

**INTERACTION BETWEEN  
GOVERNMENT OFFICIALS AND NATIVE PEOPLE:  
PAST AND PRESENT**

**BY**

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Submitted to the Faculty of Graduate Studies  
in Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements  
for the Degree of**

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## ABSTRACT

Primary factors which influenced interactions between Native people and government officials began with the emergence of British mercantilism, capitalism, and colonialism. A conjunction of these economic and political variables with beliefs about racial superiority, a perceived mission to convert all non-Christians to Christianity, and conclusions based on studies by social Darwinians and eugenicists resulted in behavioral modes characterized by paternalism toward, fear of, or hatred against the Native people. These negative behaviors became reinforced by Native people's responses, that is, secondary factors, as they attempted to cope with the changing milieu.

Policies formulated by government officials, reflecting the values of the dominant culture of which they are the product, have largely failed to protect the interests of Native people. Examples of this negligence on the part of officials appeared in the events which surrounded the hydro-electric power project of northern Manitoba.

## **LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS**

<b>AFN</b>	<b>Assembly of First Nations</b>
<b>DIAND</b>	<b>Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development</b>
<b>FEMP</b>	<b>Federal Ecological Monitoring Program</b>
<b>LWCNRSB</b>	<b>Lake Winnipeg, Churchill and Nelson Rivers Study Board</b>
<b>MDA</b>	<b>Manitoba Development Authority</b>
<b>NFA</b>	<b>Northern Flood Agreement</b>
<b>NFC</b>	<b>Northern Flood Committee</b>
<b>NRPB</b>	<b>Nelson River Programming Board</b>
<b>SIL</b>	<b>South Indian Lake community</b>

## CHAPTER 1

### INTRODUCTION

#### 1.1 Rationale

This paper will argue that several variables which helped to shape the way in which the British regarded Native people<sup>1</sup> influenced the kind of relationships developed with Native people by government officials in whose policies these factors were evident. The same variables and the government decisions upon which they had bearing affected Native people in ways which not only reinforced negative attitudes directed toward them but also tended to perpetuate the established relationships.<sup>2</sup> It is important that policy-makers today be cognizant of these determinants and their consequences on Native people in order to avoid repeating, and instead, begin to correct, historical injustices. Similarly, Native people, who are interested in not simply mitigating but ending these negative effects, need to develop a thorough understanding of the interacting variables if they wish to negotiate effectively settlement of treaty rights and land claims. Furthermore, proper understanding is a pre-condition for Native people and those who are non-Native to live together and interact constructively, productively, and with mutual respect.

While there is no specific attempt in this paper to do so, it is possible to regard the variables under discussion and their effects as either primary or secondary. "Primary" may be used to signify that the existence of a condition

was necessary before the second, or “secondary,” set of conditions could transpire. To illustrate, factors such as racism, which may be classified as primary, gave rise to certain kinds of behaviors by the British and other Europeans upon coming into contact with the Native people. These factors included ideas of racial superiority and religious beliefs such as the need to convert non-Christian people and that the Native people were irreligious and amoral. In addition, ethnocentrism played a large part in reinforcing the attitudes which were constructed as a consequence of these conceptions about Native people. Therefore, an analysis of the factors which prescribed relationships between the two diverse groups of people requires looking at the beliefs, long held by the British - and other Europeans - but which have proven, in more recent times, erroneous. Other factors which may be regarded as primary include the historical forces of colonialism and economic expediency for enhancement of economic expansion.

Another group of factors, which may be regarded as secondary, includes what Berry referred to as acculturative stress,<sup>3</sup> or known more commonly as “culture shock,” a phenomenon which occurred as the British culture, and the activities arising from that culture, began to have an impact on the traditional lives of the Native people. For example, when missionaries made it a condition that Native people become converted to Christianity before providing them with assistance during times of famine, the choice for the Native people was to abandon their traditional religion or watch as their children slowly starved, events which will be discussed further in section three of chapter two. In addition to experiencing culture shock, Native people were and have been subjected to “future shock,” a closely related condition in which collectivities experience disorientation.<sup>4</sup> When economic development began in northern Manitoba, for instance, Native people had very little time

in which to adapt to the forces of modernization. As a result, there was considerable social and psychological upheaval, a subject also covered in greater detail later in this paper.

To differentiate between the two kinds of variables, therefore, is to say clearly to Native people that allusions to their innate inferiority and inadequacy have been based on a series of misinformation, as will be discussed in chapter three. This differentiation challenges non-Natives to consider the possibility of constructing a more valid and reliable belief system regarding the Native people. Furthermore, it is vital that a discussion of the factors which influenced the interaction between officials and Native people provide some indication of the fact that the Native people's perspectives and worldview were markedly different from those of the British because those factors which may be regarded as primary affected Native people in ways which further affected the relationship between the two groups. This is also given clarification in chapter three.

A more contextual examination makes it possible to be aware of a pre- and post-contact state of being among the Native people and to differentiate between the initial characteristics of the Native people and those which they came to acquire as a result of how those primary factors affected them as a people and therefore the nature of their interaction with the Europeans. The effect of clarifying this distinction is to begin to correct persistent misconceptions such as those which see Native people as naturally passive and lacking ambition or as having an inherent proclivity for alcohol abuse, misconceptions which, for example, were given a great deal of credence during the eugenics movement. These types of characterizations, about which studies by social scientists have produced valuable insights, are in fact a part of the set of secondary factors which affected and continue to affect the Native

people-government officials interface.

Therefore, while providing an “explicit Amerindian autohistorical perspective”<sup>5</sup> is not within the scope of this study, the attempt is made to remind the reader of not only the Native people’s presence, perspectives, and worldviews, but also of the fact that there are usually at least “two sides to every story, the truth lying somewhere between the two.” Records of Canada’s history, studied and presented from the European perspective, have, some would argue, to a large extent failed to give that other viewpoint needed to construct an expanded and more balanced account of the series of events precipitated by the arrival of the Europeans in North America.<sup>6</sup> As well, if reading this paper proves to be a consciousness-raising exercise for the culture-bound, so much the better.

It is recognized that blaming is counterproductive and to be avoided. However, it is important to analyze where responsibilities lie for the less than ideal relationships which have persisted between government officials and the Native people. Nor does this paper wish to argue the rights and wrongs of racism, prejudice, and discriminatory behaviors, since it is self-evident that these phenomena are harmful and detrimental to positive and healthy relationships between groups, but rather to define and identify their presence throughout the events and thought processes which came to affect the affairs and well-being of the Native people, and therefore, how they interacted with non-Natives. While this study does not take a moral position, the implication is that there is a need to recognize the linkages existing between the attitudes and perceptions of British immigrants and those of their descendants and the behaviors which Native people came to exemplify, some of which were and are identified as problematic from a particular perspective and within a particular context.

For the purpose of this paper, the terms “Europe” and “European(s)” are in reference to Britain and the British, people who came from the continent of Europe, as opposed to those who did not come from Europe, that is, the indigenous people of North America. Although there are historical interconnections among the British and other nationalities of Europe, via commerce, trade, Catholicism, Protestantism, and so on, the focus is entirely on the British, rather than the French, because it was they who ultimately established their control over those territories which would later become Canada and set up the national system of government. As well, descriptions by authors who wrote about reactions of the Puritans toward the Native people are useful for the purpose of this paper because Puritans, as immigrants from Britain, provide indication of behaviors and attitudes with which the British generally interacted with Native people. Use of this type of research material implies the existence of a set of common characteristics shared among all North American Native peoples which stood them in relief against the European arrivals who, for example, were inclined to dominate rather than adapt to the physical environment.<sup>7</sup>

In addition, “British North America” denotes those territories which eventually became Canada. In terms of the historical scope, this paper looks back only as far as is deemed necessary to capture an understanding of the circumstances from which British imperialism, colonialism, and ideas of racism began to emerge.<sup>8</sup> While it is common practice among some writers to link economic conservatism with prejudice and racism, there is no conscious effort here to imply that one was caused by the other, even though it is recognized that there is a positive correlation between the two in that the interests of those who hold racist inclinations and of those who subscribe to conservatism tend to be convergent in the same policies.

The primary motivation for a study into this area is not as much derived from previous research as it is from an attempt to find explanations for and understanding of questions arising from observations such as those which link First Nations to confrontational styles of lobbying and an enormously overrepresented involvement in the Canadian criminal justice system. It is acknowledged that the awareness required to identify the erroneous and negative nature of the historical notions regarding Native people has been made possible largely as a result of the recent advances by researchers in the social sciences. Their findings, based on studies in social and cross-cultural psychology, have shed light on the dynamics of social processes such as those which underlie racism and ethnocentrism and their effects on the emotions and behaviors of those toward whom such attitudes are directed. Most of the material for this paper is therefore based on secondary research.

## 1.2 Methodology

There are six chapters with various numbers of subsections for each. This introductory chapter provides the purpose, rationale and scope. Chapter two examines some of the historical variables to investigate their origins and indicate their significance. The third chapter provides the backdrop or framework essential for developing the connection between attitudes and government policies and the genesis of the current conditions in which the Native people find themselves in regards to their relationships with government officials. As well, chapter three investigates these factors within the context of the findings and from the perspective of the social sciences to develop some understanding of the nature of such multi-faceted concepts as racism and ethnocentrism.

Chapter four establishes the parallel between the factors and how officials of government devised policies, such as those which outlawed potlatches, certain dances and other forms of religious expression, designed to uphold the misconceptions based on those factors. The overall objective of those in power, to establish a “white settler colony” in British North America, required that the Native people actively be civilized, Christianized and, particularly after profit from the fur trade had reached its point of exhaustion, contained, then assimilated. The fifth chapter deals with the case study in which recent and current concrete examples provide indication of the extent to which government officials were affected by those factors in making their policy decisions as well as the consequences Native people faced.

Finally, chapter six provides a summary of the argument and some concluding remarks based on the discussion and on prospects for future relations with Native people.

## CHAPTER 2

### HISTORICAL CONTEXT

#### 2.1 Colonialism

There were several historical factors contributing to the negative treatment of indigenous people in those territories which eventually became Canada. A style of interaction arising from these variables affected the Native people in ways that elicited certain types of behaviors which themselves, in turn, evoked further negativity. For example, British colonialism was a major force behind the dissemination of distorted images constructed about the Native people and the resultant attitudes with which British Europeans regarded these groups. It was Britain's colonial activities which began the large-scale emigration of British subjects to North America and the subsequent establishment of government policies designed to regulate those activities for the benefit of the political and economic interests of British government officials, with little evidence of a regard for consequences to the Native people. The pursuit of economic gain and political expansion to widen its sphere of influence - in addition to the initially relatively subordinate motivation of expanding Christianity to include indigenous peoples - were the major reasons Britain, foremost among the European nations, established colonial rule in North America.<sup>1</sup>

While colonialism, the practice of setting up rule over subordinated nations for political and economic gain, tended to have the effect of strengthening a sense of nationalism at home, the adoption of policies developed to meet the objectives of imperialists and capitalists were exploitive in their design and thus produced negative consequences for indigenous peoples. This profit-oriented approach evolved from mercantilism, an “instrumental concept which ... enable[s] us to understand a particular historical period more clearly,” as well as a system for unifying economic activities under a national state, according to Heckscher.<sup>2</sup> A brief discussion of British mercantilism, the influence of which contributed to the rise of the “Protestant work ethic,” the advocacy of literacy and education, the subsequent development of industry and commerce, as well as the advancement of science as an area of learning, is therefore useful to understand the origins of colonialist thinking.

Mercantilism refers to the economic system, extant during the sixteenth, seventeenth, and eighteenth centuries, which evolved as a result of at least three interconnecting factors, according to Buck.<sup>3</sup> The first determinant was the rise of the national state. Especially during the reign of the Tudors, the state began to involve itself with economic concerns, formulating policies ultimately to establish Britain as an international power. The second factor is identified as the commercial revolution in which the use of money and credit and the emergence of banks and exchanges allowed for vast increases in trade among the nations of Europe. The third development was the demise of medieval economic institutions and the accompanying assertion of nation state authority over economic activities. The mercantilist philosophy behind domestic policies, whereby regulations were used to build up the nation’s economy, was to create and expand national power. Similarly,

foreign trade policies, such as those designed to achieve a favorable balance of trade, were motivated by the desire to enlarge the national treasury and thus establish an international superiority.

Executive power in the monarchy, associated with the order and stability needed to carry out economic activities, was seen by mercantilists as a useful tool in the pursuit of a national economic policy.<sup>4</sup> Furthermore, the belief in the divine, that is, God-given, rights and royal prerogatives of the monarch, backed by the consent of the merchant and ruling class, was no doubt advantageous to advocates of mercantilism since it provided the required moral justification to be single-mindedly committed to the pursuit of the mercantilists' economic interests. Throughout much of Britain's history, it appears to have been men for whom choices with ethical implications either were non-existent or presented no decisional difficulty who, due to their loyalty to economic interests, were regarded as most wise, efficient, and highly valuable in leadership roles.<sup>5</sup> Such a(n a)moral position would be useful whenever decisions designed to optimize economic benefits would bring about negative effects to outgroups, specifically, in the context of the colonies, the Native people.

That the "nationalist conception of society which justified regulation of ... commercial relationships in the interest of the Kingdom of England and the profit of her merchant classes ..." emerged from religious ideas and from canonical teaching of a moral justification of economic relationships<sup>6</sup> is important to note as mercantilism gave rise to colonialism. In part, it was this connectedness to religious beliefs, instrumental in Britain's commitment to establish its hegemony throughout the world, and the entanglement with beliefs of racial superiority, which are identified in this study as the primary factors affecting Native-government relations as British colonialism was

taking root in North America.

During the nineteenth century, the thinking of Edward Gibbon Wakefield is recognized as having had an enormous influence in how the governance of colonies was approached by the British. He inspired the Durham Report of 1839 on Canadian colonial policy, wrote a book titled A Letter from Sydney, spent time in Canada in 1838 as an advisor to John Lambton, the First Earl of Durham, and had a great deal of effect on the thinking of John Buller, the governor general's secretary.<sup>7</sup> Not only were his thoughts and ideas broadly propagated in printed form in the Colonial Gazette for general public consumption, they were made known to decision makers in such ways as appearances before committees.<sup>8</sup> Consequently, officials who made policies affecting the indigenous peoples throughout the British colonies were undoubtedly well aware of Wakefield's political and philosophical objectives. Understanding certain aspects of his thinking makes it possible to identify to some extent the intellectual climate in which government officials made their policy decisions because, had his inclinations been radically different from those of other colonial officials, Wakefield, a vociferous member of the official community, could not have been influential to the degree historical accounts indicate.<sup>9</sup>

In his book, England and America, Wakefield elaborated on his theory of colonization, stating that the division of classes into capitalists and laborers was necessary so that there could be a "combination of power," that is, a coordination of the two, in order to lay the foundations for a viable colony.<sup>10</sup> As he attempted to explain the method of disposal of what he termed colonial waste lands, he admitted that he did not have the answer to the question of how to calculate what would be the "sufficient price" for the sale of land other than by trial and error.<sup>11</sup> However, it was Wakefield's reasoning about how

revenues derived from selling the land at this sufficient price which is significant to Native people. He stated that, given the reason for selling the land as opposed to giving it away, the profits accrued were in fact purposeless, unavoidable, and incidental - an "unappropriated fund, which the state or government may dispose of as it pleases."<sup>12</sup> Implicit in Wakefield's line of reasoning is that these territories had been unoccupied, and, belonging to no one, were there for the taking to be sold "without injustice to anyone." It is because he gave little indication that he recognized Native people's rights as occupiers of these territories as he developed and explained his theories of colonization as well as the fact that he hobnobbed with the likes of Lord Durham that Wakefield's ideas are significant in terms of how colonial policies were formulated by government officials.

The idea, generally accepted by much of the elite, that there was a surplus of laborers the poverty of whom placed stress on the nation's finances, was an important ingredient, at various stages, of colonization theory and practice. The scheme was to induce this " ... surplusage, or at least...the basest and poorest sorte of them ... " to emigrate to the colonial territories in order to reduce the overabundance in population and the resulting evils thereof and to provide the needed labor to develop what Wakefield referred to as the "waste" lands of the colonies.<sup>13</sup> While it was the convicts who were sent to provide the labor to develop Australia, it was suggested that it would be the poor who would provide the labor in the North American territories.<sup>14</sup> That a policy was calculated to increase the population of laborers in the homeland of Native people and that it revealed a lack of regard for the poor<sup>15</sup> did not bode well for Native people for two reasons. First, Native people themselves, increasingly having by this time been reduced, generally, to a state of poverty, could expect to be treated with similar lack of

consideration. Second, it meant that the dispossession of their lands would continue unabated. Such a policy gave no hint of establishing prior consultation with the Native people, all aspects of whose lives would be thrown into a state of disorder and chaos by its implementation. Macdonnell implies that Wakefield was inordinately driven by motives of personal financial gain and elicitory of distrust among at least some with whom he had dealings.<sup>16</sup> It would be safe to surmise that he was no advocate of positive relations with, much less concern for the rights and interests of, the Native people.

What may be highlighted is the apparent attitude of those who thought about colonization and how it ought to be implemented. In particular, there appeared to be a general lack of compassion for the masses of unemployed who, suffering from poverty and turning to acts of crime, were considered a scourge to the wellness of the country and in need of being sent elsewhere.<sup>17</sup> In the minds of parliamentarians earlier in the colonial era, the major problem was not so much whether these people wanted to emigrate, but how and by whom their transportation would be paid. It was precisely a similar kind of thinking, seemingly detached from any sense of benevolence or moral obligation, in which the victims of circumstances beyond their powers to correct were held responsible for their disadvantaged state, that contributed to the treatment Native people of North America experienced as the activities of British colonial policies began to have their effects in such areas as how governance would be carried out.

Bell makes the observation that when colonial officials evaluated the capacity of each colony for self-government, they based their judgments on the success and experience each had demonstrated in this regard.<sup>18</sup> However, it would appear that indigenous peoples would not be granted the powers to exercise self-government for, as Earl Grey contended, these kinds of people

were not advanced in civilization, and “altogether deficient in education and intelligence” necessary to wield political power.<sup>19</sup> This comment typified the attitude with which officials responsible for colonial government affairs regarded Native peoples.

The concept of self-governance was antithetic to colonialism which, according to Nadel,<sup>20</sup> was meant to be exploitive of resources, both material and human. That the group of men who comprised the body of British colonial policy makers would defer to the needs or political wishes of colony settlers would have been entirely unrealistic, was the observation of Adam Smith, who stated that such a move would not only be injurious to Britain’s pride as an international power, but also a loss of opportunities for “wealth and distinction.”<sup>21</sup> It would have been that much more remote a possibility for the colonial officials to respect the political or economic requirements of indigenous peoples, in view of the fact that British colonialists were blinded by their prejudices in regard to the pre-existence of Native political systems and in view of the fact that even the most unprofitable colonies rarely failed to reap some amount of economic benefit for Britain as the parent state.<sup>22</sup>

## 2.2 Economic Factors

One of the primary factors behind British emigration to North America and the nature of the relationships that were subsequently constructed with the Native people was the pursuit of economic gain.<sup>23</sup> It being the case that neither the climate nor topography was conducive to the development of large-scale plantations in those areas which later became Canada, the British were interested in the natural resources of these regions and in the establishment of systems with which to access and control the Native people’s

labor for the extraction of these resources.<sup>24</sup> For example, the establishment of joint stock companies, such as the Hudson's Bay Company (the Company), in new colonial territories provided a mechanism with which to produce a flow of wealth, generated from the commodification of these raw materials, back to British investors.

The conclusion may be drawn that it was economic expediency and how effectively Native people served that purpose which played a major role in how the Native people were dealt with by state decision-makers, agents, and representatives. These were the priorities which helped to establish the nature of the relationship between the two groups. The historical context of the economic forces which brought about radical changes in Native people's patterns of existence clarifies the process in which the productive labor of Native people was drawn into the construction of the Hudson's Bay Company fur trade monopoly which spanned a time period of approximately two centuries.<sup>25</sup> Nevertheless, it is recognized that decisions were not always dictated by complete economic rationality and logic.

While economic variables such as the pursuit of profit, maximization of efficiencies, and so on, differ from those which are social and psychological in that they are not of and by themselves perceived to be inherently related to inter-group attitudes, it is reasonable to state that social and psychological factors such as emotions and attitudes have a tendency to interact closely with how economic choices are effectuated. For example, it may be a rational decision to hire a particularly competent individual, but due to racism, a less qualified person may be given a position. It is therefore advisable to consider the possible influences different kinds of factors may have on each other. As noted by Bourgeault, there is an intimate connection between race oppression and "capitalist relations of exploitation."<sup>26</sup>

As the Company of men established its domination, it saw the expediency in allowing certain groups of Native people to take on a kind of middleman role for a period of time. This role was by no means disadvantageous for the Company because it was a means with which to facilitate the development of the fur trade monopoly by utilizing the Ojibway people's labor in physically transporting quantities of goods and furs over vast distances - often up to a 1,000 miles.<sup>27</sup> Nevertheless, the Company established a structure and system in which exclusionary policies effectively froze out Native people from any long-term economic benefits of the fur trade, a situation which would later carry over to the sale of land. For example, it was to the disadvantage of the Company when Isbister and other talented and educated individuals either resigned or were refused work as a result of the discriminatory policy of the Company wherein the required qualifications for employment rank, advancement, and remuneration were based on circumstances of birth.<sup>28</sup> Therefore, an examination of the economic variables necessitates the awareness of social psychological influences, such as racism along structural and internalized, that is, psychological, dimensions, which helped to describe what the nature of Native people's real life experiences had become as a result. How the British economic and political activities, decisions, and arrangements influenced interactions with Native people then becomes clearer.

Because profits from economic activity correlate positively to the amount of control exercised over relevant factors, such as access to raw materials and cheap labor, supply channels, and so on, their pursuit proved to be a powerful motivational force against which there was little recourse for any who may have been perceived as obstructive to their realization. The British, engaging intermittently in warfare with rival nations of Europe and seeking to establish their dominance, looked to North America as a source of

wealth with which to bolster their economy and advance their political dominance.<sup>29</sup> Therefore, when Charles II affixed his royal seal on the Charter of Incorporation in 1670 to bring about the Hudson's Bay Company monopoly, it was done for the purpose of establishing for Britain what was evaluated as being a "very great advantage" strategically, politically and economically.<sup>30</sup> Heckscher stresses the point that the joint stock companies were the prime mechanism with which to develop trade and political expansion.<sup>31</sup> As such, enterprises such as the Hudson's Bay Company were granted massive discretionary powers with which to carry out their mandate.

A group of approximately sixteen men, and those who would succeed them, in receiving exclusive authority to oversee the establishment of trade and commerce in fur, fish products, and minerals throughout Rupert's Land, and to govern in accordance with their own good judgment, the vast expanses of hinterland - approximately two and a half million square miles - were, in effect, given the authority<sup>32</sup> to act as the agents of government. Thus the economic and political affairs of all Native people residing within the boundaries of these territories at once fell under the jurisdiction of a group of foreigners, the subsequent actions of whom would suggest that they saw no reason either to acquaint themselves with Native cultural customs and value systems or carry out diplomatic consultation and accommodation with Native political leadership other than for the express purpose of applying such knowledge and action to the advancement of their economic objectives. It is because the circumstances and conditions under which Native people lived were delineated by the rule of law as interpreted, executed, and enforced by Company officials for almost two centuries until these territories were given over to Canada, and by the methods with which the Company aspired to achieve its economic interests, that the Company's activities become a focus of

attention at this point.

The Hudson's Bay Company's establishment of economic control over Native people came about once the latter had realigned their economy to the dictates of the fur industry monopoly.<sup>33</sup> As the Company raised its prices to increase profits, Native trappers had little option but to pay those prices with greater quantities of fur pelts. They were no longer able simply to refuse to carry on business with the Company, having become dependent on the goods supplied to them, nor take their business elsewhere because the Hudson's Bay Company held exclusive rights to the fur trade. Thus the Company was in a strategic position to increase or decrease the prices of both furs from and goods to their Native suppliers, dictate fur quality standards, and impose whatever conditions and qualifications it saw fit to more completely consolidate its economic stranglehold. Referring to the economic subjugation of Native people, which would result in an amassing of prodigious amounts of profit for the Company, Innis states that such a "rapid shift in the prevailing Indian culture" resulted in their "wholesale destruction."<sup>34</sup>

During this period of time, therefore, all major aspects of Native people's lives had become altered to conform to the dictates of the market logic.<sup>35</sup> Not only had commodification exploited the product of their labor, the fur pelt, but also their time was increasingly expropriated as prices were structured to accrue maximum profits for the Company.<sup>36</sup> It was not at all uncommon for Native trappers to fall into indebtedness to the Company, a situation in which the latter did not hesitate to take advantage by conscripting female members of the family into domestic and other forms of menial and heavy work for Company personnel.<sup>37</sup> The Company's policies ensured that Native trappers, their families and thus their entire communities, would become and remain economically subservient, in both serviceability and

obedience. In time, as poverty, starvation, and infectious diseases took their toll, it is no wonder that the inevitability of the Native people's extinction as a group was frequently referred to in historical writings.<sup>38</sup>

The series of policies whereby Native people were maneuvered into a position of economic dependency was a fruitful achievement for the Company and was followed, after many years of monopoly exploitation, by a revision to the charter which extended the Company's powers to include "proprietors[hip] of the soil."<sup>39</sup> By 1834, the Red River settlement and the Council of Assiniboia, which was situated under the jurisdiction of the governor of Rupert's Land, had come under the direct control of the Company.<sup>40</sup> The nature of the relationship between the Native people and those in power can be inferred from comments made by one of the top officials of the Company, George Simpson.

Sir George Simpson, as the governor of Rupert's Land for the Hudson's Bay Company (1821-1860), inherited the directorship of those millions of square miles of "Indian territory." To his way of thinking, groups of people were to be evaluated in terms of the how great a threat they represented to the Company and the ease or difficulty with which they could be managed and controlled. Simpson, known as the "Little Emperor," is described by Heckscher as being cynical in his attitude toward others and as being single-minded in his loyalty to the economic interests of the Company, upon which those of his own were dependent.<sup>41</sup> There was no indication of compassion toward the Native people, no matter the extent of their privation nor any effort to alleviate their suffering. An incident described by one of his chief traders was neither unique nor obscure:

52 Indians had perished...by famine and the surviving were living on the dead carcasses of their Relations all within 200 yards of the Fort [Norman].<sup>42</sup>

One may assume that incidents of this type were within the responsibility of Simpson, as the governor, or CEO, of the Company, to prevent since these Native people lived within his jurisdiction. However, it would appear that their health and safety per se were not a priority. Instead, original Company policy did not require officials to become involved in matters which did not pertain to non-Natives unless crimes were committed against the Company or its employees and servants.<sup>43</sup> Accordingly, it would not have been the concern of either Simpson or the Company if Native people perished from hunger.

The singularity with which the Company concerned itself with the protection of what was left of its monopoly over the fur trade during the nineteenth century was characterized as being so aggressive that constables, in the course of fulfilling their duties to search and seize illegal fur products where necessary, were given long poles with which to “explore the recesses of cottage chimneys” of newly titled settlers.<sup>44</sup> Officials referred to trade activities carried on outside of the confines of Company policy as the “seductive doctrine about equality and Free Trade.”<sup>45</sup> For the Native trappers, the effects of competition may not have been much worse than the harshness with which monopoly regulations were enforced. Once the fur trade, for various reasons, began its decline, the expendability of Native people, no longer serving so vital a role, increased proportionately, even as they themselves continued to regard the fur trade as vital to their economic and physical survival.

The fact that their economic and social system was based on a subsistence economy in which surplus material possessions were an encumbrance<sup>46</sup> rendered that system irrelevant and of no value in one for

which the overriding philosophy was centered on the profit motive. It is therefore not surprising that adhering to their system would cause destitution to be increasingly the fate of many Native people. However, as alluded to earlier, it was not solely economic forces which brought about a state of dependency and ruin on Native people, helped formulate the dominant-subservient relationship which emerged between the British and Native people, or shaped the nature of their interactions. In any discussion about the socio-economic development of British North America it is important to include the significant role that was given to race. It was not mere coincidence that it was the Native people who were excluded from reaping any form of lasting benefits, such as well paying jobs, or health and prosperity, from such activities as those of the Hudson's Bay Company.

### 2.3 Belief Systems: Religion, Social Darwinism, Racism, Eugenics

Belief systems, as part of the culture of a society, are subject to flux over time as a result of any combination of factors such as changes in social conditions due to increasing poverty, major upheavals in the form of wars or plagues, and the influences of external events such as discovery of new territory. For example, in 1534 the Protestant Reformation brought about the formation of a state church in Britain which was headed by the monarch rather than by the pope at Rome. This had several implications on how the British viewed their national religion in terms of expressions of self-identity during the colonial period. It is therefore necessary to provide some background information about the origins of certain beliefs which came to be held by the British and which applied in ways that had far-reaching consequences on the affairs of the Native people, both directly and indirectly,

and hence their interactions with policy makers. This task includes a brief look at the concepts of certain individuals who contributed to the development of popularly held beliefs among the British.

The writings of foremost thinkers and other individuals whose leadership status usually derived from their social position or status exerted influence on the thinking and therefore behaviors of others. This may be inferred from the fact that they were published and read and that those ideas frequently found their expression, in one form or another, in government policy. Major areas of belief, such as religion and social development, thus gave shape to and were shaped by the combination of events and the popular acceptance of those theories and ideas. Specifically, looking at the definitions, origins and expressions of these concepts and notions helps not only to establish their prevalence and therefore their connection to policies and attitudes of government officials, but also to understand the degree of ubiquity of these notions in their impact on the lives of Native people and, as primary factors, their negative effects upon them.

Some of the men whose publications and activities have been chosen to portray the conceptions of the day revised their theories over the course of time. The updated editions were usually more refined and moderate, reflecting the effects of criticism from others and further study. However, for the purpose of this study, the original versions are used as much as possible. First, they tended to include a greater element of the sensational, and as such, attracted more attention and had a more immediate effect on how people thought. Second, social psychological research has shown that, all things being equal, it is the first, rather than subsequent, information which has the greater impact.<sup>47</sup> Therefore, generally speaking, it is argued that the ideas in their original form had the greater influence on people's thinking in terms of

encouraging and nurturing negative treatment toward Native people.

Religious beliefs have been powerful forces giving impetus to various events throughout history. While religious ideas behind the Crusades and the Reformation were obvious in their effects, other beliefs were less immediately obvious but nevertheless considerable in their impact. This was the case in regard to the treatment Native people were accorded by Europeans and the resultant relationships they developed with government officials from the time of the “discovery of America,” the expression itself, according to Bercovitch, capturing “the imperialist drive and the primitive ethnocentrism” of the Europeans as an “indictment of their willful blindness to native Indian rights.”<sup>48</sup> Alfred Cave, in his 1992 paper, written about the ethnohistory of colonial America, discusses the obstacles which “led the Puritans to their ultimate rejection of the possibility of cultural coexistence with their Indian neighbors.”<sup>49</sup> While these barriers, originating with British attitudes before they came to North America as colonizers and settlers, occurred as a result of misguided and inaccurate beliefs about practically every aspect of the Native people, it appears to have been their religious ideas in which their morally held justification for negative attitudes and behaviors toward the Native people was largely grounded.

The notion of being the biblically sanctioned “chosen of God” was a powerful conviction among the British, although it was by no means unique to them. Perceiving it to be their divinely appointed duty - upon the proper execution of which their own salvation to a certain degree was perceived to depend - to bring others into Christianity, British missionaries regarded indigenous peoples everywhere as prime candidates for conversion, and they embarked upon this task with all of the perceptual baggage which accrues upon those who see themselves as being members of the superior group. They

were unable to either grasp or acknowledge the possibility that the Native people may have possessed a system of beliefs which had sustained them adequately for centuries. George McDougall, a Protestant missionary well-known for his work among Native populations, followed his calling to convert and civilize the “benighted sons and daughters of these wilds” who wandered in both a “natural and moral wilderness” during the mid-nineteenth century.<sup>50</sup> Letters he wrote are replete with remarks which denigrate the Native people’s attempts to retain their religious customs and beliefs in the face of the missionary onslaught.

McDougall’s observations frequently alluded to the increasingly chronic state of destitution of the Native people and to the totality of their suffering. During one particularly severe period, he mentioned a woman who was “driven to such a ... state through starvation, that she ate her own child” and another whose cabin, along with a small child, was destroyed by fire.<sup>51</sup> Reading McDougall’s account, it is impossible to miss the implication that the Native people were worthy of assistance only if and when they had allowed themselves to become Christianized. Hence, there was nothing more thrilling for the Reverend than witnessing an eighty year old Native man succumb to the Christian faith, after many years of pressure to relinquish his lifelong religious beliefs because only then could it be entertained that help be extended. When greater numbers of the Native people began to heed the calling to Christianity, it may have been more that their conversion occurred as an act of survival than of spiritual conviction, in spite of what McDougall referred to as his fondest wishes. The provisions needed to sustain the lives of Native people in any degree of comfort appear to have been relatively unimportant to McDougall compared to the fulfillment of his life’s mission.

The perceptions of Adam Thom, who enjoyed wide discretionary powers

over his jurisdiction as the first recorder of the Hudson's Bay Company, were significant in terms of their immediate and direct impact on the well-being of Native people. In a letter to Governor Christie of Assiniboia, in which he attempted to discredit those who were petitioning in London for fairer treatment regarding the fur trade, he made the argument that the Native people were experiencing relatively few of the usual evils which were "incident to the contact of barbarism and civilization."<sup>52</sup> Thom, who did not take pains to hide his biases, then went on to express his views on the state of Native spirituality as follows:

More may be done for their moral and religious improvement; while all that can be done ought to be attempted; but every attempt must fail that is not conducted in an untiring spirit of hopeful patience, with a due regard to the ruggedness of the soil, the severity of the climate, the resources of the country, and the habits of the wanderers themselves.<sup>53</sup>

In addition to bringing about the formation of a state church, the British Reformation produced a strongly felt need to defend the preeminence of the new, purified version of the Roman church, the Anglican church, in order to justify the actions of Henry VIII, according to Horsman.<sup>54</sup> Scholarly works to this effect by Parker, Foxe, and Joscelyn led to the development and establishment of general ideas regarding the superiority of all British institutions. The next logical step to the progression of the argument was to attach the notion of superiority and purity to the British as a people, to their history, language, cultural beliefs, and constructed biological grouping within the human species.

It is therefore necessary to examine the notions of race and establish some understanding of why the practice of racism has been not only fraught with misinformation, but also damaging and injurious to its victims, who in

this case, were the Native people. Thus, to establish the degree to which notions of racial superiority had pervaded British thinking at all levels of society is to make it possible to develop a greater appreciation and provide validation for the magnitude of the negative impact the Native people experienced as a consequence of those factors previously identified as primary. These objectives are accomplished by providing a sense of the meaning and a brief glimpse into the historical background of phenomena such as racism, social Darwinism, and eugenics, and by pointing out who were the people behind some of these ideas.

Looking first at the term “race,” the dictionary definition, itself reflective of the complexity and difficulty of its meaning and implications, includes

any of the major divisions of mankind, each having distinctive physical characteristics and a common ancestry, as in the “white race” or “the yellow race” and the condition of belonging to a particular stock, and the qualities due to this.<sup>55</sup>

According to Shreeve, race, unlike age, sex, or physical build, as an empirically rooted characteristic of human identification, is “mired in a biological, cultural, and semantic swamp.”<sup>56</sup> He quotes a Yale anthropologist who points out that race was - and is - used as a cultural as well as biological category and that it has been extremely difficult, if not impossible, to separate the two. As well, Shreeve makes the argument that human variation is “the result of a seamless continuum of genetic change across space” and that most of the genetic differences are to be found within rather than between groups of people.”<sup>57</sup> For example, the set of genetic characteristics which separates a Caucasian from an African generally separates the Caucasian from another average Caucasian. However, those who subscribed to the notion of race focused on a relatively few obvious physical characteristics such as skin color

and hair texture in constructing their classifications to support their racial beliefs since it was not possible at that time to make genetic identifications. Although this focus appeared to support their claims, it in fact led them to inaccurate but very significant conclusions.

Furthermore, it is important to keep in mind that race as a categorical instrument is regarded as useful in some areas of study, such as medical research. However, its application as the sole evidence for genetic findings has been suspect since causalities have not been clearly established in terms of where they ultimately lie, according to Shreeve. Shreeve further notes the difficulty of identifying to what extent it is a person's socioeconomic status and environment which have contributed to genetic predisposition, pointing out that only approximately six percent of human physical differences can be explained by race.<sup>58</sup>

The concept of race as it is currently conceived appears to have had its origins after explorers were able to travel over vast geographic distances without a stop. Unable to see those who lived in between, these travelers came upon people who appeared to be inherently biologically distinct. Underlying this line of logic is the observation that human beings have tended to choose as their mates those who are close by as well as those who belong to the social group with which they identify.<sup>59</sup> Thus, geographic phenomena, as well as genes and social prescriptions, have influenced the characteristics of groups. In the case of the indigenous people of North America, ocean barriers impeded the gene flow until travel methodologies allowed Europeans to actively engage in trans-oceanic movement.

The idea that Europeans were superior and the accompanying explicit notion of indigenous people's racial inferiority was especially prevalent and held tenaciously among the British. Horsman states that Verstegen, as early as

1605, spoke of the British as a pure race, while Camden introduced the idea of God's will guiding the affairs of the British.<sup>60</sup> Beliefs such as those which regarded the British as the untainted descendants of the Anglo-Saxons, seen as a noble, freedom-loving race of people having a high moral standard, came to be widely held. Clearly, however, it was the magnitude of the conviction with which these beliefs were held by the British rather than their veracity - they were, in fact, but a myth - that allowed these ideas to be as influential in directing colonialist behaviors toward indigenous peoples. When John McDougall, for example, acknowledged his father's marksmanship as a hunter, his skill in woodwork, and his ability to handle a birch canoe as being that of a "first-class pioneer," while referring to a Native person similarly adept as "wild and semi-savage,"<sup>61</sup> it was reflective of the lack of recognition of the inconsistencies in the illogically-conceived racial orientation of the Europeans.<sup>62</sup>

According to studies by Williams, the word "race" appeared in the English language in the sixteenth century with a range of innocuous meanings and problems with it began when it came to be applied to groups within a species such as social or cultural groups of human beings.<sup>63</sup> Other writers, such as Godrej, have identified race as having most often been a social construct the accuracy and validity of which, having lacked a clear definition and proved to be misleading, have been increasingly questioned by academics.<sup>64</sup>

The term "racism" refers to "the belief that one's own race is superior to other races, any and all forms of discrimination or prejudice against other races based on this belief, and/or a political or social policy or system based on this belief," according to the dictionary definition.<sup>65</sup> Godrej points out that racism is typified when people from a dominant group "exert their power

unjustly over others.”<sup>66</sup> Thus, racism has been concerned with and exemplified in protecting and perpetuating the privileges of the dominant group at the social and economic expense of the subordinated ones.

In his examination of the origin of the term “racial,” Williams notes that Blumenbach began to differentiate and classify people according to skull measurements and skin color in 1787.<sup>67</sup> Horsman refers to the creation of a “hodgepodge of rampant, racial nationalism”<sup>68</sup> when serious scientific studies were jumbled together with political and social thinking and prejudicial and deceptive notions such as those postulated in the nineteenth century by Gobineau in his construction of an “Aryan race” comprised of a pure Nordic stock.<sup>69</sup>

During the nineteenth century, anthropology - physical anthropology in particular - emerged as a separate area in scientific study and seemed to promise the empirical evidence for ideas regarding the superiority of the Caucasian groups. Considering that researchers were at the infancy stages of applying the scientific approach to research, it is possible that methodologies in their studies would be highly suspect in terms of degree of objectivity, various forms of validity, constraint levels and methods, and effects of confounding variables since the rigorous demands of today’s standards would not yet have existed. Certainly, as is the case to this day, personal biases would have factored into how researchers formulated their designs, framed their hypotheses, and drew their conclusions. However, it is highly unlikely that they would have been aware of the presence of these distortions.

An application of the underlying principle of evolution that assumed progression was in the direction of betterment and improvement would have alerted those who based their social theories on the works of the physical scientists that they wait for further study results before using these social

theories as the basis of the proposals they advanced for improving the human condition. However, such was not the case. Rather, the use of these findings by influential men whose writings on social issues inculcated notions of racial hierarchizing resulted in a fusion of erroneous and truthful assertions. For example, Galton, proponent of eugenics, said that

there exists a sentiment, for the most part quite unreasonable, against the gradual extinction of an inferior race...silently and slowly...<sup>70</sup>

Darwin, one of the most influential men since his time on the subject of how people viewed relationships among different groups, had opinions about civilized and uncivilized people. In his work titled The Descent of Man and Selection in Relation to Sex, he expressed the idea that it was generally counterproductive to the well-being of mankind to provide for the “imbecile, the maimed, and the sick” or to institute poor laws.<sup>71</sup> His intellectual orientation was not to permit these “weaker members of civilized societies” to “propagate their kind” because it would be “highly injurious to the race of man.”<sup>72</sup> Such was the nature of the notions that were written, read about, and granted credibility by the British, who not only claimed for themselves the highest position on the racial, social, and biological hierarchy which they believed existed among human beings, but activated these beliefs in their treatment of the indigenous people of Canada.

The evolution of social Darwinism, which began soon after Darwin published The Origin of Species, gave rise to a potpourri of scientific work, social and political ideas, and prejudice in which the superior races and individuals of a society were seen as competing successfully to comprise the wealthy and powerful. This popular theory transposed to the human context the principles which Darwin had initially confined to the survival of the

fittest and the struggle for existence in the context of the natural world wherein its overall outcome was a state of harmony and balance. Perhaps not surprisingly, whether the belief was that God was in control or that natural processes governed events, the conclusion arrived at was that the British were the superior race.

Destined to undergo many interpretive alterations over the years and become subjected to a wide range of criticism before its ultimate demise, social Darwinism implied that activities based on its principles resulted in positive changes and progress for human beings. A particularly predominant idea was that natural laws ruled all of creation and provided the guidelines for issues on ethics and social policy. Originators of these ideas, concerned that their theories be given practical application, published essays in which they proposed various solutions to social and economic problems. Other proponents felt that the Darwinian struggle referred to one in which humans were in opposition to nature, to internal and external evil forces, or to inter- or intragroup members, as well as to either existence or subsistence.<sup>73</sup> Wallace eventually refined the focus of the discussion and moved it from physical to mental, spiritual, and moral development, stating that humans had progressed from the depressed and degraded races of barbarians to the pinnacle of intellectual advancement as it was personified in the Europeans.<sup>74</sup> His suggestion was that there be a human selection process, or eugenics, for the purpose of improving the human race. Furthermore, he implied that a greater force had guided the affairs of humanity toward this outcome and that no further advancement from the levels attained by the British was necessary.

Herbert Spencer, another influential anthropologist of the latter nineteenth century, similarly saw differing levels of quality within the human race. In making comparisons between complex modern societies and

“savage” tribes, he stated that social evolution resulted in a more developed humanity. “It is by the prolonged and severe discipline of corporate life that the aggressive egoism of primitive savagery has been restrained and controlled, and the altruistic nature fostered and strengthened,”<sup>75</sup> according to Spencer, who evidently did not see the violence and deprivation being experienced on a daily basis by the working classes, including the small children coerced into performing dangerous tasks in the name of progress throughout the British Industrial Revolution nor the Victorian subordination of women. Similarly, he and others, in failing to recognize the complex social and political systems and structures of the Native societies, many of which were egalitarian,<sup>76</sup> helped to perpetuate misconceptions and therefore negative attitudes and treatment toward Native people.

In terms of its acceptance, perhaps the most appealing aspect of social Darwinism for those who enjoyed a privileged status in British society was its usefulness in seeming to explain the existence of poverty, crime, and lack of universal access to justice. Contact with indigenous people had been on-going for some time and racial differences were in the forefront as British material prosperity began not to appear to be the only evidence that they were the fittest race in the struggle to compete for survival and exploitation of the world’s resources. The emergence of a new area in scientific endeavor known as eugenics promised to provide a means of fortifying and protecting what was considered to be the superiority of the British race.

Sponsored by men of preeminence, the study of eugenics aimed at artificially improving the human race and developing a more superior version for which, it was implied, men of their calibre would act in a leadership capacity. This would occur by applying the same scientific principles of judicious selection of parentage used in plant and animal

breeding. Bannister states that there were two aspects to the science of eugenics. Positive eugenics was designed to encourage the breeding of those who were perceived as carrying desirable characteristics in their genes, while negative eugenics proposed that proscription of propagation among those judged as liable to produce defective children would hasten the establishment of an improved stock of human beings.<sup>77</sup> Spencer's observation that the undesirable elements needed to be weeded out before perfection could be achieved was a prelude to the eugenics movement:

The forces which are working out the great scheme of perfect happiness, taking no account of incidental suffering, exterminate such sections of mankind as stand in their way ... Be he human being or be he brute, the hindrance must be got rid of.<sup>78</sup>

As noted by Chase,<sup>79</sup> it was understandable that Francis Galton, the racist anthropologist whose inheritance afforded him a lifestyle of financial ease, would have tended to confuse a socioeconomic order rooted in a virtually impenetrable system of nepotism as having resulted from biological inheritance. Acknowledged as having introduced the term "eugenic," a Greek word meaning "well-bred," he stated that even though all groups of people had some beneficial qualities to contribute, there were elements which were of little or no value or were detrimental and undesirable to the construction of an improved race and this would take precedence as a basis for selection.<sup>80</sup> His extensive set of notes on physical characteristics among groups was meant to establish the "practicability of supplanting inefficient human stock by better strains ... by such efforts as may be reasonable ... and with less distress than if events were left on their own course."<sup>81</sup> Because the "faculties of men generally are unequal to the requirements of a high and growing civilization," Galton was convinced that with the help of eugenics the human stock would be more efficiently improved by giving "the more suitable races

or strains of blood a better chance of prevailing speedily over the less suitable.”<sup>82</sup>

The dangerous implications of eugenics to all indigenous peoples abruptly appeared threatening and repugnant to the Anglo nations when it was learned that Nazi Germany under Hitler was involved in this area of research for the purpose of engineering a pure Aryan race.<sup>83</sup> Questions of how to come to terms with such issues as the criteria for making judgments as to what would comprise an improved state, who would make those decisions, what and whose standards would be applied, how the rights of outgroups would be protected, and so on were suddenly seen as valid. Those who had been proponents of eugenics realized that they were no longer solely in control and could, in fact, become its victims. They were then willing to recognize the inherent flaws of eugenics, such as the excessive degree to which characteristics tended to be attributed to heredity. Ironically, it may be argued that a racist madman had done the Native people a service.

Bannister<sup>84</sup> makes the observation that, on an international level, imperialists, racists, and militarists were especially quick to adopt the reasoning of nineteenth century social Darwinism and other parallel notions because they furnished what appeared to be a scientific basis for why the British had come to acquire their position of dominance in terms of world power, stability, and freedom as well as a justification for domination over others and the survival-of-the-fittest-by-force-and-cunning mentality. It was therefore inevitable that this attitude of superiority would have had a negative impact on interactions with the Native people with whom contact took place. The nature of the observations and remarks made by British from all walks of life - leading thinkers and writers, missionaries, Hudson's Bay Company agents and officials, and travelers - clearly revealed the influence of this

thinking.

As an example from the other side of the Atlantic, a quotation by Adam Thom indicated his thinking about how eugenics may, or ought to, have applied to all indigenous people, including the Native people under his authority:

In one peculiar mode, perhaps, the only practicable mode of elevating aboriginal blood to the European level, this country stands unrivaled. Instead of inheriting, as in most countries, the condition of their mothers, the half-breeds of the northwest have almost invariably followed the fortunes of their fathers: instead of being abandoned as savages, they have been cherished as British subjects.<sup>85</sup>

During the early and mid-nineteenth century, the role of the Recorder of Rupert's Land was to discharge the admittedly "primitive" system of justice and reinforce the power of the magistrates.<sup>86</sup> Thom's orientation, as alluded to earlier, toward the Native people is captured in the following passage:

A parallel has been drawn between the aborigines of the Hudson's Bay Company's territories and those of Siberia, but the cases are not at all analogous. The Asiatic savages had never fallen into such a depth of barbarism as their American brethren.<sup>87</sup>

The fact that he found a Native man guilty and had him hanged without allowing him a defense counsel in spite of the law which stated that all capital cases be sent to Canada for trial was indicative of his attitude. Thom had the distinction of carrying out the first execution to ever occur in the Red River settlement in a manner characterized as a "wanton miscarriage of justice"<sup>88</sup> against a Native individual. Such was the predisposition of the person in whose hands the safety and well-being of Native people rested. It is reasonable to assume that in his position as an agent of the government of the day, the impact of his ideas and attitude with respect to the Native people would

not have been an insignificant force in their lives and in their relations with Thom and government agents.

Although the effects of this attitude as reflected in the writings, decisions and behaviors of those who held positions of authority is specific cause for concern, there were seemingly innocuous expressions of this sense of superiority. Lady Dufferin, for instance, the wife of the Canadian governor-general (1872-1878), was a writer whose work enjoyed a wide general readership, and was therefore instrumental in perpetuating certain ideas about the Native people. In her publication titled My Canadian Journal, she made numerous comments which in fact displayed her complete lack of understanding of both Native customs and the political and economic forces which had reduced many to a state of extreme poverty. In one passage which showed a particular degree of insensitivity, Lady Dufferin described a brief stop to have a closer look at the village the residents of which had just completed a celebration of their sacred potlatch festival. "They had been having one of their most savage orgies, and had been singing, dancing and feasting for six days," were the words Lady Dufferin chose to express what she thought she had seen.<sup>89</sup>

Gladys Walker, editor of the 1969 edition of My Canadian Journal, prefaced the publication by stating that Lady Dufferin was a sensitive person who showed a kindly manner toward the Native people with whom her journeys brought her into contact. While Lady Dufferin may have appeared to be sensitive and caring by the standards of her time, an application of today's perspective reveals a patronizing attitude and lack of understanding of and appreciation and respect for Native sensibilities. After reading the journal, it would not be difficult to imagine how a recipient of such treatment would be made to recognize that Lady Dufferin's deportment conveyed, albeit in a more

subtle manner than Adam Thom, a distinct sense of superiority. As Thekaekara notes in her article on the Adivasi of South India, discrimination and attitudes thereof have come across in a variety of forms - ignorance, a patronizing attitude, blatant racism, and ethnocentrism.<sup>90</sup>

That the Europeans, specifically the British, entertained notions of their own superiority as a group has been well documented by many historical accounts. Their beliefs and attitudes, which influenced how Europeans thought about and, therefore, related to Native people from the time they first arrived in North America, comprise the set of primary factors which had significant negative repercussions on the psyche of Native people, collectively and on an individual level. Assessment of these attitudes is therefore based on the negative effects on those to whom they were directed. It is the understanding of how these effects, the secondary factors, developed which is vital for both Native people and government officials as they attempt to construct more positive interactions and productive relationships.

## CHAPTER 3

### THE SOCIAL SCIENCES CONTEXT

#### 3.1 Assumptions

Findings by researchers in social psychology have provided a basis from which to understand the psychological, or mental, processes of certain phenomena such as racism and ethnocentrism. While it has been noted that social psychology has had a tendency to be acultural, Berry states that greater stress has been placed on understanding people within their social/cultural context.<sup>1</sup> It is therefore assumed that the key findings of social psychology are generally applicable for the purpose of this paper because the ethnic identity of subjects on whom social psychological research is carried out is noted when it is other than of European descent and Western, middle class values. Nevertheless, there are some cautions to be noted.

Scherer makes the point that there are extra-cognitive (non-intellectual) variables such as emotions (feelings), moods, and motives which may affect cognitive processing but are not as a rule factored into research studies.<sup>2</sup> For the purpose of this study, moods are a non-issue since the timeframe of the subject matter occurs over several centuries. What the mood may have been for any one particular individual would have little if any impact on the overall effects on interactions over that time span. On the other hand, the motives of the British had major repercussions on behaviors.

Feelings and emotions would have also played a role in behaviors, particularly when the British arrivals, encumbered as they were with their sense of superiority, were met with people whose mode of dress and behavioral styles and customs, often dramatically different from theirs, were more often than not comprehensible to them only in terms of savagery and devil-worshipping depravity.<sup>3</sup>

### 3.2 Social Sciences Perspective

The interaction between Native people and government officials may be examined from a social sciences perspective by looking at the cognitive processes which underlie such concepts as racism and the effects of associated behaviors. It is therefore instructive to look briefly at the key concepts of this field of research as they are relevant to this study. Social psychology, the study of how individuals relate to each other, attempts to answer questions about how others influence individual attitudes and actions, how and if individuals can resist pressures from others, and so on. Researchers, for instance, have investigated and attempted to analyze and describe how certain attitudes come about. The explanation, from the social psychological perspective, of how the Europeans constructed and maintained their negative attitudes toward the Native people as a group and as individuals is an examination of perceptual mechanisms whereby the cognitive system processes information by simplifying what is very often complex and begins on an individual level.

Upon encountering the unfamiliar, thought processes take place in which there is a search for cues from physical appearance and behaviors as to how a stranger is to be regarded.<sup>4</sup> When the Puritans and others experienced

their first contact with the Native inhabitants of North America, they came face to face with a people different from themselves in all major aspects - language, appearance in terms of skin color and dress, social behavior, and so on. The use of cognitive shortcuts takes place by categorizing and classifying the physically observable phenomena. As immigrants from Britain, the new arrivals would have been familiar with prior accounts of Native people by various informants and they would have had preconceptions based on these reports.<sup>5</sup> The application of a previously constructed cognitive framework takes place whereby the newly experienced cues are linked together by making the assumption that if one trait is true, then a whole set of previously grouped attributes must also be true.<sup>6</sup> The Europeans would have activated previously constructed categories and arrived at a formula to explain who and what the Native people were in terms of those categorizations.

Once categorization has taken place, labels are attached to the observed group. Any and all individuals whose physical cues suggest to the observer the grouping into which they may be placed are classified accordingly and attributed a corresponding set of psychological traits, usually with little, if any, further analysis.<sup>7</sup> Perceivers are then able to develop a set of expectations which they apply to the subject. These thought processes, said to occur on an implicit level of consciousness, are characterized by an overgeneralization of the similarities within the subject groups and the differences among them. European settlers regarded all Native peoples as being different from them but similar to each other, constructing the ingroup-outgroup polarization to which Sumner was one of the first to make reference.<sup>8</sup>

Berry shows that a second level of processes must subsequently transpire, along a specifically negative direction, before racism begins to

emerge.<sup>9</sup> Value judgments are made, implying personal preferences, and their application to specific groups gives rise to either favorable or unfavorable attitudes, which, when generalized, become prejudices. Most if not all of the British were already pre-endowed with notions of their own superiority as a group, and they were able to see little if anything at all preferable about the Native people. While the formation of attitudes and prejudices is affected by emotions, it is the set of historical, religious, economic, and political factors of a person's cultural system which is more influential.<sup>10</sup> As noted previously, the religious, economic, and political beliefs of the British predisposed them to develop and retain negative judgments about indigenous peoples wherever they encountered them.

Furthermore, as Berry points out, it is the combination of formulating value judgments and attributions which are negative, making over-generalizations, and directing differential treatment toward the target which results in racism and hostility. The Europeans were able to proceed from forming categorizations and attributions to making over-generalizations and negative evaluations which they then expressed in overt behaviors of discrimination, hatred, and hostility, that is, racism. The social conditions in which an individual is situated, the laws, and prevalent collective behaviors may or may not encourage the overt expression of the racist attitudes which have been constructed.<sup>11</sup> Throughout history, however, as documented in historical events and in the style in which the accounting of historical events was expressed, the open expression of racism toward Native people as a reflection of a basic cognitive orientation was evident on an everyday basis and in government policy. Godrej makes the observation that when people dominate others and treat them unjustly, they internalize their superior race myth as their personal justification for doing so.<sup>12</sup>

Although researchers - Heider, Festinger, and others - delved more deeply into the operation of cognitive structures and processes, this limited application of the social psychological findings to the attitudes and behaviors of the British upon their contact with the Native people provides some indication of the mechanisms of how racism came to be their attitudinal approach. On the other hand, there is little evidence to suggest that Native people, during their initial encounter with the British, were inclined to proceed with cognitive processes beyond the categorization stage to those which give rise to racism. Rather, if and when negative attributions were formed, they were usually benign, that is, non-threatening. That this was the rule rather than the exception finds support in descriptions of the belief systems and traditional teachings which Native peoples held in common, wherein human beings were regarded as one among many components of creation.<sup>13</sup> Accounts are well known, for example, of how the Puritans, or "Pilgrims," were well received by the Native nations by being provided with material and informational assistance for their survival.

While research has furnished a model for understanding racism, it has also constructed one with which to conceptualize and explain the effects, referred to as secondary within the context of this study, that negative attitudes and behaviors have on the victim. The phenomenon referred to as self-fulfilling prophecy is a useful concept for understanding how expectations tend to evoke the kinds of behaviors which confirm those expectations. An experiment in which video clips of a teacher's facial and voice expressions were able to convey to viewers (adults and children alike) whether the student being discussed by the teacher was held in high or low regard supported other similar studies on the expectancy effect.<sup>14</sup> In approximately forty per cent of cases, it has been observed that behaviors

reflecting a person's expectations affect the subject, even when the person tries to conceal her/his attitude and feelings.<sup>15</sup> Within this percentage, those with positive expectations of the observed's performance induce positive behaviors. Similarly, the anticipation of negative behaviors tends to cause negative kinds of behaviors to occur.

With regards to the British-Native people encounter, the question is whether or not the effects of self-fulfilling prophecy extended from the individual to the group and over a long period of time. While studies into this phenomenon have been applied to individuals, it is the case that any group is comprised of a collection of individuals each of whom makes certain contributions, deriving from personal characteristics and behaviors, to the overall character of that group.<sup>16</sup> Therefore, the argument may be made that as Native people were targeted with racist and discriminatory treatment on a consistent basis over several hundred years by those who perceived them as inferior, they came to acquire certain characteristics which were interpreted by the British as innately negative attributes. However, no studies designed specifically to indicate how gradual or immediate such a process occurs were in evidence.

Other realities, particularly the Native people's inclination to want to retain their cultural beliefs and traditions, that is, to resist British attempts to establish hegemony,<sup>17</sup> contributed to the condition of economic and social marginalization in which they were almost immediately situated. In addition, how Native people reacted to and attempted to cope with prejudicial attitudes, which, according to researchers, are not always displayed in feelings of hate or hostility, but in a sense of "discomfort, uneasiness, disgust, and sometimes fear,"<sup>18</sup> directed toward them, tended to reinforce those attitudes of British superiority and beliefs of Native peoples' inferiority. It would appear that the

result was a vicious circle, that is, interactions between the two groups were directed in such a way as to create their own reality, which would continue as long as those conditions persisted. The reason these effects on Native people's behaviors, explainable in terms of the self-fulfilling prophecy, are identified as secondary, as opposed to primary factors is important for both Native people and government officials to understand, as noted at the beginning of this study.

Other findings by researchers in the social sciences are helpful in explaining the continuation of negative treatment toward Native people by members of the dominant group. Once a particular negative stereotype has been constructed, there are several information processing biases which take place, such as overestimating the frequency with which instances which confirm the stereotype occur (related to "availability heuristics," whereby there is a tendency to judge the likelihood of an event in terms of its availability in memory<sup>19</sup>), filling in missing information with that which supports preconceived ideas, interpreting evidence to support an adopted stereotype, and selective recall of information.<sup>20</sup> Furthermore, using social perceptions to regulate interactions with others probably delimits their behavioral options because to a large degree, people react according to how they are treated. "All too often it is the 'victims' who are blamed for their plight rather than the social expectations that have constrained their behavioral options," according to a group of researchers in summarizing one application of their study on behavioral confirmation.<sup>21</sup>

The establishment of "standard" speech, that is, a favored and privileged manner of speaking the dominant language, by the dominant group, has become another mechanism in delineating relationships between Native people and Anglo Canadians. Access to particular kinds of roles,

positions, and status is made available by the elite - for example, the lawyers, law makers, law interpreters, and so on - to those who are most adept in the use of standard speech whereby the letter, as opposed to the spirit, of the law is stressed.<sup>22</sup> Rules establish the correct way to use the standard speech and those who experience difficulties in terms of level of fluency and/or accent are regarded as having broken those rules and norms and are accorded negative treatment.<sup>23</sup>

In a report by the Department of Economics and Political Science at the University of Saskatchewan in Saskatoon, it is noted that there is a range of acceptance, from patronizing tolerance to ridicule and scorn, by non-Natives of how Native people commonly use the English language.<sup>24</sup> For example, due to the carry-over of certain aspects of the Cree and Ojibway language patterns, in which there is no differentiation between the sounds "t" and "d," and that of "k" and "g," nor between masculine and feminine third person pronouns, it is commonly problematic for those whose speak Cree or Ojibway as their first language to apply them correctly in spoken English. As a minority, then, they speak the English language with an accent not ranked among the favored, a lack of fluency, and a limited vocabulary and grasp of idiomatic expressions. An inability to readily understand that there is a valid reason for this characteristic tendency not to use the dominant language according to the rules has reinforced the negative attitude toward Native people, contributing to the discrimination they encounter on all levels and to the perception that generally they are "unlikely to have the necessary credentials."<sup>25</sup>

Cross-cultural psychology, a relatively new perspective in the field of social science which stresses individuals within their sociocultural context, has made important contributions toward understanding the mechanisms which underlie racism, prejudice, and stereotyping. According to the authors

of one study, one makes attributions based on the group or social category of which one is a member.<sup>26</sup> This social categorization is reflected in the ultimate attribution error, whereby, it is believed, one gives the benefit of doubt to the members of one's own group but not to members of other groups, or more specifically, positive behaviors by in-group members and negative behaviors by those of the outgroup are attributed to internal or dispositional causes, while negative behaviors by ingroup members and those that are regarded as positive by outgroup members are attributed to external factors.<sup>27</sup> The ultimate attribution error occurs when one of the interacting groups holds a minority status and suffers from discrimination, suggesting the presence of the previously alluded to vicious cycle as an explanation of why relationships between Native people and non-Natives have not improved over time. Stereotypes being regarded as self-perpetuating, it is the phenomenon of social categorization which leads to sociocentrism, otherwise known as ingroup favoritism or ethnocentrism.<sup>28</sup>

Ethnocentrism has been another subject of study by social scientists attempting to analyze intergroup attitudes. The term "ethnocentrism" was used by Sumner as a reference to the universal practice of regarding one's own group and/or culture as central and superior to others. He said it to be the view of things in which one's own group is regarded as the centre of everything, and all others are scaled and rated with reference to it.<sup>29</sup> With regards to the Native communities of British North America, that Native people were loyal and tightly bonded to their kin groups did not preclude the tradition of feeling and expressing great honor when receiving visitors,<sup>30</sup> particularly if the sojourners had come a long distance. Thus, while it may be the case that various groups of Native peoples regarded themselves as "The People," this custom was not generally characterized by racism.

A more specifically useful meaning for the term ethnocentrism is the attempt to relate to and understand members of other groups from the biased conceptual framework of one's own culture while projecting one's set of values so that favoring one's perspectives distorts the true picture of the other group.<sup>31</sup> For example, what was taken as evidence of Native people's inferiority included the observation that Native culture was less technologically developed. The common observation that the wheel was not in use among the Native people of Canada was taken as substantiation of this idea of inferiority. However, the source for a this kind of reasoning was in a failure to take into account that the principles of a Native culture were grounded in the relationship of the people with and, therefore, an attitude toward their physical environment.<sup>32</sup> The drawback in this thinking was in fact grounded in ethnocentrism. In combination with racism, ethnocentrism came to be a pronounced characteristic of the British attitude toward all indigenous people, the extremity of which precluded any possibility of a peaceful coexistence and instead became expressed in aggressive behaviors and repressive government policies designed to assimilate Native people into a larger community, freed of their nativeness.

While ethnocentrism helps to define behaviors of the dominant group, acculturation looks at the changes which take place when two distinct cultures are in "continuous firsthand contact."<sup>33</sup> Psychological acculturation is the set of psychological changes which occur at the individual level when a person's group is undergoing acculturation.<sup>34</sup> That these changes transpire at different rates with each individual is illustrated in the example of the eighty year old Native mentioned by McDougall, who, it appears, managed to resist the forces of religious psychological acculturation the longest of those within his particular community. While the rest of his group had embraced Christianity,

it is likely that his refusal to do so resulted in his being alienated by his Christianized kin. As government policy became focused on assimilation, Native people were expected to conform to a system which placed high value on individualism, an ideal which contrasted sharply with the collective sense of self-identity and belongingness of the Native culture. This kind of pressure would result in a sense of self-alienation.

The abstract concept of culture is about the primary values and practices which characterize a particular group of people,<sup>35</sup> providing them with a framework for the development of basic meaning. Whether there is emphasis on individualism or collectivism is an important aspect of one's culture, the beliefs, values, and institutions of which give shape to one's self-identity, making it possible to enjoy psychological well-being.<sup>36</sup> People with a collectivist orientation define the self in terms of interdependence, relationships, and roles within the community, and as a result tend to experience difficulties in an individualist culture where uniqueness is stressed and problems are seen as being most effectively solved by taking direct action, speaking up for one's self, and confronting others.<sup>37</sup> For example, in a classroom setting, success demands that one is able to stand out and demonstrate a forceful manner of self-expression, a mode of behavior alien to a member of a collectivist culture in which the individual would score most points by subordinating personal desires to that of the collective. Those from collectivist cultures would avoid adopting those kinds of behaviors as selfish or immature, and as threatening to harmonious relationships.

The reason it was unrealistic for decision makers, who lacked knowledge and understanding about Native people, to expect that Native people would make a smooth or voluntary transition into the dominant culture when government policy began to emphasize assimilation, lies to some extent in the

radical nature of the change demands placed on Native people, particularly in view of the fact that no cross-cultural orientation programs existed to facilitate the transition. Their beliefs, values, and worldview were immediately under attack, as a foreign set of behavioral patterns, social skills, norms, self-expression, and thinking was expected to replace the old and the familiar. As noted by Cross, when behaving in an appropriate way is inconsistent with one's self-views, extreme discomfort is experienced.<sup>38</sup> It is highly problematic to learn new social skills and generalize them beyond specific situations because one must virtually become a cognitively different person in order to do so. Native people thus underwent prolonged psychological stress as they attempted to cope with these adjustments, since the required changes did not occur as a result of a freely made decision.

Thus racism, ethnocentrism, and other phenomena such as alienation, as well as a lack of understanding were key primary factors affecting British behavior toward Native people, while the self-fulfilling prophecy and psychological acculturation are important secondary factors which describe the ways in which Native people reacted to the treatment they received at the hands of the British. As such, each of these types of variables affected how Native people and government officials interacted and how the latter made policy decisions which affected the former.<sup>39</sup>

## CHAPTER 4

### GOVERNMENT POLICY

The impact of economic interests and belief systems of the British colonialists on the relationships between government officials and the Native people came to be reflected in how these officials and agents designed, structured, and carried out policies which had bearing on the Native people. Some of these policies are investigated here to discover how their implementation affected Native people because to establish the nature of this impact is to identify the instrumentality of these policies in the emergence of certain behavioral patterns of Native people. That is, there was the emergence of a set of secondary factors, which themselves exerted influences on how Native people and government officials interacted and continue to interact with one another at the present.

The historical relationship between Native people and the British occurred in roughly two phases, as implied by Dyck<sup>1</sup>. The initial stage, centering itself around the fur trade, was characterized by the relative autonomy of Native people in comparison to the second phase in which policies were designed to expand and intensify the movement of British settlers into British North America for the purpose of establishing the preferred "white settler colony." Success in promoting immigration from Britain meant the provision of some guarantee of safety from enemy attack.<sup>2</sup> While those which advanced immigration and settlement destroyed the Native

people's means of livelihood, usually, as mentioned earlier, without consent or any form of compensation,<sup>3</sup> other policies providing safety from attack allowed for the establishment of a military presence to help ensure that the Native people would leave their ancestral lands in as peaceful and orderly a fashion as possible.<sup>4</sup> As a direct consequence of this dispossession, British settlers were able to enjoy relative economic prosperity and privilege while the Native people, according to Zahar,<sup>5</sup> were relegated to a state of pauperization and exploitation which continues, to a large extent, to this day. Although a fundamental objective of these policies was the advancement of British economic interests, their implementation consistently had negative consequences on Native people. This is indicative of the underlying beliefs and attitudes that the British entertained about Native people and suggestive of their behavioral tendencies toward the indigenous people at all levels of interaction.<sup>6</sup>

After the fur trade ceased to be important, land became the central means for satisfying British appetite for control and possession. As Native people attempted to negotiate treaties from a position of political and economic disempowerment, first traditional lands, then "surplus" (as defined by the non-Natives) reserve lands were increasingly targeted for compulsory wholesale disposition.<sup>7</sup> The reserve land system was devised as a mechanism with which to confine Native people to increasingly smaller geographical locations, deemed at the time to have the least economic value or potential for development, until they had become sufficiently civilized to become members of the larger society of British people,<sup>8</sup> imbued and fortified with solid British principles and values. This condition was roughly parallel in nature to that placed on each of Britain's colonies, required to reach an "advanced stage of its social progress" before being given the right to exercise the privilege of

self-government.<sup>9</sup>

Establishing political control over the affairs of Native people for the purpose of bringing about assimilation was therefore a major imperative of the government throughout the period spanning approximately a hundred years, from the latter part of the nineteenth century to the decades following the Second World War. However, the phrase “easier said than done” is appropriate in describing the difficulties encountered in the attempt to implement assimilation by officials of the Department of Indian Affairs (the Department). As is often the case when official actions lack coherence and consistency, the Department’s contradictory practices<sup>10</sup> in regards to assimilative policies would result in greater confusion and sense of uncertainty among Native people at the community level. Pressman and Wildavsky pointed out that goals and objectives may be clearly envisioned while the predicted or desired consequences (the implementation) may be fraught with breakdown, failure, slippage, delay, and so on.<sup>11</sup>

Satzewich and Mahood point to a major example of inconsistency between policy and practice. While the official policy was to orientate Native people toward the elective system of government at the band level in order to instill the virtues of the British version of representative democracy within the Native political consciousness, Indian agents were given broad discretionary powers to depose any and all elected leaders who refused to carry out Department directives which did not represent the interests of Native constituencies and to install men who would act as extensions of the Department. Thus, meaningful participation in a representative form of government was denied to the Native people as a result of this practice even as they were expected to develop skills in and a preference for that particular kind of political participation. A specific detail of this practice was the

implicit promotion of British society's patriarchal system which effectively froze women out of political leadership and decision-making. This custom, which generated difficulties in male-female political and social relationships that persist to this day,<sup>12</sup> helped to undermine the solidarity within Native communities.

Pettipas points to an example of how officials attempted to enforce their assimilative policy on Native people. In an 1895 amendment to the Indian Act, a set of regulations designed to allow the government to administer the concerns of Native people down to the minutest details, the Canadian government declared certain religious customs, such as the Potlatch celebrations and aspects of the Sun Dance, illegal.<sup>13</sup> This suppression of freedom of religious and other forms of cultural expression was meant to cut at the very heart of the Native identity because the intimate connection between ceremonial expression and the viability of the Native economic, political, and social structures which comprised the collectivity was well understood by Department officials.<sup>14</sup> The extent of the negative effects, in terms of psychological, social, and emotional traumatization, of efforts to assimilate the Native people into mainstream society has only relatively recently been assessed and properly understood.<sup>15</sup> Included in this category are policies which set up the residential school system whereby children were physically separated from their parents for long periods of time; prohibited from practicing or displaying any aspect of their culture including speaking their language; and subjected to rigid Victorian discipline, harsh punishment, and other forms of psychologically damaging abuse.

That the implementation of certain policies affected the Native people in negative ways was directly related to the influence that prevalent attitudes toward and beliefs about Native people had on how Department and

government officials and agents spoke. For example, Superintendent of Indian Affairs Laird, Member of Parliament Snider, Secretary of State Langevin, and others all made statements which implied that the Native people complained for no good reason, were incapable of appreciating the true value of land, and would succumb to a proclivity for indolence if given funds from land sales.<sup>16</sup> These and other similar ideas revealed that the focus of concern for these men was in managing the affairs of Native people rather than in promoting or protecting their interests and well-being.

Within mainstream Canadian society, the name Duncan Campbell Scott may have evoked images of poetic sensitivity,<sup>17</sup> but such was hardly the case for the Native people whose lives fell under the direct influence of Scott's lengthy administration, the objective of which he saw, as late as 1931, to be the transformation of Native people into "good British citizens."<sup>18</sup> That his poetry dealing with the Native people was invariably set in a context of violence, tragedy, fear, death, and storms<sup>19</sup> tended to leave the impression that the Native people's condition of marginalization and poverty was the prelude to the inevitability of their doom as a people. Bringing about their demise as a distinctive group appears, in fact, to have been Scott's central objective throughout his years as the Deputy Superintendent of Indian Affairs.

Whether Scott was racist, condescending, or both, how he depicted his perceptions of Native people in his poetry is intimately connected to how he carried out his duties as head of the Department. Scott favored greater control over the lives of Native people and, acknowledging that Native people were affected by a fear of the *weh-mih-tih-kuh-zih*'s<sup>20</sup> authority, called for a policy which would prohibit all forms of cultural practices, including the use of traditional costumes, in order to ensure that Native people would apply their time and energies as laborers in agricultural programs.<sup>21</sup> There can be no

doubt that Scott's abhorrence and derision of traditional ceremonies, derived from his inability or unwillingness to comprehend their meaning and his determination to suppress their observances,<sup>22</sup> played a significant role in the psychological traumatization Native people experienced as a result of his efforts to assimilate them into extinction.

It is the case then, that policies planned and effectuated to manage the Native people were influenced by the economic interests and belief systems of the immigrant British who had arrived in North America to establish their dominance. A positive correlation emerges between the imperatives of government and a process of cultural, social, psychological, and economic degradation which the Native people underwent. This in turn and led to the adoption of certain modes of behavior in efforts to cope with these realities within the context of their Native identity. Furthermore, that the assimilation sought by state officials did not transpire as planned resulted in the fundamental attribution error whereby these behaviors by Native people were regarded as attributable to inherent internal factors rather than to externalities, thus rendering effective communication between the two communities more problematic. A look into the events relating to the massive hydro-electric project begun during the late 1960s in northern Manitoba indicates the persistence of an historical approach toward the Native people which neglects their interests and well-being.

## CHAPTER 5

### CASE STUDY: THE NORTHERN MANITOBA HYDRO-ELECTRIC PROJECT

#### 5.1 Background

The manner in which government officials planned and implemented the major investment project which would allow Manitoba Hydro, a provincial crown corporation, to develop the Churchill and Nelson River systems of northern Manitoba (the Project) indicates that some of the primary factors, and the secondary factors derived from them, which influenced government and mainstream Canadian society relationships with Native people have existed into the latter half of the twentieth century. By examining the approach taken by officials throughout the various stages of the Project, it becomes evident that the basic interactional patterns of the past have continued. Economic (and political) objectives have persistently dominated dealings between political representatives and bureaucratic officials and the Native people who were situated to feel most immediately and profoundly the destructive impact of an undertaking described as the largest of its kind in North America.<sup>1</sup> It may be that in recent years racism has become more covert and systemic, it having been noted that racism occurs not only in the attitudes and assumptions held by people, but that it also becomes re-created, sustained, and reinforced subconsciously in normal everyday thought processes and conduct.<sup>2</sup>

The type of information gathered and the manner in which it was generated verify that officials of both governments and crown agencies had the tendency to neglect meaningful consultation with Native people as they proceeded with the various phases of the Project. Therefore, three specific studies will be examined to indicate that these kinds of actions and thinking patterns are not unlike those of officials dealing with Native people centuries earlier. These studies are Transitions in the North: The Churchill River Diversion and the People of South Indian Lake, Study of Alternative Diversions, and Social and Economic Studies. Additionally, it will be shown that the Northern Flood Agreement (NFA), signed by officials of both provincial and federal levels of government, Manitoba Hydro, and the Native people as represented by the Northern Flood Committee (NFC), reveals a tendency to use terms that present the non-Native signatories in a more favorable light and to bring out the power imbalance which existed between Native people and officials. In addition, the chronological sequence of events substantiate that officials did not assign a high priority to the interests of the Native people, that group which would feel the negative impact of the project on their traditional lands and in their daily lives most directly and immediately, that group the welfare of whom federal officials were given the mandate to protect. However, before undertaking an examination of these aspects of the Project, some description of the physical features of the river systems which were targeted for this activity and the type of wildlife found within the affected areas is necessary in order to provide some indication of why the project was important in the minds of officials in terms of potential for development and to contextualize the significance of the environmental modifications to the Native people in terms of the potential for negative consequences on their communities.

The Churchill River, beginning at Beaver Lake in northeastern Alberta, flows across the northern portions of the prairie provinces, enters Manitoba just west of Pukatawagan at an elevation of approximately 920 feet above sea level, and terminates on the western shore of Hudson Bay.<sup>3</sup> Several hundred miles to the south, flowing somewhat parallel, the Nelson River provides the outlet into Hudson Bay for Lake Winnipeg, Lake Winnipegosis, and Lake Manitoba, as well as for the Red, Saskatchewan, and Winnipeg river systems.<sup>4</sup> The fact that the stretch of land which separated the Churchill River waters at Southern Indian Lake<sup>5</sup> from those eventually merging into the Nelson River was low and short was referred to as an “engineer’s dream” from the standpoint of the possibility of diverting the flow of the former by as much as 30,000 cubic feet per second (cfs) and enlarging the latter by up to 500%.<sup>6</sup> The potential for the generation of hydro electric power from a project involving up to fourteen generating stations was estimated to be within a range of 6,000 and 8,400 megawatts in its design capacity.<sup>7</sup> (Please see Figure 1 for a map in which the generating stations and control structures are shown.)

Technical reports based on a series of studies including those which looked at land contour and elevation indicated that the envisioned project, substantially complex and gigantic by any standard, would be optimized by regulating Lake Winnipeg and diverting the Churchill River into the Nelson River via the Rat River tributary of the Burntwood River. Augmenting the flows on the Nelson River to increase the energy capability of generating stations downstream from Split Lake and meet the “load growth and export requirements” anticipated as a result of data extrapolation would entail several key components.<sup>8</sup> These would include a control structure at Missi Falls on the Churchill River to raise the water levels of Southern Indian Lake, a diversion channel to connect Southern Indian Lake at South Bay to the Rat-Burntwood

river system headwaters at Issett Lake, control structures at Notigi on the Rat River, a two mile channel at the outlet of Lake Winnipeg to provide a connection to Playgreen Lake and augment winter flows into the Nelson River, and a series of generating stations and dams to generate electric power on the lower Nelson River as it flows into Cross Lake and ultimately to Hudson Bay at York Factory.<sup>9</sup>

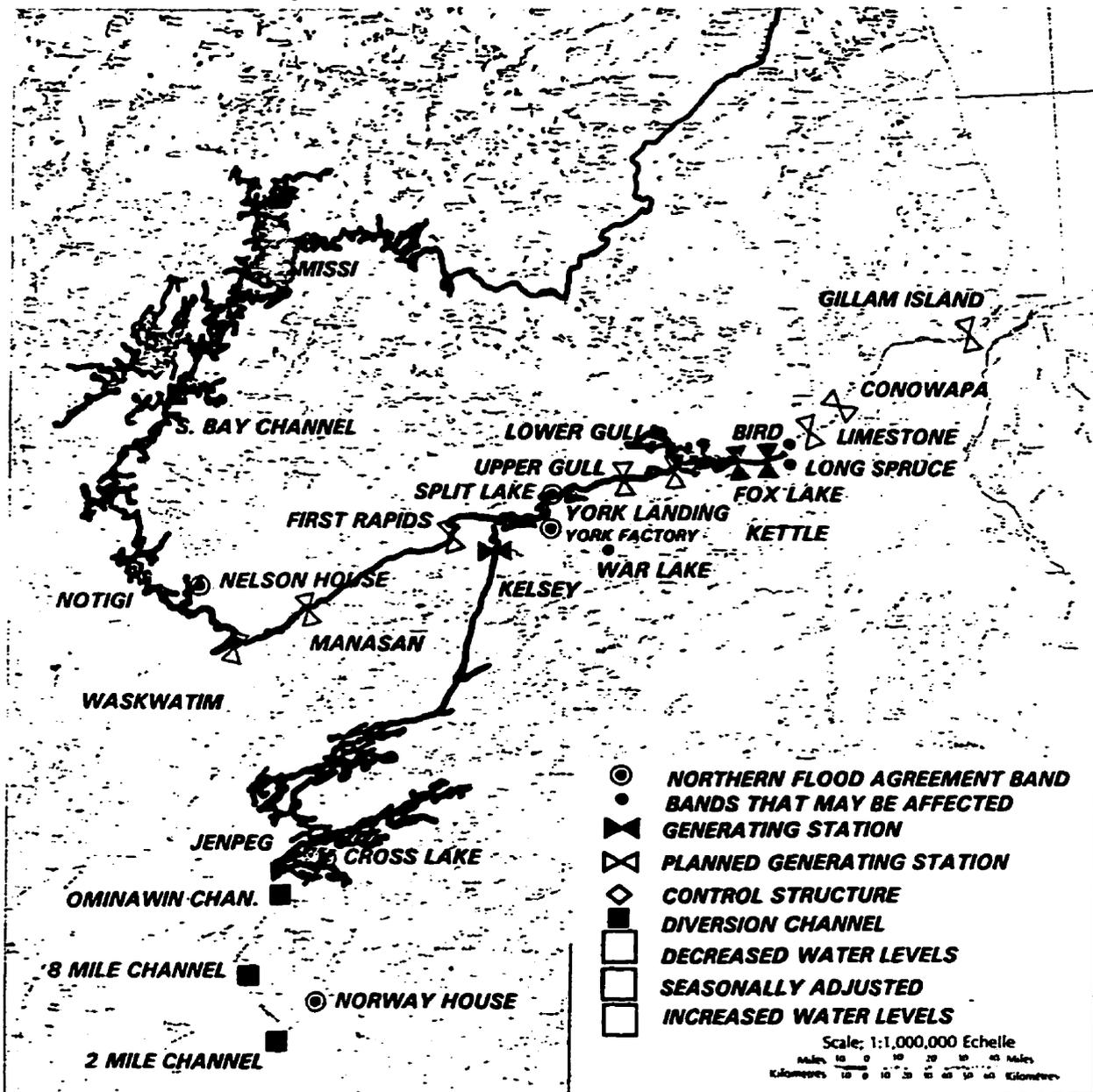


Figure 1 Hydro Generating Stations and Control Structures  
 (Source: Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development)

According to Underwood McLellan & Associates, Limited, the annual pre-Project growth and reproduction rates among flora and fauna throughout the regions of the Churchill and Nelson rivers basin of northern Manitoba were regarded as significant and their populations stable over time in spite of the harshness of the environment.<sup>10</sup> A subsistence economy among the Native communities was well within the capacity of the area to support. Several species of edible fur-bearing mammals abounded, such as beaver, otter, muskrat, and mink, as well as big game animals such as moose, caribou, and bear, while small game animals included grouse, ptarmigan, rabbit, and porcupine. Other sources of food were waterfowl such as various kinds of ducks and geese, for which the uncontaminated shorelines of hundreds of lakes provided suitable nesting areas as well as a nurturing habitat in which whitefish, pickerel, northern pike, lake trout, goldeye, tullibee, and other varieties of food fish thrived.<sup>11</sup> Flora typically included blueberry, wild rose, trembling aspen, spruce, jack pine, birch, cedar, and a host of other forms of plant growth. Archeological discoveries indicated that the waterways provided navigation routes for Native communities for several thousands of years.<sup>12</sup> The linkage between a healthy and viable natural environment such as the one which existed before the Project and the pursuit of a subsistence economy has been established in technical reports based on monitoring programs effectuated in partial fulfillment of the terms of the Northern Flood Agreement (NFA).<sup>13</sup>

In order to more clearly determine the degree to which the Project would come to affect the lives of the Native people, it is necessary to look at its impacts on the natural environment in which traditional aspects of Native lives were largely grounded. Then each of the reports, based on studies commissioned by government officials and agencies, are examined to establish

the extent to which officials have maintained an historical attitude in which there has been a disregard for the basic rights of the Native people as human beings and a belief that one value system is not simply different from but also inherently superior to another.

## 5.2 Studies and Reports

In 1970, the observation was made that Canadian governments neglected to promote studies of reservoirs on a large scale or coordinated basis similar to those conducted in the United States and Russia.<sup>14</sup> Nevertheless, reports based on studies which were undertaken by various consulting firms or government agencies and departments provided an indication of the magnitude of the detrimental effects brought about by the Project. These secondary research results show that, for example, in areas where water levels were increased, by as much as 15 metres in some locations, due to either water flow diversion or impoundment, shorelines and river beds became eroded and suspended sediment and turbidity increased, while there were areas found to contain greater amounts of either calcium, magnesium, aluminum, phosphorus, iron, algal productivity, or organic and inorganic carbon.<sup>15</sup> Other effects included water hardness, change in color and ion concentration, oxygen depletion, and a decrease in major nutrient content. A strong relationship between mercury methylation and mercury presence in small fish, as well as a positive correlation between mercury levels in fish and the degree of flooding were established.<sup>16</sup> Decreased water levels brought about the formation of vast stretches of mud flats, higher summer water temperatures, greater occurrences of winterkill of fish, as well as reduced reproductive and feeding habitat accessibility and availability for fish,

plankton, and benthos, that is, small plants and animals which live on the bottom of large bodies of water.<sup>17</sup>

That the Project brought about not only increases in the rate of water level fluctuations, but also in some cases, reversals of the seasonal regime and, consequently, changes from the relatively predictable natural ice regime to random conditions of slush and thin ice throughout the winter season was said to have been responsible for hanging ice dams, which occur when ice formed at high water levels becomes suspended above the water when the levels have been reduced, as well as for ice wall formations and the general havoc on aquatic resources.<sup>18</sup> Shoreline stability was radically affected as water became clogged with debris.<sup>19</sup> By evaluating water quality indicators such as odor, color, taste, nitrate-nitrite, and coliform bacteria, it was judged that availability of quality drinking water had been adversely affected at Cross Lake.<sup>20</sup> Other effects mentioned by this study include increased erosion rates and debris accumulation.

These technical reports recorded several examples of changes the consequences of which were either neutral or unknown and of the fact that different methodologies were often used by various testing agencies. Nevertheless, their overall findings strongly suggested that the net effects of the Project were destructive to the physical environment.<sup>21</sup> One must also bear in mind that research teams collecting technical data could not include in their studies the observations of members of the affected communities since doing so would result in mixing the research constraint levels being used and therefore in running the risk of producing distorted or meaningless information.<sup>22</sup> That is, anecdotal evidence would be useful for naturalistic observations and case studies but not for high constraint studies using experimental research methods. Thus, while these study results were

invaluable in making certain types of assessments in feasibility studies, by their nature they lacked information about socio-economic impacts to present a sufficiently comprehensive picture of all the effects brought about by the Project.

Any disruptions in the environment, particularly those of the magnitude resulting from the Project, occur in the form of, as noted above, changes in water flow regime, turbidity and sedimentation, and alternating flooding and dewatering. Habitat alterations, land loss, and changes in ice regime and water quality all affect the wildlife and fisheries in terms of quantity, productivity, location, and quality, and this in turn has repercussions on harvesting activities. The final phase in the flow of cause and effect occurs along the social/cultural/political dimensions<sup>23</sup> for those who wished to practice a subsistence-based economy and remain within the areas earmarked for inundation. Therefore, an integrative approach, in which there is a process involving prediction, monitoring, and evaluation in combination with a method whereby issues are dealt with in an interdisciplinary as well as in a legally and technically supportable manner, was considered by one expert to be most appropriate in determining the effects of the Project on Native communities.<sup>24</sup>

This imperative, however, was largely lacking until the late 1980s and early 1990s, several years after initial phases of the Project and the resultant flooding had already taken place, in spite of the requirements defined in the NFA. It is therefore possible to make the claim that Manitoba Hydro and the two levels of government were negligent in, among other things, providing sufficient baseline information in which to ground those types of meaningful studies that Native people required to properly assess the extent to which they would experience, and therefore could take appropriate action against, the

negative impacts of the Project on their right to pursue the lifestyle demands of hunting, fishing, and trapping. The first of the three studies being examined, Transition in the North: The Churchill River Diversion and the People of South Indian Lake, looked into how the relocation of the Native people of the South Indian Lake community ought to have been carried out. Prepared by a group of consultants for the Manitoba Development Authority (MDA) in 1967, it reveals that the old historical approach taken by officials of government toward the Native people was still in effect.

In a letter to the Deputy Minister of the MDA, the authors set the tone of their report by stating very specifically that “the communities of [N]ative people that exist throughout Manitoba ... have no future ... ” and that the “reservation and remote settlement are anachronisms ... ”<sup>25</sup> Furthermore, they stated that Native people on reserves were “wasted human beings” whose ambitions and aspirations needed to be awakened if a “festering sore of discontentment and frustration” was to be avoided.<sup>26</sup> Implied by these types of statements by professional consultants in the employ of the provincial government was that the pursuit of a traditional way of life among the Native people was of absolutely no economic value (therefore no value of any sort), and that it was the duty of society - or more specifically, Manitoba Hydro - to bring about the needed changes by breaking up the community and traditional way of life of Native people. Thus, according to this perspective, the flooding of this community was a foregone conclusion and beneficial for everyone, including the Native people themselves and Canadian society at large. It cannot be surprising, moreover, that there appeared to be little concern for the spiritual and cultural harm resulting from a carefully planned and executed series of activities which would cause the destruction of the Native people’s homeland as officials of Manitoba Hydro and the provincial

government pursued their economic objectives. These are examples of the attitudes about Native people extant among those who gave advice to officials of one of the province's largest crown corporations during the latter 1960s.

There was also a strong message throughout the study that the only way to fulfill one's potential as a human being was to become part of the economic system of the Canadian "technocratic" society and that to take up such a role in the productive process was to "achieve full status."<sup>27</sup> In the section titled "Availability of Jobs," in which categories defined how the Native people were perceived in terms of their suitability for the types of jobs to be generated, it was stated that 40% of the jobs could "easily be handled by the [N]ative people with little or no training or retraining."<sup>28</sup> This may well have been glad tidings for the officials of the MDA and Manitoba Hydro in that there appeared to be a potentially available source of on-site, acclimated labor, requiring little in the line of training, and standing by to be utilized for production. (However, it was subsequently discovered that only 140 of a total of 464 Native people were interested in accepting a job!<sup>29</sup>)

In seeking the most appropriate relocation program, the predominant concern of the authors appears to have been to adhere to solid economic principles. A discussion of what was perceived to be the ideal program is replete with phrases such as "optimum allocation of human resources," "utilization of physical resources," "a level of performance closer to that in the rest of the economy," a method of programming human resources "without prejudice to achieving maximum economic development," utilization of the "labor resources of the [N]ative people," and so on.<sup>30</sup> Other notable comments included in the study were those which characterized Native societies as "simplistic," the relocation as a continuous process, the development of the North to include the creation of "full and useful citizens"

who would be able to get the job completed at a “regular, prescribed time.”<sup>31</sup> Although the study describing Native people as industrious; autonomous; and highly inclined toward the practice of mutual assistance, cooperation, and an individual assessment of each situation as it arises sounds remarkably similar to today’s management principle of empowerment, these characteristics were ultimately dismissed as inappropriate to Hydro’s needs.

It must also be noted that the fate of the South Indian Lake community (SIL) had already been decided by officials and representatives of government and that the purpose for conducting this series of studies was not to consider the opinion of the community members but to inform them of the plans for their future and to formulate the best, that is, the most efficient, method of transforming them from a traditional existence to one better suited to the market economy. Moreover, the flooding of the SIL was referred to as an “opportunity” for the provincial government to test new concepts of how to resolve some of the “problems of the [N]ative people.”<sup>32</sup> This was the predisposition of government consultants who gave advice on how to manage the Native people. Once again, non-Natives took for granted that it was they, not the Native people themselves, who knew what was in the best interests of Native people, another example of behaviors arising from ethnocentrism and the belief that one’s own perspective and worldviews were superior.

The second study for examination is titled Study of Alternative Diversions. Its authors were comprised of a team of professional engineering and planning consultants, Underwood, McLellan, and Associates, engaged by Manitoba Hydro to discover alternative locations for the proposed Churchill River diversion. This multi-volume study indicated that one of the objectives was to find a compromise in order to effectuate the alternative to “best serve the interests of the people of Manitoba,”<sup>33</sup> although the task of providing a

precise definition of what is in “the best interests of the people” is itself generally recognized as highly problematic,<sup>34</sup> being a matter better decided by political leaders, not technocrats.<sup>35</sup> The study, consisting of at least three large volumes, suggested that the criterion in choosing the most appropriate diversion site was the one which would be most economical in providing for the projected electrical energy needs of the province. This was also identified as the ultimate objective of the study.<sup>36</sup> For the Native people residing within the areas expected to be affected by the Project (the zone), it was significant that the authors acknowledged that there were resources which carried differing values to different people. For example, even though it was acknowledged that fishing may have had far greater significance for Native people than mere monetary value, the study evaluated the expendability of fishing activities only in terms of their contribution to the province’s future economy.<sup>37</sup>

Another area of concern for the Native people is to be found in the section of this study in which the socio-economic effects of the Project on Native communities were identified. The authors stated that sociologists, planners, community development officers, businessmen, the Manitoba Department of Mines and Natural Resources, Manitoba Hydro, sub-contractors, and commercial enterprises were all referred to for expert input.<sup>38</sup> That the possibility of the socio-economic effects on the Native communities might be negative, that is, disruptive and unsatisfactory, is expressed in speculative terms. Moreover, that the Native people themselves were not included in this list of participants is indicative of not only an approach toward the Native people which has consistently relegated them to a secondary or passive role but also a shortcoming in the methodology. It is logical to assume that the study would have had greater weight and credibility had it also contained

information obtained directly from the Native people themselves rather than renditions about them as constructed from the perspective of non-Native professionals operating from a different culture.

In addition, this substantial study forewarned that “abrupt and major” changes resulting from the Project would occur in a very short period of time and pronounced that certain aspects of those changes, that is, the inevitable disruption in the social and economic lives of Native people due to the water resource development would probably be even more “acute” than those which transpired from other forms of regional development.<sup>39</sup> The authors’ implicit warning appears to have been that unless the Native people took it upon themselves to prepare for the coming demands by immediately altering their economic and social structure, they would soon find that it would be done for them.<sup>40</sup> This tone is not entirely dissimilar to that with which Duncan Scott went to lengths to reprimand Lac Seul’s headman for failing to stop religious ceremonials almost a century earlier. Certainly the message remains: Change, or else (it may not be very pleasant for you).

The third and final work being examined are portions of the Social and Economic Studies, a series of studies conducted in response to the two million dollar agreement signed by the governments of Manitoba and Canada in 1971. A paper written in 1973 by a group of researchers, Nesbitt Educational Enterprises Ltd., titled “Social Impact Program,” appeared as Section “G” of Volume 3, Appendix 8 of the series. Its production was a partial fulfillment of the purpose of the 1971 agreement, that is, to give authorization to the Lake Winnipeg, Churchill and Nelson Rivers Study Board (LWCNRSB) to study the effects of the Project on water and related resource uses, recommend ways of enhancing the overall benefits, identify potential opportunities of the development, and recommend remedial measures to minimize undesirable

effects.<sup>41</sup>

The fact that the recommendations being requested were to seek potential opportunities and improvement of benefits meant that much of the focus would be on the positive attributes of the Project. From its inception, then, this particular research process would be to some extent limited in its value to the Native people since terms such as “benefit” and “potential opportunities” are in fact subjective in nature. It is unlikely that either non-Native consultants or officials had the same conception of what comprised an absolute benefit or potential opportunity as that of tradition-orientated Native people. In addition, the extent to which input from the Native people themselves had been applied in formulating the set of evaluative criteria for providing basic operational definitions must be questioned. Keeping these points in mind, therefore, examination of the study reveals its underlying ethnocentric biases both in its content and in its methodology.

Acres Consulting Services Ltd. contributed to the study by making the recommendation that there be a long term monitoring program of the lifestyle and cultural values of the northern Native communities affected by hydro projects.<sup>42</sup> Such a monitoring program would not be regarded as helpful by Native persons in their hunting and fishing activities. Rather, it is more likely that such persons would react by seeing it as a promise of yet another intrusive study. On the other hand, it is reasonable to speculate that implementing such a recommendation would provide employment opportunities for those in the consulting profession for many years into the future.

In order to develop a study of the social impacts of the Project, the net impact upon the quality of life of the communities needed to be assessed. The authors acknowledged the difficulty in precisely defining or measuring

“quality of life,” and stated that there were some aspects which were indeed measurable.<sup>43</sup> However, in choosing which aspects the researchers would study, it does not appear to be the case that they consulted the Native people for their ideas as to what comprised quality of life. Had the authors made this inquiry, they probably would have discovered a whole other set of aspects, since the relatively more traditional people of that period would have had a greater tendency to retain a sense of value for those elements relating to capability to pursue, for example, hunting and fishing activities in a manner non-disruptive to the environment, or to the freedom to pursue harvesting activities in a healthy and balanced ecological system.<sup>44</sup>

The study was structured in a way that would facilitate communication among people with technical and professional competencies in disciplines such as sociology,<sup>45</sup> not in ways which would promote more meaningful dialogue with or a better understanding of the Native people. The importance of hiring government staff working with the Native people, in order to utilize the experience and “practical perspective” attained from their work in, presumably, attempting to find solutions to the employment and community development problems of the northern communities was underscored.<sup>46</sup> It was suggested, furthermore, that a consultative sub-committee be struck to assist in effectuating the social impact program.

A list of prospective members included the provincial Assistant Deputy Minister of Northern Affairs and other officials from the Department of Health, Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development (DIAND), Department of Mines, Resources and Environmental Management, PhDs from the University of Manitoba departments of Sociology and Anthropology, as well as from the Centre for Settlement Studies. Individuals with this kind of experience would then have the task of providing advise on what programs

would be relevant and of reviewing and evaluating the research program. Even though it was acknowledged that it would be "advisable" to include some Native people on the sub-committee,<sup>47</sup> the chances that a Native person would have satisfied the criteria for inclusion were remote, in view of the fact that relatively few were formally well educated at that time. However, the statement was made without qualification that the Native people's representation would be provided by officials of the provincial Department of Northern Affairs and DIAND as well as by a professor of education, although an academic from Africa, a Dr. Monu, was judged able to furnish a "different native viewpoint."<sup>48</sup> The fact that the reviews, experiences, and evaluations of the Native people themselves were excluded throughout the planning and decision-making phases of the social impact program implies that it was the professionals, government employees, and academics who knew how best to solve the problems within the Native communities. Again, the historical paternalistic attitude characteristic of officials was being demonstrated.

A seminar attended by several academics, officials of both federal and provincial governments and of Hydro, and the chairperson of the LWCNRSB was held in which the issue of monitoring the life style of the Native people was discussed at length. It was emphasized that those who would collect the data be "competent," and, if it were "at all possible," that such persons be Cree speaking Native persons.<sup>49</sup> Although no Native people themselves, if they did not possess an advanced university degree or hold high ranking positions in government, were considered qualified to participate in a seminar discussion to design a program monitoring their lifestyle, it was agreed that they would be best in performing the actual face-to-face gathering of information, given the suspicious and uncooperative attitude of some of the Native people as a result of past experiences with government staff.

The questions, identified as relevant for the program only as they could be related to the Project, covered a wide range of topics, from general and routine matters to those which may be described as personal and private. For example, questions were asked about self-sufficiency, diet, methods of conflict resolution, ceremonies, styles of living, types of relationships, sense of obligation, methods of learning, coping with boredom, values, attitudes, endemic diseases, alcohol, illegitimate children, strangers, tourists, violation of the reservations, and so on. In effect, implementing the recommendation for a social monitoring program would, once again, expose and subject the Native people to a litany of observations, probes, and questions calculated to extract information the purposes of which they had reasons for questioning.<sup>50</sup>

The underlying basis of the rationale for the social impact program study, the criteria used for choosing such indicators as family income, and the decision to conduct a socio-economic analysis is the market economy, a concept that was, and still is to varying degrees, foreign to the thinking of Native people. During the earlier phases of the Project, this was the case to a much larger extent due to the concomitantly lesser amount of contact with and influences by the dominant society. If the amount of attention and the degree of accuracy with which the researchers conducted their studies did not necessarily correlate positively to the perceived helpfulness of their findings in the minds of Native people adversely affected by the Project, it would be, in part, for this reason. That the market logic could be an alien concept to Native people continued, it would seem, to be in itself an incomprehensible concept to government officials and those to whom they turned for advice and guidance.

As a final brief look at the studies undertaken for the LWCNRSB, some statements are worth comment because they indicate what approach was taken in the discussion of fundamental concepts such as social change. For example,

one group of authors stated that cultures must change if they are to have the capability of dealing successfully with those cultures more technologically advanced, that is, if there is to be survival as a culture and as a people.<sup>51</sup> It was pointed out that the disappearance of a number of American Indian tribes during the latter years of the nineteenth century is evidence of this notion. However, the writers proceeded to say that failing to change would bring about an even more debilitating consequence on a culture unable or unwilling to change than the fate of disappearance, namely, to be taken over and dominated by a stronger group of people. Therefore, according to the reasoning of these researchers, the changes brought to bear on the Native communities by the Project were simply an acceleration of the inevitable. If they wished to avoid disappearing or being taken over by another system, they needed to change and become part of that system. In short, the choice for the Native people was to change or be changed.<sup>52</sup>

These authors saw future shock, defined as a collective state of mind, that is, a form of collective psychological disorientation created by “too much change occurring too fast,” as a time phenomenon and a product of societal changes taking place at an accelerated rate.<sup>53</sup> To make this kind of attribution is to gloss over or completely ignore the responsibility of officials who made the kind of decisions which resulted in the “premature arrival of the future” into northern Native communities. The fact of this arrival was not simply by chance but rather occurred as a consequence of a whole series of carefully laid plans, in this case, by Hydro in concert with government officials. If there was an inclination to attribute the rapid rate of changes effectuated on the Native communities to forces beyond the control of officials making key decisions, then those forces may be identified as the kinds associated with visions of economic profit in the minds of power developers and government

officials from, in this case, the domestic and foreign energy consumption in the south. However, it is precisely this type of thinking that has allowed “megaprojects” such as the Project to take place in spite of the environmental impacts and effects on the lives of Native people.

The same authors stated that the terms “modernization,” “economic growth,” and “development” were seen as interchangeable and integral to any discussion on social change. It was the fast paced “incorporation” of the north into the global community that spelled the doom of the isolated and “backward” tribal communities and “obsolete” - albeit complex - civilizations of the Native people of northern Manitoba.<sup>54</sup> In order to avoid a similar tendency to overlook the origins of the underlying forces which brought about this incorporation, what must be identified within the context of this analysis are the decision makers behind this merger phenomenon and their motivations. Moreover, the discussion appeared to assume the universal validity of the perspective that there was “... room for change in practically any direction ... ” one chose to look as a result of the lack of conformity of the “under-developed areas of the world,” or, within the context of the purpose of the authors’ study, the communities of the Native people in the northern regions of the province.

### 5.3 The Northern Flood Agreement

The Northern Flood Agreement (NFA) was signed in December 1977 by members of the Northern Flood Committee (NFC), a group of five chiefs who were the elected representatives of the Native reserve communities of Norway House, Cross Lake, Split Lake, York Landing, and Nelson House. At the time, these five communities, made up of approximately 9,000 people, were identified

as most adversely affected by the Project.<sup>55</sup> The NFA was comprised of twenty-five articles and several appendices or schedules, dealing with issues such as wildlife resource policy and policy matters relating to the authority of the arbitrator to expedite implementation.<sup>56</sup> It was stated that its primary objective was to secure a fair, appropriate, and just treatment for the people of these northern communities.<sup>57</sup>

Even a superficial look at the document in terms of its wording and the choice of phrases used throughout allows one to recognize not only the power imbalance which existed between the Native people and the officials but also the potential for conflict inherent in the structure of its content. The fact of Native representatives' placing their signatures on the document was probably more indicative of the distress and duress with which they sought to alleviate the negative effects they were beginning to experience in a real way from the physical impacts on the land and waterways as the Project proceeded, rather than of a lack of understanding or awareness of its flaws.<sup>58</sup> It would seem that a sense of urgency, appearing as a theme common with some of the Treaty signings of the past, compelled the Native people to agree to settle for less than ideal terms.

In the opening preamble, and throughout the entirety of the document, terminology such as "justifiable use," "prudently to use," "proper cause," "reasonable effort," "to the extent practical," occurs fairly frequently.<sup>59</sup> What Manitoba Hydro would regard as a "reasonable" effort or "proper cause," for example, may have been quite the opposite in the eyes of those being inundated, or vice versa, depending on the subject matter under discussion. An illustration of this lack of operationally defined terminology is to be found in Article 18, Section 5 in which it is stated that it is in the public interest to employ to the "maximum possible extent" the residents of the affected reserves

throughout the Project development. Furthermore, Section 2 of Article 23 places the onus on Hydro to prove that the Project did not “cause or contribute to an adverse effect.” A precise and detailed description of the meaning of the term “adverse” was necessary since the social context in which such an evaluation is made decides its interpretation.<sup>60</sup> With no definitions provided to specify their precise meaning, these kinds of words, subjective in nature, are open to a wide range of interpretations and become a potential source of difficulty between the Bands and the other NFA participants.

In addition, there are other word choices which are inclined to give a particular impression. While, for example, Sections 3.12.1 and 4.1 both begin with the phrase “Manitoba agrees to,” there are other similar examples of this particular wording which appear throughout the document. Nowhere, however, is it declared that the Bands “agree” to do anything. Instead, they “shall” facilitate, “shall” advise, and so on.<sup>61</sup> The difference between the two is that describing Manitoba as “agreeing” to fulfill certain commitments has a tendency of leaving the impression that there is a magnanimity on the part of the province in agreeing to meet these obligations. On the other hand, expressing the responsibilities of the Bands as a directive does not provide a similar positive sense. Rather, it tends to imply that either the Bands require coercion to fulfill their part of the agreement (because they would not do so otherwise) or they lack the power to choose freely to meet their obligations.

As well, there are places where sentences are constructed in such a way as to give a particular impression or to mute a meaning. Section 3.10, for instance, states that

Canada and the Bands shall not develop, improve or construct any temporary or permanent structure on the easement land other than those which the Band Council deems necessary for the social and economic well-being of the Band.

An alternative to that structuring is as follows:

**Canada and the Bands shall (be free to) develop, improve, and construct temporary or permanent structures on the easement land which the Band Council deems necessary for the social and economic well-being of the Band.**

However, while the sentence has simply been changed from a negative to a positive assertion, the meaning and thrust have been completely altered. Only when the two are juxtapositioned does it become evident that the first version obscures the right that is being conferred on the Native people to take the initiative in making the modifications they see as necessary.

Another sentence in the same section illustrates the same principle. It states that “Hydro shall not be liable for damage to any structure or improvement unless such damage occurs as a result of inundation caused by the negligence of Hydro ” as opposed to “Hydro shall be liable for damage to any structure or improvement as a result of inundation caused by the negligence of Hydro.” Constructing the sentence in this manner tends to have the effect of diminishing the full extent of Hydro’s responsibilities in making restitution for the negative effects of the Project.

The general lack of bargaining power among the Native people also becomes evident in other areas of the agreement. Section 16.4 states that

**Canada and Manitoba undertake to consider and implement any recommendation they jointly or severally deem to be practical by any means, including the use of the existing Northlands Agreement and/or future like agreements intended to contribute to the viability of a community.**

According to this section, whether a particular recommendation was implemented depended on how the two levels of government evaluated it. For instance, if a recommendation did not appear to be practical to them, even if it

was desirable for the Bands, the governments would not be obligated to pursue it further.

The subject of the environment was (and continues to be) of major importance to the Native people, and Article 17 of the NFA dealt with this issue. It stated that Hydro and the federal and provincial governments would identify which recommendations made by the Lake Winnipeg, Churchill and Nelson Rivers Study Board (LWCNRSB) would be implemented and that they would make annual reports for the Bands. In these reports, the three parties would also indicate which recommendations they rejected as well as the reasons for their choices, their conclusions, and the dates they projected for carrying out the recommendations they chose to implement.<sup>62</sup> While Section 17.4 states that the Band Councils would be “informed” about the agreements made between the two governments, it does not appear to include them in the decision making process. Again, the Native people would find themselves in the historical position of being informed after the fact and of having something done to or for them rather than allowing them a more participatory role.

The arbitration mechanism established by the NFA in Article 24, deals with the presentation of evidence; the use of advice from professionals, experts, and consultants; the right to cross-examine; legal fees; authorized representatives; documentary evidence; rules of conduct; and admissibility of evidence. It is therefore not surprising that the arbitration process would quickly become fraught with legalities and other difficulties such as delays and backlogs which are characteristic of the court system.<sup>63</sup> Nor could it have been regarded as particularly remarkable that the implementation of other terms of the NFA would prove to be costly, not only in monetary terms, but also in terms of time.

In the area of land selection, it was necessary that the NFC commission

a land use study in 1982, five years after the actual signing of the Agreement, to help the Bands identify which sections of land had the greatest potential for development, a study which was funded only in part by the federal Department of Indian Affairs.<sup>64</sup> With regard to land use, specified in the fourth section of the Agreement, the Bands would be required to arrange for a sufficiently appropriate method or system for monitoring how individual residents utilized their permitted allotments of land. The results of this supervision would then need to be presented to the province and approved as "prudent," according to some unspecified set of criteria, as long as the land was in use. This would of necessity require that the user of the land be aware of these conditions.

Implementing the NFA would make it necessary to carry out certain activities in precisely defined ways. According to section three relating to land exchanges, the Band council would need to identify accurately the land it deemed acceptable in place of affected areas. This would put the community in a position of having to develop accurately formulated ideas about their current and future needs and about the details of various aspects of the land being selected in terms of its capacity to fill those needs. It is likely that, given their traditional orientation toward nature in general, the requirement of perceiving land in quantifiable and commodified terms would present a difficult challenge for the Native people, that kind of exercise being for them a foreign concept.

Administrative work would be required in almost all areas of implementation of the NFA. For example, the efforts to preserve culturally significant objects would require that the objects be identified and catalogued in some way. A list of maps indicating the areas unsafe for travel during the different seasons, insurance policies for the community residents, the work and training opportunities arising from the Project, expenses for various

activities such as claims, as well as programs designed to encourage self sufficiency and community viability would need to be developed and kept updated. Many of these types of operations and activities would be costly and would not provide employment for the Native people. As a result of these shortcomings making it possible to render the NFA of little effect from the point of view of those affected adversely by the Project, that there would be those beginning to wonder who the real beneficiaries of the NFA were, the Band members or the lawyers, consultants, and administrators, is therefore not particularly surprising.<sup>65</sup>

A final look at the NFA is directed at the part of the agreement referred to as Schedule D, the registered trapline program signed by the NFC and Hydro. The passage identifiable as a potential problematic states that

A maximum of \$2,000 per trapline has been established to cover these incidental expenses. This type of assistance would be on the basis of proven need and would not automatically be available for every affected trapline.

Once again, the wording suggests wide possibilities for interpretation. What a claimant regarded to be an adequately proven need may not have been seen by Hydro officials in a similar light. The question which comes to mind is how rigorously a case would need to be proven before being accepted for assistance since, in this instance, the burden of proof was placed on the claimant, that is, the Native trapper.

These, then, are some of the more immediately obvious examples of why implementation of the NFA soon became characterized by disagreement and remained in a state of virtual paralysis for several years. In making an overall assessment of the document, it may be said that ambiguity arising from the use of vague terminology in delineating obligations allowed the parties against whom claims were laid to exercise delay strategies and avoid the spirit

of the agreement,<sup>66</sup> as interpretive discrepancies became the norm. In addition, the agreed upon arbitration mechanism put in place by the NFA was not adequate in clarifying the responsibilities, and specifically delineated timeframes within which these obligations needed to be fulfilled were often omitted. Finally, the historical paternalistic attitude of officials toward the Native people was in evidence throughout. Native people affected by the Project began to express doubts regarding the utility of the NFA to protect adequately their interests and to wonder aloud whether it was effectuated as a “carte blanche” for Hydro to pursue development without concern for the Native people’s rights.<sup>67</sup>

Perhaps it was the extent to which officials avoided their obligations as identified by the NFA or violated its terms that most effectively indicated a lack of regard for the interests of Native people. For example, Article 17.5 of the agreement was not fully attended to by either Manitoba, Hydro, or Canada until 1986 when the federal Departments of the Environment (DOE) and Fisheries and Oceans (DFO) began the Federal Ecological Monitoring Program (FEMP) in order to provide the necessary information required to identify the socio-economic impacts of the Project and indicate appropriate remedies, compensation, and mitigation.<sup>68</sup> As stated by the author of that particular report, the monitoring of the changes in the water regime is considered to be especially crucial because it is these types of modifications in which all subsequent ecological changes are grounded<sup>69</sup> and from which arise socio-economic consequences for those who practice subsistence harvesting. Hence, it became evident that the NFA would have been more appropriately regarded as a framework agreement.<sup>70</sup>

The question then remains why the Native people agreed to sign the NFA. As alluded to earlier, having seen the negative effects of the Project already

being felt by the residents of the South Indian Lake community, members of the five reserves represented by the NFC hoped to avoid some of those difficulties by negotiating what they felt to be the best agreement under the circumstances.<sup>71</sup> However, because the Project was already under way, the time factor was critical in efforts to minimize both the biophysical impacts and the subsequent socio-economic effects. Given this time constraint, it would appear that the sense of urgency to “do something” led the Native people to accept the agreement in spite of its numerous imperfections. While not signing such an agreement may have appeared to indicate that they too would suffer a similar fate as the community of South Indian Lake, signing it may have seemed the lesser of two evils.

Another question, however, comes to mind at this point: why did the Native people appear to stand alone during this difficult time, when the terms of the agreement stated that the government of Canada, as represented by the Minister of Indian Affairs and Northern Development, signed the agreement in its capacity of protector of the Native people and their special interests?<sup>72</sup> The answer, in overview, is: Canada signed the NFA with Manitoba to legitimize Hydro’s use of reserve lands.<sup>73</sup> It has already been noted that Canada was largely negligent in carrying out its responsibility to the Native people. Not only does a chronology of the various events leading up to and following the signing of the NFA show this to have been the case, how the events were sequenced indicates a mindset in which the health and well-being of the Native people continued to be given less than serious priority. That DIAND failed to protect the interests of the Native people because it failed to do so in a timely fashion is implied by the following chronology of events.

#### 5.4 A Selective Chronology of Events

It is instructive to look at a 24-page Manitoba Hydro publication in which some of the “significant events” in the crown corporation’s history are recorded.<sup>74</sup> While it is helpful in listing the events, its usefulness also lies in its omissions. According to this source, it was as early as the first decade of the current century, that discussions were conducted about the power generating potential of the Churchill River system of the north. In fact, it was in 1913 that the federal Department of Mines filed a report based on a completed set of geological surveys of the Churchill and Nelson rivers basin to explore the potential for power development in this region. Then in 1920, the federal Department of the Interior expressed an interest in the prospect of developing the Churchill and Nelson river systems, although it was not until 1940 that the Manitoba Water Resource Branch carried out surveys of the area with this intent in mind. Twenty-four years thereafter, in 1963, the Nelson River Programming Board (NRPB) was created for the purpose of discussing possible procedures for developing the river systems, even though the Kelsey generating station had already begun operation in 1960. Among the recommendations of the NRPB was that the Nelson River development include diversion of the Churchill River and regulation of the outflow of Lake Winnipeg.<sup>75</sup>

The authors of this publication go on to state that these investigations by the NRPB were the basis of an agreement between the federal and Manitoba governments to assume jointly a study which would lead to another mutually funded research project for a total cost of approximately \$4.3 million.<sup>76</sup> Meanwhile, Hydro obtained the consent of both the federal and provincial governments to commission the consultant firm G. E. Crippen & Associates to

conduct a study of the economic feasibility of developing the lower Nelson River. It was their forecast that development of the river systems, including the diversion of the Churchill River and the regulation of Lake Winnipeg, would produce at least 6,000 megawatts of generating capacity.<sup>77</sup>

Based on the NRPB's report begun in 1963, the two levels of government signed a formal agreement 15 February 1966 to assume the task of developing the Nelson River power potential, with the federal government financing the development and installation of DC transmission facilities by the Atomic Energy Commission of Canada Limited (to be repaid later). The construction of Kettle generating station at Kettle Rapids was subsequently begun by Hydro. During the next four years, various activities are said to have transpired, such as the completion of a 230,000-volt line to supply power to a mining operation, an increase in hydro rates to raise \$3.3 million in revenue, and commencement of services at the Kettle plant.<sup>78</sup> The description of the decade of the 1970s is replete with information about an interconnection with U.S. utilities, the commencement of the Lake Winnipeg regulation, the completion of a Manitoba-Saskatchewan power interconnection, plans for decentralization and rate equalization, agreements reached with U.S. power companies, the 1977 ice storm of south-central Manitoba, the official opening of the Long Spruce generating station by Premier Lyon, and so on.<sup>79</sup>

What is surprising about this version of events, given the immensity of publicity regarding the flooding and, particularly, the signing of the NFA, is that there is no mention of the impacts and effects of the Project on the environment and the Native communities. Similarly, there are no references to the fact that in 1968, when Manitoba Hydro made application for a license to proceed with the Churchill River diversion, opposition against the proposed high level flooding of Southern Indian Lake resulted in a rejection of the

application.<sup>80</sup> This omission is particularly noteworthy in light of the fact that it relates to a particular period of time when the general public, as a result of an open letter written to the provincial Mines and Natural Resources minister by a team of University of Manitoba professors, began to comprehend the magnitude of the damage in terms of the environment and Native communities such a project would entail.<sup>81</sup> The public's discovery of Hydro and Manitoba's plans for development and the failure on the part of Hydro to obtain approval to proceed with these plans may be regarded as significant events but are not included in Hydro's version of its own history. Furthermore, there is complete silence regarding the actual flooding of the approximately 528,000 acres of land, of which 11,861 acres were the reserve lands of the five communities later represented by the Northern Flood Committee. There is also complete silence on the changes in the water levels of many lakes, rivers, and streams which affected the Native people's capability to use these kinds of regions for fishing, hunting, trapping, and recreational activities, as a result of the Project.<sup>82</sup>

In view of the fact that this is referred to as a summary of significant events in Hydro's history, it is noteworthy that there are no allusions whatsoever to the formation of the NFC, the Lake Winnipeg, Churchill and Nelson Rivers Study Board (LWCNRSB) and the study, examined above, it was commissioned to undertake, or the signing of the NFA in 1977. The only exception in this failure to mention the Native people in any context is where it is noted that the various communities received hydro electric services under the electrification program<sup>83</sup> and the only exception to the failure to cite negative impacts and effects is a 1977 photograph of former Hydro chairperson Len Bateman with then chief Nelson Linklater of the Nelson House reserve which depicts the smiling Bateman affixing his signature on a

document agreeing to mitigatory work in the form of land clearing.<sup>84</sup>

Why is it informative, within the context of Native people-government relations, to examine such a publication? While Manitoba Hydro is a crown corporation rather than a department, it is nevertheless the product and responsibility of government and is regarded as a channel through which policy directives are transmitted, the chair of a crown and the members of its board being appointees of government and largely within the ability of ministers to control.<sup>85</sup> As such, therefore, a crown corporation may be said to be generally reflective of government position on matters and issues requiring policy decisions.<sup>86</sup> The assumption is then made that as Hydro worked in concert with both levels of government throughout the various phases of the Project's development, an approach which is characterized by a lack of acknowledgment that a whole set of issues had arisen from the flooding and de-watering, environmental damage, settlement of claims, and so on is reflective of the attitude of officials. That difficult issues relating to the rights of the Native people would be treated as invisible or non-existent illustrates why relations between Native people and officials have continued to be problematic.

A more comprehensive, therefore more accurate, chronology of events relating to the Project shows that the sense of urgency on the part of officials of both Hydro and government to adhere to a schedule of production based on a geometric increase of needs projected several decades into the future resulted in the decision to proceed without the benefit of proper environmental impact studies.<sup>87</sup> This listing of events also illustrates the extent to which Hydro and both the federal and provincial governments delayed implementing the terms of the NFA dealing with their obligations to the Native people.

A three-person committee produced the report on which the decision to

proceed with the Project was made, in spite of the fact that Hydro's chairperson referred to the report as lacking the input of substantial and extensive new data.<sup>88</sup> The committee members stated that they suspected a "distressing" deficiency in information in terms of the wildlife to be affected and that, because most of the kind of information they required for a complete environmental impact study was unavailable for their consideration, it was necessary for them to rely on substitute sources for, hopefully, firmer data.<sup>89</sup> In addition, they had been instructed by Hydro to investigate only a limited, although very precise, portion of the entire problem. Finally, the authors, in listing those with whom they consulted in order to conduct their investigation, named environmental groups, members of Hydro's staff, LWCNRSB members and its director, experts of fisheries, forestry, and wildlife, as well as others from the provincial planning and priorities sector. No members of the Native communities directly affected by the Project appear to have been included on this listing.

The time between 1971 and 1974 may be characterized as a period of intensive information gathering. In 1974, in response to government's authorization to identify the "potential social and economic impacts of hydroelectric power projects on remote northern Manitoba communities, and to recommend mitigation and development measures," the LWCNRSB produced a series of reports which included those kinds of considerations which are socio-economic and psychological in nature.<sup>90</sup> However, the Lake Winnipeg Regulation phase of the Project had already begun four years previously, in 1970, with the dredging of channels to augment the outflow capacity of Lake Winnipeg and the construction of the Jenpeg control structure and the Long Spruce and Kettle Rapids generating stations.<sup>91</sup>

To continue, in 1977, the Joint Implementation Agreement Working

Group (JIAWG) undertook the expense of designing a set of comprehensive, multi-discipline monitoring programs which, however, were never implemented by either Hydro or the two levels of government. Although Article 17.5 of the NFA specifically called for monitoring of the adverse effects of the Project according to the recommendations of the LWCNRSB, six years passed before a fully coordinated program was launched. This was the study of mercury carried out by the federal and provincial governments in the Churchill River Diversion area commencing in 1983.<sup>92</sup> However, the NFC had already filed Claim 18 against Canada, Manitoba, and Hydro in 1981, four years after the signing of the NFA, for failing to meet their contractual obligations. As a result of this claim, but five years later, the Federal Ecological Monitoring Program (FEMP), mentioned previously, was begun.

In 1976 and 1980, agreements were signed and licenses granted by government officials for Hydro to export power into the U.S. and the construction of a 500,000 volt alternating current transmission line connecting Winnipeg and Minneapolis was completed.<sup>93</sup> In the meantime, however, an arbitrator of the NFA had only just been appointed in 1980 and another two years would pass before the studies, mentioned previously, into land use and selection for the purpose of assisting the affected Bands in identifying locations with the highest development potential would commence.<sup>94</sup> Little action having taken place toward meeting the obligations under the NFA and the limitation period for filing claims nearing its end, Bands began to file their claims through the arbitration mechanism and the Manitoba Court of Appeal. The need for implementation agreements to enforce NFA-directed action and combat the inertia hampering the process was becoming increasingly clear to the NFC, particularly in light of the NFA five year selection period which began with the date of the agreement.

Several key issues including those relating to commercial fishing were resolved in the years after 1982 , land use studies for the five affected reserves were completed, compensatory land was selected, the community planning system became coordinated, a Manitoba/Canada agreement to monitor mercury levels and trace mercury movement in the ecosystem was signed, and in 1984, DIAND investigated the potable water delivery in each of the five reserves.<sup>95</sup> In the next four years, there were other instances in which Hydro and the two levels of government began more seriously to address the NFA issues due to rulings by the arbitrator and the Court of Appeal.

During this period of time, Canada, compelled to begin meeting its specific responsibilities, announced a five year program designed to fund the Bands for water and sanitation systems, provide support for the enhancement of socio-economic and environmental monitoring, and make contribution for the financial needs of the NFC administration. In addition, the federal government entered into an agreement, the Canada/Manitoba Limestone Project Employment and Training Agreement, with the province of Manitoba to allow the Native people greater work opportunities according to Article 18.5 of the NFA and, in 1987, ten years after the NFA, DIAND signed an agreement in principle with the Bands pursuant to requirements of Article 6 that Canada ensure the “continuous availability of a potable water supply on each of the reserves.”<sup>96</sup>

On the whole, however, the first decade after the NFA was signed, the rate of implementation of the agreement terms proved unsatisfactory for all signatories,<sup>97</sup> but particularly for the members of the flooded communities for whom, it may be assumed, each delay meant hardships extended over longer periods of time. With disagreements over benefits, interpretations, and expectations, the four parties appointed negotiators to advance the

implementation of claims and obligations still outstanding, and global talks began in 1989, which resulted in the tabling of the Proposed Basis of Settlement (PBS) in 1990 and its initial rejection by all of the Bands except that of Split Lake.<sup>98</sup> From this point on, the Native people were no longer united.

It was believed by some in the Native community that the government was seeking ways in which to utilize a “divide and conquer” strategy to gain greater advantage in the negotiation process.<sup>99</sup> Considering the ease with which internal political difficulties may arise to threaten harmony, especially within a group such as the NFC, which needed to rely on outside experts, professionals, and specialists for advice, it cannot be regarded as particularly surprising that a united front among the Native people would not last. The NFC Bands thereupon decided to negotiate settlements on an individual basis.

On the other hand, had there been a positive relationship based on trust between federal government officials and those on whose behalf they were allegedly acting, and had government acted expeditiously to fulfill its NFA obligations to them, the Native people would not have found it necessary to defend their interests against the federal government. It would not have been necessary for the NFC to divert, often with questionable results, millions of dollars to cover consultant fees. Instead, the NFC would have had this money put to the use intended by the agreement, that is, to help alleviate the catastrophic effects of the Project. The NFC may have also avoided much of the acrimony which arose as it came under increasing criticism from the Native community for allegedly having allowed itself to be manipulated by officials of both the governments and Hydro,<sup>100</sup> and as committee members’ disagreements on strategy resulted in the expulsion of the Split Lake Band from the NFC.<sup>101</sup>

In the meantime, Hydro was able to move forward in expanding its power producing capabilities and potential during the decade of the 1980s. For

example, in 1980, a 500 kV line from Winnipeg to Minneapolis came into operation, several other lines connecting various centres throughout the province were put into service, and different experimental projects designed to improve techniques were undertaken.<sup>102</sup> Hydro officials now tied to its commitments relating to the development and delivery of hydro electric power and crucial phases of the Project in operation, it is likely that delays, obstructions, and postponements in fulfilling their legal obligations to the Native people appeared, from their perspective, more and more advantageous.

While this brief description of events relating to the Project by no means purports to include all events which transpired, those included are representative of the types of action carried out, and of the timeframes in which they took place. This recounting is able to provide some indication of where officials placed their priorities and which issues were allowed to drag on unresolved. It appears that there was no shortage of will on the part of either political officials or those of Hydro to effectuate the development of a massive hydro-electric power project in northern Manitoba where up to 10,000 Native people resided. In fact, some phases of the Project went into service ahead of schedule.<sup>103</sup> In contrast to this pace, however, was the series of delays which characterized how the legal obligations incurred under the NFA were carried out. It was not until well into the decade of the 1980s, several years after the NFA was signed, that serious action in this direction began to take place, after the benefits of using the arbitration process as a stall tactic had apparently been exhausted.

The question to be answered is why government and Hydro officials did not experience schedule delays in living up to their commitments relating to Project construction relative to their obligations to the Native communities in regards to compensation, mitigation, and relocation, which appeared fraught

with obstacles. Fulfilling the former set of obligations promised to reap economic benefits to Hydro in the form of revenues from domestic and foreign energy consumption and to the province in the form of taxes from rate subscribers. However, the latter obligations entailed millions of dollars of expenses for not only both levels of government, but also for Hydro for the provision of a wide range of goods and services to the affected Bands, from environmental studies and community development plans to the use of a fixed wing aircraft to allow trappers to “assess new traplines from the air.”<sup>104</sup> To say that economic gains having priority over legal obligations to the Native people has characterized how officials dealt with Native people throughout the various phases of the Project’s construction is to point out that the historical pattern of Native people-government official relationships changed very little over the past several hundred years.

## CHAPTER 6

### SUMMARY AND CONCLUSION

#### 6.1 Summary

This paper has identified and examined several factors which influenced the interactions and helped give shape to relationships between Native people and government officials. How relations would transpire between the British Europeans and the Native people, that is, the indigenous people, of British North America, was a function of historical events which took place in Britain as nationalism arose and mercantilism emerged and developed throughout the period of time from the sixteenth to the eighteenth centuries. Having formulated a national economic policy, Britain began to involve itself in the competition with other countries of Europe to gain international dominance. This rivalry led to imperialist expansion whereby colonialism, rising from mercantilism, provided the impetus for the takeover and occupation of North America, where much of British rule of law, which clearly favored the most powerful in society, became established by the Hudson's Bay Company. Edward Wakefield, for example, pushed his theories about accelerating the settlement of the North American colonies with the nation's poor. Wakefield's approach, indicated by his idea that the territories were unoccupied and therefore could be put to any use the state saw fit, characterized the treatment of Native people as they became increasingly

dispossessed of their lands. Underlying the push for colonization were the economic forces of profit from resource extraction and land speculation.

The removal of natural resources was the initial economic motivation behind Britain's interest in British North America and one of the first to be identified was that of fur. The Hudson's Bay Company became incorporated as the legal entity with which Britain effectuated the taking of fur from North America and allowed for the activation of a long and profitable monopoly in the fur trade. A key ingredient in the successful operation of the fur trade, however, was the physical labor of the Native people as the primary fur harvesting mechanism.

Unlike the British system in which laws were written in documents to provide the basis of society, concepts were orally transmitted and carried within each individual comprising the Native community.<sup>1</sup> The fact that order did exist in Native society being invisible to the British, the Company served another purpose, for the British Colonial Office, by ensuring that the British system of law and order would be applied throughout the territories of its vast jurisdiction.<sup>2</sup> The Native people, once the Company was granted its powers to govern, were thus automatically captured into Britain's web of domination, with neither consultation nor informed consent having been elicited from them. Nevertheless, the forces of colonialism and economic factors alone did not prescribe how interaction between the two groups of people took the shape it did. Other key ingredients, British belief systems, for example, were required.<sup>3</sup>

From early on, the British had subscribed to beliefs about themselves as the people destined to establish their hegemony on a global basis. Reinforcing these ideas were religious convictions based on the notion that it was their divinely instituted mission actively to convert others to Christianity, in order

to save the souls of not only the Native people, whom they regarded as pagans, that is, the devil's people, but also their own. In the eyes of the British missionaries, the only good Native person was the one whom they could classify converted. Christian missionaries, acting with the consent of the British government, thus helped to set the tone for how the Native people, increasingly turning to conversion to Christianity as a means of coping with the changed economic order, would be treated. The Native people were expected to embrace the ways of the British, spiritually, economically, and politically at the same time they were being subjected to notions about their racial inferiority. It was therefore faulty reasoning in the extreme that the Native people would freely subscribe to a system in which, race having been constructed as a social category,<sup>4</sup> they as a people were regarded and treated as less than equal.

Although Christianity granted humanness to the Native people, it was racism, said to have had its historical roots in expansionism and colonialism,<sup>5</sup> which may be described as having established a particular approach toward Native people as a genetically inferior race of human beings. The British inclination toward the use of classifications became evident when Native people were labeled as "savages" and therefore inferior. They were part of the "white man's burden" of establishing civilization, that is, land competition, private property rights, a labor force, and so on.<sup>6</sup> If not treated with overt hatred, fear, and aversion, they were regarded as backward or child-like and dealt with in a condescending and patronizing manner. With the advent of social Darwinism, the Native people, who did not place great value on material accumulation, and were generally not among the well-off, were relegated to the "barbaric" end of the evolutionary continuum. There were prominent leaders in the eugenics movement who believed that a

“purer” race of people could and should be engineered to replace those of inferior blood. Thus, there appeared to be scientific support for British exploitive treatment of the Native people. The attitude of superiority was manifested toward Native people, now reduced to a state of great poverty, at virtually every point of interaction.

Social scientists have provided insights into the cognitive processes and structures of phenomena such as racism and ethnocentrism and their effects on the intended victims. The concept of the self-fulfilling prophecy is helpful in explaining why the Native people demonstrated particular behaviors which were then regarded as evidence of genetically derived inferiority. Research in the field of cross-cultural psychology and intergroup attitudes has also shown that the (power) imbalance, on which the relationship between dominant and subordinate groups is based, continues, to some extent, as a result of self-perpetuating stereotypes.

From the time that policies were designed to establish a “white settler colony,” large scale immigration from Britain was encouraged as Native people were continually dislocated and relocated without the benefits of either consent or compensation. At the same time, the concept of assimilating Native people, that is, bringing about their transformation or disappearance of their nativeness, was seen as the best way of dealing with them, in order that, over time, they would blend into the larger community. Duncan Campbell Scott’s tenure at the department of Indian Affairs during the first years of the twentieth century, entrenched this policy approach of bringing about a forced assimilation.

The Hydro project of northern Manitoba is indicative of how economic forces were able to push aside concerns for the consequences on Native communities and the environment. To say that the Native people agreed to the

terms of the Northern Flood Agreement is to recognize the pressure under which they were compelled to affix their signatures to the document when even the choice of wording within the text is reflective of the relatively powerless position from which the Native people negotiated. Not only did some phrases tend to present the two levels of government and Hydro as charitable and even altruistic, others were vague and open to wide interpretation. Still other sections failed to mention specific time frames, an important consideration since the construction had already begun and communities and vast areas being inundated. The arbitration mechanism, structured by the agreement to resemble a court of law, left the door open for Hydro and government officials to create long delays and other forms of stall tactics which began to make the settling of claims an expensive proposition.

The order in which events transpired and the events themselves provide evidence of how government officials prioritized the issues surrounding the hydro-electric project. Agreements between government officials were signed and licenses to proceed with construction granted before comprehensive ecological and socio-economic impact studies were initiated and completed. The fact of neither the flooding of the community of South Indian Lake nor, after the NFA came into effect, the lack of resolution of damage claims deterred Hydro from adhering to its production schedule. Concomitantly, although government was legally responsible for funding in-depth studies, government officials managed to avoid that obligation for several years. That this kind of prioritizing by government gave credence to the notion that the affairs of Native people were a concern in the context of economic development rather than of obligations derived from land and treaty arrangements served as a reminder that officials historically have been concerned primarily, if not exclusively, for economic matters and political

legitimacy. Therefore, it could be expected that Native people's trust in the federal government to protect, indeed to correctly define, their interests would not be particularly in evidence and that the relations between the two groups had not progressed in a positive direction.

## 6.2 Concluding Remarks

The factors dealt with in this paper have included colonialism, economic activities, belief systems, social psychological phenomena, as well as their effects on the Native people. That these variables have influenced, directly or otherwise, the way in which Native people and the British, and therefore, government officials, have interacted with each other has been demonstrated by examining how these factors affected the Native people, within the context of their perspective and, therefore, why these relationships, in general, have not been constructive. The social psychological perspective has been able to show that these forces were in fact change agents with which Native people, it would appear from their point of view,<sup>7</sup> were provided with neither sufficient time nor sufficiently convincing reason to desire freely to comply.<sup>8</sup>

With regards to the 1984 publication by Manitoba Hydro, it was produced, according to a representative of that crown corporation, to provide information to the general public about the process of how electrical power was developed in Manitoba.<sup>9</sup> It is possible to view the not insignificant omission of adverse effects resulting from the Project throughout the decade of the 1970s as having been a lack of acknowledgment of this negative side of the hydroelectric development story. At any rate, it clearly had the effect of presenting an incomplete accounting of events, and in fact it took as long as a decade to address this oversight with the publication of a revised edition in

which some of the gaps were filled with insertions of previously missing information.

Interestingly, this updated version contains a segment titled “Protecting the Environment” in which there are a number of allusions to Hydro’s having been conscious, all throughout its history, of the adverse effects of hydroelectric development.<sup>10</sup> The image being constructed and associated with Hydro is not only that of a consciousness of good stewardship but an active consciousness, commitment, and re-commitment demonstrated by providing assistance to those adversely affected by the Project to adapt themselves to the changes. incorporating assessments and monitoring systems, reducing and preventing adverse environmental effects where possible, and so on. However, the nature of Hydro’s connection to the issues which generated negative responses, public awareness, media attention, and increased pressure to protect the environment is, quite understandably, glossed over. Therefore, in light of the delays, decisions to proceed with construction without the benefit of proper studies, and other tactics discussed earlier, the portrayal by this publication is misrepresentational. The challenge here is to envision what image of Hydro Native people affected negatively by the Project, some still awaiting compensation twenty years after the fact, would have constructed and to keep in mind the validity of that kind of construction to a more accurate depiction of Hydro’s history.

While comprehensive impact studies and reports were eventually written, those from the earlier years of the Project tended to concentrate on what were identified as greater opportunities for the Native people. Optimistic forecasts, however, were contingent on the degree to which the Native communities would be able and willing to make the appropriate changes. That is, the benefits of “megaprojects” in the north would offset their negative

impacts if the Native people were willing to make the transition by abandoning their traditional but inefficient and, therefore, irrelevant, ways of doing things. The issue for these studies was not so much if development would take place, because that decision had long since been made, as alluded to earlier. Rather, the challenge was how best to engineer that transition. From the perspective of the Native people, it undoubtedly appeared to be another repetition of the old historical patterns of interaction in which officials, located elsewhere, were formulating plans and decisions about what lifestyles were most satisfactory and what mechanisms would best achieve these lifestyles for them.<sup>11</sup>

Although the interests of Native people are theoretically protected by the federal government, this has not proven helpful for them because it has been historically in the best interest of officials to advance economic development throughout the country by, for example, establishing crown corporations. The observation, cited above, that the federal government signed the Northern Flood Agreement to legitimize the exploitation of reserve lands appears to be a more accurate assessment than to say it signed in order to protect the interests of the Native people.<sup>12</sup> This is particularly evident in the delays with which fulfillment of federal obligations occurred.

In fact, from the outset, the federal government was never in the position of acting on the behalf of the Native people's best interests. However, this has only very recently been precisely expressed by leaders of the Native community, in the face of the government's conflict of interest in attempting to address claims against itself.<sup>13</sup> As stated by Pross, Native people came to understand the power of organizing politically and voicing their concerns, most notably beginning in the latter part of the 1960s.<sup>14</sup> Since that time, and particularly in response to the 1969 federal White Paper, Native people have

increasingly developed an interest in becoming better informed about issues in such ways as acquisition of higher education. The capability is, to a certain extent, in place to take on a direct involvement in political self-representation in the pursuit of treaty entitlements, resolution of land claims, and other related issues and concerns.

The most recently emergent cohort of knowledgeable Native people consists of those who, for example, never experienced the negative effects of residential schooling, the tool with which the government policy of assimilation was to have been effectuated. Members of this generation are trained not only in their legal and historical rights, but also in how the “system” functions. They are thus better prepared to articulate the interests of their people to the non-Native component of Canadian society and to represent these interests at a time when self-government appears as a desirable objective for both sides and responsibilities and obligations need, consequently, to be well defined. To a greater degree, therefore, these are the Native people in a position to construct a new kind of relationship in which the knowledge about themselves as group, equal but different, and the information needed to act on their own behalf allows them to interact without the fear and misinformation which historically debilitated efforts of the Native people’s leadership. Interestingly, there is an element of irony to be found in the fact that it is with the use of education that Native people have proven their effectiveness in representing and elaborating on their interests, the instrumentality with which government officials attempted to obliterate them as a cultural entity.

At the same time, a new policy paradigm has appeared with the emergence of the new group of Native leaders. That is, a set of recurring ideas in policy advice and actual policies, has become associated with an exchange

in which one culture no longer dominates the other or forces conformity, but rather in which it may be said a cross-cultural phenomenon takes place.<sup>15</sup> If DIAND officials, for the most part non-Native and, like most others in positions of power, protective of their domain, who are responsible for making policies and decisions about Native people increasingly recognize the need for a kind of relationship which puts less emphasis on formality and control and more on the importance of “justice, adaptation, and workable inter-cultural relation,” it will be possible to mitigate the historical mistrust of government officials by Native people and avoid a style characterized by activities such as court action, which is increasingly seen as too costly to taxpayers.<sup>16</sup>

As this study has attempted to suggest, entering into a more equitable relationship with Native people will make it possible for government officials to effectuate an updated pattern of thinking in keeping with a “global world-view of pluralistic systems of knowledge and logic,”<sup>17</sup> that is, to introduce some measure of recognition for the validity of other perspectives. It is certainly the case that Native people’s general perception that government officials, whether they are non-Native or not, cannot properly represent their interests relates to a belief in their ability to act effectively on their own behalf.

While it may not be the case that there was an historical conspiracy to keep Native people marginalized, the historical, cultural, social, and economic factors combined to create a conspiracy in which inequities in the treatment of Native people were perpetuated. How interaction between Native people and government officials will develop as the next millennium approaches will depend on the extent to which these factors continue to prevail. This will be contingent on the course of action chosen by the new generation of Native people and by government officials.

## ENDNOTES

### Chapter 1: Introduction

#### 1.1 Rationale

1. The term, "Native people" is understood to be interchangeable with those of "indigenous people," "Aboriginal people," and "Amerindians." Throughout this paper, "Native" is used as an adjective because, as a noun, it has frequently been applied in a derogatory sense, as in "the *Natives* were restless" or "the *Natives* were (un)friendly," etc. "Indian," however, may be used when it occurs in a quotation or when reference is made to the Indian Act.

2. Throughout the initial contact period of approximately two hundred years when European goods were being exchanged for fur products in the Canadian hinterland, it was acceptable by the British that the fur trade monopoly be allowed to flourish, even though there were officials in Britain who chafed at the idea that this vast area was not being developed. See Gerald Friesen's comments in The Canadian Prairies: A History (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1984), pages 52-53. Consequently, it is stressed that the relationship between the British and the Native people may be generally associated with relative stability and cooperation because, there being at that time a paucity of viable plans on how such development could be achieved, it was expedient for the British that the fur trade be continued. It was necessary that there be constructive interaction with the Native people. Generally, while it is the case that there were instances when relationships between the two groups may be characterized as positive, the perspective of this paper is that these kinds of interactions occurred because it was expeditious to the British to be on good terms with the Native people. Otherwise, the nature of the relationship between the two groups was not a primary concern for the British.

3. J. W. Berry, "The Role of Psychology in Ethnic Studies," Canadian Ethnic Studies 22 (1990): 8-21.

4. Alvin Toffler, Future Shock (New York: Bantam, 1970).

5. Georges Sioui, For an Amerindian Autohistory (Montreal: McGill-Queen's Press, 1992).

6. William McKinley Runyan, ed., Psychology and Historical Interpretation (New York: Oxford University Press, 1988).

7. Gerald Friesen, The Canadian Prairies: A History (Toronto: University of

Toronto Press, 1984), 14-21.

8. In a general way, the time frame of this study begins with the emergence of mercantilism in Britain and continues into the present. In terms of geographical focus, the main interest is the Prairies, although there are several examples which cite events elsewhere.

## **Chapter 2: Historical Context**

### **2.1 Colonialism**

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2. Eli Heckscher, Mercantilism, vol. 1, trans. Mendel Shapiro (London: George Allen & Unwin Ltd., 1935), 19-20.
3. Philip Buck, The Politics of Mercantilism (New York: Octagon Books, Inc., 1964).
4. Ibid.
5. Barry Cooper, Alexander Isbister: A Respectable Critic of the Honorable Company (Ottawa: Carleton University Press, 1988).
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7. Llewellyn Woodward, The Age of Reform: 1815-1870 (Oxford: At The Clarendon Press, 1987).
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9. Ursalla Macdonnell, Gibbon Wakefield and Canada Subsequent to the Durham Mission, 1839-42 (Kingston: The Jackson Press, 1925).
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11. Mills, The Colonization, 101-103.
12. Ibid., 105.
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38. Innis, Jenness, and other writers often referred to the Native peoples' demise in terms which effectively hid the degree of suffering and inhumanity in which this threat of extinction was based. While the population of a people may decrease due to freely made lifestyle choices such as those made by middle class Canadian women who prefer to pursue a career outside of the home as opposed to raising a family, this was not the case with the drop in population among Native people, many of whom literally starved to death as the Company rolled in its profits, died of exposure due to lack of proper shelter, or succumbed to various types of diseases to which they were susceptible.

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40. Chester Martin, The Hudson's Bay Company's Monopoly of the Fur Trade at the Red River Settlement, 1821-1850 (?), Mississippi Valley Historical Society, 1914), 259.

41. Heckscher, Mercantilism.

42. Cooper, Alexander Kennedy Isbister, 19.

43. Roy St. George Stubbs, Four Recorders of Rupert's Land: A Brief Survey of the Hudson's Bay Company Courts of Rupert's Land (Winnipeg: Peguis Publishers, 1967).

44. Martin, The Hudson's Bay Company's Monopoly, 260.

45. *Ibid.*, 263.

46. In an interview by the author, 10 April 1996, in Winnipeg, MB, Kaaren Dannenmann, a self-employed trapper and community development worker of the Native Trappers Association of Red Lake, Ontario who services a trap-line, takes active part in the fur issue debate, and has visited Europe on two occasions to attend conferences in which she spoke about traditional knowledge and what it is like to be a trapper today, explained that in the context of a nomadic lifestyle, those who could manage with the least were ablest. In contrast to the Western capitalist view in which it is desirable to

both accumulate material possessions and discard them for newer and more updated versions, known as conspicuous consumption among those of the middle class and inconspicuous consumption among the economic elite, the principle directive was that one took great care to ensure the extended utility of material objects such as a knife blade or an axe head. Ms. Dannenmann stressed an inherent strength of and wisdom in a system which fosters a respectful attitude toward all components of the natural environment, particularly within the current climate characterized, for example, by a concern for re-cycling programs, etc.

### **2.3: Belief Systems: Religion, Social Darwinism, Racism, and Eugenics**

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48. Charles M. Segal and David C. Stineback, Puritans, Indians, & Manifest Destiny (New York: G. C. Putnam's Sons, 1977), 15.

49. Alfred A. Cave, "New England Puritan Misconceptions of Native American Shamanism," International Social Science 67 (Winter 1992): 15.

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51. *Ibid.*, 47.

52. Adam Thom, A Few Remarks on a Pamphlet Entitled 'A Few Words on the Hudson's Bay Company' (London: E. Couchman, 1848), 14.

53. *Ibid.*, 14-15.

54. Reginald Horsman, Race and Manifest Destiny (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1981).

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56. James Shreeve, "Terms of Estrangement," Discover 15 (November 1994): 60.

57. *Ibid.*, 62.

58. *Ibid.*

59. *Ibid.*

60. Horsman, Race and Manifest Destiny.

61. McDougall, McDougall, 10.

62. To this day, people speak in terms of having descended from "*solid* Anglo

stock,” implying the existence of a not-so-solid stock. Referring to the positive characteristics of someone he was describing, a guest on CBC’s Information Radio on 12 June 1996 pointed out that a particular individual had indeed come from “solid Anglo-Scottish stock” as if to provide further proof of the person’s inherently positive credentials as a human being.

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65. World Book Dictionary, 1985 ed., s.v. “racism.”

66. Godrej, “Race,” 5.

67. Williams, Key Words, 249.

68. Horsman, Race, 26.

69. Williams, Key Words, 249.

70. Francis Galton, Inquiries into Human Faculty (New York: J.M. Dent & Co., 1907), 200.

71. Charles Darwin, The Decent of Man and Selection in Relation to Sex (New York: Hurst & Company, 1874), 149.

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76. Martha Harroun Foster, “Of Baggage and Bondage: Gender and Status Among Hidatsa and Crow Women,” American Indian Culture and Research Journal 17 (1993): 121-152.

77. Bannister, Social Darwinism.

78. Ibid., 40

79. Allan Chase, The Legacy of Malthus: The Social Costs of the New Scientific Racism (Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 1980).

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81. Ibid., 1.

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83. Mark Haller, Eugenics: Hereditarian Attitudes in American Thought (New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press, 1964).
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### Chapter 3: The Social Sciences Context

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2. Klaus Scherer, "Two Faces of Social Psychology: European and North American Perspectives," Canadian Ethnic Studies 22 (1990): 515-552.
3. Andrew Sinclair, The Savage: A History of Misunderstanding (London: Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 1977).

#### 3.2 Social Sciences Perspective

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5. Alfred A. Cave, "New England Puritan Misconceptions of Native American Shamanism," International Social Science 67 (Winter 1992).
6. Myers, Social Psychology.
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8. William Sumner, Social Darwinism: Selected Essays of William Graham Sumner (Englewood Cliffs: Prentice-Hall, 1963).
9. J. W. Berry, "The Role of Psychology in Ethnic Studies," Canadian Ethnic Studies 22 (1990).
10. Ibid.
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12. Dinyar Godrej, "Race: Unlocking Prejudice," New Internationalist October 1994.
13. Mary Guilbault, an Elder with the Winnipeg Council of First Nations, who resides in Winnipeg, stated in a telephone conversation on 24 June 1996, that even though members within a community were grouped into "clans" according to the services they provided, there was no class system in the sense of one group being better than or superior to the others. This egalitarianism contrasts with the social status hierarchies so characteristic of European societies.
14. Myers, Social Psychology, 63.
15. Ibid.
16. Stephen Robbins, Organizational Behavior: Concepts, Controversies, and Applications (Englewood Cliffs: Prentice-Hall, 1991).
17. Anne-Marie Mawhiney, Towards Aboriginal Self-Government: Relations Between Status Indian Peoples and the Government of Canada: 1969-1984 (New York: Garland Publishing, Inc., 1994).
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19. Myers, on pages 55-57 of Social Psychology, states that we as humans tend to retain in our memory and readily recall those events or phenomena which are dramatic or vivid. Because they are readily available in our memory, we assume that they are commonplace.
20. Mark Snyder, Elizabeth Decker Tanke, and Ellen Berscheid, "Social Perception and Interpersonal Behavior: On the Self-fulfilling Nature of Social Stereotypes," Journal of Personality and Social Psychology 35 (1977), 656-666.
21. Ibid., 664.
22. Teresa Scassa, "Language, Standards, Ethnicity, and Discrimination," Canadian Ethnic Studies 26 (1994), 105-121.
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24. J. Stabler, R. Beck, J. Warner, D. Russell, M. Olfert, S. Howard, and A. Tuck, Socio-Economic (Saskatchewan) (Saskatoon: Department of Economics and Political Science, 1975), 227-228.
25. Carl James, "The Paradox of Power and Privilege: Race, Gender, and Occupational Position," Canadian Woman Studies 14 (Spring, 1994), 49.
26. Rachel Ben-Ari, Joseph Schwartzwald, and Eveline Horiner-Levi, "The Effects of Prevalent Social Stereotypes on Intergroup Attribution," Journal of Cross-Cultural Psychology 25 (December, 1994), 489-500.
27. Ibid.
28. It may be argued that certain (that is, non-British immigrant) groups who were stigmatized and stereotyped were able to overcome negative images because they were motivated to conform to the social dictates of the country to which they had chosen to emigrate. Certainly it is logical that it would not be those of the "host" country, i.e., the British Canadians, expected to conform to the non-European arrivals but rather that the reverse would be the case. It may be argued that the Native people, not being the immigrants but the host nations, may not have felt a compulsion to make a concerted effort toward "fitting in" to the society constructed in North America by the British immigrants. However, the fundamentally different perspective of Native people, which is the basis of this paper, was the major disincentive to any wholesale move toward conformity.
29. Sumner, Social Darwinism.
30. Stabler, et al., Socio-Economic (Saskatchewan).
31. Ken Booth, Strategy and Ethnocentrism (New York: Holms & Meier Publishers, Inc., 1979).
32. Had Native people developed a wheeled vehicle, its use would have necessitated the construction of roads, since trails would have proved unsatisfactory in terms of width, surface contour, maintenance, and so on. The result would then be a defacement of the natural environment, that is, a perceived violation of the people's sacred covenant with nature.
33. John Altrocchi and Laurel Altrocchi, "Polyfaceted Psychological Acculturation in Cook Islanders," Journal of Cross-Cultural Psychology 26 (July, 1995), 427.
34. Ibid.
35. Robbins, Organizational Behavior, 59-61.
36. Susan Cross, "Self-Construals, Coping, and Stress in Cross-Cultural Adaptation," Journal of Cross Cultural Psychology 26 (November, 1995), 673-697.
37. Ibid.

38. Ibid.

39. While at the very least, it is true that people who made decisions about and affecting Native people lacked understanding and knowledge about the functioning of cognitive processes, it is not to imply that those who have such information are free of behaviors that exemplify racism and similar negative behaviors. Possessing some understanding in this area is not seen as a guarantee that racist tendencies will vanish, although it may be regarded as a step in the right direction.

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11. Jeffrey Pressman and Aaron Wildavsky, "Implementation," in Classics of Public Administration, ed. Jay Shafritz and Albert Hyde (Belmont: Wadsworth Publishing Company, 1991), 406-410.
12. Executive Director of Original Women's Network Kathy Mallett, interview by author for another research project, 22 December 1994, Winnipeg, MB.

13. Pettipas, Severing the Ties that Bind.
14. Ibid.
15. Canadian Welfare Council, Indian Residential Schools: A Research Study of the Child Care Programs of Nine Residential Schools in Saskatchewan (Ottawa: The Canadian Welfare Council, 1967).
16. These references, for example, the entries for 22 February 1875, from House of Commons Debates, appeared in another research paper, written for Prof. M. Little in 1995, by the author.
17. S. L. Dragland, ed., Duncan Campbell Scott: A Book of Criticism (Ottawa: The Tecumseh Press, 1974).
18. Duncan Campbell Scott, The Administration of Indian Affairs in Canada (Ottawa: The Canadian Institute of International Affairs, 1931), 11. Scott's view of this objective seems to have been a mix of larger official policy and his own perspectives.
19. Dragland, ed., Duncan Campbell Scott.
20. The Ojibway term for *white man*.
21. Pettipas, Severing the Ties that Bind.
22. Stan Dragland, Floating Voice: Duncan Campbell Scott and the Literature of Treaty 9 (Concord, ON: House of Anansi Press Limited, 1994).

## Chapter 5: Case Study - The Northern Manitoba Hydro-Electric Project

### 5.1 Background

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2. Roxana Ng, "Sexism, Racism, and Canadian Nationalism," Race, Class, Gender: Bonds and Barriers (Toronto: Garamond Press, 1991), 12-26.
3. K. Renger, Hydro-Electric (Manitoba) [Saskatoon: Churchill River Study (Missinipe Probe, 1975)], 3.
4. Ibid.
5. Southern Indian Lake is the name of the lake. South Indian Lake is the name of the Native community located on the south shore of Southern Indian Lake.
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7. L. McKerness, Environment Canada's Federal Ecological Monitoring Program (Ottawa: Environment Canada and Fisheries and Oceans, 1989), 3.
8. Underwood, McLellan and Associates, Limited, Churchill River Diversion Study of Alternative Diversions (Winnipeg: Manitoba Hydro, 1970), 22.
9. J. D. Collinson, et al, The Social and Economic Impact Study of the Churchill-Nelson Rivers Hydro Development, vol. 1 (Winnipeg: Lake Winnipeg, Churchill & Nelson Rivers Study Board, 1974), 71-75.
10. Underwood, et al., Churchill River Diversion Study, 17.
11. P. Usher and M. Weinstein, "Towards Assessing the Effects of Lake Winnipeg Regulation and Churchill River Diversion on Resource Harvesting in Native Communities in Northern Manitoba," Canadian Technical Report of Fisheries and Aquatic Sciences 1794 (1991).
12. Newbury and Malaher, The Destruction.
13. Underwood, et al., Churchill River Diversion Study.

## 5.2 Studies and Reports

14. Usher and Weinstein, "Towards Assessing the Effects," 43.
15. A. Wiens and D. Rosenberg, "Churchill River Diversion: Effects on Benthic Invertebrates in Lakes Along the Lower Churchill and the Diversion Route," Canadian Technical Report of Fisheries and Aquatic Sciences 2001 (1994): 3; R. Baker and S. Davies, "Physical, Chemical, and Biological Effects of the Churchill River Diversion and Lake Winnipeg Regulation on Aquatic Ecosystems," Canadian Technical Report of Fisheries and Aquatic Sciences 1806 (1991): 22, 26.
16. Baker and Davies, "Physical, Chemical, and Biological Effects," 7, 29.
17. Wiens and Rosenberg, "Churchill River Diversion," 2, 16.
18. Baker and Davies, "Physical, Chemical, and Biological Effects," 6, 13, 21.
19. Ibid., 19.
20. Ibid., 14.
21. Baker and Davies, "Physical, Chemical, and Biological Effects," 33-40.
22. As Graziano and M. Raulin point out on pages 37 and 38 of their book titled Research Methods: A Process of Inquiry, knowledge is pursued using approaches which may range from low to high demands in terms of the adequacy and processing of information. Researcher projects which use the

most demanding methods of experimental research cannot include in their findings information obtained by naturalistic observations because including information from such low demand methods would run the risk of distorting or losing pertinent information and thus arriving at wrong conclusions. Constrain levels refer to the degree to which the researchers impose controls (or limits) on the research process.

23. Usher and Weinstein, "Towards Assessing the Effects," 13.

24. Letter written by Manfred Rehbock, M. F. Rehbock & Associates, Research and Planning Consultants, Winnipeg, MB, to J. Keeper, Executive Director, Northern Flood Committee, 1984.

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27. Ibid., 8.

28. Ibid., 12.

29. Ibid., 14.

30. Ibid., 16-29.

31. Ibid., 21-22.

32. Van Ginkel, Letter written to Deputy Minister Kristjanson, 15 May 1967.

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34. E. P. Herring, "Public Administration and the Public Interest," J. Shafritz and A. Hyde, eds., Classics of Public Administration (Belmont, CA: Wadsworth Publishing Company, 1991), 75-79.

35. Professor R. Adie, Department of Political Science, University of Winnipeg, conversation with author, 29 August 1996, Winnipeg, MB.

36. Underwood, et al., Churchill River Diversion Study.

37. Ibid.

38. Ibid., 70-80.

39. Ibid., 80-81.

40. Ibid., 78-106.

41. Nesbitt Educational Enterprises, Ltd., "Social Impact Program," Social and Economic Studies, vol. 3., appendix 8, (Winnipeg: Lake Winnipeg, Churchill

and Nelson Rivers Study Board, 1973).

42. Ibid., 2.

43. Ibid.

44. The Social and Economic Impact Study Team, The Social and Economic Impact Study of the Churchill-Nelson Rivers Hydro Development (Winnipeg: The Lake Winnipeg, Churchill and Nelson Rivers Study Board, 1974), 6.

45. Nesbitt Educational Enterprises., "Social Impact Program," 5.

46. Ibid.

47. Ibid., 11-12.

48. Ibid., 12.

49. Ibid., 6.

50. Ibid., 8.

51. J. Milord and R. Perry, "Social Change and Stress: A Focus on Northern Development," Social and Economic Studies, vol. 3., appendix 8, (Winnipeg: Lake Winnipeg, Churchill and Nelson Rivers Study Board, 1973), 1.

52. Ibid.

53. Ibid., 4.

54. Ibid., 6.

### 5.3 The Northern Flood Agreement

55. Northern Flood Committee, The Northern Flood Agreement: History of Negotiation and Implementation and Recommendations for Improvement (Winnipeg: Northern Flood Committee, 29 September 1993).

56. L. McKerness, "Environment Canada's Federal Ecological Monitoring Program," Ecological Report Series, 89-1 (1989).

57. Manitoba, Manitoba Hydro-Electric Board, Northern Flood Committee, Canada. "The Northern Flood Agreement" [photocopy] 16 December 1977, Section 18.2.

58. W. Whitecloud, Professor of Law, University of Manitoba, interview by author, 21 August 1996, Winnipeg.

59. "The Northern Flood Agreement," Sections 4.5, 4.3, 4.6, 7.3, 12.4.

60. L. McKerness, "Environment Canada's Program."

61. "The Northern Flood Agreement," Sections 3.6, 9.5.
62. *Ibid.*, Section 17.2, 17.3.
63. Sandra Jackson, Negotiator, Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development, interview by author, July 1996, Winnipeg.
64. Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development, Chronology of Events: Northern Flood Agreement (Winnipeg: Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development, 1995), 4.
65. Brad Oswald, "Northern Natives Allege Betrayal: Government Accused of Failing to Honor Spirit of Flood Agreement," Winnipeg Free Press, 18 November 1993, B3.
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67. B. Lowery, "Northern Native Leaders Question Flood Agreement," Winnipeg Free Press, 30 September 1983, 13.
68. L. McKerness, "Environment Canada's Program," 89-1 (1989).
69. *Ibid.*, 2.
70. S. Jackson, personal interview.
71. *Ibid.*
72. "The Northern Flood Agreement," opening preamble.
73. See The Northern Flood Agreement History of Negotiations and Implementation, and Recommendations for Improvement (Winnipeg: The Northern Flood Committee, Inc., 1993) by the Northern Flood Committee, Inc. The federal government had no business becoming involved in the political legitimization of Manitoba Hydro's activities - a provincial matter - and it is particularly disturbing that its involvement occurred at the Native people's expense.

#### 5.4 Chronology of Events

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75. *Ibid.*
76. *Ibid.*
77. Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development, "Chronology of Events: Northern Flood Agreement," (Winnipeg: Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development, 1995).

78. Manitoba Hydro, A History of Hydro-Electric Power.
79. Ibid., 16-23.
80. Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development, "Chronology of Events."
81. R. Newbury and G. Malaher, The Destruction of Manitoba's Last Great River, (Ottawa: Canadian Nature Federation, 1973).
82. Indian and Northern Affairs Canada, Northern Flood Agreement: Article 24/Status Report 1977-1987 Arbitration Claims (Ottawa: Indian and Northern Affairs Canada, 1989), 3.
83. Manitoba Hydro, A History of Hydro-Electric Power, 15,19.
84. Ibid., 20.
85. P. Thomas and O. Zajcew, "Structural Heretics: Crown Corporations and Regulatory Agencies," Governing Canada: Institutions and Public Policy, ed. Michael Atkinson (Toronto: Harcourt Brace Jovanovich, Canada, 1993), 115-147.
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89. Ibid., 2-4.
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91. Manitoba Hydro, A History of Hydro-Electric Power.
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94. Indian and Northern Affairs Canada, Northern Flood Agreement: Status Report, (Ottawa: Indian Affairs and Northern Development, 1989).

95. Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development, "Chronology of Events," 4.
96. "The Northern Flood Agreement," Article 6.
97. Manitoba Hydro, Canada, Manitoba, Northern Flood Committee, Proposed Basis of Settlement of Outstanding Claims and Obligations (Winnipeg: Manitoba Hydro, Canada, Manitoba, Northern Flood Committee, 1990), 3.
98. Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development, Chronology of Events.
99. S. Jackson, personal interview.
100. A. Santin, "Chiefs Accused of Bungling Flood Agreement," Winnipeg Free Press, 30 December 1991, A1 and A2.
101. Ibid.
102. Manitoba Hydro, A History of Electric Power in Manitoba (Winnipeg: Manitoba Hydro, 1994), 40-45.
103. Manitoba Hydro, A History of Hydro-Electric Power, 17.
104. "The Northern Flood Agreement," Schedule D, I.

## Chapter 6 Summary and Conclusion

### 6.1 Summary

1. K. Pettipas, Severing the Ties that Bind (Winnipeg: The University of Manitoba Press, 1994).
2. Ibid., 17-19.
3. While this paper focuses attention on the belief systems of the British, it is recognized that the belief systems of the Native people were equally, directly and indirectly, a factor in how relations were delimited. However, the scope of this paper does not allow for the examination of an exhaustive list of factors.
4. A. Muszynski, "Deconstructing the Categorical Reality of Race and Gender," Canadian Ethnic Studies 26, no. 3 (1994): 4-17.
5. See Ronald Bourgeault's article titled "Race, Class, and Gender: Colonial Domination of Indian Women" in Race, Class, Gender: Bonds and Barriers, ed. Jesse Vorst (Toronto: Garamond Press, 1991. 88-117). See also Howard Adam's comments about the economic origins of racism in his book Prison of Grass: Canada from the Native Point of View (Toronto: New Press, 1975).



Canadian Ethnic Studies 22, no. 3 (1990): 8-18.

16. *Ibid.*, 15.

17. *Ibid.*, 14.

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