility it was to set the fish prices paid to the fishermen, and unilaterally reduced the prices by a pro rata amount of ten cents per pound on all types of fish. It was not until several days later that the cut was explained to the Board and the fishermen, but by the process of rumor and recrimination had destroyed what remained of the trust between the fishermen and Directors, and the manager of the Co-operative.

The next incident in the devolution of the Easterville Co-operative as a co-operative enterprise occurred in early August of 1968. Due to the rift developed between the management of the Co-operative and the co-operators, resulting from the incident related above, a decision was made by the management of the Co-operative and members of the Co-operative and Credit Union Services office, to allow the manager of the Easterville Co-operative to bypass the Board of Directors in making decisions regarding the operations of

the enterprise. This was an attempt to legitimize the situation that already existed between the manager and the Board. This decision was communicated to the researcher before it went into effect by a senior member of the Co-operative and Credit Union Services agency at a meeting of the Forebay Committee in Easterville in August of 1968, although the official sanction apparently given to the decision to act thus was subsequently denied by the agency in a letter to the manager of the Easterville Co-operative.^{5.}

A second problem central to the present condition of the Easterville Co-operative, and its unpopularity in the community is the problem of the lack of consumer credit. The relationship between the consumer and the free trader at Chemuhowin was characterized by a high degree of reliance on credit purchases. The purchases made by the Cedar Lake people at Chemuhowin were made on a credit basis and were controlled by the free trader. Accounts were kept and the indebtedness of the people was carefully regulated by the trader. Cash purchases were significantly lower at Chemuhowin for the following reasons: Commercial enterprise was to a great extent controlled by the free trader and what he did not control was controlled by outside organizations such as the fisheries. All capital equipment was supplied by the sponsoring organization or enterprise, and the expenses of the people were deducted from the returns of the employees or

producers. If the returns were insufficient to maintain a safe level of indebtedness among the people, capital items could be seized. At Easterville, the Co-operative supplies the credit on which capital items are purchased, but has been reluctant to back up demands for payment with the threat of seizure. Returns from fishing are passed back to the fishermen in terms of cash, no credit. At Chemuhowin too, the wider resource base allowed for a more diverse economy. If people did not fish successfully, other sources of income and support were available. This is not true of Easterville. As indicated previously, the fishing activities for the base of the Easterville Co-operative and it is in terms of this activity that the majority of the residents of Easterville are forced to earn a living, as little else is available. Then too, cash expenditures were lower at Chemuhowin due to the availability of natural food resources no longer available to the people of Easterville. The increased dependency on cash has considerably increased the demand for credit, a demand which grows in proportion to the increased availability of goods in the community. This demand cannot be satisfied by the co-operative alone. As indicated previously (supra:85):

"The emphasis on buying on a cash basis was developed in order that the society might not lose bad accounts, in order to have cash available to restock the store, receive discounts in making cash purchases, and to

save the expenses of bookkeeping and of collecting credit accounts."

Yet credit is an integral part of the economic structure of the "culture" of the Easterville community, and the lack of credit facilities is the major complaint of the Easterville Co-operators. The "no credit" rule is applied to all equally without regard to a record of steady employment or prompt repayment of debt.

"This store here is not as good as the store at Chemuhowin. No credit or anything else here. Over there you had credit for over the summer and paid it up over the winter fishing season. Prices are so high here too."

"People can't get credit. Sometimes people don't have money. Young people get hungry and cry. They have to go and borrow food. This happens to lots of people. They go next door and borrow milk, bread, or bannock. (We need another store here but) not a co-operative store. One is enough."

"I can't get credit at the store. Nobody gets credit. Not even the pensioners."

"They run out of things here. So you have to go other places. Here now they don't have (enough) meat or lard so we have to go to Bilenduke (Denbeigh Point) or to Grand Rapids. It costs these old people a lot to go somewhere else for food but they have to get credit."

The marketing of produce outside of the context of the co-operative structure is a relatively common problem in the field of marketing co-operation. Weingrod (1966:85) reports that in some co-operatives in Israel:

"A settler or group of settlers might sell to a private merchant who paid them directly. In these instances the settler simply pocketed the

money without returning the credits previously extended (to him by the co-operative."

"A settler who chose "illegal" outlets saw his recorded debts grow, while at the same time he had a continuous, officially unrecorded income. Marketing created a constant struggle between the village creditors particularly the Settlement Department -- and the settlers, and among the settlers themselves."

This problem is no less apparent and significant in Easter-ville and finds its roots in the following factors. First, the people have become disenchanted with the Co-operative and distrustful of its management. Second, a lack of credit and pressures for cash lead to sales to agencies which do not detract a percentage for the repayment of capital items purchased by the fishermen on credit, such as fishing equipment. Fourth, the offer of credit and other services by the Denbeigh Point store has created a feeling of loyalty to that enterprise among many fishermen that the Co-operative has failed to command. Fifth, among many successful fishermen there is a feeling that they are supporting the less successful fishermen -- the "low producers". These react by selling their fish outside of the Co-operative.

In chapter I of this thesis, a distinction was made between the process of industrialization and that of economic development (supra:2). The former was defined as:

"A qualitative change of an economy, a frequently fundamental alteration of existing skills, and the introduction of new techniques in, and organization of productive work."

Industrialization may be characterized as concerned primarily with the institution of changes in the production and allocation of goods and services. Economic development on the other hand, is seen as development designed to operate within all of the aspects of a society at the same time, thereby upgrading the society as a whole rather than merely the production and allocation of goods and services.

According to the definition of co-operation presented previously (supra:73) this type of economic structure conforms more closely to the concept of economic development. Yet in the preceding chapter it has been shown that, to the extent that it deviates from the ideals of co-operation as set forth by the Rochdale Society of Equitable Pioneers, the Easterville Co-operative loses its value as an instrument through which social development can occur and becomes representative of industrialization process. In Easterville as in the case of the Puerto Rican Co-operatives reported by Luiz A Suez (1953:23), "co-operative action was mainly another way of doing business". In the Puerto Rican and Easterville cases "the social implications of co-operatives were of secondary importance, in many cases of no importance at all." In both cases it could be said that:

"Co-operatives had been established as an instrument for solving economic problems. Since the sole purpose was that of meeting economic needs, it is not surprising that, upon reaching their immediate objective, the co-operative organizations tended

to disappear through lack of interest of their members whose needs had been satisfied. Co-operative education was absent and the members expected too much from the association. They did not know that a true co-operator can never expect to get from his organization any more than he gives in terms of effort, interest and co-operation" (Suavez 1953:23)

However, unlike the Puerto Rican Co-operatives, the Easterville Co-operative Association enjoys little prospect of meeting the economic needs of more than a few of the members of the community in terms of the producers' - marketing structure (supra:73).

Recognizing the deficiencies in the Puerto Rican Co-operative movement, the Puerto Rican Legislature appointed a commission to study the Antigonish Movement of Nova Scotia. From their study of Nova Scotian Co-operatives, the commission recognized two major deficiencies in the Puerto Rican co-operative movement.

- (1) "Lack of properly defined social orientation, especially as to the role which co-operatives play in the education and economic betterment of the masses."
- (2) "Lack of an educational program for the guidance of members of co-operatives as regards the philosophy of co-operativism, their rights and duties with the organizations to which they belong and the functioning of the co-operatives" (Suarez 1954:24).

From my observations on the condition of the Easterville Co-operative, the deficiencies outlined above reach the very core of the problems of the co-operative enterprise in Easterville.

As a result of the Puerto Rican study of co-operatives, the General Co-operative Associations Act of April 1946 was enacted to restructure the co-operative societies. Parts of this Act are reproduced below (after Suarez 1953:24):

- (1) "It authorized the organization of all types of co-operative associations."
- (2) "It regulates the organization, functioning, and dissolution of co-operative associations. The main regulatory provisions are: (a) Only consumers or primary producers can organize co-operatives. (b) Co-operatives must follow the Rochdale Principles of co-operation. (c) Co-operative societies must assemble every year in a general meeting of at least twenty percent of their members. (d) No member can serve on the Board of Directors more than two consecutive terms. (e) Each co-operative society must use at least 0.1 percent of its annual volume of business for education."
- (3) "It created the Department of Co-operatives, annexed to the Extension Service of the University of Puerto Rico, to promote the organization of co-operative associations and the establishment of educational programs by co-operatives" (Suarez 1953:24, Italics mine).

It is imperative that studies such as those undertaken by the Government of Puerto Rico as early as 1945 be instituted immediately in regards to the condition of the co-operative movement in Manitoba. Furthermore, legislation paralleling the Puerto Rican General Co-operative Associations Act would act to safeguard the continued progress of the co-operative movement as economic development rather than industrialization.

It is clear that the Easterville Co-operative has been unsuccessful in its attempt to provide a stable economic foundation for the community. In addition, through its failure

failure to promote the ideals of co-operative enterprise among its members through educational programs, and its failure to live up to the philosophy of co-operation in terms of its dealings with the co-operative membership, the Co-operative in Easterville appears to be, as the people of Easterville suspect, little more than a "state-owned" store, over which they have little or no control.

CHAPTER V

ROLE OF THEORY AND SOCIAL CHANGE IN EASTERVILLE

In analytic studies of social change, Role Theory has provided a useful conceptual scheme for viewing the change situation. The concept has arisen out of sociological research and has been applied by Robert Merton (1968:41-45) with one slight alteration. Merton postulates that "each social status involves not a single associated role but an array of roles" or role set.

Role-set becomes significant in the discussion of the differential success of the trade structure as opposed to the co-operative structure, in the satisfaction of the wants and needs of the community under study. In the course of the application of role-set theory to the Easterville situation, certain central concepts must be introduced and defined. These concepts are: position, role and expectations, and the extent to which these govern the nature of the interactions within the society in question. Gross et al. (1966:48) defines position as "the location of an actor or class of actors in a system of social relationships" which determine the role he must assume. Role is defined by Gross et al. (1966:13) as:

"An individual's definition of his situation with reference to his and others' social position. A person's role is a pattern or type of social behavior which seems situationally appropriate to him in terms of the demands and expectation of those in his group. Roles 'have ingredients of cultural, of personal and of situational determination. But never is a role wholly cultural, wholly personal or wholly situational.' "

Implicit in this concept of role is the concept of expectations. In a social relationship each actor or group of actors may come to expect certain actions or behavior patterns from individuals occupying certain positions within the social organization. Therefore, any position may have any number of different roles partly depending upon the expectations of the various actors relating to the actor occupying the position in question.

Figures 1 to 3 constitute "models" or representations of some of the various formalized positions within the Chemuhowin and Easterville communities. This representation of community structure forms the basis for the analysis and comparison of the relationships between the positions in terms of the concepts of role and expectations. The following key agencies, organizations and positions are represented in the schematics:

1. Provincial Government Departments.
2. Co-operative and Credit Union Services.
3. The Co-operative Manager.

4. The Community Development Officer.
5. The Co-operative Board of Directors.
6. The Band Councils.
7. The Community Members.
- 7a. The Co-operative Shareholders.
8. The Free Trader.

Figure 1, represents the structural relationships between the trader, departments of the Provincial Government, Band Chiefs and Councils, and the Community Members. Outside agencies such as the Provincial Welfare authorities, the Provincial Northern Affairs Department and Federal Indian Affairs authorities utilized the traders position as the controller of the communities communication with the "outside", his position of "storekeeper", and his administrative abilities to assist them in their administration of the community. He acted as the representative of the Welfare Department to the extent that all purchases authorized by the welfare agency were made through him and the bills sent to the appropriate agency. Similarly the trader acted in terms of the communities requirements from Northern Affairs and the Indian Affairs Department. As the controller of the single radio in the community it is evident that all communications over this instrument were under his control. The relationship between the trader and the band chiefs and councils will be dealt with below, but it is evident that his position within

the community placed him in a position of influence over the band councils and chiefs.

The trader has been identified as the economic pivot of the community and as such, constituted the single most influential figure within the community. This status was reinforced by the nature of the relationship between the agents of the Provincial and Federal Governments. The relationship was an informal one to the extent that the trader was not an actual employee of the government, merely a private citizen and entrepreneur within the community, but one upon whom the Government agents relied upon to perform certain administrative functions such as controlling the distribution of "welfare" within the community in the absence of government personnel. To the extent that agents of the government operated through him and through channels which he controlled, it could be said that he was "ex officio" government representative. However because his relationship with the governmental agencies was not structured or rigidly defined by either party, the trader was able to maintain a high degree of flexibility in his relations with the Chemuhowin community. He could act as the representative of the community in his relations with the government and as the representative of the government in the eyes of the members of the community.

A brief discussion of leadership within the Chemuhowin

community appears on page 63 of this thesis. At that time it was pointed out that the free trader maintained an intense relationship with the then Chief Conald Easter. The Easter family was maintained in the community through the patronage of the trader as the technological elite. Easters were involved in duties as "foremen" in the economic enterprises of the trader; they were involved in the maintenance and operation of equipment in the logging operation and the repair of outboard motors in the fishing enterprise. The trader was thus able to influence the community political structure by his patronage of the Easters at Chemuhowin. Through this Technological elite and this political power base of a kin-oriented group, the trader's power within the community was considerable.

With the relocation of the Chemuhowin community to Easterville and the subsequent rejection of the trader and transfer of political power out of the hands of the Easters, the community suffered shifts in, and alterations of, its political structure. The members of the new community attempted to focus upon the Co-operative structure and the co-operative manager to fill the gap left by the departure of the trader. Although the community rejected the free trader and his political functionaries, they apparently did not change their expectations in terms of their view of the role of the economic organization and the role of the head of such

an organization in fulfilling their needs.

Figure 2, is a representation of the post-relocation restructured community of Easterville. The trader has been replaced by two agents. The co-operative manager although employed by the community, was hired by the Co-operative and Credit Union Services. He is employed to administer the operations of the Co-operative in terms of the policy decisions of the Board of Directors and in terms of the general principles of Co-operation. He is responsible both to the community at large and the agency of the Provincial Government who has instituted the Co-operative. The second agent replacing the trader is the Community Development Officer who assumes the role of liason between the Provincial Government and the community, a role previously occupied by the trader. Each of these two agents is bound by rigid job definitions as they are formally employed by either the community, in the case of the former, and a government agency in the case of the latter.

The Co-operative manager could not fill the gap left by the trader for the following reasons: The manager of the Co-operative was subject to the control of the government agency who had secured his services for the community and thus was subject to the expectations of that agency, the Co-operative and Credit Union Services Branch of the Department of Agriculture, in the acting out of his role as manager.

He was subject to the definition of his job held by this agency.

The managers of the Easterville Co-operative were, with one exception, Euro-Canadians and as managerial staff opted for the dominant society and its values as a reference group for the legitimatization of their definition of the position of manager and the roles they ought or ought not assume within the community structure. To that extent the managers' concept of their positions and roles were at odds with the expectations of the members of the community and consequently the shareholders of the co-operative who received little or no assistance in altering their view of his position and role.

The successive managers had little or no knowledge of the expectations of the community members as to his actions and when these were expressed in terms of the community's dissatisfaction he was unable to conform to these expectations because of the dissonant nature of his definitions and theirs. This was particularly noticeable in terms of the problem of credit at the store in Easterville. The management of the store refused to allow the extension of credit to avoid the further over extension of the co-operative finances. In this he was conforming to both his definition of his position, and expressed policy of co-operatives, that is, the discouragement of credit purchases. At the same time however, this

decision placed each manager at odds with the general community.

Figures 2 and 3 represent the "ideal" and "actual" co-operative structures. As stated above, the relationship between the Co-operative manager and the Board of Directors is characterized by a high degree of co-operative action in terms of the formation of co-operative policy and the administration of the organization. It is evident from the data presented in the preceding chapter that the relationship between the Manager and the Board of Directors does not conform to the ideal expressed above. To the contrary, the real power in the co-operative has shifted from the membership via the Board of Directors to the Co-operative and Credit Union Services agency, via the Co-operative Manager.

It has been offered that much of the power base upon which rested the influence of the trader in the Chemuhowin community was due to the relationship between the Easter family and the trader. In the post relocation period, one would expect that this base could be reformulated in terms of the Co-operative Board of Directors. This has not been the case. The influence of the manager on the community is minimal because of the lack of open channels of communication that such a relationship between himself and the Board of Directors would provide. The Co-operative, contrary to expectations, has had little positive influence in the

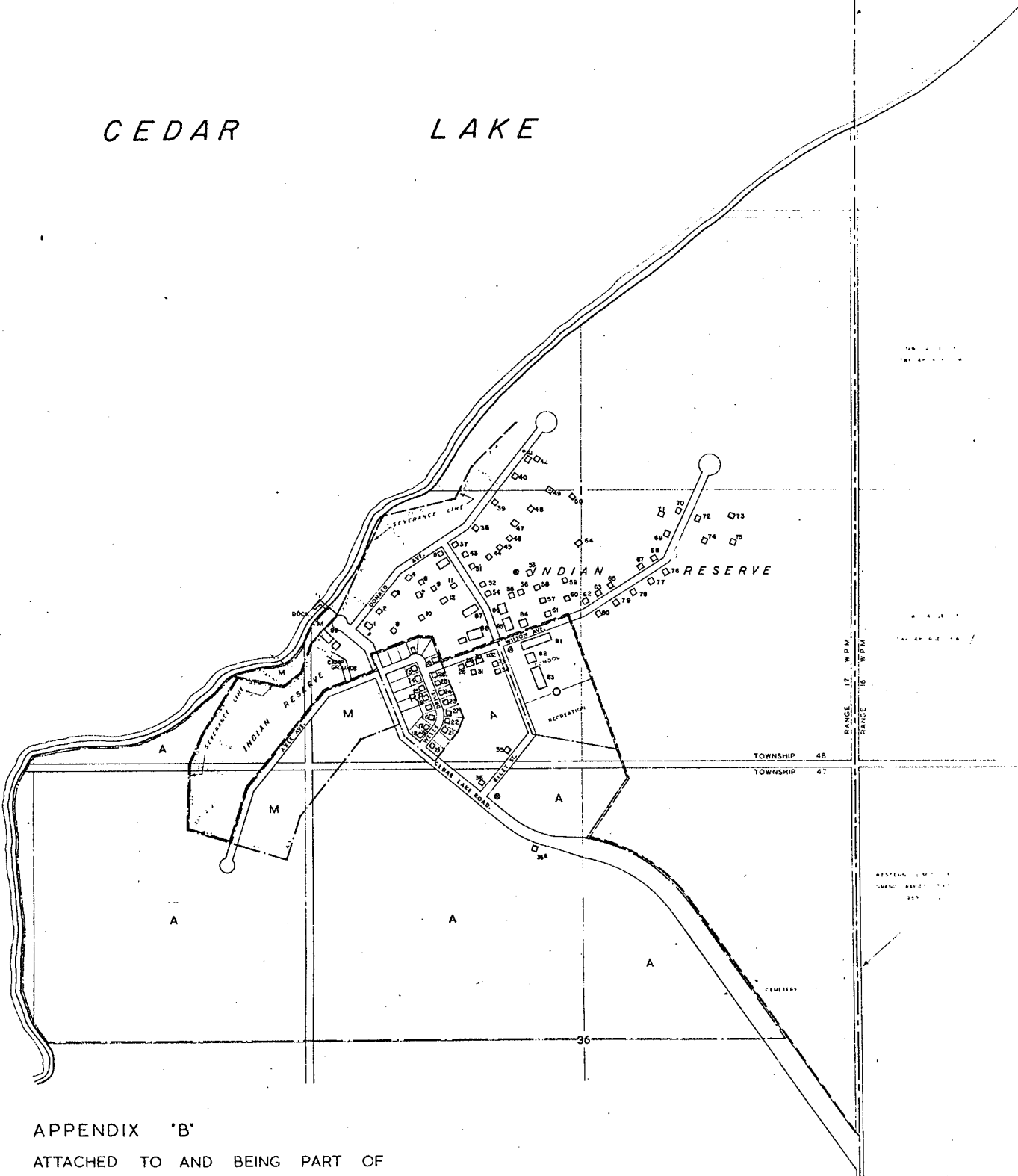
development of community leadership and has on occasion worked in opposition to that goal.

To answer the question then, as to why the co-operative structure has generally failed in satisfying the wants and needs of the population of Easterville, I would put forward the following hypothesis: The community in the course of its relocation from Chemuhowin to the new site at Easterville, transferred "in toto" its expectations in terms of the relationship between the personnel within the community whom they saw as occupying positions similar to that occupied by the free trader and themselves. To the extent that individuals and agencies working in Easterville were not and are not cognizant of the differences in the perception of their positions and roles, and the concomitant expectations held by the residents of Easterville, they have found and will continue to find themselves working in opposition to, rather than with the community. This is not to say that such agents and agencies should accept the definitions of their positions and roles attributed them by the people of Easterville. Such a view is both unrealistic and ill-advised. However, if the community and development agencies are to agree upon a course of community action in the solution of problems, it is essential that both carry a high degree of knowledge about their own and the other's definitions of position and role in terms of the operations of the community.

Figures 1 - 3 Key

1. Government Agencies external to the Community.
2. Co-operative and Credit Union Services.
3. Co-operative Manager.
4. Community Development Officer.
5. Co-operative Board of Directors.
6. Band Councils.
7. Band Memberships.
- 7a. Co-operative Shareholder.
8. The Free Trader.

CEDAR LAKE

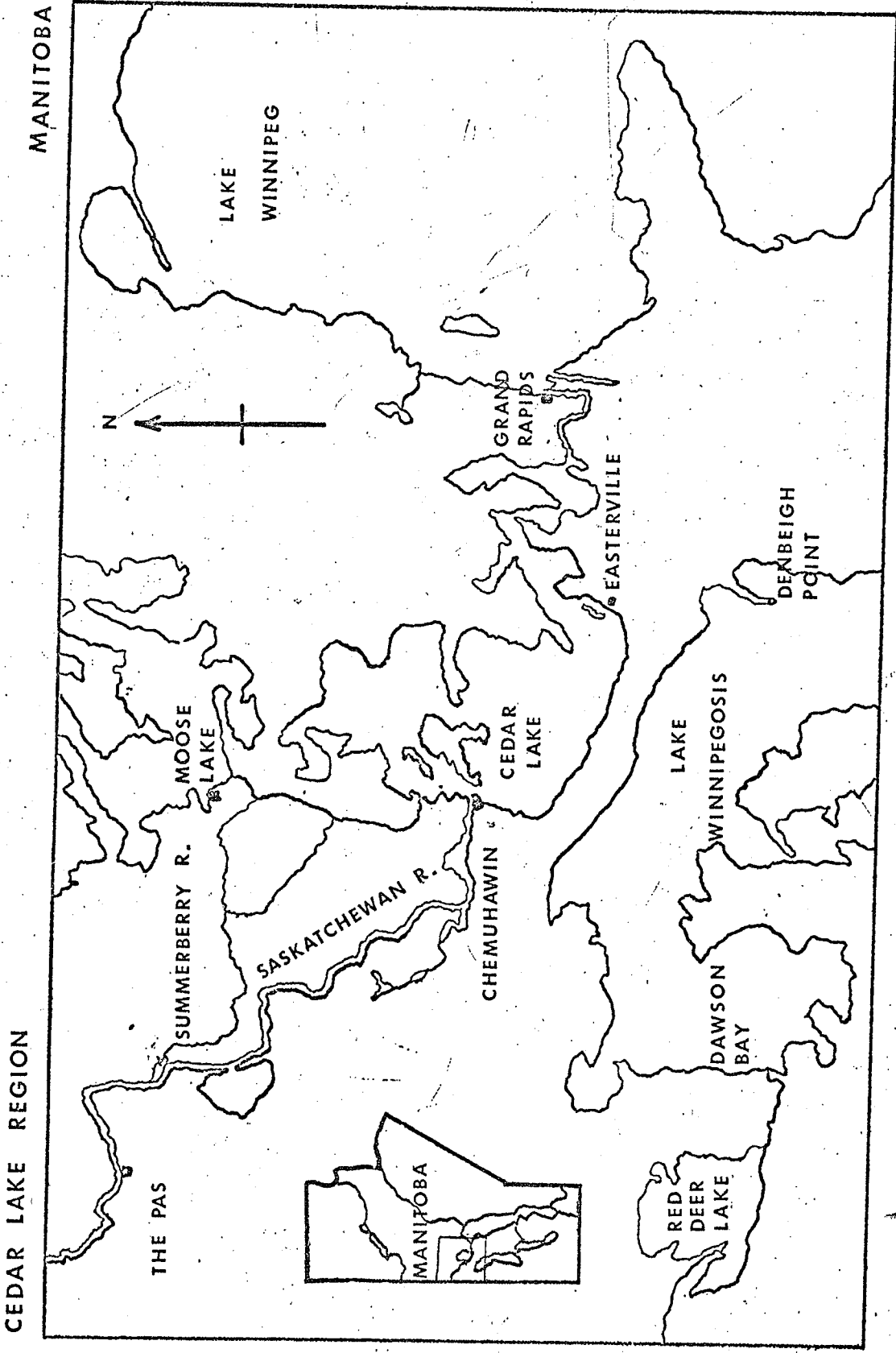


APPENDIX "B"
 ATTACHED TO AND BEING PART OF
 EASTERVILLE PLANNING SCHEME 1964
 ESTABLISHING:
 DISTRICT MAP TWO

- LEGEND:
- A LIMITED DEVELOPMENT DISTRICT
 - O OPEN SPACE DISTRICT
 - RA SUBURBAN DISTRICT
 - C COMMERCIAL DISTRICT
 - M INDUSTRIAL DISTRICT
 - LIMITS OF THE DISTRICT
 - - - - - LIMITS OF THE INDIAN RESERVE



SCALE ONE INCH EQUALS 400 FEET
 PLANNING BRANCH
 DEPARTMENT OF MUNICIPAL AFFAIRS
 WINNIPEG 10 MANITOBA
 DATE: FEB. 1964 DWG No 94-58 102 A
 REV APRIL 1964 DWG No 94-58-102 B



SCALE: 1 inch = 15 miles
M.J.L.

CEDAR LAKE REGION

MANITOBA

Model of the Trade Relationship:

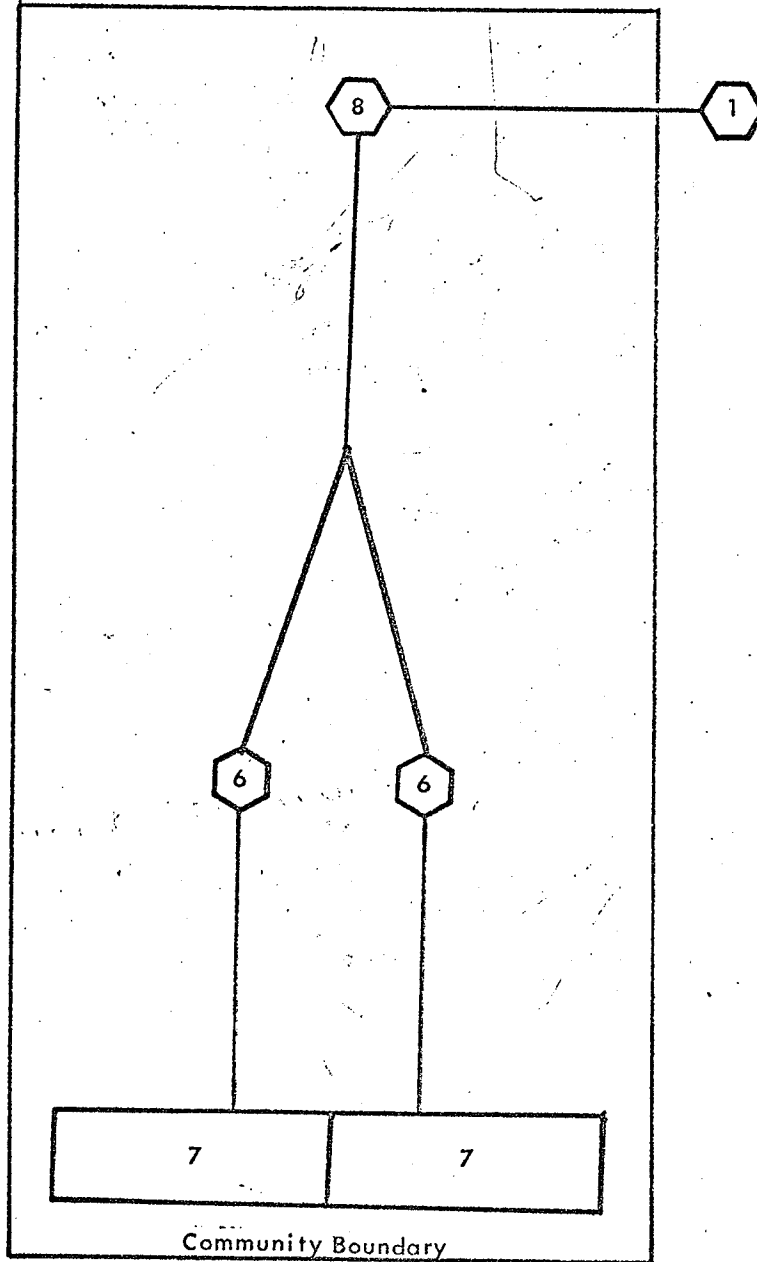


figure 1.

Model of the Co-opertive Relationship (ideal):

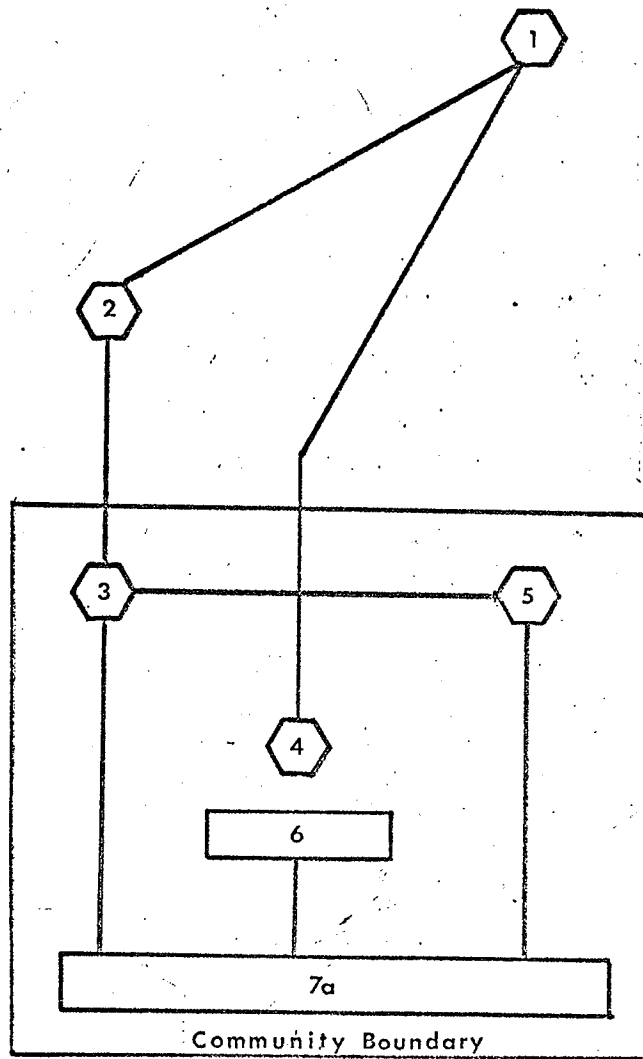


figure 2.

Model of the Co-operative Relationship (actual):

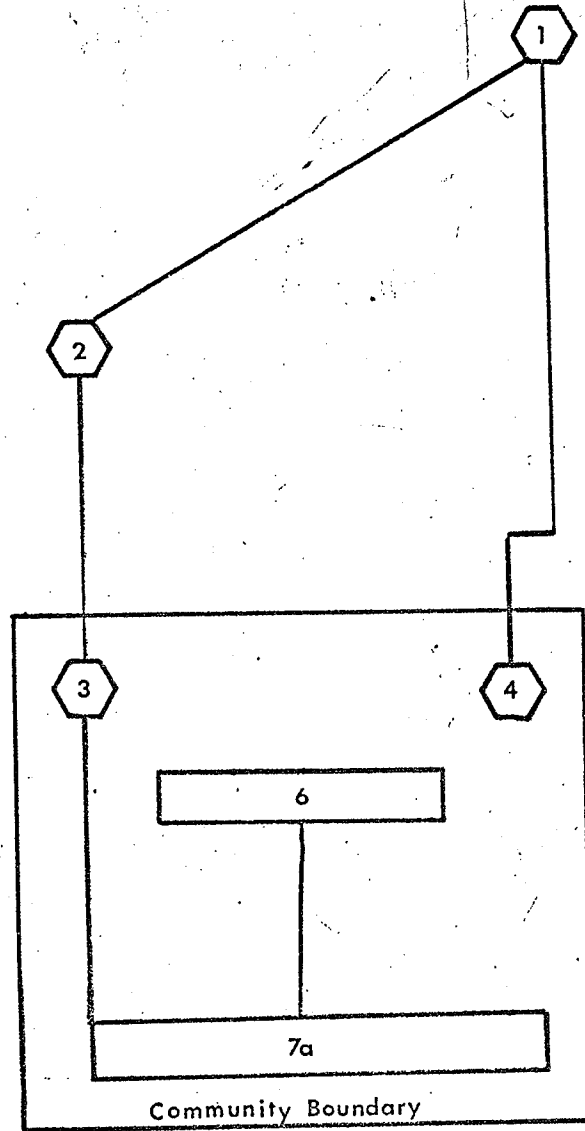


figure 3.

It is appropriate to note at this point, the success enjoyed by the operators of the Denbeigh Point store and fish-buying station, in commanding the loyalty of the residents of Easterville and their patronage. The status of this operation as a private enterprise more closely conforms to the type of operation conducted by the trader at Chemuhowin, and the relationship between the operators and the community parallels that at Chemuhowin to a high degree. The extension of credit at that store is a common practice as are other services such as the delivery of purchased goods by truck and an "order by messenger" service. These actions have created a feeling of loyalty among the consumers who patronize the store to the extent that many Easterville fishermen also market their fish through the fish station at Denbeigh Point, operated by the same group. In providing competition to the Co-operative, the Denbeigh Point operation also provides a medium for the expression of community dissatisfaction with the Co-operative in Easterville. Many of the Easterville consumers openly express their dissatisfaction with the credit policies of the co-operative and are quick to justify their patronage of the Denbeigh Point store in terms of their need for credit. Similarly the marketing of produce through the private fish station at Denbeigh Point reflects the same rejection of the Co-operative marketing situation. It cannot be said that the cause of the extra-co-operative

marketing is totally a financial consideration as the prices offered by each in the winter of 1969, at least were comparable and competitive. It can be said that this type of marketing returned more cash to the fishermen in terms of the lack of deductions for the repayment of capital debts on the part of the fishermen. In addition to this however, it is likely that the policies of the private operation in regards to credit, the esteem in which the operators are held, and the growing disenchantment with the Easterville Co-operative are all important factors in the shift in community allegiance in terms of patronage from the Co-operative store to the Denbeigh Point operation.

In the introductory chapter of this thesis, two hypotheses about the nature of the relationship between the free trader and the individual member and total community at Chemuhowin and the relationship between the co-operative management and the individual consumer, producer and the total community at Easterville were posed for investigation. The first hypothesis was stated thus: The relationship between the trader and his institution and the Chemuhowin band and individual will be inclusive of more than merely the economic aspects of a social relationship, to the extent that it will be based on affect to a high degree. Although this seems to be contradicted by the community's ultimate rejection of the trader as the dominant figure within the community in terms of

the community's option for the establishment of a co-operative store and marketing service in Easterville, it is likely that two factors can account for this rejection. First, from the limited understanding evidenced by the majority of the residents of Easterville as to the nature of the co-operative enterprise and the basic philosophy of co-operation, it could be maintained that in truth, the people of Easterville did not know what it was they were getting, opting for the co-operative structure in the hopes of improving their standard of living. Then too, it is indicated by many of the people in Easterville, that there was a general lack of understanding as to the entire relocation scheme due in part to linguistic problems. Second, it is also likely that there was a significant amount of pressure placed on the Cedar Lake people to accept the institution of a co-operative enterprise on the part of those concerned with the rehabilitation of the community in the post-relocation phase. Significantly, most people in Easterville, in spite of their recognition of the superiority of the Co-operative at Easterville in terms of service, choice of produce and amount of goods offered by the Co-operative, recall the store operated by the trader in terms of his positive actions toward the community in offering credit over economically difficult times, his gifts of food and clothing to children during these times, and his general benevolent

attitude towards the community under such circumstances.

From the data that informants have passed on to me, it appears that affect was an overriding factor in the relationship between the trader and the community.

A second hypothesis generated previously stated that: The relations between the co-operative and the band, and the individual, will be inclusive of little more than the economic aspects of the social relationship because of the nature of the co-operative structure as it appears in Easterville, and the poor perception of the "actual" structure by management and by the individual members alike. The outline of the problems experienced by the Co-operative in Easterville contained in the previous chapter, point out some serious deficiencies in the relationship between the co-operative management and the co-operative membership. Implicit in this situation is a highly reified, predominantly economic orientation that characterizes the co-operative concern. This conclusion is supported by the evident lack of the following in the management-membership relation:

1. Lines of communication between the co-operative membership and management.
2. Educational programs in co-operative ideals and practices, as well as non-co-operative concerns in terms of adult education.
3. Participatory democracy within the co-operative structure itself.

From the preceding discussion, it is evident that the

co-operative structure at Easterville evidences to a high degree the orientation that has been defined as characteristic of the process of industrialization; a concern with the reorganization of productive work as opposed to the process of economic development or the development of skills supplemented and complemented by redevelopment of the entire culture of the community concerned. To the extent that the co-operative at Easterville fails to diverge in philosophy from the concept of industrialization which characterizes the dealings of the Co-operative with the people of Easterville, it becomes a dysfunctional structure in the development of an economically viable community at Easterville.

The most striking feature of any comparison of co-operative and trade structures is implicit in the nature of the demands upon the individual in relating to the structure in question. At Chemuhowin, relationships were defined as "person to person" -- the producer-consumer related with the trader, an individual. In contrast, the producer-consumer in Easterville relates with the "co-operative", an idea. This contrast in human versus non-human relations could account for much of the difficulty in the relations between the Co-operative and the community at Easterville.

CHAPTER VI

CONCLUSIONS

The conclusions based upon the data presented in this thesis confine themselves to two basic areas of inquiry. These are in terms of the evaluation of the relocation scheme, and the evaluation of the co-operative structure as an economic foundation for the community at Easterville and its conformity to the philosophy of the co-operative movement.

The Relocation

It is evident that the main justification for the relocation of the Chemuhowin community and the formation of the Easterville Co-operative Society has been the establishment of a sound economic base for the formation of a viable northern community. Apart from these considerations, there is no possible justification for the relocation. If this is so, a re-examination of the economic changes since the relocation should yield conclusions as to the relative success or failure of the relocation scheme.

The base of the Chemuhowin community economy was primarily resource oriented. Trapping and hunting, fishing, and forestry were supplemented in recent years by the addition of a cash supplement based on commercial fishing and casual labour. However, drastic shifts in the ecology of the area

which are attributable to a large extent to the flooding of Cedar Lake to form a reservoir for the Grand Rapids Hydroelectric Project has rendered the hunting and trapping aspects of the community's economy minimal in importance in recent years. Forestry plays a minimally significant role in the maintenance of the Easterville community as well and the number of Easterville people working at wage labour either within or outside of the community appears to be small.

The relocation of the Cedar Lake people from Chemuhowin to Easterville has implied the establishment of an economically limited community. A community dependent upon a single economic pursuit; that of fishing to provide support for the majority of the residents of the community. It has been one of the significant points of this thesis that the co-operative structure at Easterville, the organizational foundation of the fishing economy, will prove to be unable to support the majority of the residents of Easterville in terms of fishing alone (supra:106). If the expectation of a government report as quoted by McGarry (supra:56) are borne out, one may expect a fifty to sixty percent unemployment rate in a still-growing community of over 400 individuals.

Indeed then, if the justification for the relocation of the Cedar Lake community rests upon the assumption that such a relocation had or will have a beneficial effect on the economic condition of the community; then it is evident that

at the present time not only is such an assumption not borne out by the facts, but that the relocation of the community was not only unnecessary but wasteful in terms of the human and natural resources expended, and in terms of the public expenditures for the actual physical relocation. Further effort towards the establishment of a firm economic base for the community is not only desirable, but essential to the survival of the community. Such work could lead in the direction of the rehabilitation of the trapping areas in the Summerberry Fur block, if such rehabilitation is possible; the establishment of fur farms for the commercial production of muskrat and other pelts, support for which could conceivably come from the fishing industry on Cedar Lake from the supply of rough fish for the addition of protein to the muskrat diet.^{6.} Similarly, fur farms could be established involving the raising of pure protein consumers such as mink, marten and otter, to broaden the economic base of the community and provide new impetus to the Co-operative Fishery for the supply of rough fish such as the many suckers in Cedar Lake that are now discarded as economically useless in terms of the demands of the commercial fishery.

As well, the possible establishment of a rough fish processing operation in the vicinity for the production of pet foods, fertilizers, or both could provide a market for the rough fish not only from Cedar Lake but from communities

on Lake Winnipeg, Lake Winnipegosis and Moose Lake. Such a venture would provide welcome opportunities for employment throughout the area.

At present the Denbeigh Point sawmill operation provides only a minimal contribution to the economy of the people of Easterville in terms of its employment of residents of the area and the utilization of the processed lumber. As indicated, the operation is attempting to expand into the field of box manufacturing with a view toward the establishment of a support industry for the fishing communities in the area. This plan should be continued with government subsidization if necessary, both in terms of employing more of the non-fishing residents of the area and the diversion of the capital outflow from the Co-operative for the purchase of boxes elsewhere, back into the economy of the area.

Through the implementation of subsidized industries and support industries in the area, fuller employment could be achieved for not only the Easterville community, but for a number of other depressed communities in the region. Such subsidized industries, though costly, are less expensive than welfare costs in the long run. In the Easterville case, unless the remaining forty to fifty percent of the employable adult males find a place in the economy of the community, it is likely that the present low costs of welfare in the community will not be maintained at this level.

It is also evident from the data presented in this thesis (supra: 64-67) that the relocation of the community from Chemuhowin has to a high degree, intensified the general atomistic tendency evident among the people. Balikçi (1968: 191) attributes the appearance of atomism to, among other things, the breakdown of kinship structures, leadership and family stability; the introduction of individualistic acquisitive techniques and the weakness of the intrusive political order. Noteworthy in the Easterville situation is the increased use of alcohol, concomitant problems such as displays of overt intra-community aggression under the influence of alcohol, the incidence of child neglect, the breakdown of family cohesion and the rise of juvenile delinquency and vandalism. All of this socially maladaptive behavior is perceived by the residents of Easterville as a function of their relocation from Chemuhowin. Whether or not the incidence of this type of behavior in fact, increased since the relocation is not determinable since no comparative data for the pre-relocation condition exists. What is significant in this case is that the residents of Easterville perceive such behavior as a result of the relocation.

The people of Easterville feel that they were generally poorly prepared for the relocation and the concomitant disruption in the continuity of their social relationships, economic base, world view and ecological setting. Although a

great deal of effort was expended by the agents involved in the relocation it is evident that there was far too little time expended in educating the people as to the effects of the relocation on their daily lives and probably minimal understanding of these potential effects on the part of the agents conducting the relocation and causing drastic ecological imbalances through the flooding of the lake in question. Naturally, this minimal understanding on behalf of the agents of change, became minimal understanding on the part of the community's membership.

As well, the choice of the location of the new community was a poor one. The people of Easterville claim that they were not given a free hand in the choice and that to the contrary, undue pressure was exerted on them to choose the present site. The relocation of the community from Chemuhowin to Easterville may be termed unsuccessful to the extent that it did not fulfill the functions it was intended to fulfill. An economically viable community at Easterville was not established. To the contrary, it is evident that unless immediate alternative sources of employment are made available in the community, there is little prospect for the maintenance of the community even at the pre-relocation standards.

The Co-operative

The purpose of this thesis has been the analysis of the structure and operation of a co-operative enterprise within the setting of a relocated community, that of Easterville, Manitoba, with the explicit intent of the evaluation of this type of economic structure in the satisfaction of the wants and needs of the Cree Indian and Metis population of the community. With this view in mind, two questions were posed, the answers to which should lead to an evaluative statement about the co-operative structure as an approach to the problem of community development in the north.

The first question posed was: Do co-operatives provide a satisfactory or even superior alternative to private enterprise in the development of northern communities with a predominance of native Canadian personnel? In responding to this question on the basis of data gathered on the Easterville case, it is important to note that we are dealing with one co-operative, not all co-operatives. In the Easterville case, the co-operative has proved ineffective in mobilizing the support of the people of Easterville. To that extent it is not likely that this co-operative has proved superior to a "private enterprise" developer. Ideally, this should not be so. The basic philosophy of co-operation should prove useful as a technique of community development and a means of the mobilization of the members of the

community for a unified approach to community problems. Why then has this failed to materialize?

First, the co-operative structure at Easterville is basically an imposed structure. It has no foundation in the day to day lives and loyalties of the people such as the free traders' establishment enjoyed. The founding of the co-operative was not accompanied by any comprehensive educational program which, by its absence, has given rise to a lack of knowledge about the ideal, approaches and goals of co-operation and co-operative action on the part of the co-operators. This is very little understanding of what a co-operative is on the part of a significant percentage of Easterville residents.

Second, as I have attempted to point out in terms of role-set theory, the community has not altered the expectations that they had internalized in terms of the two basically different "styles" of action on the part of the trader and the co-operative management. To the extent that the expectations of the members in regards to the policies and actions of the co-operative management differ from his conception of what actions and policies are required of him in terms of his conception of the co-operative situation and the lack of conformity of the consumers and producers to the co-operative conception of consumer and producer behavior, little positive progress in furthering the ideals of co-operation can be expected. Management and membership therefore, are operating under

different conceptions of their roles and expectations, hence little comprehension of the other's actions will result.

Third, the co-operative at Easterville as it has been evolved in situ, bears little resemblance to the ideal pattern of a "co-operative" in terms of its reified approach to community problems, limiting its actions to the predominantly economic; its lack of participatory democracy although the historical background to this problem to an extent mediates the culpability of the government agency in the deterioration of this situation; and its total lack of educational orientations and programs in terms of the philosophy, ideals and operating procedures of co-operatives.

A fourth problem, that of excessive state control is tied ultimately to the situation of the lack of participatory democracy in the co-operative. Indeed all of the problems experienced by the co-operative are interrelated and most are founded in the poor educational preparation of the Easterville residents for the understanding and operation of the co-operative enterprise and of the nature of co-operation.

It is essential that at this time, certain reforms be made in the structure and operation of the Easterville Co-operative, the Co-operative and Credit Union Services Branch of the Manitoba Department of Agriculture, and indeed in co-operative ventures throughout the north of Manitoba:

1. The re-establishment of the Board of Directors as the "steering committee" for the Easterville Co-operative.
2. The re-establishment of participatory democracy through the institution of regular meetings of shareholders.
3. The establishment of an intense educational program for co-operative staff and membership alike, and the sponsorship of local personnel in the attendance of training programs held by the Canadian Federated Co-operatives organization. Also, the active participation of co-operative personnel in the sponsorship of adult education reading courses in possibly all of English, mathematics and reading skills.
4. The reversion of co-operative control to the hands of the Co-operative membership through the Board of Directors and the re-establishment of lines of communication between the Board and the Management.
5. Reform of provincial government policy toward the role of government in the establishment of co-operatives and a re-examination of the administrative policies pursued by government agencies such as the Co-operative and Credit Union Services toward development of new co-operatives, and the programs of action necessary to ensure an adequate understanding of these new co-operatives on the part of the members.
6. The institution of a Commission to look into the state of Co-operative ventures in the north of Manitoba, with the view to upgrading the services offered to such ventures along the lines of the General Co-operative Associations Act of Puerto Rico (1946).

A second question posed by myself in the introductory chapter to this thesis is an implicit consideration in the above recommendations: Can an economic structure such as that of the co-operative, even one designed for minimally educated southern personnel, be transplanted without

significant alteration to a northern situation with native Canadian personnel? The obvious answer to this problem is implicit in the question: To what extent does this structure fulfill the needs of the community? If, as in the case of many urban co-operative consumer organizations the needs are limited to the provision of a large selection of the highest possible quality goods at the lowest possible cost, the needs may be satisfied through the provision of such service. However, as the needs of the community become more complex, the responses of the Co-operative organization must of necessity become more complex. To that extent, the co-operative must alter itself to fit the expressed needs of the community. In the Easterville case, one of these expressed needs is a provision for the extension of credit. As the co-operative has failed to make any response to this stated need, such as the extension of credit on a limited basis, and the formation of Credit Union facilities, the membership of the co-operative goes elsewhere to fulfill this need.

In establishing a co-operative in any community, the participating personnel both local and governmental, must work toward the assessment of the community's needs then design an organization that will respond to the stated needs of the community and the limited resources of the new co-operative. Thus, each situation demands a unique response in terms of what is needed in the specific community. Before

any attempt is made to institute new co-operatives in new northern communities, a detailed assessment of the needs of the community inclusive of more than the economic needs, must clearly be assessed and a corresponding organization developed. In the Easterville case, however, there are grounds for inquiring as to the adequacy of the co-operative type organization. From a culturological viewpoint, we must ask if the co-operative structure is not inferior to a "private enterprise" type of organization for the maintenance of the community. The essential atomism of Northern Algonkians seems to be resistive to many of the goals and methods of co-operation. If this is so, a re-assessment of the policy of co-operative development in such communities as pursued by the Manitoba government should be undertaken.

FOOTNOTES

6. Although the Muskrat is primarily a consumer of plant protein, Calahane (1961:530) indicates that occurrence of cannibalism among muskrats is not uncommon and it is possible that a predominantly animal protein diet could be developed utilizing processed rough fish.

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APPENDIX A

TABLE I

Climatic Characteristics of the Cedar Lake Region (after Weir 1960)

Average Temperatures:

June: 57 - 58 degrees Farenheit

July: 64 - 69 degrees Farenheit

January: -5 - -6 degrees Farenheit

Frost Free Days:

90 - 110 frost free days

Average Precipitation in inches:

May - July: 7 - 8 inches

Annual Precipitation: 17 - 18 inches

Annual Snowfall: 50 - 55 inches

TABLE II

Average Return for Trapping 1959 to 1962 (After Keeper 1964)

<u>Year</u>	<u>Total Value of Fur Crop</u>	<u>No. of Trappers</u>	<u>Average Return</u>
1959-60	\$11,207.71	49	\$229.00
	No spring trapping in the Summerberry		
1960-61	\$23,583.81	69	\$342.00
	Spring trapping in the Summerberry		
1961-62	\$15,370.00	70	\$219.00
	Spring trapping in the Summerberry. Muskrat returns. Estimate only.		

TABLE III

Average Income per Trapper (after Keeper 1964)

<u>Year</u>	<u>Cedar Lake</u>	<u>Northern Manitoba</u>	<u>Difference</u>
1959-60*	\$229.00	\$409.00	-\$180.00
1960-61	\$342.00	\$335.00	\$ 7.00

*No Spring trapping in the Summerberry Fur Block.

TABLE IV

Comparison of Trapping Returns for 1961 - 62, and 1968:

<u>Year</u>	<u>Number of Trappers</u>	<u>Number of Pelts</u>	<u>Value</u>
1961 - 62	70	--	\$15,370.00 *
1968	28	2,803	\$ 2,803.00

*Price based on average paid by Winnipeg fur buyers in 1968.

TABLE V

Fishing Income and Production Figures 1959 - 1962 (after Keeper 1964)

<u>Winter lbs.</u>	<u>Summer lbs.</u>	<u>Total lbs.</u>	<u>Value</u>	<u>No.</u>	<u>Estimated Income</u>
59 - 60 77,644	1960 188,540	266,204	\$39,930.50	63	\$ 634.00
60 - 61 163,449	1961 233,917	397,366	\$59,604.90	62	\$ 961.00
61 - 62 278,344	1962 311,131	589,465	\$88,419.75	68	\$1,300.00