RELOCATION AND SOCIAL CHANGE AMONG THE SWAMPY CREE AND METIS OF EASTERVILLE, MANITOBA

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ABSTRACT

In 1964, a community of Swampy Cree and Metis in Northern Manitoba was forced to relocate when a hydro-electric dam constructed nearby caused a rise in the lake level which flooded out the community. In order to effect the relocation, the Manitoba government created an administrative body, known as the Forebay Committee. The purpose of this thesis is to examine the long-term consequences of the relocation for the people involved, and to evaluate the effectiveness of the Forebay Committee in planning and executing this relocation. The relocation is viewed as involving a process of rapid, involuntary modernization in which a traditional, isolated, and relatively uncomplex native community was brought, almost overnight, within the realm of the larger regional and national social, political, and economic systems. The thesis concludes that, contrary to the assumptions of change agents involved in effecting relocations, such projects do not necessarily result in an improvement in the lives of the people involved.

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CHAPTER I

"OVER THERE WE HAD EVERYTHING.
HERE WE HAVE NOTHING. NOTHING."
- Easterville Resident 1979.

INTRODUCTION

In 1964, an isolated community of Swampy Cree and Metis living along the shore of Cedar Lake, in northern Manitoba, was forced to relocate to a new site further down the lake. This movement was necessitated by the construction of a hydro-electric dam at nearby Grand Rapids, which transformed Cedar Lake into a giant reservoir. The subsequent rise in the lake level flooded out the community of Chemawawin [1.] where approximately 280 people lived relatively sheltered from the world-at-large. Almost overnight, these people were brought into a world of modern conveniences and technology which they had never experienced before. The effects of this rapid process of change and modernization are the subject of this thesis.

In order to facilitate the relocation of these people, the Manitoba Government, in conjunction with Manitoba Hydro, formed an administrative body, which became known as the Forebay Committee. The purpose of this committee was to negotiate the surrender of land at the old settlement, devise a compensation agreement, and administer the planning of the new community, to be known as Easterville.

The Committee was also to act as a mediator between the people themselves and the various government departments that would be involved in the relocation.

In 1968, Michael Landa conducted a study in Easterville to assess the effects of the introduction of a co-operative economic structure into the lives of the people. Landa's (1969) study is important because it provides a data base for a restudy of the effects of the relocation after an extended period of time, in this case fifteen years. Landa (1969) found a community which was split by political factions, and which suffered from a relatively high incidence of alcohol abuse, family and marriage breakdown, petty crime, and juvenile delinquency. According to Landa's informants, these problems had existed to a minor extent only in the old community of Chemawawin. Landa also found that a once viable economic base (fishing, hunting, and trapping) had been reduced to dependency upon a single resource (fish) through an unfamiliar economic institution (a co-operative). Landa concluded his study with the prediction that, unless definite measures were undertaken to strengthen the economic base of the community, "there is little prospect for the maintenance of the community even at pre-relocation standards" (1969:116).

Relocation: A World-Wide Phenomenon

Relocation, the voluntary or involuntary removal of individuals, families, and entire communities from their

home-sites, is a much more common phenomenon than the existing literature would suggest. Relocation in many forms, from urban redevelopment involving individual families to the removal of entire communities as a result of massive resource development projects, are occurring at this very moment. The numbers involved are staggering: relocations involving thousands of people are not uncommon. This is especially true of large-scale development projects, such as hydro-electric dams, where thousands of square miles of inhabited territory may be adversely affected. Despite the fact that so many people have experienced relocation, especially of the involuntary variety, the development of this phenomenon in the social science literature is not strong.

The relocation, or abandonment, of many output communities in Newfoundland is perhaps the best known Canadian example of relocation. Under the Newfoundland Resettlement Act, no less than 234 communities were evacuated, involving more than 23,000 people, between 1953 and 1970 (Matthews 1976). The people were relocated to facilitate administration and servicing by the provincial government who found it too costly to bring such items as electricity and telephones to the outports (Iverson and Matthews 1968). The need for these items was not necessarily viewed in the same light by the people involved, however, but were dictated by then-Premier Joey Smallwoods' plan for the modernization of the province.

Another well known Canadian relocation project was

the result of hydro-electric development on the Columbia River in British Columbia. Wilson's (1973) exposition on the project provides a good account of the upheaval experienced by the people living in the valley. The project, which also involved the raising of the water level, forced the abandonment of at least seven communities and the dislocation of approximately 2,000 people.

A similar project, also well known, is the James Bay Hydro-Electric Project. This project was in the public eye for many years, and has caused a widespread social change for the Cree living in northern Quebec. Once again the rising lake levels behind a dam forced the relocation of a community, in this case, that of the Nemaska Cree Band (Preston 1978: personal communication). It is also apparent that a number of other native communities have relocated or will have to relocate in the near future (Salisbury 1979: personal communication). There is a growing sentiment in Quebec that further development should be undertaken, and other bands may soon have experiences similar to that of the Nemaska Band.

While these relocations are the best known Canadian examples, other groups have also experienced relocation. These include the native people of Aklavik (who were moved to Inuvik)(Honigmann and Honigmann 1970), the Duck Lake Chipewyan Band (Koolage 1972), and the Cree of South Indian Lake (Matthiasson 1972).

In other parts of the world, relocation has also become a favoured method of dealing with the 'people problem' which large-scale development entails. For instance, in the United States, the Garrison Dam on the Missouri River resulted in the relocation of about 1,000 Gros Ventre, Mandan, and Arikara (MacGregor 1949). Similarly, the Glen Canyon Dam (Navajo), the Bridge Canyon Project (Hualapi) and the Niagara Falls project (Tuscarora) have also necessitated relocation (Euler and Dobyns 1961). In 1946, the residents of Bikini Island in the Marshall Islands were forced to relocate so that the United States could use their land as a nuclear test site (Mason 1957; Kiste 1974).

Perhaps the largest relocation projects have occurred in Africa. The Volta Dam in Ghana necessitated the relocation of 80,000 people in 1964 (Cahmbers 1970). The Kariba Dam in Rhodesia forced 50,000 people out of their homes in 1958, (Colson 1971), the Aswan High Dam resulted in the relocation of 70,000 people in Egypt (Brokensha and Scudder 1968), and the Kainji Dam resulted in the relocation of 50,000 people in Nigeria (Brokensha and Scudder 1968). The Niger Irrigation Project, a program of planned change in the French Sudan, resulted in the movement of some 5,000 people from their homes in the Upper Volta River region in 1944 (Hammond 1959).

The kinds of resource development projects which usually necessitate the relocation of large numbers of people are only now becoming important in South America. Aspelin and

dos Santos (1979) have reported that hydro-electric development in Brazil alone will result in the relocation of 36,000 people. Throughout the world there is little question that more projects of this nature have been completed which do not appear in the literature; the present thesis is an attempt to increase awareness of this problem.

It would appear as though relocation has become an easy solution employed by various levels of government on an international scale to solve the problem of "people in the way", as Wilson (1973) refers to the unfortunate victims of these projects. However, if relocation does in fact involve "a sudden, involuntary and complete disruption" as Fried (1965:135) suggests, then the implications for the welfare of the participants are significant.

Aims of the Thesis

A review of the literature on relocation projects has led to one conclusion of particular relevance to the present study. This conclusion is that, in most cases, there exists on the part of the government or the change agent involved in effecting the relocation an assumption, either explicit or implicit, that while the relocation would be disruptive in the early years, the people would eventually settle into their new environment and, in time, with government assistance, actually surpass the level of economic and social life enjoyed in the pre-relocation state. Relocation, then, is viewed as an opportunity to

'advance' or improve the status of those people being resettled. This modernization process is used as a justification for the removal of the people from their homeland to make way for resource development or other projects. This view is, however, somewhat naive: relocation as a process is much more complicated than most change agents have perceived. It cannot simply be assumed that people will reorient themselves in a new situation, and, further, that their social nad economic status will actually be improved. At the very base level, as Chambers (1970:254) indicates, "once government has touched people, they are never quite the same again". Perhaps more important are the seemingly insignificant changes, often perceived by the change agent as beneficial, which accompany relocation and which serve to undermine traditional culture and seriously hamper the re-estabilishment of life in the new setting. Technological innovations, the reordering of the spatial pattern, changes in diet, new forms of social, economic, and political institutions, can have profound consequences for the life-ways of people in more or less traditional cultures.

The primary aim of this thesis, then, is to examine the consequences of the changes which have occurred in the lives of the people of Chemawawin since their relocation to Easterville fifteen years ago. Specifically, I wish to challenge the assumption of change agents that relocated

people will eventually become re-established in their new setting at a level surpassing that of the old. In presenting empirical evidence to the contrary, I wish to demonstrate that the people of Chemawawin have been harmed, not helped, by the construction of the hydro dam, and as such have been done a great injustice. If the local people are not benefitting by the multi-million dollar projects which force them out of their homes then the hypocrisy of government and industry around the world must be questioned.

An ancillary aim of this thesis is to examine in depth the role of the Forebay Committee, and the provincial and federal governments, in effecting the relocation of the Chemawawin people. Based on the assumption that large-scale development projects are going to continue and will necessitate further relocations, I wish this examination to be constructive in leading to a theory of planned relocation to ensure the successful adaptation of the people involved. Such a theory, of course, can only be achieved through a critical examination of the responsible parties in the relocation project, and it is this perspective which I shall adopt.

This thesis is presented, as much as possible, to allow the reader to follow the relocation process from a historical perspective. Chapter two contains a brief description of the research methods utilized plus an account of the problems faced by the author while in the field. Chapter three presents

a portrait of the pre-relocation state in the settlement of Chemawawin. In chapter four, the Forebay Committee and the process of negotiations between the Committee and the people of Chemawawin are critically evaluated. Chapter five presents a portrait of the new community of Easterville with an emphasis on the changes that have occurred since the relocation. Chapter six contains a theoretical discussion of the process of modernization which the people have undergone, utilizing the concepts of "communitization" and "de-localization". Finally, chapter seven concludes with an assessment of the relocation from the perspective of the two aims of the thesis previously highlighted.

Footnote

1. "Chemawawin" - This is the spelling used by the Chemawawin Indian Band. Alternate spellings include "Chemahawin" and "Chemuhowin". In older literature and historical documents, the band was often referred to as the "Cedar Lake Band".

CHAPTER II

THE RESEARCH PROCESS: METHOD AND EXPERIENCE

This thesis is a product of a variety of research techniques utilized both in the community of Easterville and elsewhere. A total ten weeks was spent in Easterville during the summer of 1979 undertaking the core of the research. At this time, participant-observation, combined with both formal and informal interviews with community members, served to provide the bulk of the data. Interviews were also conducted with certain non-community personnel who were, for various reasons, knowledgeable about the community. These included the ex-free trader from Chemawawin, the ex-Community Development Officer from Chemawawin, the chief of the Swampy Cree Tribal Council in The Pas, members of the Grand Rapids detachment of the R.C.M.P., and a representative of the Department of Co-operative Services in Winnipeg. A great deal of documentary data was accumulated through a search of files at the Chemawawin Indian Band office and the office of the Swampy Cree Tribal Council. The research was funded by a grant from the Northern Studies Committee at the University of Manitoba and administered by Dr. John S. Matthiasson.

In the spring of 1979, after formulating the problem I wished to investigate and having done some preliminary research into the community, I mailed a letter to the

Chief and band councillors in Easterville. In this letter, I briefly explained these research aims, stressing that I was a university student and in no way affiliated with the government. The letter was followed up a week later by a number of telephone calls to the band office and brief conversations with various personnel there. At the suggestion of the Chief, a meeting was scheduled for May 22, at which time I was to present my ideas more fully to the council members.

This meeting was attended by the chief and two councillors on the appointed day. I had prepared an in depth presentation which covered the history of the community and some of the problems it was presently facing. In this manner I hoped to demonstrate my genuine interest in the community and its people. I also had a fairly detailed sketch of what I hoped to achieve through the research and how it could be of value to the people of Easterville. However, once the meeting began it became apparent that the councillors had already decided that such research would be valuable, and I was not afforded the opportunity to give my presentation. Instead, I was questioned about my affiliations with the government and the source of the funding for the research. Once they were convinced of my true status, they informed me that the band, in conjunction with the Swampy Cree Tribal Council, was considering legal action against both the provincial and federal governments to obtain compensation for the detrimental

effects of the relocation. As it turned out, they had, for some years, been asking the federal government for funds to hire a researcher to probe into this area, but had not met with any success. In this sense, I arrived at the community at an opportune time: I was willing to do the research at no cost to the band. They were, however, concerned that the results of the research be conveyed to them before either government had an opportunity to view them. It is apparent that many studies have been conducted in Easterville since the relocation but that few of these have made their way back to the community. I explained the requirements which I had to meet with regard to my thesis, and that a copy of the research would have to be sent to the Northern Studies Committee and would eventually be placed in the library at the University of Manitoba. They found this acceptable. We also agreed that I would retain control of the data for my personal use, for articles and distribution to other academics and learned institutions.

The next issue on the agenda was to find a place for me to live. It was pointed out to me that the reserve (and, indeed, most northern communities) was experiencing a housing shortage and that many houses were overcrowded. It was suggested that I stay in the teacher's residence, which would be vacant for July and August, after which I would have to work something out with one of the residents.

Overall, it became apparent that I was to receive a great

deal of co-operation from the Chief and councillors, probably because they had a clear idea of the value of the research. In a demonstration of trust which was quite unexpected, they suggested that I examine their files and boxes of documents stored in the back rooms of the band office. Such a privilege I had hoped to be given, but I was planning to wait until I was much more firmly entrenched in the community. This offer was especially significant since it became clear that these files are off-limits to all but a few people, and certainly no government employee was ever allowed to get near them. When I left Easterville for the drive back to Winnipeg, the prospects for the summer looked very good.

I arrived in Easterville again to commence my research at the beginning of July. I was discouraged to discover that I would not be alone in the teacher's residence, but was to share it with two young non-native recreation workers from Winnipeg who were also to spend the summer there. My plea to the band manager for an alternative residence was unsuccessful. I anticipated many problems that could arise from such a living arrangement, least of which was being identified as closely associated with the "white" community. As it turned out, even by the end of the summer, there were some people in the community (those I did not know) who thought that I too was a recreation worker.

The problem of "entering" a community is a difficult one and one in which there are few rules which can be followed.

Mere physical presence does not mean one has "entered". The concept entails the notion of acceptance by the members of the community, or at least a significant number of them. My first week in Easterville was spent walking the streets, frequenting the dock where the fishermen worked, waving and saying hello to whomever I saw. Most people were polite but reserved. It was to my delight when the first resident initiated a conversation with me while I was standing by the dock. This occurred after four tense, frustrating days in the community.

My first major 'break' came on the fifth day when one of the band councillors asked me to drive him and his wife to Grand Rapids (about a two hour return trip). I did not wish to make a habit of taxiing people about, but I felt that this was an opportunity I could not let escape. As a result, I became close friends with the councillor and his family, and was welcomed into his home. Through him I began to make other contacts.

My second 'break' came the next week when a truck driven by a local prominent Metis passed me on the road and asked if I wanted a ride. When I explained to him what my purpose was for being in Easterville, he was very interested. At his own insistence, he introduced me to his nephew (a treaty Indian), who agreed to take me on a moose hunting trip back towards Chemawawin. As it was out of season (for non-treaty people) it was illegal for me to come along, but this did

not worry anyone in the party. Preston (1975) has reported that, among the Eastern Cree, open naivete received no sympathy. Assuming this to be true for the Swampy Cree as well, I attempted to hide my ignorance in the ways of the bush. However, my first ever attempt to fire a shot gun betrayed my true capabilities, much to the delight of the members of the party. Throughout the whole weekend trip my obvious lack of knowledge and experience was the subject of much laughter which, contrary to Preston's experience, served to break down the barriers between myself and the others. My genuine interest in all aspects of the hunt, including my willingness to tramp through the bush and swamp in search of moose, was, to them, admirable. At the end of the weekend trip I had made some good friends.

I felt that I had truly 'entered' the community when, a few days later, I was visited by a couple of the hunters who wanted to take me to a party. I instantly became a member of a rather large peer group comprised of both treaty and Metis people. My association with the members of this group was to grow throughout the summer.

As Easterville is a small community, my presence quickly became a matter of discussion. As I mentioned previously, some community members thought that I was a recreation worker, while others believed I was a government employee. In an attempt to eliminate these false conceptions, I explained my research to as many people as possible. Basically, I explained

that I was a university student who was spending time in the community to talk to the people about life at the "Old Post" and at Easterville. This explanation was readily accepted and I rarely found any need to elaborate. Many people were enthusiastic about my research and pointed out certain individuals in the community who they felt would be ideal informants. Of course not everyone was sympathetic to my research aims. As a result of the relocation and subsequent related events, the community has in the past fifteen years been flooded with researchers, technical experts, and government officials, all of whom asked questions and generally made a nuisance of themselves. For some community members I was just another member of this category and was therefore to be avoided or treated with caution.

It became apparent that the people had, in general, a negative attitude towards researchers. That there had been so many in the community is certainly one reason for this animosity. I would stress, however, that it appears to have been the attitude of previous researchers that fostered this negative stereotype. Many researchers spent little time in the community and associated as little as possible with the people outside of their researcher's role. There appears to have been a natural tendency among these people to gravitate towards the white members of the community for leisure and social activities. This factor, combined with the handicap of being "white" in a native community, led the people to

be suspicious of the researchers. When I entered the community, I was met by the same type of tentative suspicion. However, since the first few weeks were spent, in a sense, doing nothing (i.e., not actively researching as the people had seen it done), many people became more relaxed with my presence. I was careful not to ask too many questions or bother anybody, and I made sure that I was never seen taking notes. More important, however, was my willingness and, indeed, anxiousness, to participate in all aspects of community life. The moose hunting excursion of which I was a member led to many other opportunities. I was asked by many fishermen to accompany them out onto the lake to remove fish from the nets, and most of these invitations were gladly accepted. I was also invited, throughout the summer, to attend many social functions, such as parties and, in one instance, a wedding, and I made a point of attending as many of these as possible. On some occasions a messenger was sent to my house with a request for my attendance at a particular party and, of course, to bring along my guitar (a great aid to any fieldworker). It was this willingness on my part to participate in the activities of the community members that made me a novelty. Being the only "white" at any one of these parties brought me a great deal of attention. My presence was unusual in that the other white members of the community and those in a support capacity from neighbouring towns do not, for the most part, associate with the people in a purely social

context (in fact, many of these individuals thought I was taking a risk by associating so freely with the local people). Because of this, I feel that I was able, eventually, to transcend the role of "researcher" and become simply a "friend". As such, I was expected to adhere to the norms of the community and the peer groups with regards to social activity. This became particularly evident on one occasion when it was made clear that it was my turn to host a social evening.

After the first two weeks, which were spent acquainting myself with the community and its members, I attempted a house-to-house questionnaire survey. The questionnaire consisted of 55 questions designed to elicit information on such areas as social relations, leadership, views of the community, views on the Co-Op, and economic pursuits. From the very beginning the interviews were plagued with problems. Many of the questions appeared to be beyond the comprehension of the informants, despite the fact that the level of English spoken in the community is good. It appeared to me as though the questions were too abstract to be fully understood. Often, after a question was asked, an informant looked puzzling at me, his wife, or the floor. Responses of "I don't know" were the most common. On the open-ended questions, the usual response was silence. If I began to offer examples of possible answers, the informant simply agreed with me. It was a very rare occasion when a response was freely offered.

Not only was data accumulated in this way biased, but so was my sample. Initially, I had proposed to interview the male head in every second house. However, this proved difficult as these individuals were rarely at home. [1.] As many as ten visits were made to some houses without luck, and I am sure that I began to look foolish to some of the people. My luck did not improve when I decided to try every house in an attempt to complete some interviews. In three weeks I managed to secure only fifteen interviews, and the quality of the data was highly suspect. As a result, I terminated the use of the questionnaire.

For most people, doing a questionnaire or being interviewed is generally a nuisance. However, if the quality of the data is good, the researcher can continue to use the instrument despite a certain degree of animosity. In my case, the quality of the data being collected was poor. In addition, other techniques were to be utilized to obtain data, such as through participant-observation and both formal and informal interviews. It was, therefore, necessary <u>not</u> to antagonize the people. In one sense, the use of the questionnaire was clearly offensive to them. Although only one person refused to give an interview, those that did were clearly uncomfortable with it. Lithman (1978) in his study of Fort Alexander, Manitoba, recognized early in his research that he would not meet with much success should he have utilized a door-to-door questionnaire, stating that, "after

a number of manipulated answers, I would probably have been thrown out of the community" (1978:24). Fortunately, my research did not reach this stage. However, it became apparent that I was violating a pattern of visiting which was common to the community members. Visits, I learnt, are very informal affairs and there is very often little verbal communication, especially in the early moments. In this sense, I was clearly obnoxious, barging into a home and showering an individual with questions. I was clearly a "researcher" and thus to be treated with caution. I found, however, that when I put the questionnaire away, the informant often began to talk more freely and a discussion often opened up. I became much more hesitant to use the questionnaire at all. The following passage from my field notes demonstrates that I was on the right track:

> Yesterday I was out with the questionnaire when I ventured upon two men working on their fish-nets. I said hello, mentioned what a nice day it was, to which one of the men replied, "It's too windy to fish on the lake". At this point we launched into a discussion about fishing. After a few minutes, I mentioned that my purpose in Easterville was to do just what I was doing, that is, discuss with the people about the community. They were not offended. Instead, they began to offer more information on fishing that they felt would be of interest to me. The conversation also shifted to Winnipeg (they asked me questions), the Jets, the Blue Bombers etc. For the half hour I was there, maybe 15 minutes were spent discussing topics of potential data to me. Despite this, the session was a tremendous success: I had made two new friends in Easterville. The questionnaire had remained in my clip-board.

After the questionnaire was permanently retired, I continued my house-to-house visiting as much as possible.

On these occasions I asked questions similar to those in the questionnaire but, because discussion often ensued, I was never able to cover all of the topics I wished. These visits rarely lasted more than one hour as I did not wish to be too much of a nuisance, especially with someone I had just met. Because of the time limitations and my desire to meet and talk with as many community members as possible, combined with the difficulty in catching potential informants at home, follow-up interviews were rarely conducted. In a few cases, where an individual demonstrated an extraordinary interest in my research and a willingness to talk, I managed to make a number of return visits. On these occasions, more detail was sought on some of the issues discussed in the earlier meetings. Both the pace and the structure of these sessions were largely determined by the informants rather than myself, and on many occasions they became little more than social visits.

The development of a good relationship with the informants was inhibited to a certain extent by the fact that I was living with the two recreation workers. As part of their job was to work with the young people, our house became the site of many impromptu gatherings. Many of my informants expressed to me their hesitation to return my visits solely because there were always so many other people around the house. In fact, had I been visited, on many occasions there would not have existed a situation of comfortable privacy

for the visitor. This fact was lamentable, but one with which I had to deal. As a result, virtually all interviews were conducted in the homes of the community members.

Conducting any sort of interviews in a native community poses certain problems for a non-native researcher. It was necessary for the purposes of my research to interview certain key members of the community. As I had planned it, these interviews would revolve around a set of both broad and specific questions which were of special relevance to the person being interviewed. During the early stages of my research I visited each of these individuals, explained my reasons for wishing to interview them, and secured a commitment from each for such an interview in the near future. Throughout the summer after this initial contact I began making visits to each individual to arrange appointments. This proved to be very frustrating. The concept of "appointment" has little meaning in Easterville. Appointments were often forgotten, even if they were made for the following day, and I frequently showed up at a house, tape recorder in hand, only to discover that the person had gone away. When it became apparent that I was going to have little success with this method, I began to make "social" calls on these individuals, carrying my tape recorder, in hopes that the individual was home, not busy, and willing to talk. This method was not much more successful. The people were rarely at home, and when they were, they were usually busy. "Busy" often meant watching

television or, in one case, simply enjoying a sunny afternoon. The people were always polite, insisting that we would in fact get together sometime, but that there was no real hurry. They obviously did not share with me the sense of urgency as the days went by. By the time I entered into the final two weeks of research, I had secured very few interviews with these key individuals. It was only upon explaining that I was preparing to leave the community that interviews were successfully completed. However, because of the time restriction, it was impossible to follow up most of these interviews with other sessions.

A major problem which tends to arise in any community research situation is the tendency of the researcher to become affiliated with only one faction in the community. While I was aware of this problem, and aware that factions had in the past existed in Easterville (see Landa 1969), the exact boundaries were yet to be determined. Unfortunately, the nature of factions is such that these boundaries generally become distinct only in conflict situations, either political or physical. As I was to learn, I had actually become a member of two such factions which were in opposition to each other. I was not aware of this, however, until one evening when a small group of friends who were leaving my house were met by a larger group of friends who were coming to visit. Spontaneously a fight was started. There is little question that the comparative young age of these individuals (all were under 25) combined with the fact that both groups

were intoxicated are important factors in explaining the incident. However, the tensions underlying the factional division were clearly obvious. Throughout the summer I witnessed similar incidents among young people on a few occasions. Despite my affiliation with different factions, I managed on most occasions to avoid the conflict.

Another major problem which faces the researcher concerns the issue of credibility; this is especially true of research in a native community. Suspicions that one is working for the government are hard to dispel since virtually all the whites who do enter these communities are in fact government employees. In addition to this problem, I also experienced credibility difficulties in other areas. My relatively young age (24) and marital status (single) made it difficult for some community members, especially those middle-aged or over, to accept me as an equal. In many cases I was as old or even younger than many of the children of the people whom I wished to establish rapport with. As such, my conduct was in certain respects a violation of norms governing inter-generational relations. In some cases where I was able to establish a good relationship with an individual or family, I was exempted from these norms and treated as an "adult". This too created certain problems, especially when I was allowed or encouraged to adopt certain behavior in the presence of individuals of my age bracket who were restricted from this same behavior. It became very uncomfortable for me

to accept a beer in a house where the adult children were not allowed to drink. This type of double bind presented a dilemma. As a guest, I was expected to accept the hospitality of the host or risk offending him, but to accept it often antagonized other family members with whom it was also advisable to remain on good terms. There is a fairly widespread resentment of whites among the young people of Easterville, and I found it necessary to be constantly on my guard to avoid fostering this feeling. At this I was not entirely successful and was in fact involved in a few violent incidences. These were not the product of any specific misdemeanor on my part, but rather the product of my "whiteness" and young age. For many of the young people I was clearly a contemporary and therefore not deserving of the respect shown those who are older.

In any small community one invariably becomes caught up in the web of gossip that blankets the community, and in this respect it did not take long for my name to surface in Easterville. I would not have worried about this under most circumstances, having, as everyone has, been involved in gossip as both the subject and as a communicator. However, in Easterville the gossip is particularly harsh, very similar to that Balikci (1968) noticed among the Vunta Kutchin. Such gossip, by virtue of its being known, is considered as fact and can be very harmful to one's image and, in my case, ability to conduct research. The most popular form

of gossip of which I was the subject had to do with my liasons with many young girls in the community. In fact, according to the gossip, I had so many liasons that it's a wonder that I ever got any research done! As I mentioned previously, quite often there were a number of young people at the house in which I was staying. This fact, combined with my desire to be friendly with whomever I met, may have fostered these rumours.

Gathering data through the use of participant-observation requires a great deal of discipline on the part of the researcher. It is difficult to maintain one's research perspective as one becomes more and more involved in the community. I began my stay in Easterville as an observer, waiting for the "breaks" that would open up areas for participation. As the summer continued, I found myself becoming more and more involved in activities at the expense of data collection. While data could be collected through these activities, many of these were repetitive and of marginal importance to my research aims. Parties are a good example. There were many parties throughout the summer and, at the outset, I attended as many as possible. This was done to get myself known, make contacts, and generally to get people to feel comfortable with my presence. To this end I was successful, and my interviews with people whom I had met at a party were among the most beneficial. However, I arrived at a point where participation in these events

was no longer important for purely research purposes. It became evident that I was locked into a cycle which was difficult to break. I found it nearly impossible to refuse an invitation to a party as the people were generally very insistent and, of course, I did not wish to alienate them. While I certainly enjoyed myself on these occasions, it gradually became apparent that I had transcended that fine line between "observer" and "participant". This was not only true of parties, as there were other activities in which I participated where I found myself failing to observe objectively and collect data. This period of almost total participation was temporary, however, and the impending conclusion of the research period served to reorient my research procedures.

The anthropologist can, of course, receive a great deal of satisfaction through participation in certain community activities, especially if such action serves to help the community or solve a problem. Such was my experience towards the end of my stay in Easterville. I was approached by the Band Chief to assist the fishermen in their upcoming negotiations with the provincial government concerning fishing quotas and related problems. The Chief expressed to me his concern that the government representatives might try to deceive the fishermen or that their presentation might be so technical as to be beyond their comprehension. I was asked to sit in on the meetings, which were held in the

community hall, in the formal capacity of 'secretary'. In addition to taking the minutes I was to pose any questions that I felt relevant as well as to help explain the position of the Easterville fishermen to the government representatives. Finally, I was asked to write up a series of resolutions to be presented to the government on behalf of the Easterville Fisherman's Co-Op. I was able to learn a great deal through this participation, but the experience was most rewarding in knowing I was accepted and trusted by the fishermen in an area of grave concern to them. Many of those who had had reservations about me became more open and friendly. It is most unfortunate that I did not have more time to develop these friendships.

In retrospect, while I made some enemies in Easterville through mere presence, I made many more friends than I had expected. For the most part the people were open and honest once they were assured of my sincerity. I found their company enjoyable and their hospitality a pleasure. Despite their being unsure as to the exact nature of my research, many were helpful in offering suggestions, advice, and information. If anything, I learned from the experience that it is possible to do successful research in a native community despite certain handicaps. However, the key to success is to conduct such research on their terms, following their norms and adhering to their expectations. The collection of data is slower, but the rewards are greater.

Footnote

1. I am not alone in my frustration at the attempt to administer a questionnaire in Easterville. A study undertaken by D.A. Darby in 1977 for the Manitoba Department of Renewable Resources and Transportation Services concerning wildlife consumption and use met with almost identical problems (Darby 1978).

CHAPTER III

CHEMAWAWIN: THE "OLD POST"

The community of Chemawawin was located at the west end of Cedar Lake at the Saskatchewan River. This location is approximately fifty-five miles south-east of The Pas (Keeper 1963:1) and approximately 32 miles north-west of the new townsite of Easterville.

The history of the community of Chemawawin is fairly recent. A group of people were living there in 1876 when Thomas Howard passed by on his way up the Saskatchewan River to The Pas to conclude a treaty with the Indians there. It is apparent that the people at Chemawawin were actually members of the Moose Lake Band (about twenty miles north-east of Chemawawin) who had only recently moved to the new location. Howard states

> ... I reached Cedar Lake. This lake is about thirty-five miles in length and is very shallow and dangerous in stormy weather. I was fortunate enough to have very calm weather, and, therefore, crossed it without any delay and entered the Saskatchewan again at the Che-ma-wa-win, or "Seining place", early on Saturday morning, September 2nd. Noticing a large encampment of Indians there, I landed and found they were part of the Moose Lake Band. They desired that I should treat with them where they were, and not bring them to The Pas, but upon my telling them that I could only treat with them at the appointed place of meeting, they readily assented to follow me up, and having given them some provisions to take them there, and secured the services of one of them to act as guide, I again started on my journey (Morris 1880:161).

When Howard and the Indians reached The Pas, he attempted to force them to take treaty as part of the Moose Lake Band.

He continues his narrative:

> I found that The Pas and Cumberland bands of Indians had acknowledged chiefs, but that the Moose Lake Band had none, owing to a division amongst them. It appeared that the Indians from the Che-ma-wa-win desired to be a distinct band and have their reserves where I had seen them at the entrance of the river from Cedar Lake; but noticing, on my way up, the unfitness of the locality for a reserve, and having learned that at Moose Lake, where part of the band desired to live, a most suitable locality could be had, I had decided before meeting them upon the course I should take, which was, not to encourage the division in the band, and allow only one Chief; and this I did, and succeeded without much trouble, in getting the band to unite (Morris 1880:162).

We can speculate that the Chemawawin people, after concluding Treaty Number Five as part of the Moose Lake Band, returned immediately to their homes at the "seining place". This fact was of some concern to the Lieutenant-Governor, Alexander Morris, who clearly recognized that the division in the band was real and had to be dealt with accordingly. He stated in a letter to Thomas Howard that the "Moose Lake Indians ... will probably desire the recognition of two separate Chiefs and the allotment of separate reserves to them" (Morris 1880:165). At a later, undetermined date, the settlement at Chemawawin was granted reserve status.

A rough estimate of the original population of Chemawawin can be made. According to the terms of Treaty No. 5, between 100 and 160 acres of reserve land were granted to each family of five (Morris 1880:145). It is apparent that the initial grant of land to the people of Chemawawin was approximately 3,011 acres (Geographic Board of Canada 1912:521). Using the

lower figure of 100 acres per family, we can calculate that there were about 30 five member families, or 150 people (not including the small Metis population). This of course is but a rough estimate, but nevertheless indicates that a sizable settlement was in existence in 1876 when the treaty was signed.

The reserve at Chemawawin had been expanded from this initial 3011 acres to approximately 5813 acres by the time of the relocation. The reserve was divided into five blocks, lettered A,B,C,D, and G, though the majority of the reserve population was settled in Block "A" (Keeper 1963:1). A small Metis population resided, at the time of the relocation, on a small island on the north side of the river and on the north shore across from the reserve.

Community Setting

Since most of the settlement of Chemawawin is now under water, it is difficult to accurately describe its physical structure. However, I was able to view numerous photographs of the community as well as visit the site. Landa (1969) also presents a brief description of the community.

The community was situated on a peninsula at the confluence of the Saskatchewan River and Cedar Lake. It is an aesthetically pleasing area, covered with thick soil and grasses and with heavy forest cover, predominantly spruce and pine. This cover is so thick that it is difficult, when standing at one structure, such as a house, to see any other

structure. It is clear from the housing remains that the majority of the houses were in fact hidden from view from each other. My informants indicate that members of the same kin group generally lived in the same area, though exceptions were not uncommon. Well-worn paths are still visible and provide a form of road-map whereby it is possible to locate the various structures still standing.

Despite the fact that the population was not that large, the community itself appeared to extend over a large area, demonstrating an uninhibited growth pattern. From what was once the "centre" of the settlement, one can see houses on a high point well over a mile away. Because the community was so spread out, two schools were constructed, about 2 1/2 miles apart, one at each end of the community. Still, some informants could recall having to walk up to two miles each day to attend classes.

The centre of the settlement was the complex owned and operated by the free trader. Over the years he had constructed a surprisingly large number of buildings which were used for a variety of purposes. In addition to those used for his economic ventures, to be discussed shortly, he also had a community hall and teacherage. It was here that the small Euro-Canadian community was situated, in structures provided by the trader. About a quarter mile away was the Anglican Church and the fish shed and ice house owned by Booth Fisheries. Just to the north of this area was the community's

cemetery, which is now underwater.

The mainland part of the community was accupied mostly by the Treaty Indians and was that part of the community designated as "reserve". As such, it was not legally acceptable for the non-treaty and Metis people to reside there, though a few in fact did. For the most part, these people "commuted" from their island by boat (in summer) or by foot (in winter) to utilize the services and opportunities of the mainland. The island is now submerged.

The houses were of various types, though primarily constructed of logs or planks. None of the houses had electricity; pot-belly wood-burning stoves were used for heat and cooking, and oil lamps for light. There were no roads in the community, and therefore no automobiles. The houses were connected by a series of paths which weaved throughout the bush.

Population

According to Keeper (1963), at the time of relocation there were approximately 352 people living in Chemawawin. This would include 244 treaty Indians, 100 Metis, and 8 whites. Examining the figure for the treaty population only, we can see that the approximate increase in population since the settlement was granted reserve status to 1963 was only 94 people, a growth rate of less than one percent per annum. However, between 1958 and 1963 the population actually increased at a rate of between five and six percent, as opposed to the

national average of three percent per annum. This would indicate that the population began to grow at a faster rate in the years prior to the relocation.

Examining further the figures presented by Keeper (1963:2), we can see that the total popalation breakdown according to age was as follows:

Under 6	85	25%
6 to 16	88	26%
17 to 21	36	10%
22 to 65	122	35%
65 & over	13	4%

The population demonstrates almost an equal split between those under age 16 (51%) and those over age 16 (49%). The potential labour force, those males between the ages of 21 and 65, numbered between 60 and 70 men (Keeper 1963:2).

Economic Life

The economic life of the people of Chemawawin was intimately tied to the rich natural resources of the area. Cedar Lake was utilized both for fishing and for transportation. The Summerberry Marsh, located adjacent to the community, was described by an Indian Affairs employee in 1955 as "the best duck and moose hunting area in the north". The Summerberry was also very rich in muskrat and other fur species. The area surrounding the settlement also provided opportunities for the exploitation of forest resources, berries, and seneca root. Finally, the good soil in the settlement

itself allowed the people to grow many types of vegetables in their gardens.

In discussing the economic life of the people of Chemawawin, we must first and foremost discuss the role of the free trader. Not only did he control, and in fact monopolize, the economy, he also had a great deal of control over other aspects of community life, as the remainder of this chapter shall demonstrate.

The free trader first entered the community about 1941 when the Hudson Bay Company vacated their operation. For some years prior to this, he had been involved in transporting the fish from the community to The Pas for sale. According to the trader,

> They [H.B.Co.] were too much in the books. So I decided that I would try it. I went over there while they were trapping and made a few bucks. So why can't I come down here to stay? I asked the chief for permission. The Indian agent wanted a store there. I started with nothing, building up. All of a sudden, they give me a five-year lease. So I built a house. The whole thing took a long time.

The "whole thing" as it turns out is an amazing economic complex on a proportion quite uncharacteristic of the type of community in which it was located. Every possible resource was exploited under the traders direction to the benefit of both himself and the people of the community. He was the all important middle-man between the people and the larger economic system with which they had little contact or understanding. Through this monopoly, over the 23 years he was

in the community, he slowly accumulated and constructed such things that made him the focus of the community.

Central to his operation was the general store, which sold the wide variety of items usually found in such establishments. Goods such as hardware, medicines, and dry goods were sold. "Luxury" items, such as cigarettes and toys, were offered for sale on special occasions only. It was not necessary, however, to sell fresh produce or meat as these were readily available to the people from the natural resources in the area. He had a sawmill which contained a trimmer and an edger, a fish shed and ice house, a blacksmith shop, and a flour shed. He had a light plant with a generator which supplied electricity to the store, the dance hall, the school room, and the house occupied by the Community Development Officer, all of which he owned. He had two "caterpillar" tractors and a shed to store them in, plus a shed for the storage of gasoline barrels. He owned five "bombardier" snow machines, and had a shed to store them in. He also owned a large steel boat and a 60 foot barge. Finally, he was in sole possession of the only two-way radio in the community, and therefore all contactswith the "outside world" went through him. His operation grew so large that he had to hire a man to work in a warehouse in The Pas to handle the affairs at that end.

The people of Chemawawin were kept fairly busy throughout the year in one form of economic pursuit or another. As the

trader mentioned to me, "we always had something when there was nothing to do". During the winter season, after freeze-up, the main economic pursuit was fishing, with some trapping and logging. In the spring, before break-up, trapping in the Summerberry became the dominant activity. For the last fifteen years previous to the relocation, a small-scale fishery was operated during the summer by the independent Booth Fisheries. The fall was primarily moose and duck hunting season, though hunting did occur year round. Trapping in the Summerberry was also common. Whenever there was a long gap between economic pursuits, the trader would start up the saw mill. He also purchased berries and seneca root from the people.

Fishing for individual consumption and commercial sale was the most important facet of the Chemawawin economy. Almost every family had at least one net to be used for domestic fishing year round. The commercial fishery naturally required more nets, plus boats and motors for the summer operation. Generally, small boats (maximum 16 feet) and small motors (5 horsepower) were all that were required since the fishing was done close to the community. During the winter, about 35 men would be involved in fishing, selling their catch to the trader who in turn transported it to The Pas for resale. During the summer, the commercial fishery utilized its own barges to transport the fish. The highest priced species caught were pickerel and whitefish, though all

species were valued by the pound. Keeper (1963:7) estimates that the average income per fisherman in 1962 was about $1300, which was more than double the income from 1959. The total from fishing brought into the community was $88,419, based on a rate of 15 cents per pound. The total catch was 589,465 pounds of limit fish (pickerel and whitefish). According to a study conducted by the Department of Indian Affairs in 1955, the domestic value of the fish caught for personal consumption was approximately $19,000. [1.]

The trapping of muskrat in the Summerberry Marsh was also an important source of income for the people of Chemawawin. According to the free trader, "Everyone of them were trappers. The kids and everyone would go out and catch a rat". Women were also involved in trapping, though more often their task was the cleaning and stretching of the pelts. The pelts were usually sold to the trader, who paid between $1.00 and $1.50 per pelt. His rates were occasionally questioned however, and periodically a trapper would take his furs directly to The Pas to test the market himself. However, on many occasions, the fur was brought back because the trader was paying the higher price. The trader himself was actively involved in the enterprise:

> We'd send out about 70 men to get their rat quota That was the big thing then in the spring. I'd outfit them, get them already to go, then take them out in the bombardier and the sleigh.

In addition to the 70 or so trappers from Chemawawin, an

additional 120 or so trappers from Grand Rapids, Moose Lake, Norway House, and Cross Lake also converged on the area: "It was just like a little town". The trader retained ownership of all the trapping equipment and rented it out to the trappers at a rate of $2.00 per dozen for the season. He also rented the stretchers used for stretching and drying the skins.

The prime muskrat season was the spring, before the break-up of the ice. Keeper (1963:6) estimates that there were as many as 70 trappers in the spring as opposed to as few as 15 in the fall. The 1955 I.A.B. report mentioned earlier indicates that for that year, 43 trappers worked the marsh in the spring. There seems to have been a steady increase in the numbers of trappers between 1955 and 1962. Table VI presents the income from trapping for the years 1955 and 1959 to 1962. These figures were compiled in somewhat different manners and as such should be viewed as rough estimates only. It is interesting to note the great drop in fur returns between 1955 and 1959. Unfortunately, Keeper (1963) does not explain why there was no spring trapping in the Summerberry in 1960, without question the most lucrative trapping period.

Whenever there was a lull in the economic cycle of the community, the trader often started up his sawmill and lumber operation. Other than a Euro-Canadian sawyer, the rest of the labour force consisted of local residents. It appears as though this operation was at least partially the product of

the benevolent spirit of the trader and was not as profitable for him as other aspects of his operation. He states:

> They wanted to work. I always found something, even cordwood. See, I used to cut 200 cords of wood at a time, but didn't know what to do with it. So I'd take some up to The Pas. I could only fit 20 cords in the barge at a time, so I never made much money.

He continues:

> After the trapping is over, they're alright for a couple of weeks. Then they get restless. They want to do something. Okay. I'd start up the mill. We'd saw maybe 200,000 feet. Just to keep them going ... The lumber came in as we needed it. My idea was to keep operating for years and years. If I took all the lumber out in two or three years, that would be the end of it.

When news of the relocation and construction of the dam at Grand Rapids reached the community, the trader was caught with an extremely large stock-pile of lumber and was forced to reduce his price and sell it to the construction company who were building the dam.

In addition to lumber, the trader also manufactured fish boxes necessary for the transportation of the fish to The Pas. The timber was cut at a location about five miles from the settlement and hauled to the mill by tractor. Wages generally ran in the neighbourhood of five to six dollars per eight-hour day. Keepr (1963:7) states that the yearly payroll for the lumber operation in 1962 was about $30,000.

Seneca root was harvested to a certain extent by the people of Chemawawin. Quite often an entire family would go out to dig the root for periods ranging up to one month.

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The root was sold to the trader at varying prices depending on market conditions, bringing between $650 and $2,600 in total each year into the community. According to the Indian Affairs report, in 1955, 13 family heads reported earnings from seneca root averaging $195.00. However, Keeper (1963) states that harvesting of the root had declined in the years just prior to the relocation as a result of unusually high fish prices. The harvesting of the root, then, was primarily a secondary industry to be utilized when other economic pursuits were less favourable. It made little difference to the trader, however, who merely stored it until prices rose, then sold it.

There is little question that the most enjoyable economic pursuit was hunting, which was done year round as required. The most significant sources of meat were moose and duck, though deer and geese were also hunted. The hunters had only to travel a short distance, about five miles or so, usually up the Saskatchewan River, to be in prime hunting territory. It was very easy to shoot moose; the Indian Affairs report in 1955 estimated there were 2000 moose in the area. During the summer and fall, the men would travel up the river in small parties in their boats. In the winter, they often hitched a ride with the trader:

> When I used to take the fish up The Pas, I'd drop off three hunters. I'd come through again after supper, and they'd have three moose. We'd throw them on the sled.

Of course, with the moose came moose hides, and at one point,

the trader lamented, he had over one thousand pair of mocassins which had been made by the women for him to sell.

It is always difficult to place a value on the meat obtained by hunting for family consumption. As the Indian Affairs report indicates, there were a few exceptional hunters who shared their catch with many other families. This general pattern of sharing, especially of moose meat, was the norm in the settlement. The report estimates that the total amount obtained through subsistence hunting was about $42,000 in 1955, or about $885 per family. There was enough meat secured in this manner to feed the population and it was not necessary for the people to buy meat through the trader.

There was some casual work in Chemawawin, though it appears as though there were no full-time jobs. Keeper (1963) states that most of the casual labour was in the various operations of the free trader, such as cutting fuelwood, working at the mill or the store, and general handyman-type chores. Approximately $10,700 was earned by Chemawawin residents in this fashion in 1962. Other casual work involved working for the Games Branch during the trapping season, working for the summer commercial fishing operation, and forest fire fighting. The demand for this type of work fluctuated over the years as economic or natural factors dictated. The work was, for the most part, of short duration and hence utilized to fill in the gaps in the employment calendar of the residents. It would appear as though many

of these casual jobs, especially those offered by the trader, were generally monopolized by the chief and members of his family, to the relative exclusion of others. The total approximate income for these sources of casual labour for 1962 was $30,000 (Keeper 1963).

Berry picking was fairly common activity for the women and the elderly. Although usually for domestic consumption, occasionally the trader purchased the berries to be sold in The Pas. The good soil in the settlement allowed most families to have gardens in which they grew potatoes, corn, and carrots. Pigs, chickens and cattle were owned by a few families, but such ownership was not extensive, and the number of such animals appears to have declined towards the date of relocation. Horses and dogs were common and were used as beasts of burden for various tasks about community as well as for transportation.

The trader at Chemawawin was a genuine entrepreneur in the widest possible sense. As Keeper (1963:11) wrote,

> The economic pivot of the community for the last twenty years has been the trader .... Through him the people have been able to exploit all the possible natural resources in the area ....it would appear that he has made the natural resources work for him and the people.

While he did exploit the natural resources of the area, it does not appear as if he exploited the people. Both the Indian Superintendent and the Community Development Officer were satisfied that his method of operation was fair. The

trader himself informed me,

> I wasn't there to beat them. I was there to make a buck alright. I always said that. But I wasn't there to beat them. My prices were cheaper than The Pas. Sure I made money, but I worked hard.

It is apparent from the complexity of his operation that many long hours were involved. Despite the enormous amount of work, according to Keeper (1963:12), the trader never established a local resident in a place of responsibility in his organization. He preferred to have total control over all aspects. In addition to serving his own ends, however, the trader felt that he was serving an important function in the community:

> I was creating work for the Indians. I never had an Indian on relief. If he was capable to work, I gave him a job. A government man would come in, and an Indian would say, "I've got to have some relief". So he'd say, "Okay, I'll look into it", and he'd come and see me. He'd say, "This man wants some relief", and I'd say, "No no, tell him to come see me, and I'll give him a job". After he was gone, the fellow would come and see me and I'd put him to work. I could always fit in one more.

That there was a low incidence of welfare recipiency in Chemawawin is, of course, not entirely the product of the trader's activities, though it is clear that his operation allowed the residents to utilize virtually all of the marketable resources in the area. In Keeper's (1963:3) report, he states that the only people who received welfare on a permanent basis were families in which the head was either disabled, deceased, or had deserted. Keeper (1963:3) estimates that a total of $15,000 in welfare was paid yearly

to the people. Adding old age pensions, family allowances and disability allowances, the total payment by the government was about $41,876.

Keeper (1963:10) calculated the approximate income of the members of the community for 1962, including the value of food for consumption derived from natural resources in the area. He estimates the minimum income to be about $2834 per family, or a per capita income of $560, and the maximum income to be about $4038, or a per capita income of about $798. The reader should not be mislead by these figures, however, as they do not represent a cash income. Money was, in fact, a rare commodity among the people of Chemawawin. Since virtually all transactions were channelled through the trader, there was not a great deal of cash exchange. The cash value of the natural resources obtained for sale was usually balanced against a previous debt, and any that remained was often placed in credit. Those who worked for wages often used the money to pay off debts incurred at the store as well. Any cash that was on hand was inevitably spent at the store. The trader's credit policy effectively eliminated the need for cash in the community.

Overall, the trader's operation at Chemawawin proved lucrative. As he told me, "It was a money-maker all the time". It would appear that, from my interviews with the people of Easterville, his operation was deemed fair by most (even though the people voted against him in a referendum

just prior to the move; the unusual conditions of the this vote will be discussed in the next chapter). Certainly one of the major reasons for their satisfaction was the trader's apparently liberal credit policy. However, it was a rare occasion that he allowed any individual to become so far in debt that repayment was impossible. In fact, when the community was relocated, not one individual owed him money. The relationship between the trader and the people in the economic sphere was intimate, but his influence extended beyond the parameters of economic life, as I shall demonstrate.

Social and Political Structure

There were a number of major divisions within the community of Chemawawin that can be delineated. First and foremost was the division between the treaty Indians and the Metis and non-treaty Indians. As I stated earlier, most of the latter lived on an island in the channel across from the reserve settlement. The major difference between these two groups was, of course, the "status" or "treaty" distinction of the registered treaty Indians. As such, they were the responsibility of the federal government from whom they received the little economic support they required. More important, however, was the fact that it was illegal for the Metis to live on the reserve. As a result, they were forced to travel back and forth between their homes and the schools, stores, and other services. Similarly, they were not allowed to hunt year round as the treaty Indians were, and could only hunt during the respective seasons, adhering to license and

quota restrictions. As a result, the lifestyle led by the Metis may have been somewhat less lucrative than that of the treaty Indians. However, it must be pointed out that the relative isolation of the community, combined with the fact that provincial and federal services were not greatly developed, served more to integrate the whole community rather than differentiate it. While the distinction between status and non-status was recognized by the people themselves, it does not appear that it was an important one. Some Metis did in fact live on the reserve, and many hunted year-round with the treaty Indians. Socially, there was a great deal of interaction between the two groups. Inter-marriage was not uncommon, and social excursions between the island and the mainland were frequent. In fact, the island did have a few social advantages over the reserve: drinking and gambling were both allowed (although it appears that neither method of leisure were abused).

Politically, the band had its own council, consisting of an elected chief and two councillors. According to Keeper (1963), the band council was not too active prior to the negotiations with the Forebay Committee. Their function was primarily that of liason between the Indian Affairs department and the band members. The Metis apparently had a headman and two councillors, but their role was even more amorphic than that of the band council. They had no power and were not a legal entity. When the Forebay negotiations

commenced it became apparent that these councillors did not really represent the people, leading one Committee member to lament that there appeared to be no organization at all. Certainly neither the band council nor the Metis council had the experience in dealing with government officials and in making the important decisions which were to be required of them during the relocation negotiations.

The fact is that there was little need for strong leadership in Chemawawin. The community was largely self-sufficient, and the trader handled most of the contacts with the outside world. The leadership role of the trader cannot be underestimated. He was at once the trader, doctor, radio operator, "boss", welfare officer, source of transportation, and so on. Important community decisions were often made in consultation with him, and it is apparent that he was successful in guiding community policy. He also had a fairly effective control over the social life of the community, either passively discouraging activity or else authoritatively prohibiting it. To his own recollection, the people almost always did as he asked.

In at least one sense, the Chemawawin community was socially stratified. The chief at the time of the relocation, and for many years prior to that, had developed a very strong relationship with the trader. In fact, he was the only member of the community that the trader allowed to visit him at home. Contact with others was done at the store or in the

hall. Recognizing the status of the trader in the community, it is understandable that this privilege granted the chief afforded him great prestige. As a result of this relationship, the chief and his family, primarily his sons, were given the most lucrative jobs within the traders' operation. Landa (1969) has accurately described this as a "technological elite". This family held a virtual monopoly on the machinist and carpentry jobs, were often the foremen on the various operations of the trader, and usually received the training in the operation of heavy equipment. As a result, the income of these individuals was consistently high and they rarely found themselves out of work. There existed two other major kinship groups in Chemawawin, but these were not to come to the fore until after the relocation when the absence of the trader eroded the power base of the chief's family.

Health

There is some evidence that the health of the people of Chemawawin was quite good, and certainly better than in the new community of Easterville. The people were highly active and mobile due to the great distances between areas of the settlement, and most transportation within the community was by foot. Similarly, the wide variety of economic pursuits allowed for a substantial amount of exercise for both males and females. There was no problem with sanitation as pit toilets and garbage pits were utilized by the residents. Water was drawn from the lake which, at that time, was

relatively clean. A nurse's aid station existed, and a member of the community served in this capacity in the few years prior to relocation. There was no registered nurse stationed in the community. Before the nurse's aid was trained, the trader acted as the doctor. He usually had a good stock of basic medicines on hand and, when called upon, dispensed them. Using a two-way radio, he would contact a doctor in The Pas who would advise him as to the type of medicine and the dose. If the case were serious, a plane would be sent to pick up the patient. If the case were less serious, the trader often brought the patients with him on one of his trips to The Pas. A doctor or nurse would visit the community once or twice a month to deal with any illnesses. Fortunately, health records were kept for each person in the community. While I was not given access to these confidential records, I was informed by the nurse in Easterville that the records do indicate a rapid decline in the health of the people after the relocation, despite an improvement in health care. Obesity and diabetes were virtually unknown in Chemawawin, and there were few if any problems related to sanitation problems. The great abundance of fresh meat and produce was no doubt one factor contributing to the good health of the people.

Education

As Keeper (1963:4) has indicated, educational standards in Chemawawin were low. The average number of years of

school was approximately 4.9 for the adults surveyed. In 1962, there were about 70 students enrolled in grades ranging from "beginners" to grade seven. In 1963, grade eight was added. However, only a few years earlier, the school was only able to offer up to grade four, and after that, if a student wished to continue his education, he was sent out of the community to a residential school. The vast majority quit school after grade four rather than leave.

As I mentioned earlier, there were two schools in Chemawawin, one at each end of the community, both operated by the Anglican Church. There appears to have been no regulation governing who went there, but apparently the majority of the Metis children attended the same school. The schools were owned by the trader, who rented them to the government. Education was very basic, as one of the teachers explained:

> When I arrived on the scene, I don't think they had ever written exams. They didn't know what exams were. They hadn't taken too much science. It was mostly the three R's.

The students demonstrated a certain amount of enthusiasm for learning, but there were some inhibiting factors. Children were often needed at home to help with the chores. Frequently, entire families moved out into the bush for long periods of time to trap or dig seneca root. Attendance was, therefore, sporadic. And, of course, there was no real need at that time for an education. Contacts with members of the larger

society were rare and of short duration, and the trader generally handled the complex area of running the economy of the community. According to the same teacher,

> The life they had at the Old Post, it was so beautiful, so good. I would never have said to them that they needed an education.

The lack of general education, especially among adults, and especially concerning their knowledge of English and the complicated political processes of government, became painfully obvious when the negotiations for the surrender of their land commenced.

Social Life

Social life in Chemawawin was largely self-contained in that activities were pursued in the relative absence of elements of the larger society. The people were not confined to the community, however, and some degree of travel did occur. Visits to Moose Lake to visit friends and relatives were not uncommon. Trips to The Pas, in contrast, were mostly for different purposes. The Pas was the nearest commercial centre to Chemawawin and occasionally some trappers would travel up the Saskatchewan River to see if the merchants in The Pas would offer them a better price than that offered by the trader. Trips were also undertaken occasionally to purchase large quantities of basic items, such as flour, tea, and sugar. The Pas also offered a wide variety of drinking establishments and other entertainment facilities. These trips were expensive, however, and there was never enough cash

on hand for community members to make frequent trips. Once or twice a year was about the average number of times these trips were undertaken, though it is apparent that most of the residents rarely if ever left the community.

Social life in Chemawawin was intense, as could be expected in such a small settlement. According to one Euro-Canadian informant who spent some time at Chemawawin,

> If a male child had a birthday, then all the men went out hunting and they'd get a moose or deer. Then they would have a feast. I can remember going to one of these homes for a feast and it was so elaborate. The cakes were decorated so beautiful. Same with the weddings. They had the table set up so nice.

For recreation there were a wide variety of activities. In the winter, skating and hockey occurred on the frozen river and, later, at an outdoor rink constructed by the trader. Baseball and football were also favorite past-times. These activities were participated in by the adult members of the community as well as the youngsters. As one middle-aged informant told me,

> Every evening out in the field, people even my age, played ball, baseball, football, soccer. Lots of fun. Every evening. The field...nice place ... green grass ... no rocks ... Boy, nice place ... Here [Easterville] you don't see that. No, we don't have that here.

The trader operated a movie enterprise in the community hall which was a favorite source of entertainment:

> I had the picture show. Friday and Saturday. On Friday, if they were working for me, everybody got three dollars to go to the show. And all we had to show there was cowboys. If we showed anything else they wouldn't come. It had to be a western. But if you got something with a square dance, boy they'd come. We'd show movies twice, and they'd all come back. That show paid for itself quite a few times. I built a hall for the show.

The hall was also utilized by the community members for dances and celebrations on special occasions, such as weddings or at Christmas. The people loved dancing so much at these affairs that they would frequently jig themselves into exhaustion by dancing until sun-up, much to the consternation of the trader, who found them economically unproductive after such sessions. For this reason, if an affair was planned during an important period of the economic calendar, he frequently denied them the use of the hall. At these dances, music was provided by an array of local talented guitarists and fiddlers.

There does not appear to have been any problem with alcohol in Chemawawin. This is due to a number of factors. First, the reserve was "dry", making it illegal for alcoholic beverages to be brought in. Second, the long distance to The Pas and the associated expense prohibited trips solely for the procurement of alcohol. Third, the trader appears to have wielded a great deal of power over the people and was able to prevent the brewing of "moose milk" to a great extent. When word spread throughout the community that someone was importing the ingredients for this brew, the trader frequently called in the police or else confiscated the material himself. The latter was the preferred course of action. He expressed surprise to me that the people allowed him to do this since he had no legal authority whatsoever. His motive was primarily economic: drunken or alcoholic workers were of little use to him. But he also realized the problems which

excessive alcohol use could cause, and attempted to shield the people from these. In many cases, when he called in the police, it was he who had to pay the fine for the offender. My informants indicate that the trader was only partially successful in limiting alcohol use and that some brewing of "moose milk" was successful. However, they all agree that alcohol consumption was rare and usually of short duration. Drinking was more mischievous than it was a social problem. Finally, we must entertain the notion that there was no great driving force which guided the people to alcohol consumption in excess. Despite the apparent difficulties in obtaining alcohol or brewing it at home, I do not feel that these alone can account for the relative sobriety of the people. Alcohol could be obtained if the people really wanted it. Therefore, we must assume that there did not exist those conditions which are apt to produce alcohol abuse. In other words, the people were happy and content with their lives.

The incidence of crime and juvenile delinquency was apparently quite low at Chemawawin. None of the houses had door locks as none were needed. Theft was extremely rare, and was usually only in the form of "borrowing" followed by a misunderstanding. Even the trader felt comfortable to leave his operation vulnerable:

> When I was there, there was no trouble at all. I could leave my door open and go and eat and come back. Nobody would disturb anything. They'd just sit down and wait for me. They were always good people when I was with them. There was no trouble at all.

The community nurse has indicated to me that many of the assault victims she treats claim that there was no such physical abuse at Chemawawin. There appears to have been no problem with the young people either, and most informants could not recall any experiences of delinquency. In fact, many examples were cited where young children demonstrated surprising maturity and honesty in various activities.

Religious Life

Religion was taken very seriously by the people of Chemawawin. The vast majority of the population were Anglican, about 81% of the total, while the remainder were Roman Catholic. Roman Catholics were slightly more prevalent among the Metis than among the treaty Indians, but for both groups the Anglican faith was predominant. There was only one church in Chemawawin, a beautiful structure built by the Anglican Church, which still stands to this day. There was no resident priest in the community, though one did make periodic visits. There was a strong local initiative to conduct services during these absences by the people themselves. The church service was an event to which the large majority of the congregation attended. Since the Anglican and Roman Catholic priests usually visited the community at different times, members of both congregations usually attended each service regardless of the priest conducting it. In this sense, there was no sharp religious division in the community.

The Euro-Canadian Community

The Euro-Canadian community at Chemawawin was very small and was located proximate to the traders' operation. The remarkable aspect of this community was its stability. Many northern communities experience a constant fluctuation in the Euro-Canadian community as people arrive and stay for a year or two, then move on. This was not the case at Chemawawin. The trader had, by the time of relocation, been in the community for twenty-three years. Joining him were his wife and two young children. There were two teachers in the community, both of whom had been there for some time. A community development officer, a Metis from another northern community, was stationed there in 1961 to help prepare the people for the relocation, and as such was a stabilizing influence. In total, by the time of relocation, the Euro-Canadian community numbered only twelve persons, seven of whom were adults.

The "Old Post"

It is unfortunate that no ethnographic study was undertaken in Chemawawin prior to the relocation. Consequently, it is difficult to assess the degree to which life there was "traditional". The lack of modern conveniences, such as electricity and automobiles, combined with the relative lack of contact with the larger society would tend to support the argument that, if not traditional, at least life in the community had experienced little change since its formation

in the 1870's. Naturally, the effects of the fur trade and the settlement on the reserve had altered life significantly from that of pre-contact times. Similarly, the overwhelming dominance of the free trader and his enterprise would seem to indicate that, at least economically, a certain amount of change had occurred. However, the trader was there for a long time, and his operation developed slowly, leading me to suggest that change in even the economic sphere was also relatively slow. Keeper (1963) indicates that, at the time of the relocation, the people were still oriented to the "old way of life". By this I would suspect he means certain economic pursuits, such as hunting and trapping. While the changes the people had experienced since their first contact with the Europeans were no doubt significant, it is quite clear that a system of values, beliefs and, hence, culture, existed in Chemawawin that was different from that of the larger society. This fact will become most obvious in a later chapter where the changes in the lives of the people as a result of the relocation are discussed.

The "Old Post", as Chemawawin is affectionately referred to by the people of Easterville, remains a fond memory for most of them. Many informants idealized the way of life they experienced there, and I do not recall during my fieldwork ever hearing a negative comment about it. The people clearly lament their loss and wish their lives had remained unaffected by the hydro project. Recollections about the past life brought

tears to the eyes of many of my elderly informants. Others exhibited anger at what they perceived to have been a great injustice. These are all classic symptoms of what Fried (1963) has referred to as "grieving for a lost home", more of which will be discussed in a later chapter. The present chapter, though limited in scope, has indicated that life for the people of Chemawawin, while not easy, was nevertheless good and they were satisfied with it. When the time came for the people to be relocated it is apparent that the government and the members of the Forebay Committee underestimated the attachment of the people to their "Old Post".

Footnote

1. The information presented from this study in this thesis has been gleaned from a summary letter sent to an Indian Affairs Branch official in 1955. No reference for the actual report was obtainable.

CHAPTER IV

THE FOREBAY COMMITTEE [1.]

One of the aims of this thesis is to present an examination of the Grand Rapids Forebay Committee, the body which was created to effect the relocation of the people of Chemawawin. This examination must be critical for two reasons. First, it is the major contention of this thesis that the relocation was not successful, both socially and economically, and that the Forebay Committee is, to a large extent, responsible. Second, only through a critical analysis can a better methodology for the relocation of human populations be achieved. It must be recognized, however, that the Forebay Committee is not solely responsible for this unsuccessful relocation. As will become evident, in many areas of operation they were hampered by conditions placed upon them by the provincial government.

The Grand Rapids Hydro-Electric Project was officially announced in the Manitoba Legislature in January of 1960, although serious planning of the project had actually begun in 1957. A committee was appointed by the government of Manitoba and Manitoba Hydro to act on their behalf in all matters pertaining to the consequences of the project upon the people living in the forebay area, specifically the people of Chemawawin and Moose Lake. There is some disagreement as to the date in which the Grand Rapids Forebay Committee was formed. While a number of sources, such as Landa (1969)

and Weitz (1978) indicate that the Committee was formed in 1962, the stronger evidence appears to support the formation date as Spring, 1960. The Hedlin-Menzies (1968) report and the comments of the residents of Easterville who were involved in the early negotiations corroborate this.

The terms of reference for the Committee, as outlined by the provincial government, were as follows:

1. To co-ordinate all government agencies involved;
2. To negotiate with the people affected by the project;
3. To keep the people informed of the developments concerning the relocation and the power project;
4. To inform the residents of Chemawawin and Moose Lake of decisions made in Winnipeg;
5. To provide administrative services for the relocation (Van Ginkel 1967:51).

The Committee was granted a ten year life-span from the date at which the maximum forebay elevations were achieved. At this occurred in 1965, the Committee was disbanded in 1975. However, according to the terms of the agreement signed with the Chemawawin Band in 1962, the expiry date for the Committee's obligation to undertake economic studies and to finance community programs was set as April 1, 1974. While, at the time, ten years may have appeared as a reasonable amount of time in which to fulfill the government's obligations, in actual fact it was insufficient. When the Committee dissolved in 1975, there were a great many issues which were still outstanding. This fact prompted one community member to comment,

> The letter of intent from the province of Manitoba covered only a ten year period. Now I have often thought of this and I wonder whether if, after ten years, if the letter of intent doesn't provide for more than ten years. What is the Manitoba government and Manitoba hydro planning to do? Are they going to open the dam and let the water go, because if it's only for ten years, well then we should be back the way we were (from Minutes of the Report of the Panel of Public Inquiry into Northern Hydro Development, Sept. 22, 1975).

When the Committee was dissolved in 1975, the communities involved were informed that, from that point on, they would have to deal with existing government departments to solve the outstanding issues. It appears as though there was no consideration given to extending the life-span of the Committee to resolve these problems. Although "Forebay" meetings have continued up to the present time, these have involved the representatives of the various government departments and community leaders, and have not been held in conjunction with any formal committee.

Committee Membership

Initially, the Committee consisted of only two members. It was expanded shortly thereafter, and eventually grew to a size of nine or ten (membership fluctuated from meeting to meeting). An important consideration in this analysis of the Committee is the fact that its entire membership consisted of civil servants of relatively high rank. For example, in 1970 the Committee consisted of the following individuals:

1. the Assistant Deputy Minister of the Department of Mines and Natural Resources, Manitoba;

2. an Executive Assistant of the Department of Mines and Natural Resources, Manitoba;
3. the Northern Co-ordinator for the Department of Northern Affairs, Manitoba;
4. the Secretary for the Marketing Board, Manitoba;
5. the Director of Publications of the Department of Research and Planning, Manitoba;
6. the Regional Director of Indian Affairs and Northern Development, Canada;
7. the Chairman of the Economic Development Advisory Board, Manitoba;
8. the Director of Northern Region, Department of Mines and Natural Resources, Manitoba;
9. the Departmental Solicitor of the Department of the Attorney-General, Manitoba.

By necessity, then, the Forebay Committee was a part-time organization. Each member was also responsible for the affairs of his own department while, at the same time, serving on the Committee.

It is perhaps even more insightful to consider who was not on the Committee. The Director of Community Development Services was on the Committee briefly during its early days. However, he resigned because of professional disagreements with the other members. Other Community Development personnel played an advisory role, mainly to the local committee at Chemawawin, but were not on the Committee proper. The free trader at Chemawawin, who had lived with the people for over twenty years and who knew them as well as anybody, was not asked to be on the Committee, or even to sit in on

the meetings ("I guess they figured I'd throw water on it, or something"). Despite the fact that any relocation entails a certain degree of social change, there were no social scientists on the Committee. Similarly, despite the fact that the most important aspect of the agreement which was signed with the band was concerned with economic development, there was no economist on the Committee (Hedlin-Menzies 1968:8). Finally, there were no representatives of the community on the Committee proper. Granted, a local committee was established, but the contact between it and the Committee was intermittent and brief. In sum, there was no one on the Committee who either represented the community, knew the community, or who was familiar with the basic theory and methodology of social and economic development and planned change.

The utilization of a committee consisting entirely of civil servants was a fundamental error on the part of the provincial government, an error which demonstrated their lack of comprehension of the complexities involved in relocating an entire community. Not only were the Committee members unskilled in the type of project involved, but they were also placed in a position which entailed a severe conflict of interest. While they were charged with the task of relocating the community, it was also in their interest to ensure that their employer, the provincial government, emerged unscathed, both politically and financially. That is not to say that they were cold and callous in their dealings

with the native people. They were, however, definitely in a predicament. To support too strongly the native position in their roles as Committee members would invariably invite the criticism of colleagues and superiors. On the other hand, to support stringently the government's position would likely lead to criticism by the native people and, perhaps, the media. As a result of this predicament, one can conceive that the effectiveness of the Committee was greatly reduced even before actual negotiations had begun.

The Role of the Department of Indian Affairs

Since the members of the Chemawawin Band were under the jurisdiction of the federal government, the Forebay Committee's first task was to approach them to secure permission to negotiate with the band. Similarly, it was necessary for the federal government to agree with the conditions for the surrender of reserve land to the Province. According to an anonymous paper, it was the federal government which recommended that the province approach the band with a package deal, one which eventually became the "letter of intent", or the Forebay Agreement. Although a representative of Indian Affairs was not actually on the Committee initially, one was added when negotiations with the band commenced. As a result, the federal government, through its representative, was aware of all aspects of the relocation planning, including many areas of controversy.

The role which the Department of Indian Affairs assumed

throughout the negotiations was primarily that of 'interested observer'. There is little indication that, aside from concurring with the agreement offered to the Chemawawin Band, they played an active role in determining Committee policy or in the decision-making process. Consequently, members of the community feel that Indian Affairs should have been more active in supporting their cause. As one resident explained,

> We made all kinds of mistakes. Because nobody helped us out. We should have had Indian Affairs people working with us, who could help us, who could give us ideas. These people are working for Indian Affairs. I don't see why they weren't working for us.

Despite this sentiment, the Indian Superintendent for the region did spend a great deal of time in Chemawawin, and was available for most of the local meetings. This activity appears to have run counter to either an official or unofficial policy of Indian Affairs. According to the free trader from Chemawawin,

> His hands were tied. Indian Affairs ... they worked pretty much with the Hydro. And they didn't get along too well with [the Superintendent]. Well, he got transferred out of here. I guess he talked too much. But his hands were tied. He used to tell me, "They don't like what I'm doing", he'd say.

The reactions to the role which the Superintendent played are quite diverse. On the positive side, the Community Development Officer stationed at Chemawawin wrote in a memo:

> ...he appears to me to be a sincere, straightforward man, who has decided that he must make the decisions for the Indians of the Forebay as to where they should move, and all decisions affecting their livelihood.

Apparently, the latter part of this statement also reflected the attitude of the members of the Forebay Committee. However, they considered this role to be one of interference more than anything else, and there was a great deal of animosity between the Superintendent and the Committee members. For example, when a dispute arose between the native people and the Forebay Committee concerning the type of power supply to be made available to the new community, the Superintendent made a decision not to let the people move until they were satisfied with the arrangement. As a result, the actual relocation was delayed briefly, much to the frustration of the Committee members. This action on the part of the Superintendent was more an exception than the rule, and his overall impact in altering Committee policy appears to have been slight.

There is some evidence that the Superintendent may have been too authoritative in assisting the people, as the Committee would suggest. A prominent community member who is at present involved in investigating the Forebay matter wrote

> There has been allegations that Mr. [Superintendent] threatened the Indians, informing them that they would be flooded anyway if they did not sign the agreement.

Similarly, there is a story which circulates around the present community which names the Superintendent as a partner in a clandestine relationship with the free trader to profit from the relocation. There is, however, no evidence to support this rumour.

The present Band Council feels that the federal government abandoned their responsibility to the people during the period of negotiations and subsequent events. Their refusal to become actively involved on the Indian's behalf is viewed as support for the methods and policies of the Forebay Committee. As the relocation must, ultimately, be seen as a failure, the federal government must share in the responsibility.

Initial Negotiations

The residents of the Forebay area were officially notified of the relocation plans in the fall of 1960. However, it would appear that the first meeting between the members of the Committee and the people of Chemawawin did not take place until March 22, 1962. By this time, a site for the new community had already been selected, and preliminary plans for its construction were underway. The controversy surrounding this site selection will be reviewed shortly.

The purpose of these initial negotiations was to obtain an agreement between the Forebay Committee and the people of Chemawawin with respect to the surrender of land and the development of the new community. There is strong evidence to suggest that these negotiations placed a great deal of stress on the local leaders and that a general lack of communication pervaded most aspects of the sessions.

At the initial meeting on March 22, 1962, the Chairman

of the Forebay Committee read a list of promises to the representatives of the community. This list in part reflected the responses of the leaders to a letter that had been sent earlier. Nonetheless, the negotiations were, technically, still in the preliminary stages. Despite this fact, it is quite clear that the government was in no mood to tolerate an extended period of negotiations. The Chairman of the Committee stated quite bluntly at the outset,

> ... we must all remember that we have not much time ... I would hope certainly not more than two months (Minutes, Grand Rapids Forebay Committee Meeting, March 22, 1962).

Another member of the Committee, in addressing the leaders, made the point even clearer:

> We did not conceive the dam. The government decided it. I would like to say this is in the public interest and affects many people, and whether or not you reach agreement, it will go on. We have spent upwards of 20 million dollars, and other projects of greater magnitude are planned for the near future and this must be dealt with before we go on to these. You will have to go along with us and reach agreement by negotiation or some other means. The job is going to be built. One final word, we all earnestly hope that we can settle this by June first and be underway and <u>you will have to trust us</u> (emphasis mine) (Minutes, Grand Rapids Forebay Committee Meeting, March 22, 1962).

It was, in fact, quite clear that the Committee wanted to have the agreement finalized at the next meeting. The people of Chemawawin were being asked to negotiate a drastic change in their life in the span of two meetings over less than three months, all the while faced with the constant threat that "the job is going to be built" regardless.

The Forebay Agreement: A "Letter of Intent" [2.]

A "letter of intent" was mailed to the Chief of the Chemawawin Band on April 18, 1962. This letter detailed the promises outlined at the first meeting. A few issues arose, however, and the Chief proposed a number of changes. These revisions were made, and again a "letter of intent" was sent to the Chief, this time dated June 7, 1962. The Band Council accepted the offer and passed a band council resolution to that effect on June 14, 1962.

The contents of this letter have been the focus of a great deal of controversy that has continued up to the present time. The most important items of this letter are as follows:

1. will provide new or reconditioned homes with pit toilets; houses to be wired for electricity;
2. a new school will be constructed;
3. a Forest Management Unit will be established for exclusive use of the community;
4. a suitable harbour and dock will be constructed;
5. (a) the Committee will plan the new community, partially on and partially off a new Indian Reserve;
   (c) will provide for community improvements for ten years from the startup date of the hydro plant;
6. will construct a road to the community from P.T.H. #6;
7. will supply and dig wells;
9. will develop a sports ground;
12. "We shall continue our scientific and engineering studies and investigations in order to assure maximum economic development of the interior and fringe areas of the forebay for wildlife propagation".

(a) will take steps to maintain the fishery;

13. "... we agree to take every step possible to maintain the income of the people of Chemawawin at the new site ... we will undertake studies to determine what economic developments should take place and how any mutually agreed upon developments can be brought about" (emphasis mine).

16. will use local labour as much as possible for construction;

18. will exchange land in the ratio of 2 acres of new land for each acre of reserve land taken;

20.(a) will pay 20,000 dollars into the bands' fund

(b) "to have economic studies made to assist the future economy of the Cedar Lake settlement".

In order to fulfill these commitments, the Forebay Committee was granted $3,000,000 by Manitoba Hydro. However, by September of 1966, this money had been expended (Hedlin-Menzies 1968:3). From where, and to what extent, extra funding was made available cannot be determined. One government official has indicated to me that, should there ever have been an audit of the Committee, the results would have been extremely embarassing for the government. The ultimate destination of much of this money is unknown to both the band and the government. However, just as significant is the fact that some of this money may have been used inappropriately. For example, the money to construct a power line from Grand Rapids to Easterville was taken out of the Committee's economic development funds. It is little wonder that the money ran out.

It should be mentioned at this time that the offer was extended to, and accepted by, the Chemawawin Indian Band. The position of the Metis population at this time was not clear. A portion of an inter-departmental memo emphasizes this point:

> One thing became very apparent to me on this trip and that was the very real need which exists for a type of Metis organization in both of these communities that can be recognized as legal entities ... you have so many Metis representing as many entities as there are people or at least family heads. They have nothing really comparable to the Indian Band.

In fact, the Metis were more or less told that they had no rights at all, but would be allowed all the "benefits" received by the treaty Indians with regards to the relocation.

As the treaty Indians were under the jurisdiction of the federal government, it was necessary for the latter to consent to the agreement made between the band and the province of Manitoba. This was done by P.C. 1962 - 1617, passed by the Privy Council on November 15, 1962. There was one important difference between the agreement made between the band and the provincial government, and the agreement as the federal government perceived it. Simply, the federal government order provided for the reversion of unflooded lands at the old reserve to the Chemawawin Band. As I will demonstrate later in this chapter, this fact became an important area of contention.

A great many problems surfaced with regard to this letter of intent. An important consideration in examining

this agreement is the fact that no lawyer was ever made available to the community members to aid them in comprehending the legal technicalities involved. In fact, in examining the document, it would appear as though the Committee itself did not utilize the services of a lawyer in the drafting process. As a result, the letter is ambiguous and not at all specific on many of the most important items. Even the Chairman of the Committee in 1968, who became a member six years after the agreement had been signed, found the nature of the agreement difficult to fathom. In one correspondence he wrote:

> Admittedly, a letter of intent was developed and became the basis of a mutual agreement as to what was to be done. However, it is a document written in layman's language which can easily be interpreted in different ways.

And how, in fact, was this letter interpreted? According to the Chemawawin Band,

> The letter of intent has always been interpreted by provincial people who put their own liberal interpretations on it (Anonymous n.d.).

On good example should suffice to demonstrate the confusion which resulted from the lack of specificity of the agreement. Before the Department of Indian Affairs would consent to the agreement, clarification on Item 20(b), concerning economic studies, was requested by the Minister. The provincial Minister of Natural Resources replied that the government felt a maximum of $300,000 should be earmarked for these studies. Apparently, however, the band was re-

questing $500,000. The dilemma was solved in a typically bureaucratic manner. The Minister of Indian Affairs stated

> that the governing words in this connection must, in the final analysis, be those which are used in Item 20(b) itself, as this was the basis on which the two Band Councils had accepted your original offer and passed resolutions accordingly.

However, in Item 20(b) there is no mention of the amount of money to be expended. It states:

> The Committee undertakes to have economic studies made to assist the future economy of the Cedar Lake Settlement and in consultation with Indian Affairs and a local advisory committee, on which the residents of Cedar Lake will be represented, will finance and institute programs which are considered to be sound.

In effect, the solution to the problem was no solution at all.

The Economic Development Committee

In order to carry out the provisions of Item 20(b), the Forebay Committee formed an Economic Development Committee (E.D.C.), also known as the Liason Committee. The function of this committee was,

> To undertake on behalf of the Forebay Committee, the development of the economy of the forebay area in such a way as to provide maximum benefits to the people residing therein.

This would be done primarily through economic studies sponsored by the E.D.C., with a goal towards the maximum utilization of natural and human resources.

The E.D.C. consisted of a permanent core which included representatives from Indian Affairs, Manitoba Hydro, and Welfare. This four-man core was supplemented by an advisory committee, which included two Community Development Officers,

the local Indian Superintendent, and a member each from Chemawawin and Moose Lake. However, from this initial committee, it is apparent that membership actually fluctuated greatly in the years that followed, eventually involving fifty-six different persons (Hedlin-Menzies 1968:8). Not represented on the E.D.C. were social scientists or economists, despite the fact that the committee was charged with the responsibility for economic, and, hence, social development. As a body, it was not very effective. According to a report written for the Forebay Committee,

> ... it [E.D.C.] became bogged down in the details of dealing with real but nevertheless routine complaints, and failed to prepare a comprehensive survey of the economic potential of the area, or even to prepare a comprehensive report of existing economic conditions (Hedlin-Menzies 1968:8).

Similarly, there is some evidence that the members of the E.D.C. were not clear as to the power of the committee with regards to its terms of reference. For example, one member of the E.D.C. wrote the following:

> There was some discussion as to the role and terms of reference of the Liason Committee. There was not common agreement on all points. The main point of dis-ension seemed to be as to whether a Liason Committee could qualify certain economic conditions as coming under the terms of reference of the Liason Committee.

Early in its existence, the E.D.C. asked each local committee to develop a five-year development plan "... to the best of their knowledge ... indicating the way in which they plan to utilize area resources and the help they expect to receive from the Economic Development Committee".

This request was somewhat hypocritical considering that the E.D.C. itself was never able to prepare a report and, similarly, that it was never certain itself what help it could offer. For the people of Chemawawin, the request must have been overwhelming. The resident Community Development Officer made it quite clear that "the whole idea of planning is strange to most people" (Keeper 1963:12). This problem was compounded by the fact that the people had no idea what the effects of the flooding would be on the natural resources of the area. The representative of Chemawawin who was charged with the task of developing this plan told me,

> They didn't explain what's going to happen. They keep on asking us, "What's going to happen after they flood". Well, we didn't know what's going to happen. We see those things happening now.

Despite this immense handicap, the E.D.C. was satisfied with the job which this man did. The economic plan included "co-operatives, water control for trapping in certain areas, a sawmill, a box factory, pulpwood, and handicraft" (Keeper 1963:12). However, as will become evident in a later chapter, this plan was based almost entirely on the existing economy of the Chemawawin community prior to the flooding, and not on an evaluation of future economic prospects.

Site Selection

The location for the new community eventually became known as Easterville, after the chief who was in office at that time. There is a great deal of controversy surrounding

the selection of this site. While the government has insisted that the people were allowed to freely choose the new location, there is evidence to indicate that the choice was not that open.

The number of potential sites offered to the people by the Forebay Committee is difficult to determine. Figures have ranged from one (i.e., Easterville), to ten or eleven. The evidence tends to support a figure of three or four legitimate sites with some potential. The Van Ginkel (1967) study presents a list of three sites from which the people were to choose. These were:

1. on Clear Bay, about 30 miles east of Chemawawin, which was rejected because it was too isolated and therefore road accessibility was questionable;
2. East Mossy Portage, about 20 miles south of Chemawawin, which was rejected because of an excess of muskeg and steep banks;
3. the eventual site of Easterville, 32 miles south-east of Chemawawin, where there existed the possibility of both a road and electricity.

These two features, the road and electricity, were the most central considerations, and it appears as though the Committee promoted the Easterville site with visions of a sort of utopia. As one informant explained to me:

> What I understand, the promises were too good, because at that time we never used a light. We used to use gas lamps. Wood stoves. That's all we used to use over there. And now, those promises. They said, "you gonna have a highway there, and everybody will have a car. And whenever you want to go somewhere, your car sitting there, you go where you want to go. And a stove like that [points]. You're going to have an electric stove.

> A coffee-pot, and things like that. You're not going to have to use any wood. No wood stoves". So that's what I said. The promises were too good, I guess. We never seen anything like this before [motions around kitchen]. "You're going to live in a town, a nice town. You're going to have your own store". These are what the promises were. "Everything you need you're going to have. You're going to live in a town".

One report mentions that the Easterville site was discussed among the Committee members and government officials as if it was an a priori fact that the community would select it. Similarly, a brief presented by the community of Easterville to Manitoba Hydro in 1975 claims, "We did not make the original choice on our own, and Easterville was the location promoted by the Provincial government as the best choice". The same thought is also evident in this passage from a presentation given by a former chief to the Panel of Public Enquiry:

> When we moved over we really didn't want to move to the place that was chosen for us, but at that time we did not really know or understand and the people who advised us told us that we really didn't have much choice in deciding as to where we should live. The decisions as to where we should go were not made by us.

There is also a popular belief among the residents of Easterville that the site was visited by the community leaders in the winter, and therefore the obvious drawbacks were not visible. For example, one resident had this to say:

> They went about three or four places ... and they come here in the winter time, so this is where they chose, in the winter time. There was deep snow, and it looks good. High land, that's what they wanted.

By spring, it became painfully obvious that the site was not as good as it had seemed. However, the initial disappoint-

ment appears to have been tempered again by the visions of a new community:

> Oh, everybody said it was good land. But it was still rocky. I could see rocks all over. And yet they chose that ... They said there's going to be a highway, a town, a bus will be running here. Everybody glad. So after we settled, well, everybody didn't like it. "Too rocky" they said.

Another individual, who became a chief in the new community, offered an interesting perspective on the selection of the Easterville site:

> I don't see why we took this place at that time. Well, I think it was, well, we were kind of fooled by the government people. They said this was the best place. I don't know if the Band Council agreed to this place, but they were forced to. There's a lot of better places around the lake, but I can see now that the government people, they didn't want to spend too much money moving us, you see. If we chose this place over here across the lake, they couldn't get the road to it. See, it's much cheaper [here]. If we chose the other place, they would have to haul it [gravel] by plane.

A final discrepancy with regard to the site selection should be noted. After the council had viewed all of the potential sites, the people were asked to vote on the site they preferred. There is, however, no indication that all of the people were taken to the various sites. As a result, they had to judge the merits of each site as presented by the Chief and council. I have already indicated that there may have been some undue influence placed on these individuals with regard to the government's preference for the Easterville site, and this preference was surely communicated to the people. In addition to what appears to have been a built-in bias in the election, the Community Development Officer who was

residing in Chemawawin at the time has indicated to me that the ballot was not a secret one. The people were asked merely to sign their names on a paper under the preferred site. It is no wonder, as the Van Ginkel (1967) study declares, that the people voted almost one hundred percent in favour of the Easterville site. They were no doubt just following the power structure of the community and voting with their leaders. This is a theme which ran throughout many of the interviews I conducted. The people readily believe that it was in fact the leaders who selected the site, not themselves. As one informant stated, "... the leaders, they wanted to come this way. We followed our leaders. This is why we come here". I would suggest, then, that the Easterville site had already been selected by the Committee, who in turn convinced the local leaders. Although the people voted on the issue, it appears as though the decision had already been made. The plebiscite was merely a formality. Nevertheless, it provided support to the government's claim that the Easterville people selected the site and therefore their dissatisfaction with it is their own fault.

The Co-Op Plebiscite

While there is definite evidence to indicate that the selection of the site for the new community was not done properly, the same also holds true of the decision of the people of Chemawawin to adopt a co-operative structure for the new community. A brief discussion of the events surrounding

this issue will demonstrate my point.

As I mentioned previously, the idea of a co-op for the new community was mentioned in the economic development plan prepared by the local committee. The idea was probably first presented to the people by the Forebay Committee. However, it quickly became apparent that there was a split in the community regarding the issue. While the Band Council requested for time to consider the problem, the Premier, in a meeting of the Forebay Committee on August 26, 1963, declared that the people must have arrived at a decision by December 31, 1963. He also indicated that, should they accept the co-operative structure, they would be eligible for normal government assistance plus "the money which has been promised them by the Forebay Committee" (Anonymous 1963). The local committee subsequently authorized a plebiscite to be held on October 16th in Chemawawin and October 17th in Easterville, where many local workers were busy with housing construction. The plebiscite, this time, was conducted by secret ballot. All individuals over age 21 were eligible to vote on the issue of a co-op store versus the free trader, and all the fishermen were eligible to vote on the issue of a co-op fishery versus a private fish company. It should be noted that one of the options on the second issue was not to allow the free trader to continue with the fishery. As a result, the free trader had already made it known that he would not come to Easterville to run the store only. Therefore, in a sense, the results

of the vote on the first issue, the store, were already decided. The results were:

Issue One -	Co-op store	70
	Trader	55
Issue Two -	Co-op fishery	27
	Private company	16

It is evident that immediately after the vote, some accusations were levelled, the exact nature of which I could not determine. However, it is clear that many were unhappy with the results of the plebiscite.

A short time later, the local committee began to feel uneasy about the results. After a short meeting, they decided to ask the free trader to come to Easterville to run the co-op store. In the words of the trader,

> They voted for a co-op, then they withdrew it and they came and saw me. But it was too late. They voted they wanted a co-op. It was up to them. They figured they'd get a lot of stuff for nothing. Then they came and asked me if I'd come in to the store. And I said I'd made some commitments. I didn't care for where they were going.

The trader did eventually change his mind, but agreed to come to Easterville only if his mode of operation remained unchanged: he wanted control over the store, the fishery, and the lumber industry. This was not acceptable to the local committee. However, it was not until late February of 1964 that the local committee decided to go ahead with the co-op fishery and store as was directed by the plebiscite.

Whether or not the people understood what in fact they

were voting for will be considered in a later chapter. Suffice it to say here that the evidence, such as the previous statement by the free trader, indicates that they were not at all sure what a co-op was. According to the trader, the Forebay Committee argued in favour of the co-op. If this is the case, then similar to the site selection experience, the Committee may have succeeded in convincing the leaders of its merit. It should be mentioned, however, that according to the Community Development Officer at Chemawawin, the vote in favour of a co-op store was actually a protest vote against the free trader. Writing in 1963, he stated

> If [the trader] moves to Easterville, it will be because of the decision of the local committee. [The trader's] supporters seem to be active supporters. The co-op su-porters are supporters who voted against [the trader] because they didn't like him, not because they were ardent advocates of co-operatives.

The free trader felt that the Forebay Committee was trying to circumvent their obligation to the people by attempting to convince him to go to the new site as manager of the co-op. In his own words,

> They'd of liked to see me go. Probably the settlement would have been easier for them. What they wanted was me to go with them. I'd run the co-op, show them how to run it, then, eventually, they would take it over. I didn't care for that. They wanted to put me on wages.

Members of the Forebay Committee constantly paid him visits, which only strengthened this belief.

The Negotiation Process

The lines of communication between the Forebay Committee and the people of Chemawawin were fragmented throughout the

entire life-span of the Committee. Between these two was a chain of people and departments all involved in some way with the negotiation process. Indeed, one vital function of the Committee was to co-ordinate the activities of these various parties, a task which may have consumed much of their time. At any given moment, a directive from the Manitoba government had to be relayed through the Forebay Committee to the community where it was received by the Indian Superintendent, the Community Development Officer, or another field representative. The communication was then offered to the members of the local committee, who in turn informed the people. There was little contact between the Forebay Committee and the people of Chemawawin or their representatives, an oversight which should be viewed as a fundamental error on the part of the Committee.

Certainly the people were, in the formative stages, rushed into making decisions that they have since regretted. These were decisions totally unlike anything they had ever been confronted with. During these early stages, the Community Development Officer made it clear to the Committee that they were expecting too much from the people. The Committee was, in fact, assuming that the people would comprehend what was happening, co-ordinate the activities at the local level, and plan for their future. According to the Community Development Officer,

> The whole idea of planning is strange to most of the people as they are used to asking or being told. The idea of planning itself must be the first one to get across. They can do this, but they find this difficult to do in relation to the white man (Keeper 1963:12).

The extremely large communication gap between the Committee and the people certainly hindered any progress at the local level. Much information was withheld, other information was transmitted fragmentally. This resulted in constant argument after the relocation about what was said in the meetings and what was promised by the Committee. The following quotes are all offered by members of the Committee or other government personnel:

> Each time they have asked for clarification of points or have made a request from the Forebay Committee they have either been evaded or refused. This is making them very discontented.

> The people are beginning to wonder, after making requests and being verbally promised many things, what to believe and what not to believe. They do not believe what Mr. [Chairman] tells them anymore.

> I believe the Committee has underestimated the difficulty there is for Indians and Metis to understand what they are talking about. They hoped to achieve by intermittent visits what it would have been difficult for a resident Community Development Officer to achieve.

This last point is extremely important. For the most part, the Forebay meetings occurred at two separate levels: the local level, between members of the local committee, the Indian Superintendent, and Community Development Officer, and in Winnipeg, between the members of the main Committee. Joint meetings were occasionally conducted, but usually these were scheduled for a location other than Chemawawin, especially

after the agreement was signed with the band.

At the local level, as the date of relocation neared, the frequency of meetings increased, again largely in the absence of members of the Committee. There was an incentive for the community members to attend these meetings, though whether they actually perceived what was happening is questionable. As the free trader noted,

> These hydro meetings, they met pretty near everyday for awhile. They got paid five dollars every time they went to a meeting. The Hydro was [paying them]. Just to go. That's a lot of money. Thirty of them would go in, just to get that five dollars. And I bet you none of them understood what the hell they were talking about.

Certainly there was a language problem which hindered the progress of these meetings. The Chief himself spoke very little English, and the other local committee members even less so. Translators were used, but even this posed a problem. During my time in Easterville I spoke with one man who acted as a translator at some of the later meetings, and even today his English is not that good. I doubt that, ten years ago, he was able to comprehend the technical and legal aspects of the meetings and translate these accurately to the band members. Landa (1969) presents one good example of where the language problem created confusion. At one point in the negotiations, the members of the community voted overwhelmingly in favour of returning to the old site when, in fact, the resolution placed before them was concerned with moving to a third location.

This language barrier certainly inhibited the participation of the local leaders in the planning process. However, this was not the only barrier which existed. The Forebay Committee apparently did not really allow these leaders to participate. These two passages, from memos written by the Community Development Officer, indicate this fact:

> It seems that the people themselves have not had anything to say, really, in any of these decisions. They are involved in meetings, but not in decision-making. These meetings are not council meetings, they are meetings where the people are talked into approving decisions that have already been made by Mr. [Indian Superintendent] and Mr. [Forebay field representative]. A great deal of the mix-up in the Forebay can be attributed to this.

> Since coming to the Forebay I have commented many times upon the mechanical way things seem to be proceeding here. At meetings of the local committee, the local members never take any active part in the discussion of methods (planning). They are usually asking things to be done or are being told certain things will be done.

For many members of the local committee, the meetings held outside of Chemawawin, especially in Winnipeg, were a new experience for them, one which was vividly recalled for me by the Chairman of that committee:

> We had meetings, to talk about this moving. And after that we go to Winnipeg. That's my first time I go to Winnipeg. When we had these meetings ... and when we got to Winnipeg ... I was kind of scared. The town it was big, and all those people there when we went to the meeting. I believe there was 1700 people there. That's the first time I see a lot of people before my eyes. And I was standing on the top of the stage there, talking to the people. And I couldn't talk English at that time. I had an interpreter. And then at that time I said we don't want to move unless we have everything that they promised. We'll move when we see those things.

Whether these joint meetings were productive or not can be

questioned. Certainly the culture shock to which the previous informant alludes was an inhibiting factor, as was the linguistic problem. If these meetings were not productive, it was not necessarily the fault of the Chemawawin representatives. One government employer who attended one of these joint meetings wrote the following:

> My main impression of the meeting in Winnipeg is one of confusion and I am more than certain that this was the impression of the Cedar Lake and Moose Lake delegates.

The meetings of the Forebay Committee continued for many years after the relocation, but it became quickly evident that the people were not satisfied with the provisions of the agreement, their new community, and the activities of the Forebay Committee.

Certainly one area of frustration for the people was the revelation that, aside from the negotiating and signing of the agreement, the Forebay Committee actually had little if any authority to action their requests. This is especially true with regards to problems which arose in the new community, and there were many. While the Committee was very efficient in securing the agreement, its efficiency declined when it came to fulfilling the promises outlined in the agreement. For example, at two separate meetings of the Forebay Committee where "requests for action" were submitted by the local committee, the Forebay Committee denied their responsibility or indicated another government department as the responsible party in more than half the requests. At one point the Chair-

man of the Committee "informed the meeting that the function of the Forebay Committee is to approach other government agencies, not to carry out actual work itself" (Minutes, Grand Rapids Forebay Committee Meeting July 22, 1968). However, in many cases, the local committee was directed to approach these agencies on their own.

Legal Action

As the requests for action were continually avoided, the frustration of the members of the local committee must have grown. Perhaps the Forebay Committee did not take the requests, and the intent with which they were presented, seriously. The negotiations were not proceeding in a manner satisfactory to the local committee and, as a result, in late 1968 they retained a lawyer "to carry on negotiations on their behalf in respect to obtaining for them proper compensation for the taking of the Chemawawin Reserve". Even more important was his task

> ... to determine whether or not the discussions preceeding the letter of commitment were unilateral on the part of the government, or whether or not the Indians entered into an agreement with the government, and in this regard, if, on the surface, there appears to have been an agreement, whether or not the Indians truly understood the nature of the agreement.

Why was there a concern with determining whether or not there was an agreement? Apparently, there was some question as to whether or not the "letter of intent" was in fact a legal agreement. Twelve-thousand dollars was allotted to the band from their capital monies fund to pay for this lawyer.

In his investigation, the lawyer immediately ran into an obstacle. His request to view the files of the Forebay Committee was refused: it was "impractical, time-consuming, and expensive" to comply with. However, the lawyer for the Committee did agree to supply specific documents if the lawyer for the community could identify them. This unnecessary action on the part of the Committee proved a great hindrance, (which was, perhaps, what they had planned). However, the lawyer for the community did manage to obtain enough information to file a 'Statement of Claim' on August 15, 1970. As soon as this claim was filed, the Forebay Committee ceased all negotiations with the community concerning Forebay matters. The Committee itself, through its lawyer, filed a 'Statement of Defense' on October 30, 1970, basically refuting all of the claims made by the community. An interesting fact then surfaced. According to the Statement of Defense , the Forebay Committee could not be taken to court because it was not a legal body. In other words, it had no legal responsibility to the people of the community and was, therefore, technically speaking, not responsible for its actions, or inactions. The negotiations had been conducted, and an agreement signed, with a body that was not legally responsible to fulfill the conditions of this agreement. The provincial government and Manitoba Hydro, however, were legal entities and therefore subject to lawsuit. It also became evident that the band could not bring an action against the provincial

government because the band also was not a legal entity. The federal government would have to initiate the action on behalf of the band.

In addition to refuting the claims made, the Statement of Defense stated that the provincial government should not be liable becasue "the relocation of the plaintiffs at Easterville was negotiated and carried out with the advice, knowledge and consent of the Government of Canada". In other words, right or wrong, the fact that the federal government concurred with the agreement should absolve the provincial government of all responsibility.

While it would not be fruitful to indulge in all aspects of the Claim and Defense, one example will suffice to demonstrate the degree of confusion which existed. In their Statement of Claim, the band claimed that it had been agreed that the land at Chemawawin which was flooded would be retained by the band. In the Statement of Defense, this whole issue was avoided. However, the Chairman of the Committee, in a letter written to the Deputy Minister of Natural Resources, stated:

> One point in the Statement of Claim leaves me baffled. The Indians claim they were to retain any land not flooded at the old site. My brief discussions with them do not support that position...

However, in another letter authored by an official of the Department of Indian Affairs, the following was stated:

> It was also agreed that all the unflooded lands in Chemawawin Reserve #32A are to revert to Crown Canada for the use and benefit of the band.

This is a typical example of the lack of communication between all parties to the relocation. What, in fact, was the agreement made? The Indians knew what it was, and so did the federal government. One must ask why the Forebay Committee, whose job it was to know the agreement, were in the dark. Actually, there is really no excuse for the confusion on the part of the Committee. They had, after all, only to refer to Privy Council Order No. 1962-1617, the federal order which granted the Committee the authority to take the Indians' land on behalf of the Government of Manitoba, and which was cited in the Statement of Defense issued by their own lawyer. This order states that this taking of land

> ...is subject to the reversion of that portion of the said Parcel One in Block A which is not flooded, together with all mines and minerals underlying the same, for the use and benefit of the Chemawawin Band of Indians.

The exact outcome of the legal action initiated by the band is not clear. The band itself, and numerous government officials, are all of the belief that the lawyer was more interested in his $12,000 fee than in helping the band resolve the claim. Indeed, both the present Band Council and the one in office at the time are at a loss to explain the outcome of the action. However, since there is no indication that the claim reached the courts, we can assume that it was either dropped or ruled ineligible. Despite this bad experience the band continued to request, and demand, that the Committee and the provincial government fulfill their promises.

Present Status of the Forebay Agreement

Seventeen years have passed since the signing of the Forebay Agreement, yet the issue remains as volatile as ever. Generally speaking, the band is not satisfied with the present state of the community and the economy, and feel that the government and the Forebay Committee are at fault. A brief examination of some of the outstanding issues is warranted.

From my discussions with the community leaders, it is evident that, for the most part, it is the quality of the things that have been done under the agreement that they dispute. They feel that what the government considers to be a fulfilled promise is quite different from the way they perceive it. For example, the agreement states that the government would provide a sports field, and one in fact exists. However, as the leaders pointed out, the baseball and soccer fields share the same space, and therefore only one sport at a time can be played. More important is the fact that the field, like the rest of the community, is covered with rock and clay instead of soil and grass, and therefore is not only a difficult place to play, but a dangerous one as well. The provincial government, on the other hand, views the condition of the playing field to be a community problem.

The band feels that certain promises have not been fulfilled. For example, the building of dams along selected rivers to improve muskrat trapping has not been done. Similarly, the government has not undertaken to stock Cedar Lake with top-

grade fish. These items are related to the section of the agreement which states that the government will maintain the economy of the community. The leaders feel, rightfully so, that the economy of Easterville is in a poor state and that the government has failed to fulfill this promise.

Another area of contention is concerned with Item 12 of the agreement pertaining to the execution of scientific and economic studies in the area for the benefit of the community. The band indicates that the results of these have rarely been communicated to them, and that the quality of many of the studies has been substandard. For instance, one study by a biologist on the topic of muskrat habitat was actually conducted during a one day fly-over of the area (Weitz 1978).

Perhaps the most pressing matter with which the local leaders have had to deal is the land exchange agreement. According to the agreement, the band was to receive 11,626 acres of reserve land in exchange for the land surrendered. As of present, only 655 acres have been transferred to the band. This land includes both the remaining land at Chemawawin and a portion of the new community which was granted reserve status. This land was transferred only last October, 1978, some sixteen years after the agreement was signed. The government asserts that the reason for this delay was the band's insistence that the road leading to the dock and fish shed be included on the reserve, to which the government adamantly refused. As it was explained to me, the

reason that the band wanted this land included as part of the reserve was to avoid income taxes as the dock is the official place where the fishermen are employed. Treaty Indians do not have to pay income taxes on money made on the reserve. However, in order to get the land at Easterville granted reserve status, the band was forced to acquiesce. As far as the rest of the land settlement is concerned, the band must choose land within the Forebay Exchange Area, which extends south from the shores of Cedar Lake to Lake Winnipegosis, east to P.T.H.#6 and west almost to P.T.H. #10. The band's selection of land at the intersection of Highway 327 (Easterville Road) and P.T.H. #6 for the purposes of constructing a garage/ restaurant complex, was not acceptable to the provincial government. They were willing to lease the land to the band, but would not allow it to be granted reserve status. At the present time, the band is looking for other land in the area which as agricultural potential. They are not optimistic that the exchange will be settled in the near future.

Should the band wish to enter another claim against the provincial government, it must be done before early 1980 according to provincial law. At this time, the Swampy Cree Tribal Council, which acts on behalf of the four bands affected by the Hydro project, Chemawawin, Moose Lake, The Pas, and Grand Rapids, is investigating the matter. Should it go to court this time, perhaps the exact nature of the Forebay Agreement will finally be determined.

The Perspective of Operation of the Forebay Committee

This examination of the perspective adopted by the Forebay Committee towards the whole process of relocation will begin by examining the perspective which it did not adopt. In this manner, the basic mentality of the Committee as a body will become clear.

Manitoba initiated a formal program of community development in 1956, and as such was the first Canadian province to do so (Lotz 1977:39). The Director of this program was, for a brief period, a member of the Forebay Committee. In addition, at the request of the Committee, a Community Development Officer was placed in Chemawawin. Despite what appears to have been a good representation, the community development approach was never adopted by the Committee. The Director appears to have exhausted himself in an attempt to steer the Committee in this direction; he eventually resigned from the Committee as a result of his failure. However, his suggestions, in retrospect, had they been adopted by the Committee, might have facilitated the whole relocation process and made the change easier for the people. Some of his suggestions included:

1. An economic study of the communities as they lived prior to 1950 in order to assess the compensation to which they should be entitled.

2. An economic study of the flooding situation of any site before it was selected for resettlement.

3. Appointment of a Community Development Officer one year before negotiations started to prepare the people for prolonged discussions with the Forebay Committee.

The Director stressed to the Committee that Community Development Services had devised and utilized a methodology for working with people of native ancestry, and if the Forebay Committee refused to adopt this methodology, then the role which Community Development could play in the relocation process would be negligible.

While the Director was arguing his point in Winnipeg, the local Community Development Officer who had been stationed at Chemawawin was advocating the same approach. According to a memo written by him in 1962, the people were not involved enough in the planning process:

> I believe as I have stated before that the people must be included at all levels. The local committee should be the channel through which everything moves ... The point I am trying to make and which is the most important point, is that if methods don't change, there will be repercussions which will be bad for all concerned. More committees can be formed, but unless the local people are more truly involved, it is all for naught.

The approach of community development is, in many respects, similar to that of planned change theory. The most significant aspect of this theory is that the people undergoing the change be an integral part of the planning and decision-making process. Clearly this was not the case in the Chemawawin relocation.

If the Forebay Committee did not adopt a planned change or community development approach, what, then, was their perspective towards the relocation? This is a difficult question to answer, but there are clues. It would appear that,

to the members of the Committee, the relocation of the people of Chemawawin was merely another in a series of bureaucratic career exercises. The evidence for this is available. The rejection of the community development approach is perhaps the most incriminating. That an organization that had already proven itself in planned change and development programs with native people was more or less totally ignored is difficult to understand. The failure to include the local people in all aspects of the relocation planning contradicts the fundamental premise of planned change theory. That the Committee did not include social scientists or economists, even in an advisory capacity, indicates that the Committee members may have been concerned less with the welfare of the people and more with the execution of the task at hand. There is no question that, had the Committee adopted the community development approach and included such experts, the whole relocation process would have been slowed considerably. However, time is something the Committee did not have a great deal of. The failure of the Committee to adopt a more responsible approach could be in a large measure the product of the fact that they were restricted by the terms of reference and tight schedule given to them by the provincial government. However, after the relocation, the Committee members proved equally as unresponsive to the plight of the members of the Easterville community. Time was no longer a factor. For this reason, it is difficult to avoid

the conclusion that the provincial government and the Forebay Committee viewed the relocation of these people as an annoying consequence of the hydro project, and no more. As such, more time, money, and knowledge was put into other aspects of the project at the expense of the people at Chemawawin.

The Forebay Committee in Retrospect

It is quite clear from the preceeding discussion that the Forebay Committee, the provincial government, and the federal government all must share responsibility for the relocation of the Chemawawin people. Certainly the members of the Forebay Committee committed some errors to which they alone must be held responsible. However, we must not overlook the environment in which the Committee was forced to work, and the complexities of the task the Committee was asked to complete. There is no way to determine why certain decisions were made and certain decisions were not made by the Committee. This is something that is lost to the past. However, we can speculate as to the nature of the restrictions that were placed on the Committee which may have influenced these decisions. In fact, these restrictions might explain to a great degree why the whole relocation project appears to have been mismanaged.

To examine these restrictions we must look essentially to the provincial government. The Forebay Committee was a creation of the government; its structure and function was determined by the government. As it was set up, a part-time

committee consisting entirely of top-level civil servants, the manner in which it could function was greatly restricted. To expect these men to understand the complexities involved in relocating a human population was unreasonable, and to expect them to carry out such a relocation successfully on a part-time basis was ludicrous. In addition, the Committee was provided with a unrealistically tight schedule in which they were expected to negotiate with the people, reach an agreement, construct a new community, and move the people there. They may have, for this reason alone, opted for a more bureaucratic, albeit less humane, approach to the relocation. The methods of community development and the utilization of social scientists as advisors would have been preferable, but such a practice would have required much more time than was available to the Committee. Clearly the provincial government was concerned more with achieving a relocation and not necessarily a successful relocation.

In retrospect, we can see that, given these restrictions, the Committee's job would invariably be viewed with disfavour. The relocation scheme lacked two essential qualities: qualified personnel, and time. Civil servants, no matter how well-intentioned, could not be expected to possess the necessary skill to effect a smooth and successful program of relocation. Similarly, when a project entails the disruption of a way of life, sufficient time must be set aside to ensure the successful adjustment of those affected. The linguistic and cultural

barrier between the members of the Committee and the people of Chemawawin could not easily be hurdled. As a result, the Committee chose to barge its way through, hoping that the people would be able to follow in its path. Somewhere, somehow, it was forgotten by the provincial administrators that it was a community of real people that was being moved. And, in the long run, it was not the provincial government who suffered because of this forgetfulness.

Footnotes

1. The majority of the data on which this chapter is based has been derived from a great number of memos, letters, and other government documents obtained from the files of the Swampy Cree Tribal Council and the Chemawawin Indian Band. All unreferenced data is from these sources.
2. In addition to the Chemawawin Band, the Grand Rapids Hydro project affected three other Swampy Cree bands. The Moose Lake Band, which also received a "letter of intent" similar to that received by the Chemawawin Band, was required to move a number of houses to higher ground. The Grand Rapids Band, located below the dam, has experienced some problems with the fishery. The Pas Band experienced some flooding of land.

CHAPTER V

EASTERVILLE 1964 TO 1979

The Easterville site is located on the south-east shore of Cedar Lake, approximately 250 air miles north of Winnipeg and 32 miles south-east of Chemawawin.

Construction of the townsite began a few years before the actual relocation. Some of the better houses were moved by barge from Chemawawin, though the majority of the homes were constructed on the site. As local labour was used in this construction phase, there was actually a sizeable population at the new site by the time of relocation. The attitude of the people towards the move appears to have been a mixture of excitement and sadness. The free trader states that,

> They were excited. They were going to a new home. They had new homes. They had moved some from Cedar lake with the barge. They were remodeled. Had cupboards put in. That was a big thing. I made two trips with the barge and the boat, moving people. But after they were there for awhile, they wished they were back. At first it was like a holiday for them.

Some other perspective of the move were offered by Easterville residents:

> Many people were sad. Most families were moved by plane. It took about two weeks to bring everything they owned. But this was our mistake. We should have left all our stuff over there and demanded new things. By the time we found this out it was too late. The agreement was signed.

> We all got paid 108 dollars to move ...The government people [doing the moving] were nice ...

> So somehow we just moved like that, in 1964, in August. They brought planes, Norsemen I think. They moved by plane. And everybody, each family, they paid ten dollars to move them out. When we got in that plane we got paid for ten days, each family, ten dollars a head. We were allowed to bring everything we owned. The government gave us houses, but no furniture. Every Saturday, those guys that sell things, with big trucks, would bring in furniture, and so we'd buy furniture from them.
>
> I come by boat, not even by plane. I don't want to move. We had to move everything here. Some of my furniture was smashed [in a storm; did not receive new furniture]. We came by canoe. We had to buy new furniture.

Despite the head start given the construction crews, the community was far from complete when the people moved in. Many houses were unfinished, the roads were bad, there was no school and, in general, there was chaos. It took many years for the 'bugs' to be ironed out of the community plan.

Community Setting

As promised by the Forebay Committee, Easterville was designed using a townsite format rather than recreating the dispersed pattern of residence characteristic of Chemawawin. The community is situated on a low ridge which runs parallel to the shoreline of Cedar Lake (Wardrop 1978:4). There is very little soil in the community. The base consists primarily of limestone and dolomite bedrock covered with gravel and clay. In many areas of the community, bedrock exposures are visible. There is a fairly dense stand of forest along the shore and surrounding the community which

serves as a windbreak (Easterville is situated on the windward side of Cedar Lake).

The reserve itself does not run parallel to the lake, but rather runs perpendicular to it. The reserve covers a total area of about 600 acres, though only about a quarter of this is residential. The community itself is situated at the lake end of the reserve. The Metis also reside in the community, though off the reserve. The boundary which distinguishes the two "sides" consists of roads within the community; on one side of the road is the reserve, on the other side is the "community" (as the Metis side is labelled). The Metis are situated in one corner of the overall community.

Though Easterville is not a "town" in the legal sense, and does not have a business district, there is a definite area considered to be the "centre" of the community. Located more or less in the centre of the community, a number of important structures are located here: the Co-Op store, the Chemawawin Band Office, the Anglican Church and priests' home, the teacherage, the school, the Roman Catholic Church, the post office, the nursing station, the homes of the Co-Op manager and the nurse, and the community hall. It is significant to note that the teacherage, comprising a motel-like complex and a house (with a duplex under construction) plus the Co-Op manager's and nurse's houses and nursing station are all situated in a row, thus facilitating the construction of indoor plumbing (which requires blasting),

a luxury not shared by other community members. Naturally, these dwellings also demarcate the Euro-Canadian community in Easterville.

The community is serviced by Highway #327, an all-weather gravel road which connects with Highway #6 to Grand Rapids (or south to Winnipeg) and Highway #10 to The Pas.

The streets throughout the community are gravel, and are in various states of repair. In addition, the community is criss-crossed by a web of back lanes, many of which are very difficult to negotiate. There is some difference in residence pattern between the treaty and the Metis sides. The Metis side is characterized by rows of houses along streets much like that of southern communities. The treaty side demonstrates less of a pre-planned pattern. Many of the houses are not directly accessible from the main roads and some appear to have been constructed at will, though all are within short distances of other dwellings. Similarly, there is some difference in housing types, due probably to the fact that the reserve side is administered by the federal government while the Metis side is administered by the provincial government. In very general terms, the exteriors of the houses on the Metis side appear to be in better shape. Interiors, however, are idiosyncratic in nature and dependent in part on the families income and personal tastes. The range of interiors spans from the remarkably plush to the startlingly

humble.

The community is serviced by an airstrip located adjacent to the reserve side but connected to the centre of the town by provincial road. Electricity, by trunk line from Grand Rapids, is available to all the homes. Telephone service is also available to those who desire it.

It is significant to note that, in addition to the name of the community, most of the streets are named after the ex-chief and his family. This fact will become significant at a later point in this chapter.

The overall impression one gets of the community is that it is a very depressing place to live. The dominant feature is the rock and gravel which permeates the entire community. There is no such thing as a "lawn" in Easterville. Within the inhabited area of the community trees are sparse and stunted. As a result, in the summer it is very hot and dusty. Other areas of the reserve appear to be more hospitable, but the desire to construct a 'town' probably argued against scattering the houses throughout this area. Virtually all of the residents complain about the rock in the community and the problems and unpleasantness it causes. However, this dissension is best articulated by a member of the Euro-Canadian community:

> I find it very depressing. And I think I found the biggest shock last winter ... it finally hit me, that in most places in Canada you can probably take a shovel to get rid of your body wastes, and here you can't even do that. And that's pretty depressing. I mean,

> even a cat goes out and scratches a hole, but you can't up in Easterville.

When compared to the landscape at Chemawawin it is easy to understand why the residents are bitter. In addition to being unattractive, the site is also impractical and even harmful in a number of respects, as will become evident throughout this chapter.

Population

It is difficult to arrive at an exact population figure for Easterville, largely because of the problems arising from the status/non-status distinction and the subsequent differences in recording population statistics. According to Teillet (1979:191), the total population of the community in 1978 was 687. The band list for the Chemawawin Indian Band indicates that, in 1978, there were 442 registered Indians; therefore, we can conclude that the Metis population was about 245. Table I presents the population figures for some of the years between 1958 and 1978. Over this period, the population has increased at an average rate of 4.9% per year. The population increase just prior to the relocation was about 5.6% per year, and since the relocation it has been about 4.8% per year.

The proportion of Metis to treaty Indians has remained fairly steady since 1962. In that year, Metis accounted for 31% of the population; the same is true for 1971. As of 1978, the Metis population had risen to 36% of the total.

Unfortunately, full age statistics are not available for Easterville except for the year 1971. These statistics were compiled and categorized in a different manner than was done by Keeper (1963) for Chemawawin. However, some comparisons are possible. Recalling that, in 1962, 51% of the population at Chemawawin was under age sixteen, the Manitoba Department of Northern Affairs (n.d.) reports, that for 1971, approximately 58% of the population was under sixteen. We can estimate therefore that as of the time of fieldwork (1979) approximately 65% of the population was under sixteen. This statistic has great significance for the future of Easterville since it will be necessary for the economy of the community to expand at a parallel rate if all of these young people are to be gainfully employed. As of 1978, the labour force in Easterville has been estimated at 185, or more than twice that of Chemawawin (Teillet 1979:191). This figure will increase rapidly as more and more young people enter the labour force at a rate faster than those leaving the labour force through death, retirement, or migration.

Economic Life

A. Easterville Co-Operative

As the economic focus of Chemawawin was the free trader, in Easterville the economic focus is the institution that replaced the trader, the Co-Op. However, it is clear from data supplied by Landa (1969) and my own observations some ten years later than the transition from one form of economic

structure to the other has not been smooth and to this day has yet to be completed.

From its inception in 1964, the Easterville Co-Op has consisted of two interdependent, yet semi-autonomous, parts: a consumers co-op and a fishermens co-op. The consumers co-op operates the only retail store in the community, the closest external store being about seventeen miles away at Denbeigh Point. All the members of the community are eligible to purchase shares in the store, and thus become members. It is my understanding that virtually all the adult residents of the community are in fact members. The fishermens co-op, on the other hand, is open to fishermen only. This branch operates the commercial fishing operation and the fish-packing plant. The Co-Op, as with other northern co-ops, is under the auspices of the provincial government's Department of Co-Operative Development, which provides auditing services and financial advice. The Easterville Co-Operative itself is run by a local Board of Directors consisting of a president, vice-president, and five directors who are elected to office by the shareholders. This Board is responsible for all policies regarding both branches of the Co-Op. The actual day-to-day operation of the store is run by a manager who is hired and paid by the Board. The fish-packing plant, however, is contracted out by the Board each year to a local resident whose responsibility it becomes for the duration of the fishing season. This, then, is the

"ideal" co-op structure; needless to say, this ideal has rarely been approached.

As I stated earlier in this thesis, while the people of Chemawawin voted for a co-op for their new community, there is some question that they fully understood what in fact they were getting. As the trader mentioned, many people believed goods would be made available free of charge or at a very low price. Landa's (1969) analysis four years after the relocation supports this misconception. It was very clear to him that the people were largely ignorant of the structure or the operating procedures of the Co-Op and as a result much dissatisfaction and tension permeated Co-Op affairs. It was also apparent that no attempt had been made to educate the people, and especially the Board of Governors, as to the aims of the Co-Op. Between the years 1964 and 1968, the consumers co-op had five different managers, during which time the Co-Op's affairs were so badly mismanaged that the Department of Co-Operative Development was forced to assume direct control in order to save the enterprise from bankruptcy (Landa 1969:81). All of this occurred despite the fact that, as the manager believes, ideally, "It's a business that can't really lose money".

After the Department of Co-Operative Development took over in 1968 things began to settle down somewhat and the Minister of Agriculture was able to report in a memo in 1970 that "the Co-Operative now appears to be on the road to

financial stability" (Manitoba 1970). Throughout the next decade, the Co-Op knew only three managers, two of whom occupied the job for nine of the last ten years. This stability in a key position is certainly one great reason why the Co-Op was able to get back on the right track. The net incomes for the Co-Op for the years 1967 to 1978 are provided in Table II. As one can see, though the net incomes fluctuate somewhat, due to market conditions and other factors largely beyond the control of the Co-Op, there has been a general increase in profit since 1967, and in no case has there been a loss. While these profits are not large, and as such cannot be expected to allow any major undertakings by the Co-Op (such as building repairs or expansion), it has at least remained in the black. As the result of this success, in 1977 control of the Co-Op was returned to the Board of Directors by the Department of Co-Operative Development.

Since the Co-Op has been an integral part of the lives of the people of Easterville for the last sixteen years, it was to be expected that there would be a greater common knowledge of the Co-Op today than when Landa (1969) visited the community in 1968. While, in fact, it appears as though this is the case, it is also clear that there exists still an imperfect understanding. Although most people interviewed recognized that, as shareholders, the store was essentially "owned" by them (as opposed to the belief that

the government owned it, as discovered by Landa), they do not appear to fully understand what that ownership entails. According to one Co-Op spokesperson,

> They have an idea of the concept that it's their store, that we were working for them, but they still feel that they should get whatever they can from the store, and not worry about giving it back ... They don't realize that, when they don't pay back debts, they are really cheating themselves.

The notion of "dividend" is of great importance to the people, and may have been one reason why the Co-Op was selected over the free trader. In fact, many people expect to receive money back from the Co-Op regardless of the size of the profit or whether any profit was made at all. It is the Board of Directors who decide whether the money should be returned as dividends to shareholders or retained to provide operating capital for the subsequent year or for improvements in the facility. More often than not, money is returned to the shareholders, which evidently is a popular decision with everyone except the manager and the provincial officials. However, even the Board appears to be somewhat confused as to the nature of dividends and the operation of the Co-Op. One member of the Board explained to me,

> I bought about ten shares. And it was only last fall that I got a statement for my shares. The Co-Op owes me $1100, and I owe the Co-Op $1600. There's a lot of guys here who owe the Co-Op. That's where my shares are tied up. I can't get my shares out until everything will be paid up. I want that $1100 but he [the manager] won't give it to me because it's all tied up in the store.

Landa (1969) noted in 1968 that the relationship between the Board of Directors and the manager had deteriorated significantly. As I alluded to previously, this may in part be the product of the fact that there were so many managers in such a short period of time. This is especially significant in that this period represents the formative years of the Co-Op, a time when neither the people nor the Board of Directors had a clear understanding of the enterprise. It would naturally be at this time when the most guidance, and patience, would be required. It is also evident that the managers' inability to converse in Cree served to strain the relationship further (Landa 1969:82). In fact, in an attempt to improve the relationship between the manager and the Board, the Department of Co-Operative Development installed a local resident as manager. While this person apparently had a good grasp of the theory of co-operatives and an understanding of business operations, he received an extraordinary amount of pressure from the people of the community. It became difficult for him to separate his duties as a businessman from his responsibilities as kinsman, friend, or community member. Instances of him "leaving the door open", or giving away food rations to needy families served to destroy the Co-Op's budget. In addition, some members of the community exerted pressure on him when he refused to grant their requests, and there were more than a few cases of vandalism, both of the store and the manager's house.

He was relieved of his responsibilities less than a year after his appointment, no doubt to his great relief.

The relationship between the manager and the Board appears to have improved considerably since 1970, and especially in the last five years during the term of the present manager (a Euro-Canadian). He is well-liked by most of the people and generally deemed to be "fair". This is probably due not only to his personality but to the fact that, more than any other manager of the Co-Op, he has become a full member of the community. He is married to a local girl, participates in a number of community activities, and demonstrates a genuine concern for the community and its people. A former president of the Board demonstrated the kind of respect most community members have for the manager:

> They had been robbing the store mostly twice every week. Now, ever since this guy runs the store, they let that store go. That's a funny thing, that nobody tries to enter the store ever since.

Though the relationship between the manager and the Board has improved, there are still many areas of contention, many of which again stem from the different perspectives of each. Since all policy decisions must be passed by the Board, it is necessary for the manager to consult with them when any major undertaking is to be pursued. However, it is here that problems arise. The Board does not meet as regularly as it should, and when it does, issues are often discussed but not resolved. The members of the Board often discuss matters in Cree, which the manager does not speak, and which

effectively excludes the one individual with the most knowledge and expertise about financial matters. The Board generally finds the notion of a "budget" difficult to conceive, and also see little need for saving the net profits for some future expansion or other development. The functioning of the Co-Op is, subsequently, impaired.

There are two areas in which the policies of the Co-Op and the desires of the people clearly come into conflict: the Co-Op's credit policy and the method of payment to the fishermen. Landa (1969) noticed in 1968 that the single most frequent complaint of the people about the Co-Op was the credit policy. In fact, as Landa (1969) notes, according to the basic concept of "co-operative", there should be no credit at all; that the Easterville Co-Op offers limited credit is a clear example of the Board bending to the wishes of the people. However, the credit policy is strict and allows for few exceptions. At present, the only individuals who can get credit are licensed fishermen, and only during the two fishing seasons. According to Board policy, every licensed fishermen who intends to fish is provided with $300 credit at the start of each season to get him underway. This money is made available to the individual regardless of skill, past record, or indebtedness to the Co-Op, and even if he has not fished in the previous season. As a result of this policy, ten to twelve fishermen go deeper into debt each year, and every year the Co-Op is forced to write off

unrecoverable debts. After this $300 is given, generally the fishermen are excluded from further credit. The exceptional fishermen may be given more credit, because "they're the ones paying the bills". The Co-Op will advance money on fish tickets, which are statements showing the amount of fish caught by a fisherman. It will also advance credit to a fisherman who needs to buy a new snow machine, boat, or motor, "but if he has a bad year, then his account skyrockets and the store is out that money". According to an official of the Department of Co-Operative Development, even this restricted credit policy is damaging to the Co-Op, and is the major reason why the Co-Op has not been able to really get ahead. According to this official, there exists in Easterville an endless circle: goods are priced so as to provide marginal profit to cover expenses, so when debts are not repaid and are subsequently written off, the profit margin decreases, resulting in a corresponding rise in prices. What the people see and complain about are these prices, not realizing the reason for the increases. Feeling "ripped off", they are less inclined to fully repay debts, and the cycle begins once again.

Once the fishing begins, deductions are made automatically from the fisherman's paycheck. These deductions are designed to recoup the $300 starting up fee, plus any advances made to fishermen who took money against their fish tickets. Deductions are also made to repay equipment loans, as well

as to pay those individuals employed in the fish-shed. As a result, a very large fish ticket can be reduced to virtually nothing in some cases. One way to avoid this is for the fisherman to transport his catch the 17 miles to the operation at Denbeigh Point. This practice has occurred virtually since the Co-Op's inception. Essentially a "free trader" similar to that from Chemawawin, this individual maintains a comparatively liberal credit policy and the fisherman can escape the automatic deductions. As the fish taken there nevertheless counts in the overall lake quota, widespread occurrence of this practice can be damaging to the Co-Op. There is, at this time, no legal way to stop individuals from doing this, although the Board is attempting to resolve this problem. According to the Co-Op manager, this practice appears to be increasing in frequency. Not only does the Co-Op lose money from the fish, but it makes it harder to recoup debts from some fishermen. Theoretically, a fisherman could obtain a $300 loan from the Co-Op and avoid paying it back by doing all his business with the trader at Denbeigh Point.

It is my observation that, despite some criticism, the feeling of the people is more favourable towards the Co-Op than at the time of Landa's (1969) study. One very real reason for this change of heart could be the fact that the people have come to know the Co-Op and realize that they must deal with it, and their attitudes have tempered accordingly.

However, these favourable attitudes are not necessarily shared by the Board of Directors and the political leaders in the community. There appears to be a general dissatisfaction among these individuals with the store. As most of them are fishermen, this is understandable, since at first glance it appears as though the fishing operation is carrying the store. However, it is apparent that it is actually the opposite. The store often loses money on unpaid debts accumulated by fishermen. As well, 75% of the salaries of those people employed by the Co-Op (there are six) are paid by the store, even though a major portion of their work deals with the fishing operation. Despite these facts, in recent years there has been a movement towards separating the two operations, a move which the Department of Co-Operative Development believes would be disastrous. Further, the Band Council has formally invited the old free trader from Chemawawin to come to Easterville and set up a store to compete with the Co-Op, a move which would be equally disastrous. However, to this date, neither has occurred.

Landa (1969) in his analysis of the Co-Op presented the following hypothesis with regards to the problems experienced by the Co-Op:

> The community in the course of its relocation from Chemawawin to the new site at Easterville, transfered 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 (1969:100).

The conflict subsequently arose because the mode of operation of the Co-Op was vastly different from that of the free trader. This conflict is still in evidence today, as demonstrated by the success of the operation of the free trader at Denbeigh Point and the search by the political leaders for changes or alternatives to the Co-Op structure. There exists still, after 16 years, an imperfect understanding of how the Co-Op should operate, and there is no evidence that anyone has ever attempted a concerted educational program to correct this. In spite of this, and contrary to Landa's assessment, the Co-Op is successful in providing a stable economic foundation for the community within the confines of the resource base with which it must work. While not a huge financial success, it has nevertheless managed to stay afloat.

The future of the Co-Op in Easterville is uncertain. If the Board of Directors and the political leaders can be dissuaded from splitting up the operation or bringing in a competitive operation, and if the fishery continues to be good, then the future looks bright. The installation of a local manager, though unsuccessful in the past, should be viewed as a goal of the near-future. There are many bright, perceptive individuals in the community who would require only some business training in order to assume this responsibility. In the meantime, however, a major effort should be expended towards education of both the Board of Directors

and the members of the community. The root of the conflict that exists is misunderstanding, and this can be corrected.

B. Fishing

Since the relocation, commercial fishing has developed as the dominant and, on many occasions, essentially the only form of economic activity pursued by the people of Easterville. While the flooding of the lake caused extensive damage to other aspects of the economy, it would appear as though fishing has not been affected, and perhaps even improved. An examination of Table III demonstrates that pickerel and whitefish production has in fact increased, though it is apparent that there has also been a corresponding increase in rough fish. A glance at Table IV will demonstrate that a rapid increase in income has occurred since the relocation. Easterville is, in this sense, a one-industry community, and as such is subject to the associated perils. Fluctuations in market, changes in the natural environment, inflation, and other factors beyond the control of the fishermen have conspired to make the fishing industry precarious.

In 1961, the quota of limit fish (pickerel and whitefish) was raised to 650,000 pounds. This boost to the economy did not become significant, however, until some years after the relocation when better equipment was introduced. The years 1968 through 1970 saw a steady increase in fish production and subsequent increase in the income levels of fishermen. However, the summer of 1970 brought disastrous

news to the community: unacceptability high mercury levels were detected in the fish and the lake was closed. No fishing was conducted for three years. In the summer of 1973 biologists from the provincial government conducted tests which indicated that the level of mercury had dropped to an acceptable limit (Manitoba 1973). The fishermen were relieved and excited. For the past three years they had been forced to earn a marginal income through various government "make-work" projects. Work such as cleaning up the community was considered degrading. Considerable expense was involved in starting up the industry again as most of the equipment had fallen into disuse. In winter of 1973 the fishery opened again, and was making up lost ground when, in August of 1977 the fishermen were informed that, due to an algae bloom in the lake, the fish was contaminated for human consumption. All fishing was ordered stopped. On this occasion, natural factors were to blame for the closure, and the fishermen were forced to wait until cooler weather cleared the lake. Fishing began again that winter and has continued up to the present without any problems.

The people of Easterville are very concerned over the state of their fishing industry. This concern came to a peak in March of 1979 when, after frustrated attempts to negotiate a new fish limit for the lake, the fishermen decided to detain four government representatives in the community until they received some action. This "hostage incident",

as it was labeled by the press, was a desperate attempt by the people to get some attention directed towards their plight. In reality, the incident involved no physical abuse and no weapons: the officials were merely asked to "stay" for dinner. Although the road was blockaded to prevent them from leaving in their vehicles, according to one of the organizers, "They could have walked home". The tactic, though drastic, did gain results. Three hours after the incident began the officials were released when the Minister of Natural Resources agreed to meet with the fishermen. At a subsequent meeting, the limit on the lake was raised to 800,000 pounds pending the results of scientific experiments, after which the limit could go up or down.

The fishing year is divided into two seasons, winter (from November 1st to March 31st) and summer (from June 1st to October 31st). Because of the extra hardships involved in the winter operation, and the fewer number of fishermen, the full season from freeze-up to break-up is required to reach the quota. In the summer, however, thousands of pounds of fish are brought in each day, and a six to eight week season is often the result. In the summer of 1979, the limit was reached by August 10th, leaving about a three month gap until the commencement of the winter fishery. This period is often devoid of economic activity.

As of 1978, a total of 132 licenses were held by Easterville fishermen. The licenses are issued separately for

summer and winter, the summer licenses being the most difficult to obtain. This figure, then, does not accurately represent the number of fishermen. For the same year, 1978, a total of 71 fishermen had some income from either or both seasons. From Table IV we can see that the average income in 1978 was $5357 per active licensed fisherman. The same table demonstrates the steady increase in average income throughout the years since 1960. In 1978, the highest income from fishing was $23,497, while the lowest income was $217. This figure can be misleading, however, as the larger income fishermen usually also have the largest expenses. For example, two of the most productive fishermen own large "gas boats" which require a crew of four to six persons, all of whom must be paid from the total caught on the owners' license. In fact, virtually all the fishermen have hired "helpers", who are usually either low-earning licensed fishermen or else unlicensed, and often younger, kinsmen. As Landa (1969) noted, there were very few partnerships in 1968, and the case holds true today. An approximate estimate of the total number of individuals who gain some income from fishing each year would be in the neighbourhood of 160 to 200. This figure would include active licensed fishermen, their helpers, and the seven to ten men who are employed in the fish shed as packers. If, for example, the total income from fishing were divided up equally amongst all those who receive a portion of it (of course this is an

artificial calculation), the average income for 160 men would be only $2377 per year.

We can estimate more realistically the average income of the fisherman in Easterville. Many of the fishermen lamented the fact that their apparently large incomes never seem to amount to much:

> When you're fishing, your pay goes four ways. It goes 25% to M.A.C., that's where you get your outfit. And 25% goes to the store. And 25% goes to us, and 25% to the fish shed for the hired men. When you get that 25%, you've got to pay your man out of that, your gas, your light bill, your telephone bill. Well this summer some guys made $10,000. But that's not clear money. They had to pay everything out of that. Their man, their cars, their trucks. By the time we finish, we're just about even. We've got a lot of fish here, but we don't make any money.

If we examine the expenses incurred by the average fisherman, we can see that this individual is essentially correct. Using the average income of $5357 to represent a hypothetical fisherman, we can estimate expenses for two polar types: the fisherman who has just purchased new equipment and is therefore in debt, and the fisherman who owns all of his equipment outright and is not in debt. To purchase all new equipment would require approximately $4050, which breaks down as follows:

24'	fibreglass boat	$1800
2	outboard motors	1500
15	nets and sinkers and floats	750
		4050

Much, if not all of this equipment must be purchased by credit, therefore 25% of the earnings go towards paying back the debt.

Wages for hired men vary from around $100 per week up to $50 per day in emergencies. Assuming the average fisherman has one helper, and he fishes for a total of 16 weeks each year, he would be paying his man about $1600. There are also basic operating costs to be considered, such as gas, oil, engine repair, and so on. Hedlin-Menzies (1968:11) reported in 1968 that the operating costs were about $1600 per fisherman per year. We can assume, perhaps underestimating, that by 1978 the costs were at least $2000. Therefore, calculating the income of the average fisherman who is in debt, we see this:

Income		5357
Expenses		
hired man	1600	
25% debt repay	1339	
operating costs	2000	
	4939	4939
Net Income		$ 718.00

If the fisherman was not in debt for equipment, his income would be about $2057. Of course debts to the store would be deducted from this amount. Assuming he received a $300 start-up loan, he would then have $1757 remaining.

The expenses of the fishermen are high for a number of reasons, most of which are related to the relocation. Inflation is, of course, inevitable, though prices in the north are generally higher. The relocation of the community moved

the people away from the prime fishing areas. As a result it is necessary to travel twenty or so miles back towards Chemawawin to set the nets, thus burning more fuel. The flooding of the lake has also caused problems. More expensive fiberglass boats are purchased today because they are sturdier in a lake in which twenty foot swells and floating logs and debris are common (however, compared to the older wooden boats, the fiberglass boats will sink, not float, if swamped). The size of the boats has also increased from a range of twelve to sixteen feet at Chemawawin to twenty to twenty-four feet at Easterville, again because of the precarious conditions of the lake. The larger boats, plus the usually rough conditions of the lake, have meant that the small 5 horsepower motors common at Chemamawin are largely ineffective. Fishermen now use two outboard motors (there is the occasional inboard) ranging from 25 to 65 horsepower, with a minimum combined power of at least 50 horsepower. Two motors are necessary to power the boat across the lake, and are advisable in case on malfunctions or is disabled in a collision with a submerged log. The large amount of debris flooting around in the lake also damages the nets. Although Manitoba Hydro will compensate for the damaged nets, it is necessary for the fishermen to retrieve them with the debris still intact. For many, this task is a nuisance, and occasionally impossible. Nets, if proper care is taken, are good for only two seasons. Winter fishing requires some

form of snow machine, either the multi-man "bombardiers" or the smaller "ski-doos". Most fishermen cannot afford to fully equip themselves for both summer and winter fishing.

It is generally believed by all the fishermen that the lake is even more treacherous now than it was before the flooding. Having experienced the lake myself, I must admit that it is dangerous. It is necessary when travelling to post a man in the bow as a look-out for submerged or floating logs. The waves on the lake are also dangerous, and many fishermen believe that in certain places in the lake the waves can hit the boat from two directions. It is not an easy place to earn a living, and occasional drownings do occur. In addition, there is an unreasonable amount of pressure placed on the fishermen to take risks. According to government regulations, fish must be removed from the nets each and every day, regardless of the weather (if left longer than a day the fish will spoil). As a result, it is often necessary to venture out on the lake in very hazardous conditions or risk losing one's license. Fishermen are occasionally forced into shore during storms and the fish spoils anyway. Of course, the desire of the fishermen to make as much money as they can during the short summer season also leads them to take risks, such as overloading the boat.

Overall, since the relocation and flooding of the lake, fish production, especially of the most valuable species,

pickerel and whitefish, has increased (Table V). This is probably due to the increase in the number of fishermen and the utilization of better equipment rather than to any consequence of the flooding. However, at the same time, the increased costs in labour, equipment, and maintenance have off-set this increase in production. As a result, for many of the fishermen, their situation has not improved that much from the pre-relocation state. Though the government has in the past boasted that the Cedar Lake fishery has improved significantly as a result of the flooding (Manitoba Hydro 1980), this is no consolation to the people of Easterville. Unemployment regulations are such that the fishermen are not eligible during the period between the end of the summer fishery and the beginning of the winter fishery, a period of over three months. At Chemawawin, this posed no problem for there were other economic activities to pursue. However, in Easterville, such is not the case, as I shall demonstrate.

C. Trapping.

One result of the flooding of Cedar Lake has been the related flooding of many of the prime trapping areas in the region, including much of the Summerberry Marsh. Landa (1969) noted in 1968 that the number of trappers was on the decline, as were the returns from trapping. This trend has continued up to the present time to the point where there are very few, probably no more than six, individuals in Easterville who still do any trapping. Of these, to my

knowledge and that of many of the other community members, only one trapper is involved in the pursuit with some regularity. Trapping as an economic pursuit and source of income has ceased to exist for the majority of the people of Easterville.

It is difficult to obtain accurate figures which show this decrease in importance of trapping because of the many ways in which such data has been recorded. Table VI presents as complete as possible the returns from trapping for the years 1959 to 1977. These figures are rough estimates and, as indicated from the table, have been accumulated by different sources. In some cases, different sources offered significantly different figures for the same year. The table is presented, therefore, only to show the rapid decrease in trapping since the flooding of the lake and is not presented as accurate. Although no data could be obtained for the years 1972 to 1975, it is apparent that the number of trappers continued to decrease to the present maximum of six. The most tell-tale sign of the decline in trapping is presented by Teillet (1979:317) who demonstrates that, of the twenty communities in northern Manitoba, Easterville ranks last in average returns per trapper as of 1977. According to Teillet (1979:317), the average for all the communities is $966 per trapper, while it is $271 per trapper for Easterville.

Easterville is actually located within the Grand Rapids

Registered Trapline, which caused some tension with the Grand Rapids trappers shortly after the relocation. However, the Easterville trappers have, since the move, continued to trap in the same general areas as they did before. Despite the fact that numerous dykes were constructed by Manitoba Hydro in an attempt to save the fur grounds, most of the traditional areas were destroyed. The majority of the trapping at present occurs 40 to 50 miles back towards Chemawawin, in the remnants of the Summerberry Marsh or in the Connoly Lake area. The cost of a trapping expedition is prohibitive for most residents, especially when compared to the expected return. As one former trapper lamented, "It's not worthwhile, not like it used to be". In fact, the only remaining active trapper in the community finds it necessary to venture out for long periods of time, up to one month, in order to make the enterprise economically feasible. Most of the trappers are unwilling to spend such a long time in isolation in the bush. This trapper maintains that one can still make good money from trapping, but only if one works extraordinarily hard. The muskrat are much more difficult to find than before the flooding, and it is necessary for him to cover a very large area. According to this trapper, it is not even worth the effort to trap in the winter, and he restricts most of his activity to the early spring, before the beginning of the fishing season.

D. Hunting

While hunting remains a favorite activity among the men of Easterville, a number of factors have developed since the relocation which have drastically reduced the importance of this activity as a source of food. As I mentioned in a previous chapter, the prime hunting area was the Summerberry Marsh and the area just to the west of Chemawawin up the Saskatchewan River. The flooding of the lake has adversely affected both areas. One must travel many miles up the Saskatchewan River before there is any significant land to support a moose population. Even in these areas much of the land is now swamp and very difficult to travel through. Most hunters complain of the hazards of landing their boats in these areas. Similarly, the outlying marsh areas have been submerged, which has resulted in a shift in the waterfowl population, especially ducks. While they appear to be abundant in other areas, most hunters feel that the duck population has actually been severely affected. This decrease in the population of wild game is also attributed by the Easterville hunters to the increasing number of sportsmen, specifically "Americans", who travel down the Saskatchewan River from The Pas to compete with the local hunters.

The fact that the game population, especially moose, has declined means that, unlike at Chemawawin, there is no longer any certainty that a hunting trip will be successful. Throughout the summer I was in Easterville many ill-fated hunting

trips were launched, including a few in which I was involved. When this uncertainty is combined with the fact that a hunting excursion back to the favoured areas is expensive, it is understandable that for many Easterville men hunting is but a fond memory of the past. As one hunter explained:

> When a guy goes out hunting ducks, he has to go a long way, back to Chemawawin, that's where the good ducks are. Same thing with the moose, that's where the moose are. But it's far from here. You burn about 60 or 70 gallons to go there and back. If you don't have 60 or 70, you might as well not go. And if you don't get anything, well that's tough luck. And our family is here waiting for us to bring something to eat. Not everybody can afford it. You need two motors to go there, a lot of gas, grub. And if you get nothing, well that's tough luck. You lose a lot of money. Not like in the old days at Chemawawin. And it happens quite a few times, when these guys go hunting, especially in the summer, and they come home with a moose, and all of a sudden a storm comes. And they have to wait for that storm, one day, or two days, and the meat goes bad. Maybe three days, nothing to eat, you run out of grub.

Darby (1978), in a wildlife consumption and use survey of Easterville in 1977, calculated that a hunting trip back to the favorite areas cost around $155 for gas, oil, food and ammunition. We can estimate, with the rising costs since 1977, especially of gasoline, that the cost is somewhere in the neighbourhood of $180. This is a large expenditure when there is no guarantee of success. One group of hunters this past summer needed three such trips to catch one moose, or a total expenditure of about $540. When this is compared to Chemawawin, where less than a full days hunting often netted two or three moose at minimal expense, it is evident that the change in this aspect of the lives of the people

has been significant.

Most of the hunting now occurs only in the fall. Fishing is too important to take time off during that season in the summer, although weekend trips were not uncommon. Also in the fall, with the cooler weather, decomposition of the meat is slower. For the most part, these hunting trips are for the express purpose of killing moose, but duck hunting is carried out simultaneously. Duck hunting also occurs in the Kawinaw Lake area, about 40 miles south-east of Easterville.

Despite the inherent problems involved in hunting, it is still a favourite activity of the men in Easterville. However, all are concerned with the rising costs of these expeditions and the decreasing moose population. As Darby (1978:18) notes, most of the hunters agree that a special area should be set aside for Easterville hunters only, in the same way that commercial fishing on Cedar Lake is restricted. She recommends that a wildlife management program be developed "to produce increased self-sufficiency through a greater dependence on wild game" (Darby 1977:21). While such a plan would increase the availability of game, an additional scheme aimed at reducing the costs of hunting expeditions would also be required.

E. Lumber, Logging and the Woods Industry

As outlined in the letter of intent, the Forebay Committee promised to develop a woods industry as a supplementary source of employment for the people of Chemawawin. The attempt to

fulfill this promise represents, in a nutshell, what the relocation of the people of Chemawawin really involved: there is confusion, lack of communication, poor judgment and errors at every turn. The development of the woods industry actually occurred in three phases, each of which will be discussed.

The idea of a woods industry initially surfaced in 1967 with a recommendation from Indians Affairs to the Forebay Committee that "the people of Cedar Lake are ready and willing to get into the woods industry". A two-year project was subsequently planned with the purpose of training the people to operate and manage all levels of this industry. Some of the equipment which was on-site at Easterville, left over from the site clearing, was moved to Denbeigh Point, seventeen miles away, where a sawmill was to be situated. The operation was to involve all aspects of a sawmill, such as felling, limbing, skidding, and sawing. The plan called for employment of about 15 men working regular 40 hour weeks for the bulk of the year. It was anticipated that the operation would be designed such that, after an initial year or two, the total operation would be turned over to the people.

Almost from the very beginning the operation was plagued with problems. As Landa (1969) noted only a year after the operation had begun, many of the workers were complaining of the location of the mill. Workers had to choose between staying in Easterville and commuting the 17 miles to Denbeigh

Point, a very difficult trip in the winter, or else to take up residence at the mill site in inferior houses and away from kin and friends. As a result, it became very difficult for the manager, a Euro-Canadian, to maintain a labour force of Easterville men. When he began recruiting elsewhere, he was soundly criticized by the Forebay Committee, Indian Affairs, and the political leaders in Easterville. The reason for the location of the sawmill at Denbeigh Point was supposedly that there were better timber stands in the area. However, one government employee wrote of this 'superior' timber:

> I'm sure no private operator would give this junk a second look for sawlog or boxwood material ... An operation of this nature is a joke.

The Chief of the Chemawawin Indian Band perhaps expressed the opinion of all concerned when he stated in a brief to the Forebay Committee:

> In our logging operation, we had to skid skinny little fire-killed jackpine logs with a D6 for which we were charged $10 per hour. No wonder we went in the hole. Nobody could skid enough logs that way to make it pay.

It is also apparent that the equipment which the loggers had to use was old and often in need of repair, necessitating long delays and costly repairs.

After almost two years of staggered production, the Forebay Committee decided it was time to let the local people assume control, and released the manager. This was done despite the fact that the operation was losing money at an enormous pace and was operating only occasionally. It

is also apparent that the three levels involved, Northern Affairs, Indian Affairs, and the Forebay Committee, were experiencing their own problems co-ordinating the project. Finally, a warning was issued to the Committee after the first years operation that "nothing in the organization of the woods operation allows for the development of progressive management and takeover by the Indian logging crews". No heed was paid to this warning. Shortly after the manager was released, the operation collapsed.

Phase two of the development of a woods industry in Easterville commenced in 1971 when the people again expressed a desire for such an enterprise. Meetings began with members of the Department of Renewable Resources (Manitoba), who decided that a "community resource development process" would be best suited to the task at hand (Thompson 1977). Negotiations continued throughout the following years. A decision was made that the operation would involve the cutting of fence-posts, and subsequently, in 1974, the Easterville Development Committee was formed. This committee's function was to organize the operation and approach various agencies for funding. In an effort to do so, they called a meeting at The Pas to be attended by representatives of Northern Affairs, Information Communication, Canada Manpower, Northern Manpower Corp., Keewatin Community College, and the Department of Renewable Resources (Thompson 1977:28). This meeting, however, ended in confusion as each group attempted

to explain their specific separate responsibilities instead of co-ordinating a plan of action.

Undaunted, the Easterville Development Committee, aided by a forestry extension worker, managed to secure a contract with ManFor of The Pas for one year to supply 400,000 posts. In order to secure funding to begin the operation, the committee applied for a DREE grant. This application encountered two problems. First, the DREE grant was actually a reimbursement paid after the company had begun manufacturing posts. Second, to apply, the committee had to form a legal entity. Securing the services of a lawyer, the committee became the Easterville Harvesting Company, with the shares in the Company split three ways among the three committee members and held in trust for the people of Easterville (Thompson 1977:30). A special ARDA grant was secured and Northern Manpower Corp. agreed to offer a training course for bush cutters. In order to get enough money to start up the operation, the Company applied to the Communities Economic Development Fund, who agreed to conduct a feasibility investigation into the operation. They concluded that the operation was viable, but that the Company would have to hire a skilled manager. With some effort, a manager was located. By the time the operation was ready to actually begin cutting, they were five months behind in their contract with ManFor. Employing upwards of 45 people, the Company managed to supply 310,000 of the 400,000 posts in the remaining seven months,

a rather remarkable accomplishment. However, at the end of the one year contract with ManFor, the market for fence posts collapsed, and ManFor declined to renew the contract. At this point, in 1976, the Department of Renewable Resources agreed to buy the posts, for which they had no use, to keep the Company going. However, less than a year later the money ran out and the Department was forced to halt the purchasing. In a desperate attempt to keep the Company operating, the cutters were sent to work picking cones off the trees for sale. Interest in this waned, and the Easterville Harvesting Company went into receivership.

The third and final phase in the development of a woods industry in Easterville began in September of 1978 when the people once again expressed a desire to get into the business to alleviate the chronic unemployment in the community. The Easterville Logging Operation once again negotiated a contract with ManFor to purchase logs. The program was designed to last for six months as a trial operation, and $25,000 was allotted to the band to get the industry underway. However, production quickly fell behind schedule and the operation was closed down after only two months.

There are two views concerning the collapse of this project. The Department of Indian Affairs faults the cutters themselves, stating they did not take proper care of the machinery, resulting in a withdrawal of this equipment by the

lessors. In contrast, a representative of the band believes that a substantial proportion of the $25,000 was never made available to finance the project properly. Regardless of who is correct, the major point is that, once again, a woods operation for the people of Easterville failed.

At the time of my fieldwork, no lumbering was being undertaken by members of the community. Interest still exists for some type of operation, though on a smaller and more individualistic scale. It is not really feasible for operations of the size of those attempted to be successful in the market-oriented, boom-and-bust world of commercial forestry. Marginal operations are perhaps even more vulnerable to these kinds of problems. The solution would appear to be either a long-term, intensive operation, which would probably require the cutters and their families to move away from Easterville, or else to forget the whole idea and dedicate the time, money, and effort towards developing some other aspect of the Easterville economy. In light of the fact that all of the projects so far attempted have failed, the latter alternative appears to be the most feasible.

F. Wage Labour

One change which has occurred in the lives of some of the people since the relocation has been the increase in importance of wage labour. While there were no full-time jobs in Chemawawin, there are about 14 such positions

in Easterville. There are also part-time jobs available to Easterville residents, as well as a number of seasonally fluctuating casual jobs.

The Easterville Co-Operative employs five Easterville residents in occupations ranging from assistant manager to gas attendant. The school employs one full-time and one part-time janitor. Three men are employed full-time as the sanitation crew. The Chemawawin Indian Band employs a band manager, a receptionist, a welfare officer, and an education councillor, and the Easterville Community Council employs a receptionist. There is one part-time nurse's aide in the community who works with the registered nurse (a Euro-Canadian). At the time of my field work there existed one community constable and one band constable. At least two men earn some income in the taxi business, one local owns a small restaurant, and another owns a pool hall.

Casual labour is also common in Easterville, though because of its nature this type of employment tends to fluctuate. Summer is generally the height of casual labour employment as many government projects take place in the community or in the surrounding area. In the summer of 1979, there were two separate housing projects underway, one contracted to a local resident on the reserve, and the other a provincial government operation on the Metis side. In total, about twenty men were employed in this activity. Towards the end of the summer, construction to improve

Highway #327 near the community began and at least five men were hired by the contractor. During the summer, a few men found some employment in forest fire fighting, though this was of short duration.

The actual figure of total income brought into the community through wage labour cannot be determined. Many individuals refused to disclose their wage figures, while some forms of employment were so unstable in nature that any estimate by me was impossible. Though Landa (1969) indicates that, as of 1968, the availability of casual labour for the residents of Easterville was on the decline, this appears no longer to be the case. As Landa indicates, the reduction in opportunities in 1968 was probably due to the completion of the community itself as well as the dam. In the years following, it is clear that the government, both federal and provincial, has attempted to implement a number of make-work programs. While these kinds of activities certainly provide a needed source of income for the people, and especially for the young men, they present two basic problems. First, of course, the projects are designed as temporary 'stop-gap' measures designed to alleviate briefly the unemployment problem in the community. One might present the argument that the resources could be better utilized in developing a more long-term industrial strategy. Second, as most of the projects are government sponsored and funded, they tend to perpetuate the distinction in the community

between the reserve side and the Metis side. The housing projects are a good example of this. One contract was awarded to a local treaty Indian by the federal government (Indian Affairs). Housing types, plus the hiring practice (all treaty men) are distinct from the other housing project, sponsored by the provincial government for the Metis side, and employing Metis work crews. Development projects for the entire community do not exist. This problem will be further discussed in a subsequent section.

G. Other Economic Pursuits

A common source of income in Easterville is bootlegging. While some informants have pointed out upwards of sixteen residents involved in this activity, most of this is of a casual variety. There are perhaps five or six residents who sell beer in a serious manner. As the nearest liquor outlet is an hour's drive away at Grand Rapids, the business can be quite lucrative: a 100% mark-up is common on beer. It was pointed out to me that, on a good night, a bootlegger can net upwards of $300 in profit in this manner.

The gardens which were so prevalent at Chemawawin are virtually extinct in Easterville. The people clearly regret this fact, and perhaps the single most common complaint heard when asking a question about Easterville is that there are too many rocks. For example,

> Here we have to buy our potatoes. We can't plant anything. Too many rocks. We are not seagulls, anyway. That's where they live, in the rocks.

During the summer of 1979, there were only two gardens in the entire community, and both were only marginally productive. Other informants who had tried to grow vegetables in the past viewed such effort as a waste of time. As a result, vegetables must be purchased from the Co-Op store. However, this practice is limited for a number of reasons. First, the high cost of fresh vegetables prohibits many of the people from purchasing them. Second, because of the long distance which the vegetables must be transported, produce is often spoiled by the time it reaches the community. Third, because of the previous two factors, the store stocks only limited quantities and varieties of vegetables, and those that arrive in good shape are quickly sold. Fresh vegetables are no longer an important source of food for the residents.

According to an air photo study one of the community by Wardrop and Associates (1978), the majority of the land in the community is not suitable for agricultural development, and "development of vegetable gardens on these silty gravel soils would require importation of suitable organic soils and provision of irrigation water" (1978:8). There does exist an area of about 150 acres in the south-east corner of the reserve which has agricultural potential, but this area is far away from the actual residential area. The family-type garden operation of which the people are familiar would be impractical here, and development would require a large-scale community action project.

As Landa (1969:54) noted in 1968, seneca root is no longer harvested in Easterville. Berries, however, still provide an additional dietary item, and the bush around Easterville and along the highway contains a wide variety, especially cranberries, strawberries, and raspberries.

H. Sources of Food

As can be expected, fish constitutes the major proportion of "natural" food consumed by the people of Easterville. Other natural food sources are rabbit, duck, grouse and moose. While there are no accurate statistics, it is apparent that the majority of foods do not come from these natural sources. As Darby (1978:10) indicates, most of the food now comes from the Co-Op store, and, to a lesser extent, from the stores at Grand Rapids, Denbeigh Point, and The Pas. As I stated previously, fresh produce is no longer important, and therefore the major source of vegetables are canned varieties. Darby (1978:10) found that hamburger and porkchops were the most important sources of frozen meat purchased, followed by chicken. Beef, because of its high cost, is rarely purchased. However, it would be erroneous to assume that new sources of meat have replaced equally those wild sources no longer available to the community. Evidence indicates that overall consumption of meat products has declined since the relocation. Moose is now a delicacy, not a staple, and even store-bought meat is almost rare. Canned dinners, macaroni and spaghetti have replaced much

of the meat as food sources. The store also sells a variety of sweets, cookies, potato chips, etc., which are also popular.

The shift from a predominantly natural food diet to a store-bought diet, and the reduction in the consumption of fresh meats and vegetables, has had inevitable consequences for the health of the people. These will be discussed in a later section.

I. Social Assistance Payments

Social assistance has increased significantly since the relocation and is therefore a direct reflection of the dwindling economic base of the community. Table VII represents the total payments received from all forms of social assistance for the years 1962 and 1974 to 1978. It should be pointed out that the figures for 1974 to 1978 reflect only the assistance received by the treaty members of the community. The third column is an estimation of the assistance recieved by the total community for these years.

Social assistance includes three aspects, economic, social and health assistance. Economic assistance includes unemployment insurance, of which none existed in Chemawawin. In Easterville, fishermen are only allowed unemployment insurance in the spring between fishing seasons. Social assistance includes pension and family allowances, and health assistance includes disability payments. Economic and social assistance are the most common forms in Easter-

ville. Predictably, the months of highest assistance are those between fishing seasons, October through December and April through June.

Welfare is a problem which is taken seriously by both the political leaders and the community members. Many individuals feel that welfare, though necessary under certain circumstances, is destroying the pride of the people and, in some cases, their will to work. Welfare payments are issued in the form of vouchers to be exchanged for food and merchandise at the store, thus denying the individual the opportunity to make his own purchasing decisions. Many of my informants admitted having applied for welfare, but almost all agreed they would have preferred active employment. As one informant explained, "Welfare people are not too happy". My own observations corroborate this. The elderly appear to be especially distraught at having to depend on welfare, as this example demonstrates:

> But I tell you, I don't like this [the welfare] in Easterville. I just don't like it. I'm on welfare right now, and it's pretty hard. I have two daughters ... I can hardly support them. I'm all alone. I miss everything.

During the "hostage incident" related earlier many accusations were levelled by members of the provincial and federal governments that the unemployment insurance regulations were to blame for the problems in the community. Most of these individuals were surprised when they were told very bluntly by the chief that the people did not want unemploy-

ment and that that was not the issue. "We want to be able to fish, not collect U.I.C.", he stated in a local paper. This would appear to be the prevalent attitude among the people of Easterville. Welfare is accepted reluctantly, and there exists still a sense of embarrassment in doing so. The people of Easterville, above all, want to work.

Economic Life: Comment

It is evident that a number of sweeping changes have occurred since the relocation. A diversified economic base has been reduced to a seasonal, uncertain, single resource to be exploited through a new economic institution. The last fifteen years have seen a decline in the importance of wild sources of food with an increase in store-bought goods. Social assistance payments have risen in proportion to declining economic opportunities. Finally, government attempts to expand the economic base of the community have failed. It is to be expected, therefore, that these changes in the economic life would have a profound effect on social life in the community.

Social and Political Structure

In a community such as Easterville, the social and political structures are interrelated, and the distinction between what is 'social' and what is 'political' can be made only with great difficulty. It is evident that the relocation and subsequent events have intensified both spheres and thus complicated the situtation. As I demonstrated earlier, the

social and political structure at Chemawawin was relatively uncomplicated. There was neither the need for political leadership nor the kinds of contentious issues that divide a community along kinship lines. The trader performed the leadership role to a great extent, eliminating the necessity for strong local leaders. The relocation, however, brought a change to all of this. Throughout the negotiation process, it was necessary for the inexperienced leaders to make decisions which would affect all of the people for generations to come. It was at this point that the social and political structure began to change.

The three major kinship groups that existed in Chemawawin are still in evidence today in Easterville. Over time, they have changed very little and appear to be only slightly more active than in the past. These groups are most active in politics, but even here their activity appears passive when compared to the factional disputes characteristic of other reserves. It would, in fact, be difficult to label such groups as "factions". The one possible exception to this would be the status of the kin group of the former chief of Chemawawin for whom the community is named. While there exists on the Band Council a representative from each kinship group (and, interestingly, no members from the other smaller families), it may be significant that, of the three chiefs elected since the relocation, none has been a member of this group. There does not appear to be any great passion

on the part of members of particular groups to have their candidates elected. That is, although this is probably desirable, there does not exist a great deal of conflict between the groups during elections. While kinship is important, it does not appear as clearly the main consideration when electing councillors. On a more social level, kinship affiliation also appears to be secondary to other considerations when selecting friends and marriage partners. Again, the one possible exception is the family of the ex-chief of Chemawawin.

As I mentioned earlier, the affiliation of the chief with the trader maintained his family as the "technological elite" of Chemawawin. However, with the relocations to the new community, the power base of the chief and his family was eroded. First, the trader did not relocate with the band, and hence the source of the chief's influence disappeared. Second, the son of the chief was rejected in an election held shortly after the relocation, thus eliminating their political power. The result has been, in a sense, the factionalization of this kinship group in the new setting. There appears to be a great deal of antagonism directed towards this group by other members of the community both treaty and Metis. This antagonism is evident in a number of arenas. While the homes of the other two kinship groups are grouped in the same general area of the reserve, those of the third are much more clearly grouped and located apart. This area is referred to by both

themselves and others as "their" area. The children of this kin group do not often stray far from this area, and the teenagers do not frequent dances, movies, or sports activities, for fear of being beaten. The feeling that they must "stick together" is strong among these people. Their homes are the object of a disproportionate amount of vandalism, and an evening at home is often spent with the lights out in hopes that no one will bother them. Some of the men even have their boats located at the far side of the harbour away from the rest. My enquiries as to the reason for this antagonism were readily answered, but in an unsatisfactory manner. The members of this kin group are unsure of the nature of the feelings towards them, some of them believing it is because "we're the best". Other individuals who have been involved in aggressive acts directed towards these people state that they do so "because they are E's", and for no other reason. Members of this group still manage to obtain some of the better jobs in the community because of their training and experience, received under the guidance of the free trader at Chemawawin. I would speculate that these people are victimized because the ex-chief was a key man responsible for negotiating the surrender of the land and the selection of the new site, for which everyone is unhappy, and because his family was, for so long, in a privileged position in Chemawawin. With the power base no longer existent, the resentment has surfaced.

It is not possible to state that there is a clear division along class lines among the indigenous members of the community. Naturally, the Euro-Canadians constitute a distinct upper class, as is the case in most northern native communities. But among the other inhabitants, these distinctions have not emerged. The increase in cash flow in the community has allowed many to purchase modern conveniences for their homes. Televisions, stereos, and freezers are not uncommon. Virtually every family owns a refrigerator and a stove. Automobiles are also very common. Some people have managed to acquire many of these things, and clearly exhibit what might be called 'middle-class' values. In fact, some of the homes in the community are astonishingly well furnished and equipped. The best indication that classes may be emerging is the unequal distribution of equipment necessary to undertake economic pursuits, especially fishing. As I have already demonstrated, a significant cash outlay is necessary to get started in the fishing industry and to maintain and operate one's equipment. The size of one's boat, and the total horsepower of one's engines are important distinctions which residents make. Certain men have totally abandoned hope of getting into the fishing business for themselves, and have become "helpers" or wage earners for other, more successful fishermen. At the present time, class distinctions are not clear; however, the future should see such distinctions emerge.

The key to understanding the new social order in Easter-

ville, to a great extent, has to do with the development of a townsite, as opposed to the settlement type pattern at Chemawawin. The people now reside in houses lined, for the most part, in rows along named streets which spread over only a fraction of the area allotted to the band. The division between the "reserve" and the "community" or Metis residential area actually constitutes two of the main roads in the community which meet at the centre of the town. One side of the road is the "reserve", the other side, "Metis". The reader will recall that at Chemawawin the Metis were located on an island and were not, therefore, part of the mainland settlement. The new arrangement was the creation of the Forebay Committee. I do not believe, however, that the resulting social and political situation in Easterville is the product of any underlying distinction between the treaty and the non-treaty people. As I have already mentioned, such a distinction did not exist at Chemawawin despite (or because of) the frequency of interaction between the members of the two groups. In Easterville, the conflict which has arisen, especially in the political sphere, is the product of the 'unnatural' forces of government intervention in the lives of the people. One side of the community is under the jurisdiction of the federal government, while the other side is under the jurisdiction of the provincial government. Since the relocation, many government representatives have entered the community to discuss

affairs with the respective 'sides'. Economic projects, housing projects, and social assistance projects have been oriented towards one or the other side. Even the grading of the roads demonstrates the distinction between the two sides: the province keeps the roads on the Metis side in much better shape than does the federal government for the reserve side. As a result of this activity, each side of the community has developed its own consciousness or identity as different from the other side, a consciousness which was lacking prior to the relocation.

The band is administered by a council consisting of a Chief and four councillors, elected for two-year terms. The band receives its funding from the Department of Indian Affairs (federal) and is at present responsible for a budget of about $43,000. It is a member of two native organizations, the Manitoba Indian Brotherhood, and the Swampy Cree Tribal Council. The latter has recently assumed control over most of the matters concerning its constituent bands from the federal government, and marks a progressive step towards Indian control of Indian lives. At the present moment, the Swampy Cree Tribal Council provides legal, economic, and governmental advice to the members of the Chemawawin Indian Band. The movement within the band is towards increasing local control of services administered by the federal government; in this respect, the school will be placed under band control in 1980.

The Band Council as a unit appears to be capable of functioning effectively despite a number of not unexpected personality clashes. Most councillors, as well as other band members, are satisfied with the job that the Chief is doing. Keeping with 'tradition', he is rarely available for consultation and comes into the office semi-regularly about once a week to deal with band affairs. As Mason (1967:43) has indicated for other Swampy Cree bands, the Chief is kept busy with his own fishing and trapping. Attendance of the other councillors is no better, however, restricting most of their activity to band meetings once a month and attendance at meetings with government personnel. Even the band manager thinks nothing of taking a day off for a trip to The Pas. At this stage of the political development of the Chemawain Band, such activity is possible as there is very little for any member of the council to do. However, with the increasing move towards local control more time will have to be spent on band matters. At the present time it is necessary for the council members to work at other economic pursuits in order to support their families. As long as this remains the case, the political development of the band will be inhibited.

The Easterville Community Council, representing the Metis, consists of a mayor and three councillors, elected for two-year terms. This council is funded by the provincial government under Manitoba's Northern Affairs Act. They are

also members of the Association of Northern Affairs Community Councils and the Manitoba Metis Federation. The Community Council administers about $26,000 per year for community developments (Manitoba n.d.).

The Community Council functions less than the Band Council, and, in fact, has less to do. There are no full-time employees of the Council, though there is a part-time receptionist and a constable. Members of this council, like members of the Band Council, are involved in community activity through the Co-Operative.

The relationship between the two councils is presently one of conflict, though it would appear that in the past there was a greater degree of harmony and co-operation. It is apparent that the two councils operated together just prior to and immediately following the relocation, and that the rift has developed since this time.

Two former chiefs (in office since the relocation) have both indicated to me that they experienced few problems in co-operating with the Community Council on matters of concern to the entire community. Joint council meetings were held whenever necessary, especially when the representatives of the Forebay Committee and other government officials were in town. They both also agree that there was no lack of communication between the two sides, and offer as evidence of their co-operation the Community Complex and the breakwater. However, in contrast, members of the Forebay Committee

were concerned that the two sides be brought together to form a joint council as a legal entity so that funds could be made available to the leaders to be utilized for community-wide projects. As early as 1969 the Forebay Committee was investigating ways to create such a body. The band itself has on numerous occasions expressed a desire to unite with the Metis council to facilitate the handling of community affairs. To date, no such organization has been formed.

The rift between the two councils appears to have widened as each become more and more responsible for its own affairs through the accession of government responsibility. Also, both the federal and provincial governments have increased their participation in the community on the respective sides. There is little question that a "reserve" or "treaty" and a "Metis" or "non-treaty" identity has developed. The following cases will illustrate this point.

Case #1.

Beginning in the spring of 1979, the Easterville Fishermen's Association began extensive negotiations with the Ministry of Natural Resources concerning an increase in the fish quota for Cedar Lake. At about the time of the negotiations, the Manitoba Indian Brotherhood held an all-chiefs conference in Winnipeg, at which the Chemawawin Chief attended. Shortly after this conference, negotiations began to falter with the Ministry of Natural Resources.

Some of the Metis assumed that the Chief had ruined the negotiations by meeting with the Minister while in Winnipeg. To quote one Metis councillor:

> He's [the Chief] always changing his mind. He takes on too many things at once and never completes them. I hope he didn't blow it [in Winnipeg]. He doesn't give a damn about our side.

A member of the Band Council presented a different perspective:

> According to the rumour, it was the Chief's fault that that thing [the negotiations] almost went down the drain. Now the fact is that that isn't true. It's on their side, you know, that made this mistake. There's one person from over there, the Metis side, who went and talked to the Minister.

Case #2.

The band has recently acquired control of the school, which is situated on the reserve, and is to be responsible for all aspects of its operation. The janitor of the school, a Metis, was given a layoff letter as a matter of routine since his employer, Indian Affairs, was, in a sense, 'selling the company'. It is now the band's decision to rehire this man or hire someone else. However, the story quickly circulated through the community that the Band Council had fired him in order to hire a treaty janitor, a fact which, at this time, has not been substantiated. The mayor of the Community Council and his councillors protested strongly this action. The deputy-mayor, perhaps the most prominent Metis citizen in the community, went even further and withdrew his children from the school, and attempted to influence other Metis to do the same. The attitude of the Band Council

to this move is expressed in the following comment:

> If we want the Chief and Council to hold things, that's our business. Like, if we take control of the school, that's our business, not theirs. They can resent the fact that we're taking control of the school. If they want to take their kids to Grand Rapids there's nothing we can do.

Case #3.

Throughout the summer of 1979, the community constable (i.e. Metis), employed by the Community Council, took it upon himself to also respond to calls from the reserve side. The band constable, a woman, appeared to be apathetic towards her job and, in any event, incapable of handling the kinds of circumstances that often arise. A precedent had been set, however, by a previous band constable who made it a point to respond to calls on the Metis side. After one particularly busy weekend in which the community constable answered five or six calls on the reserve side in one night, a sign was posted in the Co-Op store stating that the constable would no longer respond to reserve side calls. The decision had apparently been made by the Community Council and was, technically, a legal one. The constable actually had no legal authority on the reserve, though tradition had dictated otherwise. This decision provoked an outcry from the band councillors and other members of the band, who were openly distraught at the prospects of having no law on their side (the R.C.M.P. are located at Grand Rapids). One band councillor expressed his opinion of the

situation:

> Have you seen the notice about the constable. I don't understand that. They don't realize that he's living on reserve land. I wonder if the person who put up the sign is aware of that. If he doesn't want to make a reserve call, we should kick him off the reserve. Keep him where he belongs.

These three cases are good examples of the rift between the Band and Community Councils, having occurred within the span of two months. The basic attitude of both the councils is best summarized by one of the band councillors:

> See, that's the thing. I know my rights, my identity as a treaty Indian. The Indian way of life. But what about the Metis? There are certain rights that they don't have. They are under provincial jurisdiction. Whatever they accomplish with the provincial government, that's none of our business. And what we accomplish on our side, on our reserve, that's none of their business. Each council looks after its own.

Despite this prevailing attitude and a clear understanding of the causes of the rift, virtually all the councillors lament the fact that they are unable to co-operate for the good of the whole community. The result of this independent operation of two councils is a patchwork community, with physical differences only one of many indications of the border. The reader should not be misled, however: the fact that the two councils do not co-operate does not mean that concerns of the whole community are never acted upon jointly by members of both sides. There is one other organization in Easterville which serves to cross-cut kinship and treaty-status lines: the Easterville Fishermen's Association, or, in a wider sense, the Co-Operative. When it comes to their livelihood,

fishing, the men of Easterville, and particularly the political leaders, seem to be able to set aside their differences to present a united front in their negotiations with the government.

The Fishermen's Association is a branch of the Co-Op to which all licensed fishermen belong. The Board of Directors of the Association is essentially that of the Co-Op, and comprises an equal split between Metis and treaty people. On the present Board is the Band Chief, Deputy-Mayor, a past chief and a past mayor, plus a band councillor and a community councillor. However, in spite of the volatile composition of this Board, the degree of co-operation is extraordinary. The "hostage incident" represents an excellent example of co-operation, co-ordination, political sophistication, and intestinal fortitude. The reader may recall that the incident was the result of the repeatedly frustrated attempts by the fishermen to negotiate a new limit for their lake. Such action as detaining provincial employees is truly a drastic measure, but one which the members of the Board had thoroughly discussed and consented to. In fact, they had the overwhelming support of the fishermen and other community members in this action.

Towards the end of summer, 1979, I was fortunate enough to be involved in a three-day meeting between the Ministry of Natural Resources and the Fishermen's Association and was able to see these individuals in action. Throughout the

meetings they were all united in cause, that being, to improve the fishery. There was no hint of political or kinship factionalization. Throughout the meetings, the members of the Board often discussed issues among themselves, sometimes in an adjoining room, and sometimes in Cree in front of the Deputy Minister. After each day's session had ended, these individuals met again to discuss the days progress and to discuss strategy for the next day. When the Deputy Minister insisted he could not deal with a number of issues unless he had written resolutions from the Board, to his surprise the President of the Co-Op called for an adjournment, at which time the members of the Board met and drew up the necessary resolutions. Throughout the entire negotiation process the Board, not the government, was in control.

The social and political situation in Easterville is, as one can see, much more complex than it was at Chemawawin. Socially, there does not appear to be any antagonism between members of the two sides; politically, this is not the case. The two councils are presently finding it difficult, within the present structural organization, to co-operate in community-wide projects. As I have stated, this fact is probably the result of increasing provincial and federal government intervention, especially in the form of budget increases and, for the band, the move towards "local control". The Co-Op, on the other hand, is an organization of which every adult is a member, and the branch of the Co-Op known

as the Easterville Fishermen's Association represents equally the needs of Metis and treaty people. This organization demonstrates that co-operation between the two sides is possible and, in fact, highly productive, when there is an important common interest to bind them. Fishing provides that interest, and the provincial government provides the target which encourages unification. It would appear that the hope for political success for the future of Easterville lies with the Co-Operative or, possibly, a parallel organization.

Health

There is little question that the health of the people of Easterville has deteriorated since the relocation. This is especially remarkable when one considers that the level of health care has improved significantly since that time. A community health nurse is stationed full-time in the community and has a well-equipped nursing station at her disposal. At present, a doctor visits the community for one full day every week to consult with patients. A dental clinic is held once every year, and an optometrist visits the community on a yearly basis.

The community nurse, aided by a local nurse's aide capable of handling most of the cases that arise. If a case is serious, the patient is referred to the doctor on one of his visits. If a case requires immediate attention, two taxis are available in the community to transport patients

to The Pas, about a two-hour trip.

Alcohol can be both a health and a social problem, and such is the case in Easterville. As a health problem, alcohol abuse can lead to alcoholism, obesity, and related problems. There is no question that many people in Easterville have an alcohol problem, ranging in age from early teens to the very old. It is impossible to say that a certain percentage of the people are alcoholics, as no data is available on this. From my own observations of the common pattern of drinking in the community, I would predict that the figure is probably not that large. Alcohol consumption is characterized by periodic heavy use followed by long periods of abstention, thus inhibiting the development of alcoholism. The most susceptible group to alcoholism would appear to be the elderly, those individuals who are no longer economically productive. The following cases are excellent examples:

Case #1.

F. is in her seventies, and had been married to a prominent member of the band. Her husband had died about ten years ago, and since that time her drinking had increased steadily. At one point during the summer of 1979, she drank constantly for almost four weeks, ignoring the pleas of her family. On more than one occasion she lapsed into unconsciousness and had to be aided by the nurse. After each episode, she continued drinking. Eventually her family had to use force to get her to stop. Most of them admit

that she came very close to killing herself through excessive drinking.

Case #2.

G., a Metis, in her mid-sixties, is widowed. Her drinking problem is well-known in the community. Apparently it has existed since shortly after the relocation. She is seen constantly, almost everyday, wandering from house to house in hopes of finding some beer. In my discussions with her, she admits to spending far too much money on beer, but says it helps her "feel better". She is very bitter about the relocation, and thoughts of Chemawawin often brought tears to her eyes. "I don't like this place", she exclaimed continuously.

In these two cases, and in many others, the abuse of alcohol appears to be related to a form of mental depression which has developed since the relocation. I am not the only individual to observe this. Many other people, including health officials, church officials, education officials, councillors and general community members have also made similar remarks. According to one health official:

> A lot of the older people are in a state of morbidity. A depression. It's sort of a low level depression. They survive and they go on from day to day, but they're not happy. And you can see it in their eyes. And when your not emotionally healthy, your physical health can suffer as well. A lot of these people are sick, and it's because they don't have the will and the happiness to be healthy. Every elderly person in the community is a part of the caseload. That is due to the fact that they need somebody to cheer them, somebody to express their feelings to about the move, things they

> remembered about the Old Post, and how the changes have come about. How their children are suffering, and how it wasn't like that when they were children.

While it would be erroneous to assume that all elderly people are experiencing depression, it is clear that many of them are. Similarly, it must be stated that not all elderly people have alcohol problems; probably the minority do. Alcohol abuse is, of course, one product of such depression, and such abuse usually creates even further depression. However, depression in Easterville occurs with or without alcohol. Many of my elderly informants who were non-drinkers exhibited the same symptoms of depression as those who were drinkers. According to Schuyler (1974:2),

> Depression is an emotional state of dejection and sadness, ranging from mild discouragement and down-heartedness to feelings of utter hopelessness.

Grief is, in a sense, one aspect of depression. In a rather unique article, Fried (1963) has demonstrated that the reaction of relocatees after the removal is often one of "grief" and that this "grieving for a lost home" is likely to increase social- and psycho- pathology. Fried describes what he means by expressions of grief:

> These are manifest in the feelings of painful loss, the continued longing, the general depressive tone, frequent symptoms of psychological or social or somatic distress, the active work required in adapting to the altered situation, the sense of helplessness, the occasional expression of both direct and misplaced anger, and tendencies to idealize the lost place (1963:151).

The concept of a grief reaction entails both the notions of "spatial identity", or affinity with a particular locale,

and "group identity", or affinity with certain people or a certain social situation (Fried 1963:158). The loss of either can lead to severe grief. In the case of Eastervile, both have occurred, resulting in many of the symptoms of the grief reaction. Many of these symptoms were clearly noticeable among the more elderly informants, the ones most likely to suffer the effects of losing their homes. What is remarkable is that the grief has lasted so long.

Elderly people are not the only ones who suffer from depression. Teenagers are also affected, though the cause of such depression would appear to be different. Attempted suicide among young people is not uncommin in Easterville. Similarly, the alcohol problem which exists among some of the teenagers may in fact be a product of this depression.

While alcohol abuse can be intimately tied with depression, it is evident that such abuse is the cause of other illnesses and physical injuries. In fact, the majority of the recent deaths in the community have been alcohol-related. A further discussion of alcohol-related problems is dealt with in the section on social life in a later part of this chapter.

Obesity has developed as a problem in Easterville which was not serious prior to the relocation. Associated with this has been an alarming rise in the frequency of diabetes among community members. One health official estimates that the majority of adults in the community are overweight, in many cases from 50 to 150 pounds. This official would also

estimate that almost two-thirds of the male and one-third of the female adults suffer from diabetes. These two conditions are the product of two factors: a change in diet since the relocation, and the relative lack of exercise obtained by the community members. As I pointed out in an earlier section, natural foods have decreased in importance since the relocation and have been replaced by canned goods and frozen meats. Because of monetary restrictions and an improper understanding of a balanced diet as it relates to these foods, less nourishing diets are common, composed to a great degree of carbohydrates. The increase in the consumption of beer has also added calories to the diet. Since the community is compact, people do not have as far to walk to visit friends, or to go to the store or church. From furthest point to furthest point the community is no wider than three-quarters of a mile. In addition, automobiles are very common and most families have at least one. As a result, any intra-community travel is often done by vehicle. Since the frequency of strenuous labour activities, such as hunting and trapping, has declined, the people get even less exercise. The result is obesity and diabetes.

Easterville also has a serious sanitation and water supply problem which is due largely to the fact that the community is situated on a limestone ridge. With the exception of the Euro-Canadian homes, there is no indoor plumbing in the community; outdoor privies are used year-

round. However, because of the limestone, it is impossible to dig pit toilets. As a result, the waste is deposited into buckets which are periodically cleaned by a sanitation crew. However, this practice has led to an increase in air-borne fecal bacteria which, combined with lack of running water for proper washing, results in a high frequency of intestinal infections, especially among babies and young children. According to the health nurse, the majority of the cases she sees each day are infants suffering from diarrhea, vomiting, and fevers, symptoms of intestinal infections.

The poor sanitation, plus the effects of the limestone ridge, have combined to provide Easterville with a very questionable water supply. Even when sewage clearance is adequate, other ground minerals get into the water which contaminate it. On many occasions, and especially in the spring, it is necessary for the residents to boil their water before using it. The lake is unfit to provide water for consumption, and the people are dependent on the ground water for their supply. It is ironic, and certainly unacceptable, that even the water supply at the nursing station occasionally becomes too contaminated to be used.

Education

When the people were relocated from Chemawawin, one of the structures that had not yet been built was the school. A former teacher describes this early period:

> When I arrived here, all the books were in fish boxes in tents. We didn't have a classroom, they weren't built. They brought a trailer for the principal. I lived with C. for a year. I called the Superintendent and said, "I'm going to start teaching". So I went around and I said, "I need some help. I need a classroom". At that time, the cook shed was vacant. That was from when they were building the homes. So I got the men, the kids. Next thing you know, there are trucks going everywhere, getting the books. I had an ideal classroom, built to my tastes. And it was total community involvement.

The first school, a four room structure, was built within a year of the relocation. As the number of students steadily increased, a new facility was required. The school taught only up to grade eight, and it was felt that students would be more inclined to stay in school if they could attend the higher grades in their own community. The new, modern school was officially opened in 1978 and presently offers up to grade eleven, with grade twelve planned for the near future. The plan has worked since, in general, students are staying in school longer.

The average education in Chemawawin was about five years, and this figure has not changed significantly for the adult population. However, the generation which has been born since the relocation are staying in school for between eight and eleven years, with a few students continuing to grade twelve elsewhere, college or university. The student enrollment has grown from 70 at Chemawawin to about 260, and the faculty has grown from two to nine. In fact, even the new facility has been outgrown and classes are presently

held in the library. Academic upgrading is also taught for adults and student drop-outs who wish to get back into the educational system.

Overall, the educational standard of the community is rising rapidly. This could pose a problem for the young people in the near future, as there are a very limited number of local employment opportunities available to the students. One product of the rising standard of education has been the alienation of some of the young people away from the traditional economic pursuits of their parents. Some of the young people are not interested in fishing, with the early mornings, the inclement weather conditions, and the uncertainty of economic return (of course, the opportunities for these individuals to get into fishing are also declining). Unless new opportunities are developed in Easterville, these students will be forced to leave the community to find employment elsewhere, or worse, to go on social assistance and remain idle in the community.

Social Life

Life in Easterville is influenced much more strongly by regional and national affairs, concerns, and desires, than was the case at Chemawawin. An all-weather road stretches from the two main highways (Nos. 6 and 10) right into the community, and facilitates travel to the neighbouring centres of The Pas and Grand Rapids, and even as far away as Winnipeg. The automobile is as much a necessity of life

in Easterville as it is in any southern centre. The people are also linked to the larger world through television, receiving the CBC station from Winnipeg, and radio, receiving signals from Winnipeg and The Pas, all made possible by the introduction of electricity. The people are no longer isolated from the world-at-large; they are, in fact, very much a part of it.

Trips to The Pas are undertaken with greater frequency than before the move. Despite having been relocated further from this centre, the road and the automobile have facilitated the trip. People think nothing of undertaking the two hour drive in the morning and returning that afternoon. Shopping and entertainment are still the basic reasons for going to The Pas, though the increase in cash-at-hand has increased the frequency of this. However, trips to The Pas are now undertaken for other reasons as well: to see a dentist, to take an outfit to the cleaners, to visit a relative in hospital, to do some banking, or even to settle an auto insurance claim. In general, most informants indicated that they travelled to The Pas about twice a month.

Grand Rapids has become a popular destination for the residents of Easterville. Situated only an hour's automobile trip away, this centre offers an alternative place to buy groceries, as well as a bar with a beer vendor and a liquor store. Many of my informants travelled to Grand Rapids once or twice a week, mostly to purchase beer or

spend an evening in the bar. Many people in Easterville also have relatives in Grand Rapids whom they enjoy visiting.

Moose Lake, the "sister" community of Chemawawin, appears to be less important in the travelling pattern of the people of Easterville. Only recently a road was constructed to the community, and trip by boat from Easterville is long and arduous. Many people have lost contact with their relatives in Moose Lake since the relocation due to this travelling difficulty.

Despite an increase in recreational facilities in comparison to Chemawawin, standard recreational activities do not play an important role in the lives of the people of Easterville, especially for the adults. A popular form of recreation aimed primarily at the adults is the bingo which is held once a week in the community hall, and is well attended. On the other hand, popular Hollywood movies draw primarily a young, pre-teenage, crowd, with few teenagers and virtually no adults attending. The pool hall is much the same: pre-teens and teenagers dominate, with virtually no adults.

There are no organized sports in Easterville outside of the normal school physical education programs. There is an ice hockey rink and a ball diamond, as well as a small gym in the school. Apparently hockey is still a favorite pastime for the teenagers. In contrast, I recall the baseball diamond being used only a few times, and by young people only.

This is no surprise, however, as the ball diamond is covered with rocks and hard clay, and is very difficult, even dangerous, to play on. The outfield forms part of the soccer field, which is in even worse shape and which is never used. During the summer of 1979 the major form of recreation for the children and teenagers was swimming. Despite being located on a lake, the facilities for this activity are poor: the children must swim off the very busy dock or else off the rocks along the shore, which can be dangerous.

A favorite activity of those with vehicles is cruising the community, often with a number of friends along for the ride. Beer is occasionally consumed while riding around. Vehicles will often congregate at the dock for some conversation before resuming the patrol. The younger people and those without licenses or vehicles often walk the streets after dark until very late, especially on weekends when they may not get home until dawn. A radio or tape recorder is often brought along to provide music.

Dances are very rare in Easterville, apparently due to the alcohol problem. According to one informant,

> Even when we go to a dance [at Chemawawin] there was never drinking. Not like here. When we go to a dance here, they fight, they drink. But over there they never used to drink.

Many other informants also pointed to alcohol as the prime problem. During the course of my stay in Easterville, there was only one dance held in the community hall for adults, on the occasion of a wedding. The event was marred by excessive alco-

hol consumption and fighting. Dances were held periodically for teenagers, but on some occasions even these involved alcohol and fighting.

Alcohol consumption in Easterville must be viewed in three contexts: as a health problem, already discussed; as a social problem, to be discussed; and as a form of recreation. In fact, drinking is the main source of recreation in the community for many of the residents. Most informants, when asked why they drink, explained, simply, that there was nothing else to do: "Easterville is boring" was a common response. Within this context, of filling time with some social activity, drinking serves an important function, a function, I might add, that it also serves in the larger society. Robbins (1973:108), writing about Naskapi drinking behavior, states that,

> ...drinking behavior, rather than being explained by alcohol's toxic assault on the seat of moral judgment, is behavior that is culturally defined and given meaning within a given social nexus... Furthermore, to understand the nature of alcohol use and drinking behavior of the Naskapi, one must focus on the social interaction accompanying the drinking act.

I believe that this approach is also required to understand drinking among the Cree and Metis of Easterville. I do not wish to justify the excessive use of alcohol but, as Lithman (1978:35) discovered, upon closer examination what is evident is a social system "based on principles which differ from Euro-Canadian models".

Drinking in Easterville is an intensely social affair,

and is rarely conducted alone. In fact, "drinking" and "being social" are so intertwined as to be synonymous, and many people cannot conceive of the purpose of drinking alone. (My desire to quaff a cold ale at the end of the day was viewed by many people as a sign that I had a drinking problem). Groups of more than twenty people, both treaty and Metis, were not uncommon at a party, though the optimum group size appears to be about ten to fifteen. However, I do not recall anybody being ejected from a party, or else refused entry.

While the purpose of these parties, and there are many, may appear on the surface to be to drink as much as possible, my impression is that the consumption of beer is actually part of a reciprocal host-guest relationship in cases where the beer is supplied by the host, or else part of a peer group identification mechanism in cases where the cost of beer is shared. At parties, individuals are constantly getting each other beer, and a certain amount of prestige is afforded the individual who "finds" another case when the supply is apparently exhausted. Despite the fact that the beer is owned by an individual or a group, it is actually 'communal' property, available without asking to all members of the party. I have seen a host exhaust a complete supply of ten cases of beer without showing regret. When the supply is exhausted, he knows there are as many other places to go for a drink as there are people at the party.

Parties are largely spontaneous affairs, and are rarely planned. Word spreads throughout the community that a few people are drinking at 'so-and-so's' house, and those interested in joining merely drop-in. The mood at parties is jovial, with much joking and laughter, and quite often guitar and fiddle playing, singing and dancing. Occasionally a fight erupts, usually in the form of shoving, but this is not common. In fact, once I had become familiar with the people, I was able to determine who the known 'trouble-makers' were. Beyond these few individuals, aggression was rarely displayed among peers.

Parties are primarily male activities, although families are often present. The general pattern seems to be that the women go about their household chores oblivious to the party going on their house. They do, on occasion, join in, but usually their drinking is confined to groups of other women. Men and women will dance together, however.

Parties can last a very long time: up to 48 hours was not uncommon. When the beer runs out at one party or the people become restless, there is usually another party to go to. For some, the search for beer can become compulsive: the selling of watches, guitars, radios, and even outboards has been known to occur. I would not, however, classify these as the majority. While some may not make it home for two days, others drink their fill and head straight home. It is important to understand that, whatever drinking pattern

the individual wishes to pursue, it is not allowed to disrupt his economic life. Both Helm (1961:107) among the Slave and Robbins (1973:110) among the Naskapi have noticed a similar pattern. In Easterville, drinking is done on weekends during the fishing season, and the fishermen are always ready by the time it's necessary to attend to the nets. No drinking at all is done by the fishermen during the week. Similarly, when trapping and hunting no alcohol is consumed. The individual's safety and his economic prospects clearly come first in his mind, and there is no room for irresponsibility. Alcohol consumption can become a problem for some individuals when the fishing season ends and there is nothing else to do. It is at this point when Easterville becomes truly "boring".

Alcohol becomes a social problem when it begins to influence aspects of life beyond the parameters of the 'party'. The breakdown of the family structure, wife beating, child neglect, criminal and aggressive behavior are serious problems in any community, and Easterville is no exception. However, in Easterville it is apparent that the extent to which these problems exist reflects the misuse of alcoholic beverages. Virtually every act of violence, active or passive, is committed under the influence.

Landa (1969:65) noted that alcohol was becoming a serious problem in the community in 1968. In fact, my informants indicate that the problem began to develop about two years after the relocation when many people began to

acquire vehicles and licenses, enabling them to make the trip to Grand Rapids via the newly constructed road to buy beer. The result of the increase in demand for beer has led to the virtual institutionalization of bootlegging. I say "institutionalization" not only because of the widespread acceptance of the practice, but because even prominent members of the community are sometimes involved in the lucrative business. One individual explained clearly the social function of the bootlegger:

> If there were a liquor store here, it would be different. You see the bootleggers make money, but that money goes around in circles. It stays in the community.

In contrast to a liquor store, however, the bootleggers provide an almost endless supply of beer which enables many individuals to drink for two or three days. As well, many bootleggers will sell to underage children as long as they have the money, which compounds the sizeable juvenile problem.

As I mentioned previously, the alcohol problem spans many areas of disruptive behavior in Easterville, and in fact can be linked to most of the other social problems the community is experiencing. The following cases are provided from my fieldnotes. They are not intended to be inclusive, nor do I wish them to be seen as representative of social life in Easterville.

Case #1.

While drinking, a young man was convinced by two women that his wife had been sleeping with another man. When

confronted, the wife denied the accusation. However, the three people beat her up anyway. She required medical attention.

Case #2.

A woman with children was married to a man who occasionally gets drunk and beats her. One day she grew tired of the abuse and, while she was drunk, burnt the house down.

Case #3.

A young girl married a man who drank heavily and, when he did, would often beat her. She lasted only a few months with this man before being forced to move back to her parents house. He still bothers her when he is drunk.

Case #4.

A twelve year old boy was found wandering around the community about seven in the evening quite drunk, carrying a bottle of beer. His parents were also drinking at home.

Case #5.

A young man, about age 17, was apprehended by two others as he tried to smash in the gas pumps at the Co-Op store. He was extremely drunk.

Case #6.

A married woman about age 40, took a fancy to another man. Her husband became upset and began arguing with her. She picked up a stick and began hitting him. He forced her to her knees and took the stick away from her, and began

beating her with it. Both had been drinking.

Cases of marital strife appear to be largely the product of excessive drinking on the part of one or both of the marriage partners. Separation, and to a lesser extent, divorce, are fairly common in Easterville as a result. Landa (1969) noted in 1968 that the family unit was beginning to break down, and this trend appears to have continued up to the present time. Howevever, I must state that I did not witness or even hear of a case of infant neglect due to alcohol abuse or other social problem, and other residents of the community corroborate this. The people of Easterville love children and take as good as care of them as possible. It is when the children reach their teens that the parents seem to lose control over them.

Similar to marital problems, acts of violence and aggression appear to be strongly related to alcohol use. One health official reports that virtually all of the assault victims treated have been in an encounter involving alcohol. Serious injuries, remarkably enough, seem to be avoided, a fact which brings to mind Helm's (1961:106) comment about the Slave:

> The fact that drunken brawling has never at Lynx Point resulted in injuries more severe than a black eye or broken nose implies that a standard of individual discipline plus group responsibility toward drunken members is maintained.

Again, Landa (1969:65) reported finding "hostile expressions of overt aggression between community members" in 1968.

These hostile expressions are still existent today, though, as I have stated, are almost entirely associated with alcohol use.

To a certain extent it is even possible to state that the juvenile problem in Easterville is related to alcohol. Most of the acts of vandalism and aggression which I witnessed did in fact involve alcohol. The parents appear to have little control over their children, who frequently roam about at night looking for some "action". The parents are quite cognizant of this fact, but are unaware of a solution. It is quite understandable that many juveniles become involved with alcohol, because, as many of them claim, "there's nothing else to do".

The juvenile problem appears to be the product of two things. First, the fact that many parents drink provides a role model to be emulated by the young (as it does in the larger society). However, when the parents are drinking, the children are free to do whatever they wish. Second, it is conceivable that the decline in the economy has resulted in a change in the relationship between adults and children, and especially between men and young boys. As Trudeau (1966:101) states for the Swampy Cree of Winisk:

> Before 1955, the parents were teachers and leaders while their children were their pupils and followers. A father taught his son the techniques of hunting, trapping, as well as of handling the canoe and the sled, while the mother unceasingly demonstrated to her daughter the proper way of erecting the wigwam, of doing the household chores, of skinning animals

> and stretching the pelts, and so on ... In other words, fathers and sons, mothers and daughters, spent much of their time together and nearly all of their contacts are educational.

With the decline in traditional pursuits and the limited opportunities in the ones that remain, the parents' role as "teacher" has declined in Easterville. Similarly, in in many respects, the education of the young has allowed them to eclipse their parents and view those remaining aspects of traditional culture as irrelevant.

The most common form of juvenile delinquency, aside from under-aged drinking, is the breaking of windows, especially of the school and the teacherage. The Co-Op store has not been broken into for some time, though in the past break-ins occurred every other night for sheer excitement. Many of the young adults recall with some pride their past deeds and the pleasant experiences 'doing time' in reform schools, which are not, therefore, a deterrent. The problem of juvenile delinquency is particularly evident during the summer when there is virtually no activity for them to participate in. I am led to believe that the problem is less severe during the school year.

Much of the vandalism and crime in Easterville is facilitated by the fact that the nearest R.C.M.P. detachment is over one hour away in Grand Rapids. This detachment is also responsible for the Grand Rapids area, and on a very busy night the Easterville caller often receives a

tape recorded message to leave the name and the nature of the problem. Response time to calls in Easterville can be four or five hours. As a result, everyone in the community knows their actions will go unchecked for at least several hours. On Friday and Saturday nights, the R.C.M.P. patrol the community for about one and a half hours. However, everyone knows what time they arrive and depart, and there is a notable lack of activity during this period. As one young resident mentioned, "the action begins after one (a.m.)". The community constable also patrols the community at night, and though his authority is respected, people also clearly recognize the limitations of that authority and are aware of the extent to which the constable will enforce the law upon people he knows and must live with. Among many of the young people, the constable when he is on patrol is just another aspect of the 'game'. The band constable, at the time of fieldwork, was inactive.

The people in Easterville clearly recognize the fact that alcohol has caused an untold disruption in their lives since the relocation.[1.] Landa (1969) is very cautious in attributing the rise in alcohol-related problems to the relocation, stating that

> 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 relocations.

I feel much more strongly that many of the problems experienced

by the people of Easterville are related to the relocation. While no comprehensive study was done at Chemawawin, enough is known to state with a degree of certainty that these social problems did not exist or existed only to a minor extent in the pre-relocation state. If relocation does in fact involve "...a sudden, involuntary and complete disruption" (Fried 1963:135), then it is readily conceivable that the people have experienced an enormous amount of stress. Alcohol abuse is a common response to stressful situations, and in Easterville many other social problems can be related to this one.

Religious Life

There are two churches in Easterville, Anglican and Roman Catholic. The Anglican priest resides in the community while the Roman Catholic priest commutes from Grand Rapids each Sunday for services. The two churches are located at the centre of the community.

There has been a definite transformation in the religious life of the people since the relocation. The congregations have dwindled significantly to the point where only 25 to 30 people attend the Anglican service, and 10 to 15 attend the Roman Catholic service. However, the people are still very religious despite this non-attendance. Most houses are adorned with religious artifacts, and most people talk freely about their beliefs. A seminary student who spent some time in the community during my fieldwork related one story

characteristic of the attitude of the people towards religion. She visited an elderly lady one day, who brought out her prayer book. The book was carefully wrapped in felt cloth, and was treated with great care. It was obvious to the seminary student that religion meant a great deal to this lady. However, she had not attended church since shortly after the relocation. One of the priests has described the community as "spiritually depressed", but not "spiritually ignorant", and has indicated that religion has remained a very important aspect of the people's lives. It is apparent, then, that it is the church, an institution, with which people are dissatisfied.

There are a number of possible reasons for the decline in attendance at church. Some reasons were suggested by the priests, others by members of the community. First, it is apparent that many of the people who were once the backbone of the church are now drinking people. Since alcohol is consumed mostly on weekends, Sunday included, it is possible that these people do not attend because they have been drinking, or else because they have not had an opportunity to make themselves presentable. It is clear that they have a great deal of respect for the church, and will not attend in a state of inebriation or disarray. Second, it is apparent that the people have been dissatisfied with the priests who have come into the community in the past. According to one of the priests:

> If there has been sinners among those who are here, it's been church and government. It feels to me as if it's been priest dominated, where the people were never taught responsibility ... how to manage their own church.

Another long-time resident of the community concurs:

> A different minister came each year. And each one imposed their ideas. You would have a minister who would preach, when they had good attendance, about their drinking, and that they didn't put enough money on the collection plate, and go off on a wild tangent, instead of preaching from the Bible. He would lecture them. And you could gradually see the attendance dropping.

Third, the present Anglican Church (the majority of the people being Anglican), built by Manitoba Hydro, is not an aesthetically pleasing structure, and in no way resembles the church at Chemawawin. According to the priest:

> They told me that the old church was still standing, in good shape, with Gothic windows and everything. Well I went over and had a look at the "barn" that Hydro built here for a church, because that's really what it is. Churches should be warm. Whenyou go in, you should have some feeling of warmth. When they told me what the old church was like, I could just feel the depression hitting me.

Finally, some people feel that they were abandoned by the church when the community was relocated. These people feel that the church should have acted on their behalf to alleviate some of the problems experienced. When the new priests only criticized them because of these problems, the resentment grew.

The Euro-Canadian Community

The present Euro-Canadian community in Easterville numbers about 16, a decrease of four since 1968 (Landa 1969:70).

These include about nine teachers, the Anglican priest, the nurse and her husband, the Co-Op manager and his daughter, and the community constable. There is no community development officer situated in Easterville.

In 1968, Landa (1969:71) noticed that the Euro-Canadian members remained aloof from the community as a whole, seldom straying beyond the parameters of their job requirements. It is evident that the community experienced a highly transient white population in these early years, which is not uncommon in northern communities. They have also been flooded since the relocation with a large number of government employees, researchers, and the like, which I have already indicated fostered a degree of resentment towards Euro-Canadians. Further, it is apparent that the majority of the Euro-Canadians being stationed in the community were largely transient, and that there was pressure among these not to associate with the general population. One past member of the community expressed this notion:

> Some of the teachers never should have been teaching Indian children. They treated them different from other children. Like some of the comments they made about them being dirty. It turned me off the church too. Some of the priests they had here turned me completely off. Because they made fun of the people. They were supposed to be here doing a job, but I don't think they did it. I had a good relationship with the people, but I was ostracised by the white people for going over the line. They were always trying to run me out of here because of the relationship I had with with the people. They would write letters to [the C.D.O.] and report me. It seemed that they wanted to have their own little clique. At one time they stressed that you were not to fraternize with the people. They emphasized that.

The present situation in Easterville is somewhat different than that described above. The attitude of the people coming to the community has greatly improved and most are willing, not only to associate with community members, but to go beyond the confines of their occupations to become active in community affairs. This is especially true of a core of the Euro-Canadians who have accepted relatively long-term positions in the community. The school principal, who was with the band at Chemawawin, knows the community better than any Euro-Canadian and has been a constant source of information and advice. At present she is assisting the Band Council in their takeover of the school. The Anglican priest is in the community for a minimum of four years, during which time she hopes to rehabilitate the church and train some of the locals to run it themselves without the aid of a priest from the outside. The nurse, while having only been in the community less than a year, is preparing to offer special classes in health and infant care, plus perhaps start a weight-watchers club. The Co-Operative manager has been associated with the community for about five years. He is active in running recreational programs, such as the movies, and has also been involved in other community ventures.

There is no question that the Euro-Canadian community constitutes an "enclave" as Landa (1969) suggests. It is also true that the majority of them do not become involved

in the social scene in the community, especially the parties. However, the present members of the Euro-Canadian community are attempting to break down at least part of the traditional barrier, and in this they are being successful.

Footnote

1. At the time of my research in Easterville, a referendum was called by the Band Council to deal with banning of alcohol from the reserve. While it appeared as though the referendum would succeed, it never took place. In September of 1979, the federal government finally decided that the reserve status bestowed upon the new locale in 1978, some 14 years after the relocation, also included a ban on alcohol. This decision by the government is unfortunate because it deprived the people of the opportunity to make the important decision themselves. Regardless, according to my thesis, if alcohol is removed from the reserve, many of the alcohol-related social problems should be reduced. However, the Metis side remains "wet", a situation which is sure to escalate the political, and perhaps even social, confict between the two sides.

CHAPTER VI

RELOCATION AND THE MODERNIZATION OF EASTERVILLE

In attempting to utilize a concept such as "modernization", problems of definition immediately arise. In fact, the concept has been defined in a number of ways by many different theorists. However, it is possible to derive a common theme from the definitions offered in the literature. Roger's (1969:14) definition, despite its vagueness, appears to be useful:

> Modernization is the process by which individuals change from a traditional way of life to a more complex, technologically advanced, and rapidly changing style of life.

He purposely omits one theme, however, that being the notion of modernization as a movement toward "Western" ideals. In contrast is Moore (1963:89), who states,

> What is involved in modernization is a total transformation of a traditional or pre-modern society into the types of technology and associated social organization that characterize the "advanced", economically prosperous, and relatively politically stable nations of the Western World.

In light of the fact that most modernization today is in part a function of the efforts of the "Western World", Moore's definition seems a little more realistic. However, it should be noted that modernization as Rogers' (1969) defines it, that is, modernization which is not necessarily associated with Western standards, can occur. Nevertheless, modernization implies a comparison of an old order with a new,

and often this new order is modeled according to Western standards (as is the case in Easterville). Rogers (1969) and Moore (1963) agree, however, that modernization involves the transformation of a traditionally-oriented society into one which is technologically superior and which evidences a related increase in social differentiation. In fact, many authors have reduced the concept of modernization to refer almost exclusively to technological change and subsequent changes in the economic sphere. This, of course, is not entirely accurate since the modernization of a social system can occur without the process of industrialization (and, for that matter, without the process of urbanization) (Spindler 1977). As I shall demonstrate, this is in fact the case in Easterville.

There is little question that the relocation of the people of Chemawawin has resulted in widespread social, cultural, and economic change. The process of modernization which has resulted from the relocation has been described for the north in general by Honigmann (1972;1975). According to Honigmann (1972:1-2), this modernization in the north is comprised of two components:

> First, the concept of modernization implies that culturally those marginal regions are becoming less marginal as a result of partaking of the culture found in the continental oikumen ... Second, modernization implies that socially the marginal northern region, its communities and their populations (especially the native populations) are becoming more closely integrated, administratively, economically, recreationally, and in other ways, with the larger society ...

In general, then, the relocation can be viewed as leading to a process of rapid, forced or involuntary, modernization, in which a traditionally-oriented, isolated, and relatively uncomplex native community was suddenly brought into the realm of the much larger regional and national social, political, and economic systems. Despite the inherent advantages of modernization, some authors (for example Moore 1963, Rogers 1969, Black 1972, and Smelser 1973) have pointed out that such a perspective is sometimes misleading, and that social disruption in a wide variety of forms often accompanies the process. Hence, according to Black (1972:264),

> Modernization must be thought of, then, as a process that is simultaneously creative and destructive, providing new opportunities and prospects at a high price in human dislocation and suffering.

Further, rapid modernization of a social system can tend to result in greater disruption (Smelser 1974:280). The disruption which has resulted because of the relocation and subsequent modernization for the people of Easterville has been demonstrated in the previous chapter.

The modernization of Easterville has not resulted from any dramatic change in the actual technology utilized by the people. Boats, motors, and snowmachines were utilized at Chemawawin, and are still in use in Easterville. However, more families now own these things, and such ownership is necessary if one is to be actively involved in the local resource industry. Similarly, larger boats and motors are

necessary for both economic and safety reasons. Dependency on outside sources of fuel and other goods has increased as a result of the introduction of electricity and automobiles to the new community. The relocation has also led to the implementation of a new form of economic organization, the Co-Operative, which has replaced the free trader. Parallel changes have also occurred in the social and political organization as a result of the relocation.

I would postulate that the relocation of the people of Chemawawin to Easterville has led to two sub-processes of modernization, each of which explains a different realm of the total process but which are nonetheless interrelated. The first sub-process is that of "communitization", while the second is Pelto's (1973,1978) concept of "de-localization". Both of these sub-processes will be discussed.

A. Communitization

It is possible, at first glance, to state that the relocation of the community of Chemawawin has resulted in a process of "disintegration" in the sense that the concept is employed by Leighton (1959). According to Leighton, disintegration in a community represents "a moving away from the functional effectiveness of the unit" (1959:314). Further he believes that

> disintegration not only means a relative absence of patterns which, if present, would improve the functional effectiveness, but also refers to ongoing deterioration in the system (1959:314).

Communities experiencing one or more of the following conditions are more apt to be disintegrated:

1. a recent history of disaster
2. widespread ill-health
3. extensive poverty
4. cultural confusion
5. widespread secularization
6. extensive migration
7. rapid and widespread social change

(Leighton 1959:320-322)

Similarly, Leighton (1959:318-319) has postulated that the following are indices of disintegration in the community:

1. high frequency of broken homes
2. few and weak associations
3. few and weak leaders
4. few patterns of recreation
5. high frequency of hostility
6. high frequency of crime and delinquency
7. weak and fragmented network of communication

The present examination of the relocation and the state of the new community would, therefore, tend to support the position that Easterville has experienced the process of disintegration. Specifically, we could say that such a state could have been predicted because the community has recently experienced disaster (i.e., relocation), the health of the community members has declined, there does exist extensive poverty, and the relocation has led to a degree of cultural confusion and rapid and widespread social change. Similarly, it could be stated that Easterville is disintegrated because there is a high frequency of broken homes, there are few associations, there are few patterns of recreation, and there are high frequencies of hostility, crime, and delinquency. However, would such an approach, that is, the labelling of

the community as "disintegrated", be valid? If we consider carefully the aboriginal and early contact patterns of the Swampy Cree, plus the pre-relocation state, the answer is no, it is not a valid approach.

As Lithman (1978:7) notes, the description of native communities in terms of disintegration has been quite common, and both Koolage (1975) and Smith (1978) join Lithman in rejecting this approach. Basically, the concept of community disintegration as presented by Leighton (1959) includes the notion that the community was at some point "integrated", and, further, that there has been a "moving away" from this integrated state. However, there is some question that Chemawawin actually represented an "integrated" community in the sense used by Leighton. Aboriginal and early-contact Cree cultural patterns would also argue against the use of Leighton's concept.

Both Mason (1967) and Trudeau (1966) have demonstrated that the social organization of the Swampy Cree was not unlike that of Sub-Arctic Indians in general. The basic social unit was the family, or, at most, the small extended family, which roamed about in search of wild game. Occasional gatherings, at excellent fishing areas, for example, produced slightly larger units, the "bands" which were identified by the early traders, explorers, and missionaries. Politically, there were no formal organizations whatsoever: the family was the basic political unit and leadership was based on personal

achievement and was non-institutionalized. A man was a leader because he was a good hunter, or, later, when dealing with the traders became necessary, a good orator. The notion of "chief" was a European creation which did not exist in aboriginal Cree culture. Within this context, any entity larger than the family was prohibited by ecological constraints. As Trudeau (1966:124) indicates,

> This also explains why the band as a whole meant so little to the Indians. There was little or no "group-feeling" as such, no overall organization or institution that held the group together.

Both Trudeau (1966) and Mason (1967) demonstrate that this pattern did not alter appreciably during the fur trade period and on into the modern era. When Chemawawin was established in the 1870's, we can postulate that the family was still the main social and political unit. The years following do not display any marked changes in this pattern. One might speculate that leadership in even the traditional roles declined as the trader took charge of various economic pursuits. According to Dunning (1959:118),

> The changed ecology based on a cash fur crop and the resultant increase of consumer goods from the outside gradually destroyed the foundations of the traditional leader's power ... The hunter's ability became less important and consequently his prestige declined.

As a result, the primary source of leadership in Chemawawin became the free trader. Again, Dunning (1959:118) writes,

> Consequently changes leading to development were ultimately funnelled through the contact person.

> The gradual acceptance of external institutions and services by the ethnic group correlates with, or rather is reflected by, the enhanced status of the contact person, the unequivocal leader in the community undergoing ecologic change ... There was ... a change in the structure of leadership from that of the indigenous person whose prestige was based on the aboriginal ecology and belief system to that of the external non-ethnic contact who represented and controlled the new economy.

When the federal government officially instituted the "band" system with elected leaders, the basic pattern changed very little. As Mason (1967) has shown, the new system was not readily internalized by the Cree. In addition, there was little for these elected officials to do in Chemawawin: they functioned primarily when government officials visited, which was not often. The trader remained the most important person in Chemawawin, and even government correspondence frequently went through him, not the elected leaders. The wide spatial distribution of the settlement itself also argues against the development of any community-wide organization. Social relations were carried out largely at the kinship level, not the community level. This is true not only of the Cree, but of other Sub-Arctic bands as well. Cohen (Balikci and Cohen 1965) has documented the lack of community organization among the Hare of Fort Good Hope, as has VanStone (1965) with the Snowdrift Chipewyan.

In light of the previous discussion of Cree social organization, it is not surprising that such community organization failed to materialize at Chemawawin. The whole notion of "community" has been attacked by Levy and Kunitz (1971),

who argue that far too much emphasis has been placed upon the "community" in attempting to understand native North American culture, an argument with which I concur. Sub-Arctic native communities, generally, are a post-contact phenomenon and are very dissimilar to the Gemeinschaft model of community often utilized by researchers in attempting to understand these social formations. While Chemawawin may be considered as having been a "community" in the spatial sense, that is, consisting of a number of households occuyping a more or less contiguous area, it is clear that such a conception is not satisfactory for understanding the changes brought about by the relocation. An alternative explanation of the nature of Chemawawin and other Sub-Arctic native communities is needed.

It is generally accepted that the social organization of Sub-Arctic Indians was "atomistic" in nature (Honigmann 1968), and it is evident that such atomism has prevented the development of community organization until recent times. According to Rubel and Kupferer (1968:189),

> The atomistic society ... is a society in which the nuclear family represents the major structural unit, and, indeed, almost the only formalized entity. Interpersonal relationships outside of the nuclear family are characterized by contention, suspiciousness, and invidiousness. Moreover, these attitudes are normative.

As Koolage (1975) has argued, much of the observable culture of the Chipewyan in Churchill, which as in the past been categorized as representing a "deculturation", may in fact be

simply a manifestation of the atomistic nature of their social organization. This is also probably the case for other Sub-Arctic Indians. In fact, if one compares Leighton's (1959) indices of community disintegration with Honigmann's (1968) indicators of the atomistic community, the similarity is striking and the potential for the confusion of the two is evident. According to Honigmann (1968), the following are characteristic of the atomistic community:

1. Interpersonal behavior strongly manifests the property of individualism (1968:220).

2. Interpersonal relations are marked by empirically demonstrable reserve, restraint, or caution (1968:220).

3. There is a reluctance of people to commit themselves to large groups, even when ecological conditions allow such forms to appear ... There exist few or only weak associations ... such communities typically lack social structures extending much beyond the range of the household or local segment of kin (1968: 221).

4. Weak and ineffectual leadership and reluctance to delegate or even to assume political authority are further features of social atomism (1968:221).

5. Finally, social relations in an atomistic community are marked by strain, contention, or invidiousness (1968:221).

Perhaps the major distinction to be made between Leighton's (1959) conception and Honigmann's (1968) is that Leighton is attempting to describe a process of disintegration where societal or community norms are breaking down, whereas Honigmann is attempting to describe a state of, albeit loose, integration, which is normative. The two conceptions are clearly different, and Honigmann's is evidently more applicable

to the present discussion of Chemawawin. The most important feature of the atomistic community, as it pertains here, is the lack of community organization, the reluctance of people to form such organization, and weak and poorly developed patterns of leadership.

Having rejected the use of Leighton's (1959) conception of community disintegration because of its inapplicability to the Chemawawin situation, how, then, is it possible to explain the observations made which appear to parallel those which Leighton believes are associated with such disintegration? The problem is solved if the relocation is viewed a involving, not a process of disintegration, but a process of reintegration or reorganization at a new social level. This new level, in the case of Easterville, is represented by the development of indigenous leadership and community-wide organizations and institutions which run contrary to the atomistic nature of Cree social organization. I have labelled this process "communitization", which can be defined as follows: "Communitization" represents the process in which a traditionally-oriented and relatively loosely integrated aggregate of people, in which there exists poorly developed patterns of community leadership and organization, and in which social relations are based largely on bonds of kinship, develops into a more complex, relatively integrated, "modern" community with effective community leadership and organization, and in which social relations are based more on common community

ties than kinship. This process, which almost by definition involves some degree of culture conflict, has not yet been completed in Easterville, which can explain some of the problems presently being experienced. The process, in this case, is a product of certain 'unnatural' or artificial factors stemming ultimately from the increased intervention of both levels of government into the affairs of the people since the relocation and government insistence upon treating Easterville as a "community" in a sense comparable to that of the many southern non-native communities with which the government has greater familiarity. In fact, some of the problems which arose during the negotiation process between the Forebay Committee and the people of Chemawawin are a product of the Committee's insistence to view Chemawawin as a "community" and its political leaders as occupying roles parallel to those in non-native communities. The physical structure of Easterville itself is the best example of the Committee's ethnocentrism: the townsite layout is obviously modeled according to non-native southern standards. The implications of the change from a dispersed settlement pattern at Chemawawin, where houses were generally out of sight of one another, to the townsite layout are extensive. In view of one component of social atomism, already mentioned, that "social relations ... are marked by strain, contention, or invidiousness" (Honigmann 1968:221), the dispersed pattern was clearly functional for maintaining the harmony of the settlement. The

ramifications of the new layout, where families are now housed side-by-side, are self-evident.

In addition to the new physical structure of the community, other changes have occurred which represent this communitization process. Institutions such as the Co-Operative and the school have been implemented as community-wide institutions. Similarly, many other economic projects, most notably the lumbering operations, have been designed for the community as a whole. A great deal of money has gone into the band and the Metis population based on the assumption that the elected officials carry some authority in the community; as a result, such authority has developed. The two Councils have developed significantly since the relocation simply because of expediency: the government, and other institutions (such as loan agencies) operate on a set of expectations which, if not met, will reduce their desire to invest time and money into the community. Finally, kinship ties appear to be less important in the daily patterns of interaction, both social and economic, than they probably were at Chemawawin.

This "communitization" of Easterville has not yet been fully completed. The increase in government activity has developed a rift between the Band Council and the Community Council which hampers the implementation of community-wide programs. The Co-Operative, however, is at the same time emerging as an effective political body which cross-cuts the "status" and "non-status" distinction in the community.

While there has developed a sense of identity with the Easterville site, the longing for the "Old Post" and former life serves to make this commitment somewhat tenuous. The reduction in economic opportunities has resulted in a chronic unemployment problem which has further hampered the development of Easterville. Numerous social problems, stemming largely from the abuse of alcohol by some individuals, have also hampered the process (of course, communitization, and its associated phenomena, such as cultural lag and confusion, are partly responsible for the creation of some of these problems). The very government intervention which underlies the communitization process has also fostered feelings of unconcern for the community among the general populace. The belief that "the government will do it" is widespread and inhibits the active participation of individuals in community affairs for the good of the whole community. Finally, many atomistic tendencies are still in evidence today among the people which are largely incompatible with the formation of community-wide organization.

From this perspective, then, the relocation can be viewed as having sparked a process whereby an essentially atomistic community in which there was little or no community organization has been transformed into a more "modern" community in which there is. The process of communitization involves a reintegration at this new level, and not a disintegration from the old. Many of the problems and much of the conflict evident

in Easterville is a product of this process of reintegration with the associated "culture lag" and "cultural confusion", as well as basic incompatibilities of the old order with the new. Theoretically, as the process of reintegration is completed and Easterville develops into a wholly "modern" community, and as the atomistic tendencies of the people are replaced with more compatible elements, some of these problems should disappear. I will not, however, state that the sub-process of social change and modernization which I have labelled "communitization" can explain all of the problems experienced by the people of Easterville. "Communitization" explains one aspect of the modernization process; the concept of "de-localization" explains another.

B. De-localization

Pelto (1973:1978) has developed a concept of modernization from an ecological perspective which is directly relevant to the relocation of the people of Chemawawin. He defines "de-localization" as

> the tendency for any territorially-defined population to become increasingly dependent on resources, information flow and socio-economic linkages with the systems of energy and resources outside their particular area (1978:31).

Primarily, the "systems of energy and resources" represent the increasing dependence on fossil fuel for transportation and economic pursuits, electricity for the operation of lights and appliances, and the declining in importance of foods derived from natural resources in favour of store-bought goods. De-

localization, according to Pelto, has occurred in the north as a result of "the development of concentrated, high energy extraction systems, such as mining, hydro-electric power projects, and oil production" (1978:33)(emphasis mine). Major technological innovations, such as the introduction of the snowmobile among the Skolt Lapps in Pelto's (1973) study, can also result in de-localization.

De-localization as a process is accompanied by a number of other related processes. In fact, there are many different features of de-localization, and in this respect the similarity between the Lapps and the Swampy Cree of Easterville is striking. I shall outline each of the features of de-localization as offered by Pelto and indicate how each pertains to the relocation of the people of Chemawawin. Examples from Pelto's (1973) research among the Lapps will be included where relevant.

1. De-localization results in an increased dependency "on the macrocosm of commercial enterprise and political influence outside the local community" (Pelto 1973:preface).

The primary link between the commercial life of the people of Easterville and the 'outside world' is the Co-Operative. The consumers co-op is under the jurisdiction of the provincial Department of Co-Operative Services while the fishermen's co-op is intimately tied with the province-wide Freshwater Fish Marketing Corporation, which purchases the fish and sets the prices. Politically, Pelto states that "communities become attracted to the possibilities of involvement in inter-regional or even inter-national political

efforts" (1978:34). The Chemawawin Indian Band has, since the relocation, become involved in the Swampy Cree Tribal Council and the Manitoba Indian Brotherhood; the Metis have become involved in the Manitoba Metis Federation and the Association of Northern Affairs Community Councils. All of these organizations provide advice, expertise, and even some financing to the community. Of course, the federal and provincial governments have also increased their roles in community affairs since the relocation, and both the Band and the Community Councils are dependent upon the respective government for funds to administer local programs.

2. "Rapid increases in unit costs of production bring about pressures to expand the scale of production operations" (Pelto 1978:33).

The unit cost of production has risen significantly for the fishermen of Easterville since 1964. The flooding of the lake and the relocation further away from prime fishing areas (and, for that matter, hunting and trapping areas) has resulted in the necessity to purchase better equipment, and more and larger boats and motors. The fuel costs and repair and maintenance costs have risen accordingly. As a result, the income of the average fisherman has not risen significantly, even though overall production has increased. The fisherman's co-op is at present attempting to negotiate a higher quota for the lake to increase profits.

3. "Increased costs of imported energy sources raise the cost of living as well as the definitions of acceptable standard of living so that any given

> area is likely to support smaller numbers of people - surplus populations are forced to migrate toward population centres and Euro-American wage-labour employment" (Pelto 1978:33).

The high costs of energy have affected all of the residents of Easterville. Many complain, as did one man quoted earlier in this thesis, that after paying the electricity and phone bills and the fuel costs, there is very little money remaining. Food, as an energy source, also comes at prices higher in the north than in more southerly areas. As a result, the cost of living has increased dramatically for the people of Easterville. There has also been a corresponding increase in the standard of living. The introduction of electricity has allowed for once non-existent items, such as refrigerators, stoves, televisions, stereos, and electric lighting to become household necessities. Similarly, the connecting road network has made the automobile a virtual necessity to the Easterville residents.

Out-migration to date has not been extensive. However, the rapid increase in population, and particularly the high proportion of those in their teens, combined with the limited local economic opportunities will no doubt force many of these young people out of the community. Many parents view the out-migration of their children as inevitable.

4. De-localization results in an increased dependence on cash and a corresponding increase in debt (Pelto 1978:33).

As I have demonstrated, Chemawawin was characterized

primarily by a credit economy; cash played a very minor role in the life of the people. With the introduction of the Co-Op in Easterville, the shift has been towards the overwhelming use of cash. The fishermen and other employed individuals are paid in cash, and most of their purchases involve exchange of cash. The limited credit policy has not reduced the debt accumulated by community members, and the size of the debts, due to increased operating costs and living expenses, have increased significantly. As well, Easterville residents also fall into debt with other individuals and corporations outside of the community which provide equipment and other services.

5. De-localization is accompanied by an increasing "techno-economic" differentiation (Pelto 1978:33).

The increasing costs of participation in the economic life combined with a limited resource base mean that, in a "free private enterprise system" some individuals or families will be less able to compete with others. As a result, certain of these individuals or families will acquire, in the case of Easterville, more and better boats, motors, nets, snowmachines, and so on, that will allow them to exploit more of the resource than those less fortunate. In Easterville this fact is clearly acknowledged; a walk around the community will distinguish the 'haves' from the 'have-nots'. Further, the ability to exploit more of the resource will lead to further techno-economic differentiation, thus widening the gap.

6. Concomitant to item five, there will develop an increased system of social stratification (Pelto 1973:157).

Pelto (1973:157) states with regard to this process among the Skolt Lapps:

> The social effects of the differentiation process are not particularly evident at this time. Although the differences in equipment, household goods, and other possessions provide signals of differential economic status, people who have been living in relatively egalitarian terms do not immediately begin practicing social exclusiveness to match their economic differences. There are some indications that differences in educational aspirations may be developing, but other clear signs of social stratification behavior are not evident - yet.

This fact holds true for the residents of Easterville as well. The material signs of stratification are evident, but, as yet, the social behavior has not become distinguished. As Pelto implies, however, such social stratification appears inevitable.

7. De-localization may result in a relatively new phenomenon, "technological unemployment" (Pelto 1973:134).

The highly efficient technological innovations, such as the snowmobile among the Lapps and better boats, motors, and snowmachines among the people of Easterville, reduce the amount of time required to pursue economic tasks. The result is an increase in idle time, or unemployment. In Easterville, the decline in other economic activities has further compounded the problem. However, the fact that the entire summer fishing quota can now be achieved in five to six weeks is significant. The consequences of this

unemployment for the people of Easterville is essentially the same as that for the Lapps:

> The fact of unemployment is made painfully clear by the fact that they now have payments to meet - monthly charges on their snowmbiles. Furthermore, they cannot even travel with their machines or engage in productive activities with them, unless they have money for gasoline. (One of the store-keepers told us of increased tensions between himself and the snowmobilers who seek gasoline on credit). Many of the machines stand idle for periods of time because of lack of money for gasoline and needed repairs (Pelto 1973:134).

8. "The quickened flow of economic transactions with the wider world increases the needs for communication skills and more education" (Pelto 1978:34).

It would be appropriate to expand this notion to include all forms of transactions with the wider world. This is especially applicable to the Easterville case, with the development of the Board of Directors of the Co-Op plus the increasing specialization of the Band Council since the relocation. The lack of well-educated individuals has hampered the development of both these bodies in the past. With the trend towards "local control" of services and the expansion of the duties of the Board of Directors, especially in the area of negotiations with the provincial government, better qualified people are going to be needed. Such a need is in part reflected by the rising standard of education in the community.

9. "When people develop greater dependency on imported commercial foods - often of doubtful nutritional value and generally of high carbohydrate content - some serious health hazards may be involved" (Pelto 1978:34).

I have already documented the increase in the consumption of store-bought food as a result of the decline in natural food sources and increased costs incurred in obtaining them. Obesity and diabetes are the two most prominent health problems experienced by the people of Easterville which are in part a product of this shift in diet.

As the previous analysis has demonstrated, the concept of "de-localization" is particularly valuable in describing the process of modernization which the people of Easterville have undergone. It is also clear that many of the problems experienced by the people can be explained in this fashion. Pelto (1978:35) has warned, however, that the concept "has not been intended as a full explanatory theoretical system", and as such it is utilized here as only a partial explanation of the social change which has resulted from the relocation. "De-localization", which describes change in the economic sphere, combined with "communitization", which describes change in the social and political spheres, serves to explain a substantial portion of the overall change, but not all of it. There are other factors which have developed in association with the relocation which must not be forgotten. Such factors would include the stress of the relocation itself, the poor preparation of the people for the move, the grief and depression which have resulted from the change, the psychological effects of chronic unemployment, alcohol abuse, and the increasing tension between generations. The present

exercise in attempting to understand the consequences of relocation has revealed one important fact, and perhaps the most important fact: the relocation of a human population is an immensely complicated process to understand, and it is naive to assume that the consequences of such a relocation could be readily explained by one or two dominant paradigms.

CHAPTER VII

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

The Consequences of Relocation for the People of Chemawawin

As Elizabeth Colson has written, "massive technological development hurts" (1971:1). Nowhere is this more apparent than in the present study of the relocation of the people of Chemawawin. Contrary to the expectations of both levels of government and members of the Forebay Committee, the people have not benefited from the construction of the hydro-electric dam at Grand Rapids. The "hurt" that they have experienced has been manifested in virtually every aspect of their lives.

A primary aim of this thesis has been to challenge the assumption of governments and other change agents that a relocated population would, in time, become settled in the new situation and actually surpass the level of social and economic life enjoyed in the pre-relocation state. This improvement in the lives of the people is expected to come about through increased government activity in the form of economic and social programs and financial assistance. It is apparent that these agents of change have adopted a relatively naive perspective of the process of social change which relocation entails. However, the basic assumption under which most relocation projects have operated is not exclusive to these change agents. Colson (1971), who has written perhaps

the best account of a relocated population, demonstrates a similar perspective:

> The immediate result [of relocation] is a period of upheaval in economic and social routines which can be expected to last for approximately five years, before people are sufficiently re-established in their new areas to see themselves as settled communities (1971:1).

Such a generalization is dangerous in that it provides a form of 'natural law' of relocation, that disruption in the early years is inevitable, and thereby absolves the change agent involved of the responsibility for the upheaval. Similarly, the belief that relocated people will necessarily become re-established in their new areas within five years provides a justification for further projects. In Colson's (1971:1) own terms, the "hurt" is perceived to be of short duration only.

The present thesis supports an alternative view of relocation: that no generalization about the period required for re-establishment is justifiable. Landa's (1969) research in the community of Easterville four years after the relocation demonstrated that many of the patterns of disruption to which Colson (1971) alludes were in fact existent, leading him to conclude with the prediction that "there is little prospect for the maintenance of the community even at pre-relocation standards" (Landa 1969:116). My own research, fifteen years after the relocation, indicates the ominous accuracy of Landa's prediction: most of the patterns of disruption which he noted in 1968 are still in existence

in 1979. A brief summary of the research findings will demonstrate that the community has not become successfully re-established in the new setting.

The relocation of the people to Easterville has led to an increasing intervention on the part of the federal and provincial governments into the lives of the people. The townsite layout of the community is the most obvious indication of the extent of this intervention. The institution of a co-operative as a community-wide structure has also resulted in a significant change. Politically, the differential allocation of resources and authority to the Band and Community Councils by the federal and provincial governments, respectively, has led to the development of a polarized sense of identity which has resulted in an increase in tension between the two sides of the community. It is apparent, however, that the Co-Operative may develop as an effective community-wide political unit capable of representing the interests of the people in areas directly relevant to its operation.

The social life in the community has deteriorated since the relocation. To the extent that this deterioration is the product of processes of cultural lag and cultural confusion cannot be precisely determined. There is, however, little question that other factors have also played a role. Such factors would include the poor preparation of the people for the move, the depression and grief resulting from

the move, and the interactive effects of unemployment and alcohol abuse. In general terms, there has been an increase in marital strife, aggression, juvenile delinquency and petty crime, and alcohol abuse since the relocation. There has also been a decrease both in the recreational opportunities and the degree to which those existent are utilized.

The educational standards of the people are rising rapidly as the result of a more concerted educational program and better facilities. However, this has resulted in the development of two problems. First, there are very few opportunities for well-educated individuals to become gainfully employed in Easterville. As a result, these individuals will either be forced to leave the community to gain employment or else remain unemployed in Easterville. Second, the increase in educational standards has led to the development of a generation gap between the poorly educated parents and their well-educated offspring. Many of these children view the traditional occupations of their parents with disdain and no longer respect the authority of their elders. The lack of control which parents have over their children is a major cause of the juvenile delinquency problem in Easterville.

There has been a transformation in the religious life of the people of Easterville since the relocation. While remaining basically a religious people, they have rejected

to a great extent both churches in the community. Such a rejection may be an expression of resentment towards the church which, in the eyes of some community members, abandoned them in their time of need. This rejection may also reflect the peoples' attitudes towards the clerics who entered the community and who chastized rather than supported the people.

There has been a significant deterioration in the health of the people since the relocation. The change in diet and lack of exercise has resulted in the widespread occurrence of obesity and diabetes. The poor sewage facilities and water quality has led to an increase in intestinal and related bacterial infections. Finally, the effects of the relocation, such as alcohol abuse, "grieving for a lost home", and the breakdown in the family structure, has resulted in an increase in mental depression primarily among the elders but existent at most age levels in the community.

There have been some significant changes in the economic lives of the people since the relocation. Fundamental to this change has been the replacement of the free trader by a co-operative. To this date, fifteen years after the relocation, the primary economic institution is still not fully understood by members of the community and much tension in the operation of the Co-Operative has resulted. Trapping, gardening, and the harvesting of seneca root have all but

vanished as economic opportunities for the people. Hunting is still a favorite activity, but the increased costs in comparison to the economic return prohibits many individuals from participating. Three consecutive attempts at expanding the economic base of the community through the development of a woods industry have failed. In effect, Easterville has become a one-industry community, dependent upon a seasonal and occasionally unreliable resource, fish. As a result, the peoples' livelihood is subject to the external factors of fluctuating markets and environmental pollution. There is also little prospect for the expansion of the fishing industry beyond the present limits. The deterioration of the overall economy of the people is reflected in long periods of virtual community-wide unemployment and the corresponding increase in social assistance payments since the relocation.

A secondary aim of this thesis was to examine the Forebay Committee and its role in effecting the relocation of the people of Chemawawin. First, it must be stated that the use of such a body to co-ordinate the relocation was a good idea which should be emulated in other relocation projects. However, it is apparent that much of the functioning of the Committee was impaired by the constraints placed upon it by the provincial government. The use of top-level civil servants rather than skilled social scientists, the provision of a tight budget, and the confining time restrictions

can be viewed as fundamental errors on the part of the provincial government. The rejection of a community development and planned change approach is largely a function of these constraints. However, after the relocation when time was no longer a factor, the Forebay Committee remained largely unresponsive to the needs of the new community. The federal government, who was directly responsible for the welfare of the majority of the people (the treaty Indians) assumed a passive role in the negotiations and, in effect, gave their approval to the techniques of negotiation utilized and the agreement reached. They are, therefore, equally as responsible for the relocation of the people of Chemawawin as is the provincial government. It is apparent that there were problems of co-operation between the federal and provincial governments, various departments of the provincial government, and the members of the Forebay Committee, and that there was poor communication between these bodies and the local level. The overall perspective of operation of the Forebay Committee appears primarily to have been bureaucratic rather than humanitarian.

I have chosen to view the relocation of the people to Easterville as involving a process of modernization in which a traditionally-oriented and relatively isolated native community was rapidly brought within the realm of the larger regional and national social, political, and economic systems. In this sense, the process of modernization,

and the sub-processes of communitization and de-localization, are not unique to the relocation itself. In fact, it is evident that these processes have occurred and are presently occurring in other northern native communities which have not experienced relocation. In the case of Easterville, then, the emphasis must be placed upon the relocation as a source of rapid change, a change which appears to have been inevitable (though much slower) without the relocation. It is also important to emphasize, however, that the relocation itself entailed a number of changes which cannot be explained by a general modernization paradigm. These changes, unique to the relocation, demonstrate that, as yet, there exists no dominant paradigm which can explain all of the changes brought about by the relocation of a human population.

Implications of the Study for a "Sociology of Resettlement"

In 1963, Brokensha (1966:286) posed the following questions:

> What are the prospects of a "sociology of resettlement"? Are there common processes of resistance and acceptance of hydro-electric projects when they displace people in various parts of the world?

While the prospects for a "sociology of resettlement" appeared good at that time, it is apparent that the area has suffered from a lack of empirical and theoretical development. Colson's (1977:1ff) optimism about the state of the literature should be viewed with caution as most of the studies she cites lack a clear focus. Despite the magnitude and frequency of

relocation projects occurring on a world-wide scale, the development of a "sociology of resettlement" is still in its infancy.

When the relocation of the people of Chemawawin is compared to the relocation of other people throughout the world (as represented in the literature by those studies listed in the introduction of this thesis), a number of definite parallels can be discerned. While I will not, on this occasion, attempt to develop a theoretically sound "sociology of resettlement", the discovery of empirical parallels is a step in the right direction. Such a step should allow comparison with past and future relocation projects and, hopefully, further theoretical development. I should caution the reader, however, that these parallels are offered as generalizations gleaned from existing literature and the present study; they are not intended to represent all aspects of every relocation project.

The following features are found to be common to relocation projects in general:

1. In most cases, the relocation is a consequence of some other development projects, and is not an aim in itself. As a result, invariably, the relocation project is allocated a disproportionately low share of the total resources available to the entire development project as a whole. The money initially allocated for the relocation program is usually insufficient, and the staff assigned to the

project are often too few and unskilled in programs of planned change.

2. In most relocation projects, the planning phase was begun many years after the planning of the overall development project had commenced. As a result, those charged with effecting the relocation are given little time to organize the program and properly prepare the people for the move.

3. In many cases, little or no attempt is made by the relocation authority to attain a full and comprehensive understanding of the culture and life-ways of those people being relocated. Many of the problems experienced in the new settlements are often a product of poor judgment and planning on the part of the staff who had little understanding of the people involved.

4. In effecting the relocation, the authority involved often does not adopt a community development or planned change perspective. Rather, the relocation is perceived as a bureaucratic exercise. There often exists a fragmented network of communication whereby the local people are not well-informed of the project as a whole and are not involved in the planning process. Rumours about the nature of the project and their ultimate fate serve to place further stress upon the people.

5. Very often the relocation project necessitates the involvement of many different government departments not experienced in such co-operative efforts. This generally

results in a great deal of confusion and poor co-operation which hampers the project and the successful resettlement of the people.

The following consequences are found to be common to relocation projects in general:

1. There is usually a fundamental change in the economic sphere, often necessitated by the destruction of the local resource base by the development project or the removal of the people to a different ecological niche. New technological innovations and new economic institutions are often introduced by the change agent.

2. Relocation often results in a greater and more prolonged contact with the regional and national social, political, and economic systems for the people involved. Modernization is often the goal of the change agent.

3. In the new settlements, changes in the political structure often occur. For the most part this consists of a rejection of the established political order upon whom at least a partial blame for the relocation is placed. The change agent may also seek to install new forms of leadership better suited to the new situation.

4. In traditionally-oriented societies, existing religious practices are often questioned after the relocation. New religious forms may or may not be adopted to replace these.

5. After the relocation there is usually a period of social unrest, marked by aggressive acts and violence, marital

strife and family breakdown, and an increase in alcohol abuse.

In general, what is often ignored or misunderstood in relocation projects by the change agents is the delicate nature of the systems which are to undergo the change. These systems are invariably tradition-oriented, yet are expected to adapt to change in ways comparable to more 'modern' societies. I have demonstrated in this thesis that the assumption that people will successfully re-adapt themselves to a new locale is not justified. There is no question that such a successful adjustment is possible. However, in order for this to occur, there is going to have to be a fundamental re-evaluation of many aspects of the complicated relocation process. The development of a "sociology of resettlement" should be an urgent goal of the social sciences. There are many people whose way of life depend upon it.

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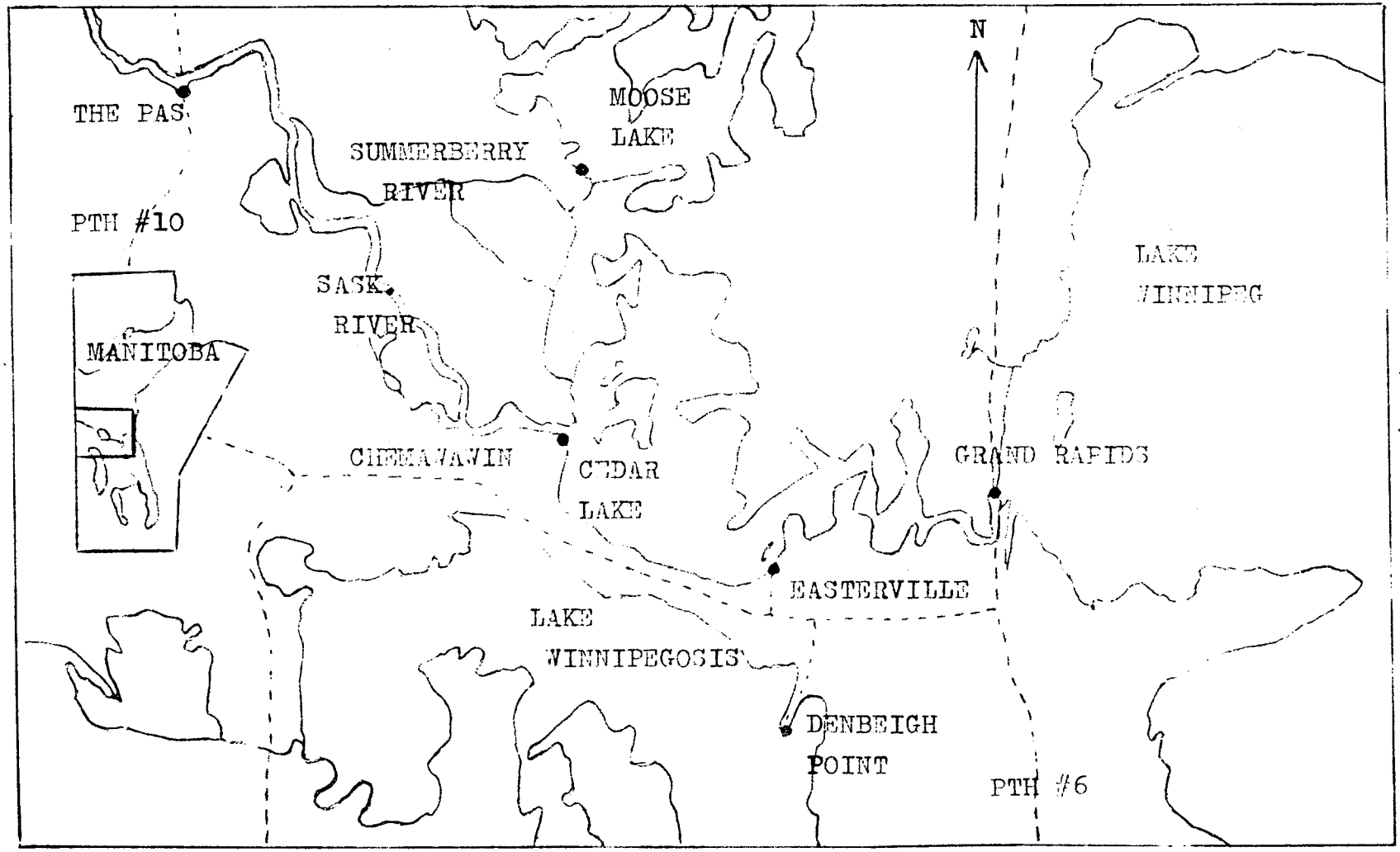
APPENDIX A: MAPS



---- Provincial Roads

MAP #1: EASTERVILLE AND SURROUNDING AREA

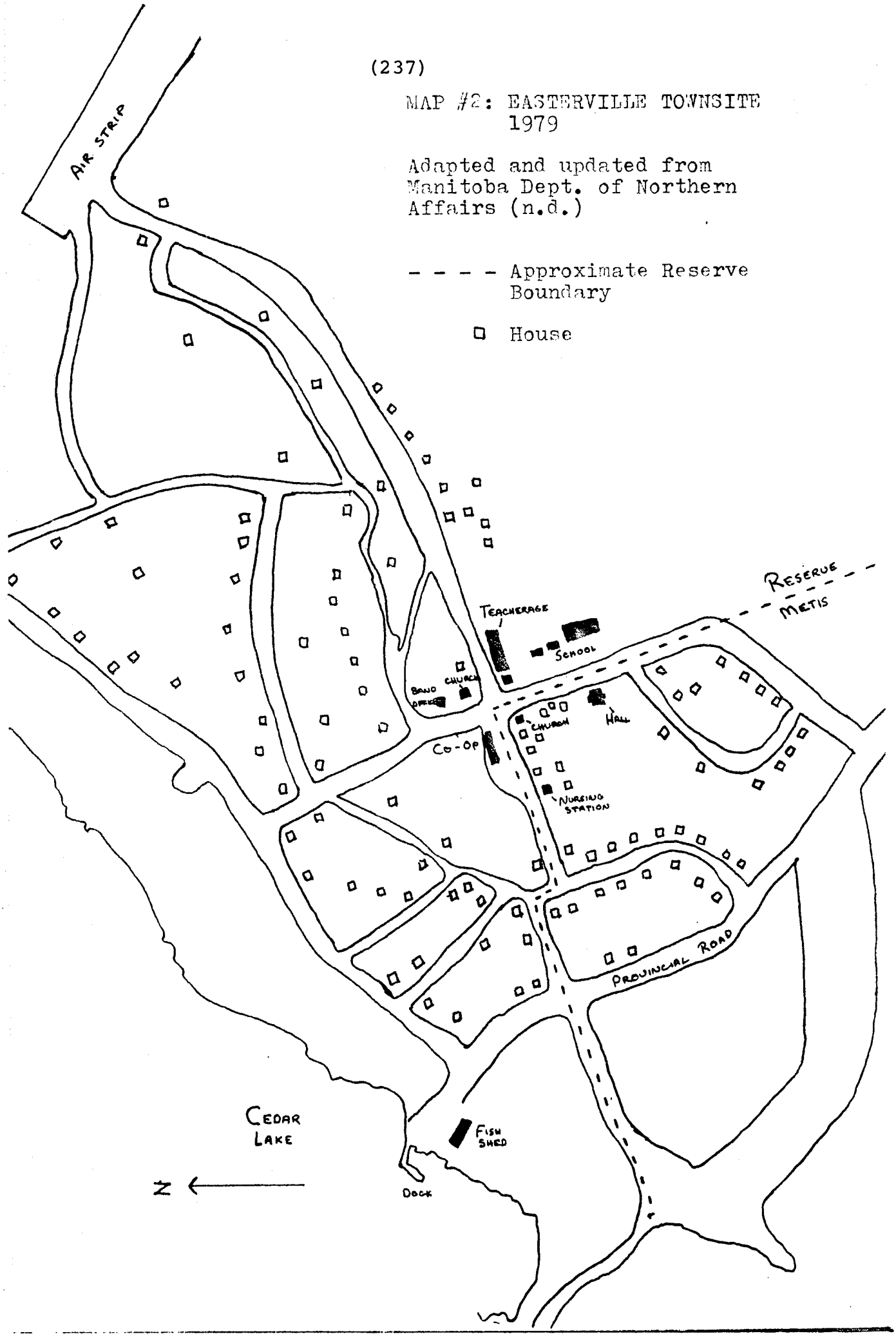
Adapted from Landa (1969)

MAP #2: EASTERVILLE TOWNSITE
1979

Adapted and updated from
Manitoba Dept. of Northern
Affairs (n.d.)

- - - - Approximate Reserve
Boundary

□ House



APPENDIX B: TABLES

TABLE I: Population

Year	Treaty	Metis	Total
1958	-	-	281
1962	244	100	344
1966	-	-	399
1968	305	111	416
1971	-	-	506
1978	442	245	687

Sources: 1958,1962 - Keeper (1963)
1966,1971,1978 - Teillet (1979)
1968 - Hedlin-Menzies (1968)

TABLE II: Net Incomes of Easterville Co-Op Limited

Year	Income
1967	$15,914
1969	8,461*
1970	40,175
1971	25,900
1972	19,340
1973	20,255
1974	63,459
1975	48,719
1976	54,387
1977	6,415*
1978	40,817

Source: Annual Financial Statements,
Easterville Co-Operative Ltd.

* No explanation for these sharp decreases is available.

TABLE III: Pickerel and Whitefish Production

Sources: 1906-66 - Man. Dept. of Mines and Natural Resources (1967)
1968-79 - Easterville Co-Op Ltd.

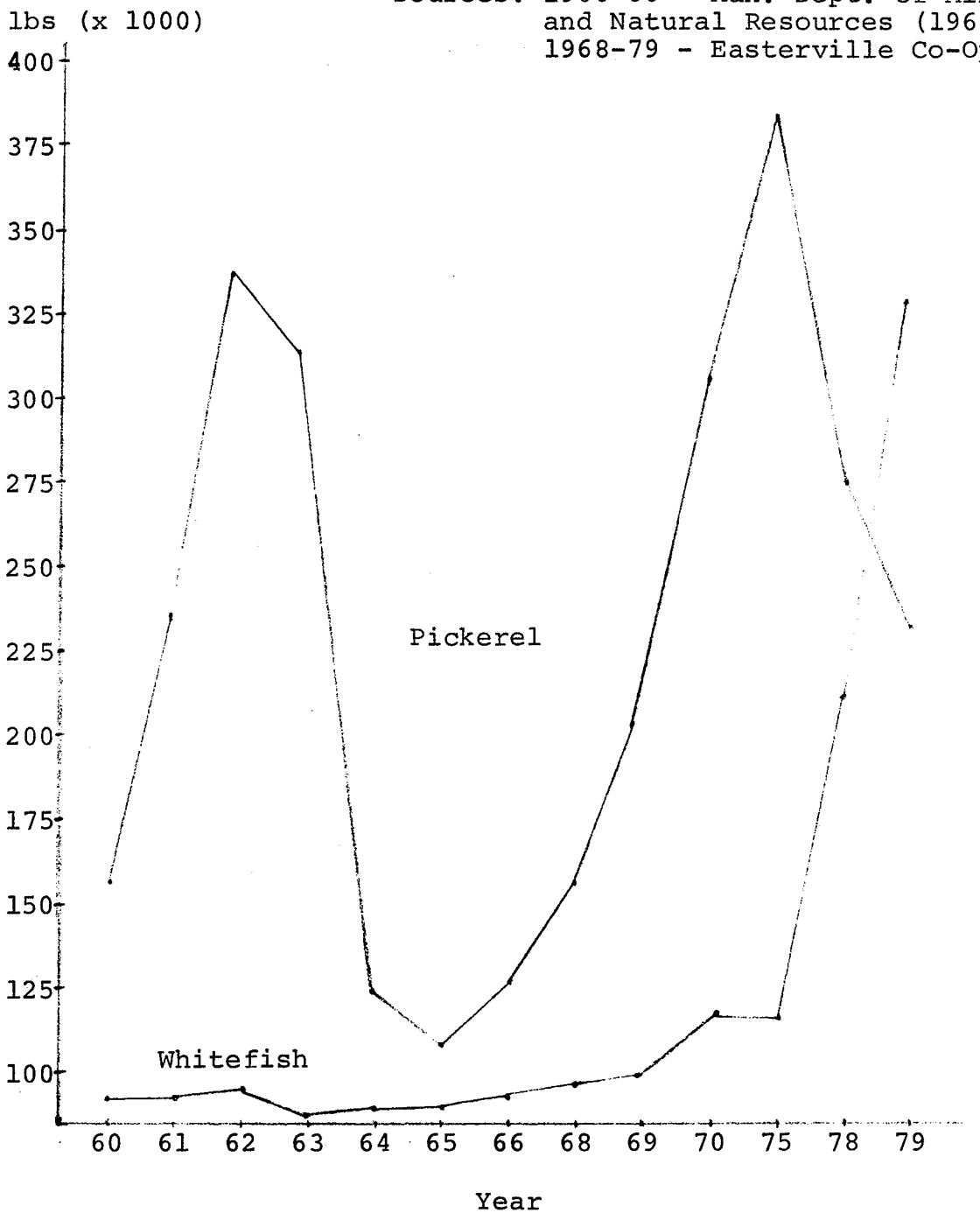


TABLE IV: Fishing

Year*	Fishermen (N)			Income ($)		
	S	W	T	H	L	Ave
1960			63			634
1961			62			961
1962			68			1300
1968	41	39	52	6429	191	2665
1969	46	43	50	10207	131	2927
1970	51	54	62	20140	175	4086
1971			NIL			NIL
1972			NIL			NIL
1973			NIL			NIL
1975	59	54	68	19976	130	3917
1978	59	51	71	23497	217	5357

Key: S-Summer W-Winter T-Total
H-High Income L-Low Income Ave-Average Income
Missing figures- indicates that there was fishing but that no income statistics are available.
NIL-No fishing these years due to closure of lake.

Sources: 1960-62 - Keeper (1963)

1968-78 - Easterville Co-Op Ltd.

* Easterville year runs from May 1st to April 30th. Therefore, in each year listed, the summer production is actually from the preceeding year.

TABLE V: Fish Production

Year	Production (lbs x 1000)			Production ($)		
	S	W	T	S	W	T
1960	188.5	77.6	266.2			39930
1961	233.9	163.5	397.4			56604
1962	311.1	278.3	589.5			88419
1966						81996
1967						134400
1968	391.1	428.3	819.3	75205	62246	137452
1969	608.3	408.3	1016.8	99313	47072	146385
1970	785.1	820.5	1605.1	138633	114755	253389
1971			NIL			NIL
1972			NIL			NIL
1973			NIL			NIL
1974		646.4	646.4			308388
1975	536.9	379.4	916.3	177876	88512	266379
1976	632.1	285.8	917.9			
1977	798.9	294.3	1093.2			
1978	634.4	631.7	1266.1	244469	135894	380364
1979	712.2	717.8	1430.0			

Key: S-Summer W-Winter T-Total

Sources: 1960-62 - Keeper (1963)

1966-67 - Hedlin-Menzies (1968)

1968-79 - Easterville Co-Op Ltd.

TABLE VI: Trapping Returns

Year	Total Value ($)	No. of Trappers	Ave. Return ($)
1953-54	24,000	-	-
1956-57	24,000	-	-
1959-60	11,207	49	229
1960-61	23,583	69	342
1961-62	15,370	70	219
1968-69	2,803	28	100
1969-70	908	7	129
1970-71	315	9	35

Sources: 1953-57 - Hedlin-Menzies

1959-62 - Keeper (1963)

1968-69 - Landa (1969)

1969-71 - Manitoba Dept. of Northern Affairs (n.d.)

TABLE VII: Social Assistance Payments

Year	Reserve ($)	Est. Total Community ($)
1962-63	-	41,876 (actual)
1974-75	77,793	103,464
1975-76	104,051	138,387
1976-77	81,136	107,910
1977-78	92,279	122,731

Sources: 1962-63 - Keeper (1963)

1974-75 - Teillet (1979)

1975-78 - From records of welfare officer.