

come first—"civilization" or conversion. Canadian workers strove to convert their subjects, while in the U.S. efforts to teach the Indians English and give them reading skills usually preceded religious teaching. Basically the difference was over whether theology or behavior needed the most immediate attention. Canadian workers used syllabics based on the spoken languages while the Americans worked with the Roman alphabet and English literacy. While clergy in both countries faced some turmoil resulting from ever-growing frontier populations, in Canada until 1867 the Hudson's Bay Company kept much of the West relatively insulated compared to the situation south of the border. The opposite occurred in the American West where both the government and the citizens wanted the tribes pushed aside.

This study is well-planned and is based on thorough use of mission society records, the diaries and correspondence of individual missionaries, government reports, and related materials for each country. The prose is clear, although at times one tires of yet another encounter with the long names of sponsoring groups such as the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions. Surely the widely-recognized acronym ABC might have been inserted occasionally. The author has a solid grasp of the scholarly literature related to her central issues, and combines that knowledge to present a broad framework based on her careful use of primary data. Her intentions are clear, the generalizations follow the data, and the conclusions are reasonable. This is a solid, pioneering work in the comparative religious history of Canada and the U.S. It analyzes the similarities and differences that occurred on the neighboring frontiers with care, and its conclusions make a worthy contribution to the growing field of comparative history in North America.

James F. Horning, ed. *Social and Environmental Impacts of the James Bay Hydroelectric Project*. Montreal/Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1999.

Reviewed by Peter M. Homenuck & Ron Mucklestone, York University.

Social and Environmental Impacts of the James Bay Hydroelectric Project

is a collection of papers written by specialists in various disciplines: ecological, social, anthropological and artistic. The book was conceived at a time when the La Grande River portion of the project was nearly completed, and the seemingly immanent Great Whale River project was a subject of great debate.

The book is an analysis of the controversy surrounding the La Grande and Great Whale projects from the 1970s to the 1990s: a period when social impact assessment and environmental impact assessment emerged as distinct fields of study. The book professes to determine what lessons can be learned by the controversy, and aims to inform both those who are interested in the case of James Bay, and those who are concerned with problems of environmental governance in general. However, the book seems to provide as much food for thought and raises questions as lessons learned from the James Bay project.

All of the authors have substantial experience in Canada's North, and have spent time in the region of the James Bay hydroelectric project. The book is interesting in that the authors have formed independent interpretations of the impacts of the project: interpretations that do not necessarily agree in determining whether the project has been "good" or "bad". In this way the book provides an objective – if somewhat distanced – perspective of the James Bay hydroelectric project and its social and environmental impacts, and refrains from any form of advocacy.

In his article introducing the James Bay issues, author Oran R. Young provides the necessary background of key issues to the reader: Quebec separatism, transboundary issues, rights and interests among the stakeholders, and energy. The author draws the reader's attention to the fact that the book explores five key questions:

- 1) How can we establish appropriate baselines against which to assess the impact of the James Bay project?
- 2) Can we devise convincing methods to demonstrate causal connections between megaprojects like James Bay and their apparent environmental and social impacts?
- 3) What is the proper way to deal with interaction effects, cumulative impacts and non-linear processes in thinking about the impact of the James Bay project?
- 4) How should we think about the indirect impacts on collateral effects of large-scale resource development projects like the

- James Bay project? and  
5) What is the proper role of impact assessment in the policy process?

In Stanley Warner and Raymond Coppinger's article "Establishing a Framework for the James Bay Hydroelectric Power Development", the authors provide an overview of the project: its scale, location, the three proposed phases, the inhabitants of the area (primarily Cree), as well as the political dimensions of the project (provincial/federal powers, Quebec separatism, and Aboriginal self-determination). It also provides details on the 1975 James Bay and Northern Quebec Agreement: a settlement signed by the Grand Council of Cree (Quebec), the Northern Quebec Inuit Association, the Quebec government, the federal government of Canada, Hydro-Quebec, and subsidiary Quebec crown corporations, which establishes the land regime, community-based commissions and boards, environmental monitoring framework, income security program, and Cree capital funding for long-term economic growth. The paper provides an analysis of the "need" for the project (i.e. hydro electricity), and concludes that a decision whether to continue the project hinges on several levels of social gain/loss analysis.

The chapter "Environmental Considerations for Building Large Hydroelectric Dams and Reservoirs in Quebec," by Raymond Coppinger and Will Ryan, looks at the overall natural history of the James Bay region, the changes created by the La Grande River projects, and speculates on the impact of the postponed dams of Great Whale River and the Nottaway, Rupert and Broadback rivers (NRB project) neighbouring the La Grand River. Rather than assessing or judging the environmental impacts, the chapter explores a framework that can be used for making judgements on environmental impacts. It uses a three-part methodological framework (productivity, biodiversity and endangered species), as opposed to the typical inventories/checklists used in environmental impact statements, in order to determine the long-term integrity and health of the ecological region. The chapter concludes that the main environmental problems associated with the project that can result in environmental disasters are the removal of soil (resulting in the creation of huge borrow pits that remain sterile for years) and construction of roads (which brings in an influx of people who can endanger species through hunting and fishing).

B. D. Roebuck's "Elevated Mercury in Fish as a Result of the James Bay Hydroelectric Development: Perception and Reality" explores the situation of increased levels of methyl mercury in the fish of La Grande River as a result of the James Bay project, and both the health and social effects on the Cree that consume the fish. The paper provides the results of a study by the James Bay Mercury Committee (1992-1994) and documents the efforts of the James Bay Mercury Committee to warn Cree of the health risks associated with eating fish in the region. The author acknowledges that although Cree in the region are at risk of developing mercury-related ailments due to eating fish, there would be adverse health, cultural and economic consequences if the Cree greatly reduced or eliminated fish from their diet. In the author's view, the Cree of the area should be able to make their own rational decision regarding the use of fish, if provided with proper education on the subject of elevated mercury levels in the fish.

"The Cree People of James Bay: Assessing Social Impacts of Hydroelectric Dams and Reservoirs," by Stanley Warner, provides background information on the Cree settlements in the James Bay project area and the history of changes to the Cree economy and culture. The article places the impact of James Bay hydroelectric development within the context of the larger demographic, social and economic forces that are changing Cree life in the region, and presents the debate among anthropologists whether the Cree of James Bay are changing due to external or internal forces. Special attention is paid to the collapse of the fur trade – in which the Cree had been involved as trappers for 300 years – in 1983, and the buffering impact of the income security program of the James Bay Agreement (1975) on this loss of employment and income to the Cree. The author mentions that despite the adoption of a more "Western" lifestyle, hunting and fishing remain a significant dimension of Cree life. The study concludes that hydroelectric development in the James Bay region is not the primary force of change to the lives of the Cree people in the region, and that the Cree face a larger challenge of meeting the development needs of its growing young population without compromising the foundation of their native cultural/social identity.

Adrian Tanner's article "Culture, Social Change, and Cree Opposition to the James Bay Hydroelectric Development" explores the reasons behind the Cree's apparent acceptance of the James Bay Agreement in 1975 and their opposition to the proposed Great Whale hydroelectric

project in the 1990s. The article notes that the public debate over the Great Whale project in Canada and the United States was couched in Western "environmentalist" terms and paid little attention to Cree perspectives on the environment, human society and the impacts of environmental change: therefore the unique Cree perspective is poorly understood. The author argues that the James Bay Cree agreed to the signing of the James Bay Agreement in 1975 due to adverse circumstances (such as being permanent debtors to the Hudson's Bay Company) and the lack of Quebec Cree ethnic consciousness. However, by the time of the Great Whale project controversy in the 1990s, the Cree became strong opponents due to a combination of external factors (such as the development of environmental impact assessment and inclusion of protection regimes and mitigation procedures in the intervening years) and internal factors (concern about cumulative social effects, and increased awareness of Aboriginal rights). In particular, the Cree opposition to the Great Whale project can be attributed to the failure of the James Bay Agreement to realize expected economic development, disaffection with the way the Agreement had been implemented, and Cree perception that the La Grande River project had major negative social impacts on their communities.

The article "Contemporary Cree Art in Northern Quebec," by Kesler E. Woodward, explores the history of Cree arts and crafts to present day. The author notes that Cree crafts until the 1950s were identical in style and use as those made centuries earlier and that traditionally such crafts were not considered "art" by the Cree, but had ceremonial and practical use. The 1960s marked the first venture of selling Cree crafts to the North American market, but for aesthetic reasons, Cree crafts were a commercial failure. On recent visits to Cree Council-owned stores, the author noted a wide variety of Cree crafts for sale, and discovered that the volume of Cree-produced arts and crafts have remained relatively constant over the past 10 years, but the quality has improved considerably. While the James Bay Cree have a thriving arts and crafts tradition, the motivation, character and style of these crafts are changing more rapidly now than a few decades ago. The author concludes that the influx of money through various agreements and settlements associated with the hydro projects, as well as greater access and communication in the region due to roads constructed for the hydro project, have opened new avenues of expression and economic opportunities for the Cree artists and crafts people – although traditional forms, and the values upon which they were

based, are disappearing.

As a whole, the book gives the impression that the James Bay hydroelectric project has some serious environmental and human health impacts, and that the social impacts of the project on the Cree stem more from the unkept promises of the James Bay Agreement than from the development itself. However, the picture it gives of the social and environmental impacts is different, and more complex, than the picture typically presented by "anti-dam" environmental groups.

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Winona LaDuke. *All Our Relations: Native Struggles for Land and Life*.  
Cambridge, MA: South End Press, 1999.

Reviewed by Deborah McGregor, University of Toronto

*All Our Relations* is a collection of stories surveying many of the environmental challenges faced by Native communities in North America. It describes the tireless work of those who resist assimilation and who strive to renew and restore the land and traditions upon which their communities depend. Some of the activists are professionals and scientists, while others are moms, Elders, and traditionalists. All are angry at the continuing onslaught on the Earth and its impact in particular on babies, children and families.

The struggles recounted in the book range in topic from nuclear waste to militarization, from water contamination to treaty rights in Northern Labrador, the U.S. southwest and Hawaii. Books have been written about Native environmental issues before, but not many from the perspective of the people themselves. What is unique about LaDuke's book is way she chose to tell these stories and the insight she provides as an Indigenous woman whose environmental activism has spanned decades.

Major themes in LaDuke's past work have been social and environmental justice, and this is true of her latest book. LaDuke has presented each of the struggles as a story, an ancient indigenous method of communication. She is a good story teller, and by applying this method she contextualizes the stories she tells. Through the structure of the book, she brings to life the traditional philosophies of life of Pimaatisiwin or Minobimaatisiwin which can both be translated as the "the good life" or