Building Dams, Constructing Stories: The Press, the Sekani and the Peace River Dam, 1957-1969

Holly Nathan

B.A. (Honours), University of British Columbia, 1983

Thesis Submitted In Partial Fulfillment Of

The Requirements For The Degree Of

Master of Arts

in

History

The University of Northern British Columbia

April 2009

Your file Votre référence
ISBN: 978-0-494-48738-9
Our file Notre référence
ISBN: 978-0-494-48738-9

Between 1957 and 1969, print media portrayed construction of a large dam on the Peace River in northern British Columbia as necessary for economic development, while failing to discuss repercussions for the Sekani, who lived in the valley that would be flooded. This thesis analyzes the role of press structure and journalistic practice in shaping coverage of the development. It reveals that mainstream presses showed significant interest in aboriginal issues, yet ignored the potential consequences of the dam for the Sekani despite concerns raised at the time, particularly by an aboriginal press seeking to politicize the general public. Stories influenced by newspaper structure and practice instead portrayed development as having no negative consequences and marginalization of "Indians" as unrelated to industrial resource exploitation. This study contributes to our understanding of aboriginal history and the history of hydroelectric development during a period of significant change in mass media in Canada.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

Acknowledgements

I wish to express gratitude to the University of Northern British Columbia for this opportunity to learn about the northern region through the lens of history. Thank you, in particular, to the encouragement of Dr. Ted Binnema, from whom I was privileged to gain a true appreciation of the art and craft of the historical discipline. It was a pleasure to work with his guidance. Thank you also to the George W. Baldwin, Q.C., Graduate Scholarship which provided welcome support during a time of transition. My husband Karl Sturmanis, Land and Resource Coordinator with the Tsay Keh Dene Band, supported my research and gave me insight into the Tsay Keh Dene's continued work for justice and land rights under enormous ongoing development pressure.

This topic reflects my own time and place in history. My father, Dr. Noel Nathan, was a civil engineer and a lifelong mentor with whom I visited many dams in my lifetime, including the Grand Coulee dam and the Kariba dam in Zimbabwe; my mother Sheila McIlwraith, was a writer, teacher and humanitarian. I learned much from my colleagues in journalism during my decade as a daily newspaper reporter, while a Canadian Association of Journalists/Canadian International Development Agency Fellowship to Africa in 2001 gave me the opportunity to visit the Media Institute of Southern Africa and journalists at work in difficult circumstances. I hope for a stronger recognition of the role of journalism in serving the public interest and the need for appropriate structures to support their efforts, particularly as mass media undergo some of the most profound shifts in a century. Finally, thank you to my daughter, Anda Sturmanis; as a member of the next generation, she is a reason why the outcomes of history matter.

INTRODUCTION

The prospect of harnessing the hydroelectric power of the Peace River in BC's northern "Siberia" first made dramatic front page headlines in 1957 as part of a seemingly fantastic scheme by a Swedish industrialist to create the world's largest reservoir, convert 40,000 square miles of territory to an instant industrial empire, and construct a high-speed 400-mile monorail north of Prince George to the Yukon.[1] The story provided rich fodder for Vancouver's two major competing newspapers. The Vancouver *Sun* and *Province* were in the final stages of a "frantic" decade-long circulation war that had eroded more low-keyed, responsible journalism in favour of "scoops" and headlines.[2] They were also negotiating an unorthodox merger to better secure advertising revenue and their own futures.[3] Together, they threw early editorial support behind the northern development proposal, in tandem with the backing of the business community's Vancouver Board of Trade. They did so despite hesitancies, mostly expressed by the Co-operative Commonwealth Federation (CCF) opposition, that investor Axel Wenner-Gren had been blacklisted by the Canadian government during the Second World War.[4]

For its part, the rapidly growing northern Prince George *Citizen* scoffed at detractors who "pretend to be alarmed [Wenner Gren] made immense profits as a result of his connection with munitions firms during the last war and was reported to be a confidant of leaders of the late Nazi regime in Germany, including Hitler and Goering. So what."[5] The *Citizen*, newly in the hands of B.C. businessman-publisher, W.B. Milner, argued there was more to gain than lose in the government's associations with the

Wenner-Gren interests.[6] The newspaper's enthusiastic if uncritical support was part of the *Citizen's* recent editorial campaign to promote all projects that promised the rapid industrial development of the northlands.

The provincial press at this time also drew attention, if briefly, to aboriginal hunting bands in the region that might be affected by the Wenner-Gren scheme. Vancouver *Province* stories about the perceived destitution of the region's hunting bands contrasted with the hyper-modern proposal and resulted in a short-lived "Save the Sekanis" newspaper campaign. This involved an airlift of 7.5 tons of reader-donated goods to Sekani recipients living in the Rocky Mountain Trench who were described as living in debt and squalor.[7] The editors of the Prince George *Citizen*, stung by attention to a region they felt best positioned to represent, derided the scheme as a sensationalist ploy to sell newspapers. (Indeed, the eastern-owned *Province*, which had dominated the Vancouver market until 1946, was in danger of losing its competitive edge to the Vancouver *Sun*.)[8] The *Citizen* countered with an "exclusive" story, based on one "expert" source, claiming that Sekani poverty was in fact an economic and social condition to which the "stone age" bands of the region were long accustomed.[9] The northern newspaper poked fun at donations of bras and perfume from urban readers, and at the gullibility of the *Province* reporter, while constructing the Sekani as being in on the joke at urban readers' expense.

Even by the "objective" reporting standards of the day, the spate of stories that ensued had little to do with analyzing aboriginal interests, and much to do with using racial tropes and stereotypes to fuel a skirmish between urban presses and the oldest and fastest growing newspaper in the north for claims to reporting expertise and readership

loyalties. The press was acting as more than a passive mirror of the biases and social norms of the day. Rather, evolving press structures and journalistic practice in B.C. media history played a significant role in shaping the parameters of public debate about the dam, the land and the people in the province's hinterland.

The ramifications of that debate continue to this day. As noted by the Prince George *Citizen* in 2006, the permanent displacement of Sekani was not openly discussed when the Peace River dam was planned and constructed, nor were the Sekani effectively consulted or compensated. After the dam's completion in 1967, the Sekani's Tsay Keh Dene band resisted government resettlement plans and staked out an "illegal" settlement at Ingenika which the government of Canada for the next twenty years refused to recognize or fund.[10] The Sekani achieved some compensation in 1989 to help rebuild a settlement at the north end of the Williston reservoir - but only after initiating and winning local, regional, and national media coverage of their plight.[11] Today, nearly 40 years after the Sekani's displacement, the consequences of the W.A.C. Bennett dam and Williston reservoir continue to be contested in the context of unresolved land claims and ongoing development pressure in the north.[12] Meanwhile, Tsay Keh Dene village, dependent on a generator, still operates without benefit of the electricity the dam has long provided for the general public.

The W.A.C. Bennett era of post-war growth, progress and modernization in B.C. suggests the consequences of dam development for the Sekani might hardly have been a topic of public debate at the time. Yet a better understanding of this little-studied period of journalism and press history can shed light on why stories concerning Aboriginal people and dam development in northern B.C. were not told, why growing concerns

about human and environmental consequences were marginalized, and why there was such a marked failure to understand Aboriginal aspirations before the explosive 1969 White Paper on Indian Policy. This study finds that between 1957 and 1969, the print media overwhelmingly portrayed the construction of a large dam on the Peace River in northern B.C. as necessary for economic development in the region. Media coverage, analyzed in the context of communications theories, reveals that although the local and regional mainstream press showed interest in aboriginal issues, it ignored the potential consequences of the dam for the Sekani despite concerns that were raised at the time, particularly by an aboriginal press seeking to politicize the general public. Because of the significant role of mainstream press structures and journalistic practice, stories instead conveyed notions that development had no negative consequences and that marginalization of "Indians" was caused by racial and cultural factors unrelated to industrial resource exploitation in the north. This study, then, contributes to an understanding of aboriginal history, the history of hydroelectric development and the history of the media by exploring press coverage of the W.A.C. Bennett dam and the Sekani during a period marked by significant changes in the structure of the Canadian media and the practice of journalism in Canada.

The initial sensationalism of the Wenner-Gren proposal later gave way, by the fall of 1957, to the more sober realization that engineering of a major hydroelectric dam on the Peace was indeed technically possible. Premier W.A.C. Bennett enlisted the private Peace River Power Development Company, a subsidiary of Wenner-Gren interests, to pursue a market for the dam's hydroelectricity at the same time that international talks resumed between Canada and the United States concerning damming the Columbia River

in BC. Although public debate evolved in the ensuing years, and indeed, became more subtle under the influence of news copy imported from other newspapers challenging the parochialism of local discourse, there was unanimity in both Vancouver's daily newspapers and in the Prince George *Citizen* that the northland in question was for the most part empty and inhospitable; that foreign capital was necessary to develop it; and that "industrialisation by invitation" was the obvious approach to economic growth.[13]

By 1961, the year the Columbia River Treaty was signed, bulldozers and work crews were excavating three diversion tunnels on the Peace River. In December 1967, the British Columbia Hydro and Power Authority completed the W.A.C. Bennett Dam as the local and regional media celebrated the magnitude of the accomplishment. Over the next two years, the impounded northward flowing Peace River flooded 230 miles of the Rocky Mountain Trench and in the process abruptly transformed the life-ways of the semi-nomadic Sekani bands who had long hunted in the region.[14] While the W.A.C. Bennett Dam was a feat of engineering on an unprecedented scale, evolving journalistic practice and shifting media structures show press coverage of the dam was itself a significant act of construction.

The question raised here is relevant and timely in terms of the scholarly literature for three key reasons. First, this inter-disciplinary case study builds on trends in communication theories which have increasingly placed media as "signifying" or "meaning" institutions at the centre of social, political, economic and cultural relations. Formerly portrayed as little more than a mirror reflecting public attitudes, the media have recently been shown to be crucial in the shaping of social consensus, active in the "'manufacture of consent,' [and] in the workings of ideologies—ideas and assumptions about the world."[15] While the study of mass communications

has developed in the past 40 years in the social sciences, insights tend to be applied predominantly to contemporary mass media. In fact, during the first few decades of the twentieth century in North America, the mass media assumed an unprecedented level of influence.[16] Minko Sotiron found that the corporative transformation of the newspaper in Canada took place between 1890 and 1920 in an era of rapid industrialization, increasing literacy, urbanisation, and press profitability, when entrepreneurial-minded publishers took control of newspapers from editor-politicians explicitly affiliated with political parties.[17] Many of Canada's most powerful press magnates and family dynasties gained their footing during this time, including William Southam, the Sifton family, J.B. Maclean, and Roy Thomson who entered the business in the 1930s.[18] This has garnered scholarly interest, supported by a foundation of evidence in the unpublished papers of early press barons, reporter diaries, biographies, and newspaper archives belonging to newspaper chains. Less attention in the relatively new field of media history has been paid to subsequent developments, particularly outside major cities, until the rise of television.[19] W.H. Kesteron argued that 1953 began a significant stage in the rise of the mass media when press owners sought to compete with television and broadcast industries for advertising and markets, initially by bringing in "more content from afar" and increasing their visual appeal.[20] The Senate Special Committee on the Mass Media described the 1950s and 1960s as an era of consolidation and convergence as chains bought out family-owned and individually run newspapers, and increased their monopolies in cities across Canada.[21] By the 1980s, Canada had the most highly concentrated newspaper ownership in the world as competition in Canada's private enterprise press system squeezed out rival newspapers in most cities and as a commercialized press integrated with Canadian business interests.[22] Mass media ownership is similarly concentrated in Australia, and studies of media

portrayals of aboriginal people in Australia by media scholars such as Michael Meadows are relevant to the Canadian context. Meadows argues that changing journalistic practices have had a powerful influence over public perceptions, particularly of aboriginal people, because for most of the public, the media are the sole sources of information about racial issues.[23] As a result, he finds that journalism "has been and remains complicit in creating and sustaining the environment of uncertainty and division in Australian race relations through its systematic management of information."[24]

Second, this thesis intersects with studies of non-aboriginal representation of Indians, in the vein of Robert F. Berkhofer's *The White Man's Indian*, or Daniel Francis's *The Imaginary Indian*. These authors connect tropes of the noble savage, the bloodthirsty warrior, or the pitiable vanishing race to broad-brush European concerns about access to land, the corrupting influence of civilization, or nostalgia upon the closing of the frontier. However, Canadian historian R. Scott Sheffield was right to suggest some of this literature produces "ahistorical and overly rigid impressions of the imaginary Indian largely divorced from its historical context." He argued the "complexity and nuances of English Canada's image of the 'Indian' can be best understood in light of the historical particularities in which it existed because only thus did it have meaning."[25] His recent work addresses the issue by focusing more specifically on imagery of Indians before, during and after the Second World War era, arguing this allows for a disciplined examination of an extensive base of primary source material within its peculiar historical context.[26]

Yet, although he relied heavily on media sources, Sheffield neglected the history of the media themselves, and made no reference to the theory and methodologies of mass media and communications studies. Consequently, his portrayal of the media lacks subtlety. For example, Sheffield did not acknowledge the complexity of the ambiguous relationships between media

coverage and public opinion. The evidence he used to support an interpretation that public opinion was monolithic and non-partisan regarding aboriginal people in Canada might equally indicate the homogeneity of a corporate mass media that increasingly ignored or suppressed alternative and dissenting opinions. Sheffield's assertion that "fundamentally, newspapers were not simply sources of opinions" but "reflections of the cultural values and norms of the society in which they operated" is a classic portrayal of the media as mirror that obscures the power and ability of the media to shape opinion, frame the parameters of debate, and construct "realities."[27] Nevertheless, Sheffield's is one of only a few studies of representations of aboriginal people in the twentieth century, and this present study builds on his insights.

Finally, this thesis contributes to recent literature analyzing the socio-political dynamics underpinning major hydroelectric development in Canada's northland, which began in the 1950s and peaked in the 1970s, with Alcan's Kemano dam and the W.A.C. Bennett dam developments in British Columbia among the first major construction projects.[28] Large dams have generally been linked with modernisation, pent-up post-war demand for growth, and "better living" promoted through major advertising campaigns.[29] Those who questioned megadams in Canada "were overwhelmed by the rhetoric of progress" and were asked "if they would like to return to wood stoves and candlelight."[30] Proponents also assumed that the environmental and social harms which generally accompany large, technically complex projects were acceptable, or at least inevitable, to a modern way of life.[31] As a result, the World Commission on Dams found in its 2000 Final Report a history of "pervasive and systematic failure" on the part of public authorities, in countries as disparate as Canada, Chile, and Zimbabwe, to assess negative impacts of large dams or to address adequately consequences for the displaced. These it determined to be largely indigenous populations who typically lacked land rights or legal title to affected remote

territories, as well as marginalized ethnic minorities.[32] Similarly, the social and environmental effects of monumental hydroelectric developments in Canada and the U.S. were also overlooked in the early scholarly literature's positivist emphasis on dams as engineering and technological feats, provincial economic development tools, or as instruments of western expansionism in the U.S.[33]

The imperative of modernisation through major hydroelectric development appeared so compellingly self-evident that it continued to shape the local literature into the 1990s. This was the case for anthropologist Guy Lanoue, historians Mary Koyl and Katherine Buehler, and, more recently, geographers J.E. Windsor and J.A. McVey, who brought attention to the experience of the Sekani in relation to the W.A.C. Bennett dam, and to the Cheslatta T'en in relation to the Alcan Kemano project. Together, these studies illustrate the extreme marginalisation of aboriginal communities in the dam development process.[34] However, their methodological approaches focused on negative aboriginal experiences of relocation, community breakdown, and alienation from irrevocably lost territory, while overlooking macro-social, political and economic dynamics behind dam developments.[35] In accepting the idea that large dams were necessary, inevitable, and of unquestioned public benefit, the writers characterized the fallout for several hundred people as a "tragedy," suggesting that it was the outcome of forces beyond human control. Thus, Windsor and McVey accepted the privately developed Kemano dam as serving a common good, yet portrayed it as "wicked" because of its effects on a minority.[36] Koyl encouraged greater sensitivity to aboriginal perspectives through improved cross-cultural communication strategies while urging politicians and bureaucrats to incorporate aboriginal concerns in resource planning.[37] Aboriginal experiences as a result amounted to little more than a moral question for the dominant culture to consider in, at most, modifying its ongoing agenda.

In the past ten years, however, historians in particular have turned their attention to the complex dynamics underpinning large dam development in the United States and Canada, seeking to situate an apparently trans-national ideology of progress and modernisation within contexts of historical contingency and local nuance. Environmental historian Matthew Evenden in 2004 examined the near-damming of the Fraser River and illustrated just how contingent the outcome was, given the multiple pressures to realize its hydroelectric potential.[38] More generally, historian David Nye has sought to "debunk technological determinism," emphasizing the role of narratives generated to legitimate the adoption of technology such as hydroelectricity in the United States.[39] Nye suggests that at key points, choice and imputed meaning to the technology were open-ended. In the B.C. context, Arn Keeling and Robert Macdonald note the growing emphasis on "multiple modernities" as a means of "temper[ing] the notion of a hegemonic, universal modernity," while Tina Loo most recently, in 2007, brought new attention to how various constituencies experienced the dam's environmental consequences in the north.[40] An examination of the critical role of the media in shaping public discourse about the W.A.C. Bennett dam and its consequences can help shed light on a vital link between public perception, aboriginal experience, and the power structures connected with such a major development in the province's northland.

The role of the media in democratic societies has evolved. Social scientist Jurgen Habermas in the 1960s developed a theoretical model of the "public sphere" as a site for rational discourse based on principles of freedom of assembly and equal access. The "public sphere" existed outside the state, the market, and private households and facilitated the development of public opinion and its interaction with the political structure.[41] This thesis considers the influence of the commercialized press on the public sphere of mass-mediated public discourse in

BC, focusing on the Prince George *Citizen* as the first and largest northern B.C. paper to undergo a significant shift from local control to the control of a B.C. businessman intent on capitalizing the operation. Between 1957 and 1969, the province saw a quickening trend to press monopolies and a reliance on institutional "objective" reporting that tended to reinforce existing power structures. Meanwhile, perspectives in alternative media such as the BC-based aboriginal newspaper *The Native Voice* were largely excluded, suggesting the inability or unwillingness of mainstream commercial media to address various class and racial interests. Throughout this period, concerns about the repercussions of structural changes to media ownership were growing, to the point when in 1969 public pressure led the federal government to establish the first national inquiry into the history of media concentration in Canada.[42] In the same year, the *Citizen* was purchased by Southam Inc., one of the three largest newspaper chains in Canada. Similar concerns about the mainstream press spurred the rise of alternative presses such as the *Georgia Straight*, launched in May 1967. These questioned the ability of both the monopolistic press and the practices of "objective" journalism to serve the public interest. By then, a greater role for professionally trained journalists within a commercial structure seemed to hold a promise of a check on the power of the private press. The analysis ends here, as the question of how reformist journalism shaped subsequent discourse about the Peace dam and the Sekani would require another study.

An emphasis on the media as a site of knowledge and cultural production is timely, as scholars in media studies and aboriginal representation issues in B.C. have recently challenged the postmodernist tendency to situate power exclusively in text.[43] Canadian media scholars Rowland Lorimer and Jean McNulty assert that "postmodernism has a notable weakness: it underplays the … dominant set of values and

attitudes that underpin much of the institutions and operations of societies."[44] Media production is clearly too complex a process to be consciously controlled or to exist entirely outside the realm of public opinion which, with regard to aboriginal peoples in Canada in the 1950s and early 1960s, generally ranged from indifference to a vanishing race to liberal-democratic notions of inclusion.[45] However, in his *Selling British Columbia: Tourism and Consumer Culture, 1890-1970*, Michael Dawson found that too much historical agency and power had been ascribed to the "targets rather than the initiators of cultural discourses." He argues that "as the literature stands right now, we know very little about the actions and ideologies of the producers of mass culture in Canada."[46] Similarly, Sandra Lambertus in her 2004 examination of the media at the Gustafsen Lake standoff in BC, pointed to a flaw in much of the literature concerning media representation of minorities for assuming that media contexts are either irrelevant or all the same. Her case study challenges those preconceptions by incorporating analysis of media context and structural elements in the communications process during the crisis at Gustafsen Lake, although she neglected a consideration of alternative media.[47]

The aim of this study, as Michael Meadows notes of his work, is "to find out why the content is as it is, rather than the mere fact that it is."[48] As a result, this investigation incorporates discourse analysis as more amenable to historical insight than the quantitative approaches typical of communications studies. Informal content analysis of story placement, use of sources, and numbers of topic-related stories help inform analysis; however, a more discursive approach allows for an examination of the text's style and rhetoric to better understand why some choices are preferred over others in social, political, and cultural contexts.[49] At the same time, questions concerning the role

of the publisher and editors, the resources dedicated to news gathering, and the news practices of reporters, influenced how and what stories were told about the dam and about aboriginal people. Mining press texts for local opinion and perspectives on the assumption that reporting reflects the "unexamined biases" of reporters, the "internalization of prevalent images of Indians," and the general thinking of the day, without also taking press structure and journalistic practice into account, treats media institutions as if they were passive and invisible in conducting public discourse.[50]

Further, local and urban presses have long been viewed as exemplifying the dichotomy between progressive urban readers and more conservative local interests. For instance, in his article, "The Press, the Boldt Decision, and Indian-White Relations," Bruce G. Miller argued that newspaper reporting in the Skagit Valley of northwest Washington State helped protect the interests of the dominant ethnic group in regions of resource extraction where aboriginal interests and local interests were in competition for limited and vital resources. In contrast, "reporting in urban Seattle, with its more diversified economy, appears to be qualitatively different from that in the resource procurement areas, just as it varies between Vancouver and outlying areas in British Columbia."[51] A dichotomy between the urban and hinterland press commonly underpins analysis of the Bennett era.[52]

This thesis instead builds on evidence of an emerging division in B.C. and in Canada in the 1960s between the broad, public interest claims of the "mainstream" press, typically business-owned and funded by mass consumer advertising, and "alternative" presses, which were usually funded by subscribers and interest groups, institutions, and other sources, and which publicly acknowledged an editorial point of view in addressing

specific issues.[53] Local presses were increasingly falling under the control of newspaper chains and entrepreneurial business interests. As the influence of television grew, so did the emphasis on efficiency in production, capitalisation of presses, and competition for advertising revenue. This imposed limitations on public debate, as argued here in relation to the *Citizen*'s coverage of the Peace Dam and the Sekani, and may have discouraged the contribution of more varied local perspectives in privately run presses that increasingly served overtly commercial agendas. The structural shift spearheaded by Prince George *Citizen* at the time under study was prescient, as virtually all northern presses by 2006, including the *Alaska Highway News,* Prince George *Citizen, Prince George This Week, North Peace Express, The Northern,* Prince Rupert *Daily News,* Prince Rupert *Daily News Extra,* and *Peace River Block News*, were under the control of Glacier Ventures International Corporation, whose interests extended across North America and included specialty technical publications, and newspaper and trade publications sold in the U.S., Canada and Mexico.[54]

Research for this study follows news coverage related to the Peace River dam and aboriginal people as it developed in the alternative, urban and regional press, with a key goal of discerning differences in story construction in relation to structural issues. The Prince George *Citizen* and *The Native Voice*, the B.C.-based aboriginal newspaper reaching a national audience at the time, are key primary sources. They are critical to capturing the dominant discourse and the alternative discourse while facilitating a focus on how media structure and journalistic practice can help explain some of the differences. Although it would be ideal to explore local newsroom culture systematically, including staffing levels, reporter backgrounds, budgets, and newsroom guidelines, most

newspapers are private companies and much information is privileged. The research is based on available evidence in the Prince George *Citizen* concerning its own structural shifts; the Report of the Special Senate Study of Mass Media, many of whose findings and analysis of press practices in the 1960s are applicable to daily newspapers like the *Citizen;* the industry journal *Canadian Printer and Publisher*, whose focus was on larger presses and the industry as a whole; and in secondary literature. The secondary literature on weekly and smaller presses is sparse; determining issues concerning ownership, newsroom resources and unique circumstances of other northern papers requires primary research that goes beyond a dependence on discourse analysis alone that fails to take into account such structural issues.[55] How local perspectives were systematically represented in other papers in B.C.'s north is certainly a question that bears further examination. Finally, it might be noted that Prince George library holdings of the *Citizen* newspaper were not indexed for the time period under study. Research methods involved intensive reading of the paper over several months at key news cycles as well at regular intervals between the years 1956 and 1969. At the time of writing, the Prince George Newspaper Project was underway to digitize and make available online six early Prince George newspapers, including the Prince George *Citizen.*[56]

This study examines events as they unfolded chronologically, from the Peace dam's first announcement to its completion. Chapter One examines the Prince George *Citizen's* coverage of aboriginal and development issues when the *Citizen* operated as the profitable arm of businessman/publisher W.B. Milner's enterprises. Media "blind-spots" arising from such structural issues as the paper's promotion of consumerism and the state of journalistic practice were compounded by the *Citizen's* self-constructed role as an uncritical booster of northern

development, setting the stage for support of the Peace dam development with little examination of consequences. Chapter Two analyzes three key news cycles between 1957 and 1964, comparing related stories as they were handled in various newspapers. Each cycle illustrates more specifically how journalistic practice and newspaper structures limited public debate, facilitating the B.C. government's high-stakes goal of launching both the Peace and the Columbia projects simultaneously, while providing little clarity or coherence regarding their purpose and their implications for the north or for its aboriginal people. Chapter Three explores both the *Citizen's* coverage of aboriginal issues as dam construction took place between 1964 and 1967, and the parallel discourse unfolding in *The Native Voice* that challenged some of the dominant culture's most basic assumptions. The latter's early appeal to political leaders, general readers, and opinion gatekeepers, coupled with consistent calls for mainstream press accountability, suggest that the mainstream press missed an opportunity to engage with the aboriginal community as it sought to politicize the general public. By 1969 and the close of this thesis, the state of discourse mediated by the commercial press was an issue of national concern; the release of the White Paper on federal Indian policy revealed the gulf between the aboriginal community and the dominant culture, and the W.A.C. Bennett dam itself was under rapidly mounting criticism for its expense, environmental costs, and human costs.

In summary, this case study situates the local and regional press as a critical site of discourse mediating differing views of land use in the north. It contributes to recent literature analyzing the socio-political dynamics underpinning major hydroelectric development as well as to the little-examined issue of aboriginal representation in the twentieth century. Finally, it contributes to discussion regarding the relationship between media and minorities in an evolving pluralist democratic society.

CHAPTER ONE

BLIND-SPOTS AND BOOSTERISM IN THE PRINCE GEORGE *CITIZEN*

The Citizen and the Sekani

In the decade prior to completion of the W.A.C. Bennett dam, the Prince George *Citizen* served as the major source of local news regarding the city, the fate of "Indians," and the pace of industrial change in the north.[1] Between 1956 and 1968, the city changed from an "overgrown bush camp" of settlers, prospectors, and traders to a pulp and paper town of wage-labourers, salaried professionals, and entrepreneurs, and in 1956 was predicted to be growing faster than any other city in Canada, according to a promotional article about Prince George that reached a national audience at the time.[2] During this time, readers found articles about aboriginal people scattered among Cold War-era headlines on local bomb shelters, molybdenum mine prospects, and hospital issues. This suggested "Indians" were a constant factor in local public consciousness, even if the images proved malleable and often contradictory, running the gamut between depicting intractable racial difference and the potential for liberal-democratic equality as full Canadian citizens. The Prince George *Citizen's* articles and commentary, for instance, drew on images of noble Indians from a distant past, Hollywood stereotypes of Indians on the warpath, images of drunken degeneracy, and notions of stone aged people doomed to extinction, as well as more sympathetic images of grateful recipients of the charity of the dominant culture. At the same time, momentum was building to extend the vote to Status Indians as the federal government continued to pursue its goals of full integration and a gradual cessation of funding for Native programs.[3]

In the inflated rhetoric of the Atomic Age, the *Citizen* also asserted itself as essential to a democratic society, appealing to its readers' sense of responsibility as "free citizens in a free nation" to be fully informed with "accurate information" on "all that concerns our country, province and community." The paper promised to maintain "its proud heritage of truth" and to stand "steadfast in the protection of your rights to know all the facts all the time."[4] By these lofty standards it was bound to fail. At this stage the concept of press freedom in Canada, which for the public meant freedom of expression rather than a property right of press owners, was based more on rhetoric than reality, as historian Minko Sotiron found. Entrepreneurial publishers had generally weakened the political content and purpose of Canadian newspapers as they commercialized their operations, while the public continued to view the newspaper as a vehicle of free expression and a "defender against oppression and wrongdoing: in short, as an institution with a public obligation."[5]

Even so, the *Citizen* appeared to embrace its public obligation when an editorial on March 28, 1957 pronounced the "Indian problem" an "important" one for Canadians given the apparent contradiction between poverty and progress. In the editor's estimation, the issue had failed to receive the critical public attention it demanded, as "most Canadians are not consciously aware that an Indian problem exists."[6] This assessment, prompted by a news story of the release of the federally commissioned Hawthorn report, *The Indians of British Columbia,* came one month after headlines announced the possibility of building the "greatest hydroelectric power project in the world" north of Prince George.[7] Yet the editorial made no link between ongoing discussion about the possible radical re-engineering of BC's northland and the impending displacement of aboriginal people living in the region. "Indians" were an abstract concept, a national responsibility and not a local one, and certainly not one that might impinge on an

agenda of growth, progress, and economic prosperity. Such contradictions constituted media "blind spots" rooted to a degree in structural issues related to its publisher's business interests, negative portrayals of local aboriginal people because of reporter dependence on institutions, and the Prince George newspaper's appeal to readers as both citizens and consumers. Media blind-spots, however, were only part of the problem. This chapter argues that the entrepreneurial Prince George *Citizen*, supported by journalistic practices of the day, conflated its interests in growth and consumption with a self-constructed role as an uncritical booster of northern development. This in turn set the stage for support of the Peace River dam development with little examination of its consequences.

The consequences of the planning, construction, and completion of the Peace River dam and Williston Reservoir between 1957 and 1969 unfolded for the Sekani outside the media spotlight and without meaningful public debate. Discussion subsequent to Premier Bennett's 1957 announcement to proceed with a dam on the Peace River took place mostly at the bureaucratic level and involved meetings and correspondence amongst federal and provincial governments as well as, in the 1960s, BC Hydro. They exchanged trap-line lists, maps, and engineering reports while handling contentious issues largely outside the public sphere, such as compensation, concerns about wildlife impacts, and proposals for alternative reserves. Officials in the Department of Indian Affairs (DIA) felt the developer had a moral obligation to compensate those whose means of livelihood would be destroyed, "regardless of legal obligation," but that was a position they voiced privately.[8]

Meanwhile, Sekani bands continued to travel extensively throughout the Rocky Mountain Trench region, using the Finlay and Parsnip Rivers as transportation routes, maintaining numerous gathering sites, and harvesting trap-lines while incorporating snowmobiles and other

technology into their traditional hunting practices.[9] The length of time between initial contact with Europeans and a major influx of non-Native settlers in the northern interior also meant traditional economies were "surviving better" while giving various Indian groups time to adjust to new regimes.[10] The Sekani had met Europeans face to face by the late 1790s, and had begun trading regularly at North West Company posts in 1805. That ushered in a century during which the Sekani combined hunting and gathering with commercial trapping. Although they passed through the Sekani territory during the Omineca gold rush of 1861 and the Yukon gold rush of the late 1890s, few miners stayed very long. Roman Catholic missionaries arrived during the 1880s and some Sekani children later underwent compulsory education at the LeJac Catholic Residential School, constructed in 1921 outside Fort Fraser.[11] The McKenna McBride commission demarcated two Sekani reserves in 1916 but they were never accepted by the Sekani.[12] The province introduced trap-line registration in the 1920s, and interaction with newcomers increased with surveys for possible routes through traditional territories for the Alaska Highway during the Second World War, followed by infrastructure built to accommodate development of oil and natural gas resources. By the early 1960s, some Sekani families earned wages working at portable saw mills, as did some youths in the summer months—evidence of an evolving "dual economy" in which wages supported traditional social and economic practices.[13] As Mary Koyl summarized, however, "[t]he most dramatic economic development ... was the construction of the Bennett dam."[14]

In this context, the Stuart Lake Agency of the DIA did not contact or consult the Ingenika band respecting the proposed flooding of the Rocky Mountain Trench until three years after the federal government had been notified in 1959.[15] Between 1962 and the commencement of flooding in 1967, bureaucrats concentrated on establishing alternative reserve sites to replace the

officially designated 168 acres of reserve lands set aside in the 1916 McKenna McBride commission report. They also viewed employment opportunities as the sole issue at stake.[16] The goal in the words of J.V. Boys, the Indian Commissioner of BC, as indicated in internal departmental correspondence in 1964, was to "take advantage of a situation whereby the Indian people concerned will have a better opportunity through integration to become part of the provincial economy and without increasing the acreage of Indian Reserve Lands in the Province."[17] Compensation for the impending dispossession extended solely to 32 families whose trap-lines were destined to be submerged. BC Hydro paid no compensation to the band for loss of hunting and gathering places throughout the flooded territory, or for loss of access to traditional transportation routes. DIA officials attempted a degree of consultation with Sekani bands about the flooding, in some cases sending field staff to meet on an ad hoc basis with random families and in other cases organizing more formal meetings. However, the DIA had tried in 1920 and again in 1959 to merge several bands for what it claimed were administrative reasons, and this contributed to innumerable challenges regarding representation, votes, meetings, and procedures.[18] While the B.C. government continued to behave as if aboriginal people had no land rights, the federal government in its early relations with B.C. "frequently disapproved of provincial policies" yet did not challenge them. It thus "weakly exercised its fiduciary responsibility and, as the years went by, came to support most provincial Native land policies."[19]

The result, from the Sekani's perspective and as outlined in a subsequent claims submission, was that the magnitude and import of the flood came without warning. Consultation was ad hoc, poorly executed, and coercive. Government agents burned cabins in threatened village sites as floodwaters drowned gravesites and radically altered the landscape. In the band's

assessment, it had lost hundreds of square miles and the basis of its spiritual, cultural, and economic systems. The Sekani experience also represented, in the words of lawyer Waldemar Braul, "what happens when Canada's political and economic institutions fail."[20] One of those institutions was the media. As Scott Sheffield argued, a key result of how the press depicted Indians prior to World War II and again in the 1950s was public indifference to their modern-day reality, leaving the DIA "with an almost free hand to pursue assimilation in whatever manner it saw fit."[21]

Currently, a number of generally accepted reasons explain why the impact of the dam for Sekani bands might hardly have been considered a topic of public debate at the time. The environmental movement and the public's engagement with the aboriginal rights movement were still in the future, as was the landmark Calder decision of 1973 when the courts for the first time recognized the existence of aboriginal title. Premier Bennett's determined vision and "control of public debate" ensured broad public support for BC's "era of progress."[22] Northern aboriginal groups such as the Sekani, who were not signatories to Treaty Eight of 1899, were typically viewed as apolitical and isolated, and therefore not in a position to mount an effective protest.[23] Resource interests, scientists, and aboriginal fishing interests were focused on saving the Fraser River from hydroelectric development and thus welcomed the damming of the Peace as an alternative.[24] Finally, an activist, liberal-minded press is associated with the post-Watergate vogue for investigative journalism in both the United States and Canada, as well as with the rise of the civil rights and environmental movements; the idea that the media just as actively promoted the status quo before that time is rarely considered.[25]

However, research into media blind-spots is relatively recent in media studies and adds considerable nuance to these generalisations. As Australian scholar Michael Meadows and

Canadian scholar Robert Hackett have found, stories that are not reported, or "buried," are as significant as those that are published. Blind-spots in the media do not develop haphazardly, but tend to fall into patterns related to ownership of news media, the structure of media organizations, the type of personnel they employ, the conditions under which journalists work, and the type of products they are expected to produce.[26] Although usually applied to contemporary media in an era of corporate media convergence, the notion of blind-spots is a useful analytical tool to understand how the Prince George *Citizen* shaped public debate as the newspaper emerged from significant structural changes associated with the rise of mass media in Canada.[27]

First published in 1916 after the city was incorporated, the Prince George *Citizen* began a corporate transformation in the mid-1950s similar to those that occurred earlier in urban, central and eastern Canada, when newspapers shifted from "quasi civil-servant printer-editors to large businesses with massive presses aiming to make money."[28] In November of 1956, B.C. businessman W.B. Milner and his company *Northwest Publications* bought the *Citizen* from three newspaper reporters who were publishing the paper three times a week and had achieved a circulation of 2,300.[29] They in turn had purchased the paper in 1954 from Harry Perry, a local tailor, former city mayor, and president of the Fort George Board of Trade. Perry was a publisher in the tradition of the politician-editor and a "politician by inclination," having served as a Liberal member of the Provincial Legislature and Speaker of the House, as well as Minister of Education. He also appeared to run the press as a "literary excursion" as much as a commercial enterprise.[30] Milner, on the other hand, was a Vancouver and interior businessman and financier who lived part time in the United States and had holdings in several eastern and American energy companies. At the time he purchased the newspaper, he also had a number of interests in

Prince George businesses which included a controlling interest in Eagle Lake Sawmills Limited, Giscome Farms Limited, and Northern Dairies Limited, which supplied 75 per cent of the region's bottled milk. Further, he was a principal in Prince George Gas Company which was to figure shortly in the city's "bitterly fought natural gas war."[31]

After modernising the presses, making the *Citizen* the first daily newspaper in Canada to switch to offset print technology, Milner began publishing the paper five days a week in 1957 and expanded coverage to include wire services from the U.S. and overseas.[32] By this stage, newspapers were expensive, capital-intensive businesses, a trend that ended the possibility of aspiring editors and reporters purchasing their own dailies, while decreasing the likelihood of competing newspapers starting up in an established market.[33] Milner retained the *Citizen's* editorial staff when he bought the paper, suggesting continued editorial independence and continuity. However, changes in personnel took place subsequently with the departure of the paper's veteran editor four months later, while the paper during the next year periodically advertised its hiring of reporters, advertising agents, and business personnel. These individuals, drawn by the prospect of working in a growing community, came from small newspapers in the northern prairies, or from Vancouver newspapers downsizing because of competition.[34] While evidence generally indicates that businessmen-publishers in Canada diminished the power of editors in relation to business managers and advertising agents, assuming "tight control over their editorial staffs despite the myth in newspaper circles that editors and reporters have always enjoyed a substantial degree of independence from their publishers," there is little direct evidence concerning Milner's own background and newspaper practices.[35] Generally, however, the businessman/publisher during this time commercialized the press, increased its dependence on advertising, sought to reach mass audiences, and emphasized technical improvements while

integrating with the business class.[36] In 1969, when the *Citizen* boasted a circulation of 12,000, Milner sold the *Citizen* to the Southam chain of newspapers, at this time one of the three largest media owners in Canada.[37] It is in this context then, that the entrepreneurial *Citizen* chose a strategy of local boosterism, shaping its news agenda in favour of large and often speculative projects, from molybdenum mines, oil refineries, and Swedish investments in mill technologies to hydroelectric developments in various forms and locations, including the Moran dam on the Fraser river which the *Citizen* said promised "an estimated billion dollars of new industrial wealth."[38] These typically held the promise of a radical transformation of the north, rather than a more incremental approach to meeting the needs of an evolving northern community.

Business and the Booster Press

The April 18, 1957 edition of the Prince George *Citizen* was typical of newspaper practice at the time. Headlines "above the fold" trumpeted the possibility of an American-owned oil refinery locating in Prince George. "Below the fold" they indicated an "Indian Pow-wow" might take place for BC's upcoming centennial celebrations, while inside, stories of salmon fishing restrictions, a "mechanical brain" in the form of an early computer, and a possible "world record" for the number of births in the Cariboo, jostled for attention.[39] This jumble of stories invited the citizen-reader, as an active participant in a democratic society, to make sense of the raw information—the facts, as the newspaper itself promoted—an indication of just how much journalism had changed from the political partisanship and "blatant factionalism" of the post-colonial era and toward the supposed "objectivity" that characterized the journalism of the early 20th century.[40] However, to an extent little understood at the time, these "facts" depended on where reporters looked. Sheffield identified the trope of the "drunken/criminal Indian," for

instance, as a major public image of the pre-World War Two era, evocative of collective guilt and political apathy about the seemingly degenerate condition of the once "noble" remnants of vanishing "Indians."[41] Yet it was perpetuated if not created in public consciousness primarily by reporters who typically accessed stories from existing power structures, in this case, the key community institutions of the police station and the courts.[42] As media scholars have noted, beats, or areas of systematic news coverage, "guarantee the presence of certain information and perspectives in the news rather than other information and perspectives. That pattern of presence and absence leads to the evolution of a point of view in the paper's overall operations."[43]

This was clearly the situation in the *Citizen* where, for instance, the majority of stories in which aboriginal people appeared in a six-month period, from November 1956 to April 1957, were connected with court and police beats, institutions focused solely on crime and transgression.[44] Such articles included several major front page stories about a man identified as "Cree" who was suspected of the murder of an American tourist, a "Native" found guilty of punching a police officer, a "young native woman" booked for vagrancy and suspected of narcotics possession, and front page coverage about the repeated convictions of two women under the Indian Act for alcohol consumption, headlined "Thirsty Couple Stagger to 112 Convictions." The latter emphasized how much the women cost the taxpayer, the number of convictions, and their inability to pay the $10 fines, while treating the story as an amusing anecdote about hopeless degeneracy. The fact that one was a "princess" or daughter of a chief from the Fort St. John area appeared to provide no hint of the social questions or context that might be at stake. The idea that editors might independently identify trends and create beats to cover topics beyond agendas set by existing institutions, for instance regarding social, labour, or rural issues, was rarely acted upon. Aboriginal people as a result had no voice of their own, and

certainly not in contexts that were meaningful to them, while the public experience of the "other" in civic debate was clearly limited by the structural practices of journalism.

Despite the apparently disinterested random distribution of stories in each issue, however, the editors clearly had an overarching story or meta-narrative to tell as evidenced by the issues they chose to cover. They clearly saw themselves as champions of the chamber of commerce, of the city-builders, of industrialists, and investors. The *Citizen* devoted substantial coverage in particular to the city's Board of Trade, arguing that

> Every resident with a stake in the future of this city—and that includes the wage-earner as well as the businessman who has prospered during the post-war era of booming prices and demand for lumber—will welcome the announcement that a Prince George Industrial Development Committee has been formed. ... In the past no concerted effort has been made by Prince George businessmen to publicize the advantages enjoyed by this city as an industrial centre. ... Now it is realized that industrialists and those who control investment capital must be told and sold in a more direct and personal manner.[45]

The paper itself enthusiastically took on the task. It published dozens of speculative development stories, relying on sources with vested interests to tout the north's possibilities. In this vein, a story headlined: "Oil Line Through Prince George; May Bring Refinery Here" exclusively quoted local businessmen and company officials who self-interestedly predicted "substantial reductions" in the price of "all" petroleum products and who boosted Prince George as the logical location for a refinery that would act as a stimulus to the entire central B.C. economy. The story used unnamed "experts" to assure readers the construction of a pipeline would not present "physical problems." Only the last paragraph revealed that, despite the application to build a crude oil pipeline, no exploration had actually yet taken place, while buried in the story was the fact that the interested company, ACT Oils Ltd, was largely an American group of businessmen.[46]

The *Citizen* was in fact primarily concerned at this time to defend the interests of would-be capital investors. This was the ground for its editorial stance against "socialism" as well as the impetus for its role as "watchdog" on the actions of Premier Bennett lest he test the "tolerance" of the "professional advisers to capital seeking places for safe and profitable employment."[47] The paper even supported city tax increases not out of concern for the quality of life for residents, but because "the lack of municipal services is fast becoming a crisis which will preclude the development of secondary industry," depriving the city of a "glowing future."[48]

The news agenda was thus shaped to promote the "faithful reporting of signs of industrial progress" and the "clear, forcible exposition of the community's commercial and social advantages."[49] Boosterism was a strategy commonly employed by newspapers, particularly in the early 20th century, but as they commercialized, the agenda was less politically than commercially motivated. As early as 1899, the publisher of the industry's journal *Canadian Printer and Publisher* made this clear when he baldly told an eastern audience during the Canadian Publishers Association convention that "[I]f our resources are developed newspapers will increase their revenue. ... Newspapers are prosperous when the communities in which they are published are prosperous. ... Money is being made steadily by the fullest development of the industries and resources of the locality. The fullest development is brought about by public sentiment and interest. Sentiment and interest can best be created by the newspapers."[50] The public interest and the publisher's interests were thus effortlessly conjoined. With newspapers firmly in the hands of the Canadian business community by the 1950s and 1960s, publishers tended to assume an "automatic, infallible identity between their views and those of every right-thinking Canadian" as academic Desmond Morton told the 1969 Special Senate Committee on Mass Media.[51] Boosterism, however, was not always "news" in the public interest. Where

editors and publishers chose boosterism as a strategy, they were also tempted to censor stories, as was the case in Calgary where published reports of several hundred unemployed men in 1911 seeking municipal relief met incensed criticism from rival papers concerned about the risk to capital investment and the negative picture the stories painted of the West.[52]

Similar conflicts arose when the business interests of publishers were the subjects of news stories. At the same time that Milner bought the *Citizen* in 1956, Northern Dairies Limited was in the midst of a labour dispute with the Teamsters union representing its employees, a dispute that made front page headlines. These articles warned labour demands for increased wages would increase the cost of milk and emphasized the negative impact on consumers should workers strike. The fact that Milner owned the company, the major supplier of the region's bottled milk, provided reasonable grounds to question the objectivity of the articles.[53] Five months later, Milner's name, but not his title, was published with those of eight local businessmen who had banded together to promote their interests in Prince George Gas Co. Ltd.– using two full pages of the newspaper's March 7, 1957 edition to do so. The huge, two-banner headline to the advertisement, "A message of Vital interest to the Citizens of Prince George Concerning Natural Gas," topped a plea for local support of their consortium as the logical choice to provide natural gas to the city, rather than West Coast Transmission and Inland Natural Gas Company as recommended by the Public Utilities Commission of BC. They based their appeal on the premise that the business syndicate's interests were identical to the public interest: "When cheap natural gas appeared to be a possibility for Prince George a group of local citizens interested in furthering the economic stability and industrial growth of the City formed a syndicate and provided substantial funds to investigate ways and means of best utilizing this potential supply of gas in the interests of the people."[54]

However, the publisher's use of privileged access to the press to promote his own business interests raises questions about how the paper's editorial policy also served those business interests. "Objective" news articles on the gas issue, such as a mayoral speech that ran on the front page claiming Peace region gas would be cheaper in Oregon than in Prince George, were given more prominent treatment than might otherwise have been the case in the hands of a disinterested publisher, while news stories typically did not identify the publisher's vested interests in the issue.[55] Milner eventually became chair of the board of the Prince George Gas Company, using the newspaper as his "main weapon in the battle." Local amateur historian Bob Harkins found that "slashing front page editorials were frequent," and that, "at times the purple prose was laid on with a trowel." The issue of a local company battling monopoly interests struck a generally sympathetic note, garnering editorial support from the Calgary *Herald* and from the Winnipeg *Free Press*, yet the ability of the *Citizen* to provide local readers with fair-minded assessments of a critical issue of local importance was doubtful. The bitterness of the long-running dispute eventually delayed gas distribution to the point that in late 1958 the Prince George City Council "abandoned its fight for cheap gas in favour of early gas" and signed a twenty-year contract with Inland Natural Gas. At this point, the *Citizen's* writers turned against the city, running a front page editorial accusing council members of "being taken in by the propaganda" of the rival company when they signed an agreement "without any control on Inland's role and arbitrary terms." The city faced the dismantling of its entire natural gas infrastructure as a result of the dispute, an indication that Milner's paper had ceased to act in the public interest as much as its own, and city council finally induced the two parties to negotiate.[56]

Such business conflicts, however, were an apparently acceptable price for a "free press." Although the *Citizen's* masthead proclaimed in 1956 its status as "an Independent semi-weekly

newspaper devoted to the Interest of central and northern British Columbia," it meant independence from government control, not business interests.[57] Editorials often used the rhetoric associated with the Cold War to tout the paper's vigilance on behalf of the public against the abuse of political power and the "flagrant violation of public trust," while constantly drawing attention to the vital service of the press to "citizens of the free countries."[58] *In camera* city council meetings, for instance, were characterized in a 1957 editorial as "a danger" to democratic government, and city councillors compared to more general "architects of secrecy" who, emboldened by "public apathy and their own success," had moved from censorship of books, movies, and radio programs to censorship of government information.[59] This independent "watchdog" role struck a chord with some writers of letters to the editor, who clearly took the paper's duty seriously.[60] While the mission of the press to exercise journalistic freedom against the excesses of government was a libertarian notion inherited from the United States as a result of Canada's journalistic history, it also served the business agenda well.[61] As Peter Desbarats observed in 1996, "The *political* independence of the press is a treasured value in our society. The notion of a *corporate* threat to press freedom ... is a relatively new idea."[62]

Yet Prince George itself was undergoing structural shifts suggesting a more complex social fabric than the press portrait of a seamless marriage between residents, labour, and business interests in the project of unfettered economic growth.[63] A 1956 letter to the editor lambasted the *Citizen* for criticizing veterans settled on land south of the city who had declined annexation with Prince George, noting dryly, "Strange as it may seem to you, many of the veterans had no profit motive in mind when they decided to build homes in this area."[64] As well, more than 800 small lumber mills were operating in the region during the 1950s but as amalgamations occurred and larger corporate interests moved in, the labour force became

increasingly unionized.[65] The Prince George and District Labour Council, newly organized, made a "strong bid" in the 1956 civic elections, while significant numbers of residents supported the CCF despite Social Credit representation in the legislature.[66] *Citizen* reader James Minal wrote a letter to the editor in 1957 expressing concern about small farmers and small businessmen facing increasing pressures from "capitalistic giants."[67] Another writer argued the *Citizen's* policy of identifying letter writers in its editorial pages was antidemocratic, failing as it did to protect those who might otherwise voice their opinions "because employers, landlords and others who posses economic power over their fellow men, are in a position to and do exercise influence over the acts and expressed ideas of others!"[68] In an era of increasingly contentious newspaper strikes, the Canadian publishing industry sought to protect its interests regarding the power of unions, policies on pensions and taxes, and government regulation of advertising. This agenda was more likely than not to influence Canadian editorial pages and news coverage.[69] Indeed, B.C. labour lawyer, Thomas Berger noted the influence of the anti-communist mood of the times on unionists and felt B.C. employers' use of injunctions to quell workplace disorder was excessive, as were their challenges to workers' right to picket. Berger later observed that "WAC Bennett was very much in power and I thought there were abuses ... People like to categorize the era between 1955 and 1963 or so as placid, but I don't remember it that way."[70]

The Prince George *Citizen* at this time was also boasting of its status as "Second in Canada with National Ad Volume," an indication of unacknowledged tension between its dual role in delivering information to citizens while promoting products to consumers. The 1957 ad entitled "How This Newspaper Helps Advertisers" related circulation numbers to the ability of the paper to satisfy the "greatest number of editorial interests: an indication we're doing our job of providing an interested audience for your sales messages."[71] However, media critics argue

that reaching a mass audience required minimizing debate, appealing across party lines, and promoting news for consumption and entertainment while de-emphasizing divisive local and political issues that threatened to divide or alienate readers.[72] With more than $7 billion spent on newspaper advertising in 1958/9 in the United States, according to the American Newspaper Publishers Association, and a predicted gross advertising revenue topping one billion dollars by 1969 in Canada, the influence of newspaper advertising agendas had by this stage become an issue of national concern.[73] As early as 1960, Hazen Argue, CCF leader in the House of Commons, asked that a House committee be struck to study the question of control of newspaper, radio, and television facilities in Canada because of concerns about the increasing role of private industry in the sector. Argue wanted limitations placed on advertising, and asked "if the millions of dollars which are used by advertisers—learning from the Madison Avenue mass media manipulators—have so influenced the judgment of the Canadian people as to make it impossible for many citizens to exercise a free, fair and unbiased judgment."[74] Because advertising ostensibly supports an inexpensive and therefore widely available newspaper, the commercial press has generally been accepted as a necessary price for an accessible mass communication tool in a democracy. Yet scholars have increasingly argued that print advertising not only influences newspaper content itself, but undermines its democratic role by facilitating monopolization, reducing political differentiation among papers, directly and indirectly censoring content of public importance, and serving higher-income rather than more diverse audiences. Particularly provocative is C. Edwin Baker's argument in the American context that while the First Amendment guarantees press freedom from "abridgement" by government, the real threat to a free and democratic press is from advertising.[75]

Journalistic practice was ill-equipped at this time to act as a check on the propensity of the *Citizen's* editors to actively promote consumption. Indeed, the line between business and news was often indistinct.[76] Many news pages were devoted to features linking dubious editorial content to advertiser and business promotions. A 1957 *General Electric* advertisement for "built-in electric ranges" accompanied a local "news" article highlighting the city's first display home that was promoting household merchandise and "attracting many visitors."[77] A story on the role of the Hudson's Bay Company in the "vivid" development of Fort George was linked to HBC department store advertisements, while advertisements for Greyhound transportation accompanied stories on the opening of a bus terminal in the city. Women's pages and domestic columns related to food and household products were also designed to link readers to key advertisers.[78] In a 1960 article in *Canadian Printer and Publisher* by the managing editor of the *Medicine Hat News,* the writer saw no conflict of interest in the fact that reporters were involved in a number of "special editions each year" where they split commissions with the advertising sales staff.[79] Yet, a *Citizen* news item from Stratford, Ontario headlined "Business-Press Co-operation Vital to Good Civic Relations" indicated the uneasy relationship between the two sectors. The president of BF Goodrich Canada Limited felt compelled to explain the news process to local businessmen, admonishing members of the Chamber of Commerce not to confuse advertising with news. His observation that sales stories belong in the advertising column but that any news story is rated on the basis of its "news value," was a clear indication there were ample grounds for confusion. Similarly, his encouragement that the reporter "seeking the truth, wants to tell the story to the public and must depend on us to help him" showed just how much the

reporter was dependent on the largesse of the businessman.[80] The very structure of journalistic writing served advertising needs. That is, the inverted pyramid style of writing, typically associated with the invention of the telegraph as a means of transmitting key information in the first paragraph rather than telling a narrative, also allowed flexibility to cut stories to create space to accommodate last-minute advertising.[81]

The context of the Cold War further encouraged the *Citizen* to exploit the climate of the times to promote the notion that readers had a duty as Canadian citizens to consume. Editorials constantly linked the lack of freedom in socialist countries to their lack of material well-being, while the increasingly powerful public relations industry in both Canada and the U.S. used the press and the media of entertainment as critical sites for positioning advertisements that were in essence the political messages of their corporate clients.[82] In particular, hydroelectricity by this time had become central to the idea of national progress in the discourse promoted by advertisers. A major three-quarter page advertisement by the General Electric Corporation appeared in the *Citizen* in 1956, headlined "Engineers and Scientists hold the key to our nation's growth." It promoted the public's right to cheap electricity while celebrating dominance over nature through engineering ingenuity.[83] A *Maclean's* magazine advertisement in *Canadian Printer and Publisher* in June 1960 linked the power of journalism and the power of hydroelectric development to the national narrative of progress. In this case, the text above a picture of hydro lines on a thundering river and a printing press read: "White waters … prime source of power for Canada's progress; Canadian publications … powerful force in shaping Canada's destiny."[84] Similarly, a *BC Power Commission* advertisement linked individual well-being and comfort with a duty to consume for the betterment of society at large. It read

"Lighting the way to Better Living Throughout BC: Thanks to dependable, low-cost electricity, homes are more pleasant, better places to live—local industries and businesses are better places to work. But electricity is more than just a convenience. It's a major factor in attracting industry to help make all our communities more prosperous."[85]

The connection drawn in the mainstream media between hydroelectricity, engineering, and national purpose in Canada was influenced by, if it was not a direct offshoot of, a carefully orchestrated American advertising campaign using the concept of "better living" as its lynchpin.[86] *General Electric* was one of the major corporations to enlist the services of a leading American public relations firm through the 1940s and early 1950s. American business leaders, threatened by anti-corporate New Deal liberalism in the United States, were failing to protect their interests by using standard political channels to protest government restrictions, unfair taxation, and government interference.[87] Under the guidance of public relations managers, they instead adopted Franklin D. Roosevelt's innovative personal appeal communicated through the medium of radio, crafting a "selfless expression of (corporate) social purpose" through advertising and entertainment media in hopes of regaining the upper hand. As William Bird found, the public relations firm's "contribution to the politics of better living lay in removing it wholesale from the legislative and policy-setting agenda of the politician, and putting it into the homespun domain of the consumer." Through the use of the media of entertainment, "better living" became the principal objective of corporate enterprise, "at least in its interpretation to the public." The result was the "restored hegemony of the corporate commonwealth" by the early 1950s.[88]

Competing notions of electrification from intellectuals, the general public, and professionals such as engineers and social scientists, had also given way to the business-

oriented notion of electrification as commodification by the 1920s, as cultural historian David Nye found in the United States. Engineers, whose conception of electrification tended toward rational social planning, were subsumed by the corporate culture which capitalized on their ability to address practical problems through efficiency and rationality. Nye found that "[a]s electrification assisted oligopolistic concentration, it became the keystone of an ideology of progress, uniting engineering and commerce."[89] These cultural and social historical trends were clearly evident, if years later, in the pages of the Prince George *Citizen.* As Michael Dawson found with regard to tourism in BC, public relations, product promotion, and advertising campaigns were refined before rather than after the post-war boom and helped create it; by the 1950s, "magazines and newspapers [were] filled with advertisements sponsored by the multi-million [-dollar] travel budgets of transportation interests."[90] This was an era of public relations growth, tied inextricably to hydroelectric consumption, newspaper advertising, and the publishing industry's profitability. It was a time when the new journalism of profit had replaced the old journalism of political advocacy; and when journalistic practice "reproduced a vision of social reality which refused to examine the basic structures of power and privilege."[91] The Prince George *Citizen* was at this time growing at a rapid rate; it adopted boosterism as a further strategy underpinning its news and business agenda, promoting a model of development that emphasized speculation, rapid growth and the promise of radical economic transformation over a model that emphasized caution and a concern for consequences.

CHAPTER TWO

THREE NEWS CYCLES: THE LIMITS OF PUBLIC DEBATE

Between 1957 and 1964, the British Columbia government embarked on a massive construction program that mobilized the province's labour force, its finances, and its political will behind two major hydroelectric development projects, one on the Peace River and one on the Columbia River. Premier W.A.C. Bennett announced his intention to build the Peace dam in 1957 at the same time that international talks between Canada and the United States had resumed concerning development of the Columbia River. In a climate of confusion regarding the feasibility of the former and the fate of the latter, the government launched a policy to develop both simultaneously. It was a high stakes gamble. Nevertheless, BC's engineering program was not unique. Construction of big hydro projects reached "a crescendo" in North America during the 1960s, and included, in Canada, the St. Lawrence Seaway and Newfoundland's Churchill Falls projects.[1] This activity was based on the "unquestioned assumption" that a correspondence existed between high levels of energy consumption and a high standard of living.[2] The previous chapter discussed the pivotal role the press played in helping shape such assumptions at the local level. This chapter asks more specifically how the Peace dam came to seem necessary to the north and how affected aboriginal people were portrayed in public discourse. Three key news cycles provide an opportunity to compare related stories as they were handled in various B.C. newspapers. The first cycle concerns the Wenner-Gren investment plan of 1957, when boosterism determined the Prince George *Citizen's* response in an era of newspaper wars and institutional reporting that marginalized dissent and opposition. The second centres on a 1957 airlift of supplies to the Sekani in the Rocky Mountain Trench. Here, the focus considers

journalistic story construction in the portrayal of aboriginal people and their relation to land and resources. The third news cycle involves the unfolding implications of the Two Rivers policy promoting the development of both the Peace and Columbia in a highly charged political atmosphere. In this case, the multiple scientific, diplomatic, economic, and other ramifications posed unique challenges to a journalistic corps which at this stage had yet to professionalize. Each cycle sheds light on how press structures and journalistic practice played a dynamic role in setting the parameters of public debate. Overall, the chapter argues that the press facilitated the B.C. government's high-stakes goal of launching both projects, yet provided little public clarity or coherence regarding their purpose or implications for the north or for its aboriginal people.

Journalism and the Wenner-Gren Plan

Axel Wenner-Gren's scheme to develop a northern industrial empire broke headlines on February 13, 1957. Wenner-Gren interests, with the Bennett government's support, committed to undertake five million dollars in resource survey contracts with the intention of constructing a 400-mile, high-speed monorail from McLeod Lake to the Yukon border through the Rocky Mountain Trench. They also expected to build pulpmills, sawmills, hydroelectric power units, townsites, roads, hospitals, and schools to be operated at their "own expense" if surveys justified the investment.[3] This was among the first of the opportunities that Bennett, first elected in 1952, embraced in his celebrated plan to aggressively address regional economic disparities in the province, although several northern initiatives launched prior to his election were completed or still underway. These included the Pacific Great Eastern Railway, pipeline construction, and rural electrification, indicating northern development was already on track.[4] The Wenner-Gren proposal garnered several months of intense news coverage, but once engineering surveys were completed later in the year, the emphasis in public debate shifted from the overall industrial

development scheme to the more specific project of developing hydroelectric power on the Peace River. The enormous news copy generated by the initial scheme, however, brought unprecedented and dramatic public attention to possibilities for northern development.

The boosterism of the Prince George paper distinguished its immediate and unequivocal support for the Wenner-Gren scheme from regional coverage.[5] While the factual details of the Wenner-Gren agreement with B.C. took weeks to sort out from speculative promotions, both local and urban newspapers quickly agreed, in concert with the Vancouver Board of Trade, that "big capital was needed for big development" and that the prospect of major foreign investment in a single huge project was a "great plum" for any province.[6] The initial issue for the urban media was, more critically, whether Wenner-Gren was the right investor. Of the dozens of articles written in the first couple of weeks of the announcement, the majority focused on the Nazi affiliation and flamboyant history of the Swedish investor. *Maclean's* magazine devoted a cover story to Wenner-Gren's past almost identical (and failed) monorail schemes in Rhodesia, casting doubt on the ethics of relying on a man blacklisted by the Canadian government during the Second World War, and on his ability to bring the B.C. plan to fruition.[7] The Victoria *Times* conducted a poll which indicated twenty-to-one opposition to the scheme related to the ethical issues of the investor's background, and stated its preference for Canadian, British, or American capital in development over that of "neutrals."[8] Stories out of Alberta saw the Liberal Opposition leader similarly accusing Bennett of giving away one-tenth of B.C. to a "friend of Hitler's and a confidant of Goering" and comparing the Belgian Congo and Canada in terms of imperial exploitation.[9] In contrast, the issue of Wenner-Gren's Nazi affiliations posed no problems for the *Citizen*, whose editorial "Welcome Axel" scoffed at those who "pretend to be alarmed" about the source of the industrialist's profits, while continuing the theme of embracing

uncritically any development that might bring economic miracles to the north, no matter how speculative.[10]

The *Citizen* proved slow to grasp the implications of its stance for local interests, which stood to be alienated from a vast tract of territory. Bennett's memorandum of agreement with Wenner-Gren granting survey rights to a foreign company for the next five years tied up some 40,000 square miles of resources in the northern interior and awarded the industrialist and his syndicate right of first refusal to timber resources if surveys justified development.[11] Mineral laws were to be amended shortly afterward, preventing "speculators" from entering the area and assuring Wenner-Gren prior rights.[12] A water reserve was placed on the Peace, Parsnip, and Finlay Rivers, while Swedish and British engineers and companies were to be involved in the preliminary work rather than locals.[13] However, local and provincial resource interests had "quietly scouted" the Rocky Mountain Trench area for decades. Consolidated Mining & Smelting Co. in Trail, for instance, had done work although "nothing substantial has shown up." It expected to spend a further $300,000 in claims development in the Trench through an agreement with Ingenika Mines Ltd., which already possessed thirty-two Crown-granted mineral claims in the heart of the Trench area and had developed a mine in 1928.[14] The editor and publisher of the Vanderhoof-based *Nechako Chronicle*, who was a local prospector, worried that a mineral reserve would "doom private mining ventures" and noted at the time that eight prospecting parties had just flown in to the area to stake claims.[15] Such B.C. interests with a history of development in the province felt they should have a prior right to future development. The B.C. and Yukon Chamber of Mines asked the government to lift the mineral reserve, while the Vancouver *Sun* reported that "Mining and labour authorities both feared a giveaway of the natural resources and the formation of a company empire."[16]

The implications of the mineral reserve as outlined in the memorandum became a topic of heated legislative and media debate. Yet, the Prince George *Citizen* downplayed the issue and took no specific editorial position on the B.C. and Yukon Chamber of Mines protests or on the exclusion of local interests. A *Maclean's* article published in April 1957, referred to the concerns of labour about the project, but this was a perspective the *Citizen* did not cover.[17] Instead, Prince George itself became a focal point of the story most notably because of the boosterism of its leading spokespeople, a conservative elite of local businessmen-politicians. In "Prince George Excited at Wenner-Gren Plan," a reporter described how the booming hub of the north had become the "most excited city in Canada." "Everybody is on edge," said Mayor John R. Morrison; "We are the key city sitting right in the heart of it ... I think we will start benefiting right away." Harold Moffat, a local businessman and chairman of the Prince George Board of Trade's industrial development bureau which had received such insistent support from the *Citizen*, admitted "there is some soul-searching here about the government plan to give the Wenner-Gren organization rights over such a large area. But I don't care who gets it as long as they develop it."[18]

The Dawson Creek *Star* handled the story differently from the *Citizen*. The biweekly paper at the time continued to be locally published and produced.[19] Dawson Creek was a farming community, home to soldier-settlers, and situated near Alberta, about 150 kilometres from the dam site. When the paper ran the Axel Wenner-Gren announcement on February 15, 1957, it also ran front page stories expressing concern that diverting the Finlay and Parsnip Rivers for the Peace dam was not in Alberta's best interests, that the federal government might have concerns about the Peace given its status as a navigable river, and that a dam would have downstream environmental impacts on the Peace Delta?[20] It published verbatim the

Memorandum of Agreement between the Government of B.C. and the interests which proposed to develop the Peace River in the lead story, allowing readers to draw insights into what the land reservation entailed. It also ran a joke on the granting of survey rights covering one-tenth the area of the province, a *Canadian Press* item in which the president of a Vancouver Island copper company quipped that "This guy Hitler was crazy. He went to war for a country. He should have come to BC. [Premier] Bennett would have given him one." Another small front page item noted BC's CCF Opposition Leader Robert Strachan had tried twice to adjourn the throne speech to allow debate on the issue. In one tightly constructed front page, then, the judicious pick of items from the *Canadian Press* wire service agency covered the basic facts of the announcement and indicated a variety of perspectives on the issue within three days of the initial announcement. The *Citizen*, as a member of the *Canadian Press* had access to all of the same news copy as the *Star*. That it published little of it shows that the *Citizen's* editors chose to downplay if not suppress any criticism of the proposal. Thus, the newspaper that might have been expected to offer the most thorough coverage of the story offered only a very biased perspective. This approach to shaping the news agenda suggests that social scientist Arthur Siegel's concerns about the crippling parochialism of the Canadian media landscape at the time were well founded. Given that no national newspaper existed to provide broader perspectives on key issues and that metropolitan papers served city more than regional interests, there were few places from which residents of Prince George might have accessed more balanced perspectives.[21]

Tellingly, the *Star* was also at this time in the midst of backing a local campaign supporting twenty-seven First World War veterans who had settled in the area under the Soldier Settlement Board, and who were concerned about the activity of oil rigs nearby. The paper devoted coverage to their "long struggle" to gain mineral and petroleum rights in the area if and

when oil companies drilled on the land in question; the veterans' bid was due to be carried before the B.C. Legislature.[22] The *Star's* advocacy for local interests and the *Citizen's* boosterism at all costs thus reflected competing press constructions of how resource development in the north should take place, whether through highly speculative mega-projects with their promise of indirect spin-offs, or through assured direct benefits for local interests.

The characteristic emphasis on Bennett as a "one-man government" and a "demagogue" single-mindedly pursuing his program of territorial expansionism with almost uniform public support during this era ignores how key institutions of the day helped facilitate his broad exercise of power.[23] Moreover, the argument that Premier Bennett supported the Wenner-Gren scheme as a diversionary tactic to "dazzle the masses" and distract attention from the downturn in the economy fails to account for the sensational material the issue provided for the publishing industry.[24] The Vancouver *Sun* and *Province* were locked in a circulation war that had reached a crisis by 1956.[25] The *Sun* was one of the few remaining independent family-owned newspapers in the country (although under increasing pressure to sell to bidders including the FP Publications chain and, curiously, Axel Wenner-Gren), while the *Province* had been owned since the 1920s by the Toronto-based Southam chain.[26] In his memoirs, Stuart Keate, publisher of the Victoria *Times*, described this time as "a decade of frantic competition which did little credit to either paper...Instead of returning to its role as a low-keyed, responsible journal, the *Province* sought to match the *Sun* with sensational headlines and a "scoop" for each edition."[27] The race to beat out the competition resulted in the *Province*, for instance, boast of being the first to "reveal" the Wenner-Gren deal on February 13, 1957, even if that meant its scoop involved the uncritical reporting of self-interested proponents casting their "fascinating" proposal in the best possible light.[28] For its part, the *Sun* supported "controversy-hungry" columnists and "slash[ed] the

newshole by an entire page to create space opposite the editorials to print opposing opinions," suggesting opinions were more important than the basis on which they might rest.[29] By 1956, the *Province* had lost a major advertising contract, threatening millions of dollars Southam had already invested in the enterprise, while the Vancouver *Sun* was not likely to outlast a chain-owned paper in a protracted stalemate. After several months of behind-the-scenes deal-making, a formal agreement in May 1957 saw the two newspapers amalgamate production in a controversial structural change to save capital costs by sharing presses and splitting profits equally.[30] The new *Pacific Press* operation drew the attention of the federal regulator who ruled it an illegal combination, which in turn led to lengthy hearings under the Restrictive Trade Practices Act. While publishers were to be appointed by their respective former owners with the authority to determine each paper's news and editorial content, a Toronto *Globe and Mail* commentator noted in 1957 that "[i]t seems to me inevitable that men who sit down with one another every so often to share profits will begin to share ideas and outlooks too." [31] In this context then, stories were sensationalized to appeal to mass audiences even as publisher/owner relations with the business community were strengthened.

The fact that reporters relied on institutions as a critical source of news, in this case the legislature, further determined the tone and scope of the story, as indicated by headlines like "Wenner-Gren Fight Rocks Legislature" describing a four-hour uproar complete with desk-pounding, shouting and bitter name-calling.[32] As a result, the press framed the Axel Wenner-Gren proposal predominantly in party political terms: the sub-text of debate played out as an ideological battle between the CCF and Social Credit, and public discourse rarely transcended the high politicking of the legislature. The CCF in the house raised questions about process (under what authority the government had signed the agreement with the Wenner-Gren

interests); principles (regarding ownership of Canadian resources, noting it appeared a "bigger give-away of the people's natural resources than Kitimat"), and public accountability (unsuccessfully at this stage seeking full public discussion in the legislature).[33] None of these issues shut the door to development but did raise the issues of how and on what terms. Media language associated with the CCF's points, particularly in the pro-government *Province*, tended to show MLA's "attacking" foreign investment, or opening an "assault...sharply criticizing" the plan for its implications for a monopoly hold on the northland.[34] At the national level Prime Minister Diefenbaker dismissed a CCF member's concerns as "in keeping with what one might expect from one who does not believe in private enterprise;" he refused to launch a probe into the Wenner-Gren deal, and tersely asserted the development "should take place for Canadian purposes and under Canadian law."[35] Reporters, fettered by the dictates of objectivity and rarely making excursions into independent analysis during this period, provided verbatim and factual accounts of political exchanges that potentially showed "little regard for factual accuracy in the heat of battle." As a result they provided minimal protection for their readers against "blatant political distortions."[36] In debates framed in stark free enterprise versus socialist terms, the business-owned press aligned itself with the former.[37]

Otherwise, reporters framed the Wenner-Gren issue largely as a business story, limiting themselves to clarifying "facts" about the development. They identified the Wenner-Gren firm's directors, discussed the practicality of a high speed monorail, and outlined the size of the mineral reserve. They relied largely on self-interested sources to answer their questions, such as Mines Minister Kenneth Kiernan, Premier Bennett, Wenner-Gren spokesman Bernard Gore, and Lands and Forests Minister Ray Williston, rather than providing more independent analysis.[38]

The use of unsigned editorials under official newspaper mastheads represented the weight of the newspaper as an institution and further signified the authoritative "voice of reason" in determining the parameters of public debate.[39] One day after the Vancouver Trade Board, on March 5, 1957, backed the Wenner-Gren deal as a "good one" for BC, the *Province* in one such unsigned editorial argued that the special committee of "experts" formed by the board had placed the matter "in proper perspective." The paper agreed there was no "give-away" of B.C. resources, and argued "neither Wenner-Gren nor anyone else is going to invest perhaps a billion dollars without reasonable assurance that it is going to pay. ... Until someone brings real evidence to the contrary, the sensible thing to do is to encourage the development." The paper also disparaged criticisms as "rumour" and "misunderstanding" involving "strange and unreasonable" conclusions and suggested "anyone who quarrels with the Wenner-Gren proposal has little desire to see B.C. move ahead rapidly and has scant faith in the future."[40] The more circumspect Vancouver *Sun* also reluctantly found itself accepting Premier Bennett's assurances, reassuring readers in another unsigned editorial that, in its words, "nothing has been given away—yet." While the paper criticized Bennett's handling of the announcement for leading to negative reaction, its editorial argued that the "people of B.C. will have to trust their newly-elected government, when the time comes, to make the best possible bargain for the future of their province."[41] Shortly afterward, the Prince George *Citizen* ventured the same rationale for its own overhasty initial support, somewhat after the fact and in lockstep with the urban media.[42] Consensus had been reached. A corporatising press undergoing "huge social and technological changes," as Marc Edge argued with regard to *Pacific Press*, indicated that conflicting stances adopted by individual publishers on various issues were increasingly superficial.[43] On this issue, despite the swirling controversies and tempestuous legislative exchanges, the media sided with

elite urban business structures and with the government of the day in supporting the principal, if not the particulars, of massive "industrialization by invitation" of the northland.

Questions about the project were, however, raised outside the legislature and by those not associated with powerful competing resource interests. In the Prince George *Citizen*, half a dozen individuals and groups questioned the necessity for the development as well as its social and environmental costs. These took the form of letters to the editor by individuals and organizations outside the journalistic frame of reference, such as ordinary citizens, prospectors, professionals, and the recently formed B.C. Federation of Fish and Game Clubs, which had 10,000 members by 1964.[44] Civil society organizations representing local or special interests were nascent at this time but they received little affirmation or access to the mainstream media except in the letters to the editor sections of newspapers. As marginalized as these voices appeared to be, they also signified a deeper reservoir of dissent.

Indeed, the era of dam-building had begun its decline in the United States by the 1960s, largely as a result of the successful protest launched in 1954 against the Echo Park Canyon Dam on the Colorado River in Dinosaur National Monument. The Echo Park battle revealed a fundamental shift from sustained-use conservationist environmentalism as a means of addressing resource interests, to preservationist environmentalism, providing a foundation to continue opposing the nation's "addiction to large dams."[45] The efforts of the Sierra Club and the Wilderness Society also shifted dam protests from a regional to a national focus while involving a "strong national media" and the support of high-profile writers such as Eleanor Roosevelt and Wallace Stegner. The campaign thus signified the use of the media less as an ostensible site of rational discourse among individuals than as a site for interest groups to more concertedly position their "well-orchestrated" messages.[46] Such an approach indicated a new and critical

challenge to a corporate media structured to promote a meta-narrative of growth, consumption, and development while claiming to be a site of objective liberal-democratic discourse. In fact, it was a similar "prophetic understanding of the nature of mass communications" and their relationship to political power that lay at the heart of the subsequent rise of the Vancouver-based Greenpeace movement.[47]

BC's first "environmental war" took place a year later, in 1955. It too concerned a hydroelectric dam, at Buttle Lake near Campbell River, indicating that dams were in fact controversial and that protest could be effective. Conservationist Roderick Haig-Brown and W.A.C. Bennett squared off in early political action that ended in compromise for both, as the dam development proceeded but with significant modifications.[48] Haig-Brown's biographer, reporter Ben Metcalfe, unsurprisingly described support for the dam as monolithic, representing all sectors of B.C. society including the "entire provincial legislature," resource interests, Chambers of Commerce, and the local public "eager to benefit from economic expansion." As for the protesters, they were a "small, scattered band of citizens who were less a group than an agglomeration of uncertainly informed opinions and consequently mixed motives. Their fragmentary postures ranged from the fundamentalist nature-lovers to the economic nationalist. If they shared a connective tissue, it was the highly unstable one of their common outrage."[49] The "common outrage" simmering beneath the apparent conformity of the age, however, was an indication of a new and broader alliance than the protests typically rooted in resource and economic interests alone. As Frank Zelko has found in charting the roots of the Greenpeace movement in Vancouver at this time, the atom bomb raised critical questions about the costs of unfettered scientific and economic "progress" at the heart of modernism while leading to calls for a more holistic view of nature and humans within it.[50]

The Buttle Lake "war" also involved a politically controversial use of the media. Opposition to the dam posed enough of a threat that the superintendent of the publicly run Power Commission of B.C. wrote a memo to his Vancouver Island district managers, instructing them to enlist the public in a letter writing campaign directed at local newspapers and politicians to ensure that the dam's construction proceeded without delay. That the superintendent asked the managers to "destroy" the memo upon reading it betrayed his awareness of the danger of being found to have manipulated the press this way.[51]

In the Prince George *Citizen's* case, groups and individuals concerned about damming the Peace asked provocative questions about the prospect for the Rocky Mountain Trench: Why flood such a vast area? Where was the demonstrated need for such overproduction of electricity? Who would be displaced? Reporters, however, proved unable to develop stories or legitimate other perspectives outside the framework of their typical institutional sources, or beyond their dependence on the objective reporting of events, press conferences, meetings, legislative sessions, and other "official" processes.[52] The voices recognized in the media were those representing various resource interests using largely economic arguments. Voices urging caution and a plea for recognition of possibly irreparable consequences had little meaningful access to a critical site of public discourse.

Indians and Airlifts

New plans to open up the northland held new possibilities for telling stories. Although reporters worked within press structures and established practices that set the broad parameters of debate about the Wenner-Gren issue, they also crafted their stories in varying ways and with differing emphases suggesting a degree of flexibility in how they constructed reality. Urban reporters sent north in a competitive race for scoops wrote "colour" stories seeking to entertain

rather than inform. A *Province* reporter brought dramatic attention to a group of "starving" Sekani, describing them as victims of circumstance where other newspapers dismissed them as irrelevant and vanishing. The parochial journalism of the *Citizen* contested urban perspectives by constructing Sekani poverty as a condition of race and culture. The advocacy journalism of *The Native Voice* linked Sekani marginalisation to land use decisions by the dominant culture while arguing for political rather than charitable solutions. Thus, the spotlight that shone on the north also shone on the Sekani, if briefly. These stories illustrate the parameters of debate at the time and indicate the extent to which some journalists, working in different institutions and using a variety of reporting tools to tap underlying trends, could do more than "reflect" majority consensus views and the status quo.

In the immediate aftermath of the Wenner-Gren announcement, Vancouver dailies sent reporters and writers to the northland. Arriving as they did in the midst of high-profile attention to the possibilities for ultra-modernistic development schemes, they found contrasting images and anecdotes that served to justify rather than question radical re-engineering of the landscape. Their stories were largely a source of "colour" rife with descriptions of a "mountain-bound wilderness" known to mining men, trappers, and surveyors as the "Siberia of BC"; a country "for only the hardiest" with wildly fluctuating temperatures, mosquitoes, and bears; a land where "few settlers ever venture outside their shacks without a gun" and where "progress has stood still and man has made little impression."[53] If the region was not habitable, then it was a "treasurehouse" ripe for exploitation by businessmen and financiers. These literary tendencies were unchecked by journalistic practice which was flawed even by basic standards. For instance, the headline to the "puff piece" in the Vancouver *Sun*, "Jack Scott Visits Wenner-Grenland," indicated the real topic of the story was the lead role of its star columnist, touted as the "first

newspaperman" to visit the Rocky Mountain trench area.[54] Although Scott purported to examine the contrast between the region's reputation for some as a "forbidding land of mystery" and its reputation as a "milk run" for others, he did so by flying over the trench, talking exclusively to the bush pilot and two other random sources, and developing a wry literary persona—most notably in his self-description as "Alice in Wenner-Grenland."[55] The article depended on anecdotes and impressions rather than investigation and analysis of relevant issues. Scott was the "most popular columnist the *Sun* ever had," celebrated for his prose and his "beautiful" writing.[56] Pierre Berton felt Scott could make a "column out of almost anything—the killing of a mouse; the felling of a Christmas tree. He could make you laugh, he could make you cry, and he could bring a lump to your throat."[57] These accolades emphasized writing skills and did not extend to assessing reportorial skill in contacting knowledgeable sources, providing analysis, or offering nuanced understanding of issues.[58] They also point to the cultivation of "personality" journalism, a trend well developed by this time.[59]

A later story, published in January 1960 after Bennett's announcement to proceed with the development of a large dam on the Peace River, was similar in journalistic style. *Province* reporter Doug Peck, accompanied by a photographer, set out to address the question: "What is the Trench and who lives there?" He too relied exclusively on ad hoc sources, and constructed a series of amusing anecdotes based on the serendipitous occurrences during an air flight over the Trench.[60] In this case, Peck cast Indians as a negligible presence. The writer noted that between Fort McLeod and Lower Post there were "just three communities, little more than fur trading posts" with a total population of "10 white men and 200 Indians." He reported the pilot's jest that nearly all of the 22 bags of mail on the flight were "full of mail-order guitars for the Fort Ware Indians" which had to be returned unpaid for. Indeed, the reporter noted the Prince George

post office employees were "still laughing" at the incident. Although the tale invited urban readers to share amusement at stereotypical notions of isolated people seduced by the more impractical products of "civilization," the reporter raised no questions about the Sekani's impending dispossession by flooding and made no effort to solicit their perspectives or to contact the Department of Indian Affairs. They remained voiceless. In contrast, the four non-Natives mentioned in the story, destined to lose their traplines, cabins and land, appeared as rugged individualists philosophically reconciled to the principle of an abstract public good overriding their own interests. Ken Melville spent twelve years building up a profitable tourist business, "yet he is convinced the Peace River Power Development Co. plan is for the good of the country. "I'm not objecting," he told Peck. Similarly, two trappers shrugged off the impending impact on their work of 25 years and were quoted as saying "it's good for the country...somebody's got to do it." Ben Corke, owner of a store at Ingenika, was more irascible: "'Civilization never did anybody any good,' he growl[ed]." Peck concluded that a wild landscape "was about to be conquered by man, once and for all" and that "the people in it on the whole [are] not unhappy that the tide of progress is rising."

Such stories, accompanied as they were by dramatic photographs, were given full page play and served largely to reassure readers of the inevitability of large-scale development that could be undertaken with no human or environmental consequences. The trope of the "vanishing Indian" was useful in this regard. Journalist and *Province* newspaper publisher Paddy Sherman in 1966 depicted the land as empty, peopled only by a "few nomads."[61] Gordon Bowes in the 1962 preface to *Peace River Chronicles*, a collection of writings published with the express idea of describing a landscape about to change, dismissed the possibility of injustice by reassuring the reader that the Sekani were, in any case, "now sadly decimated."[62] In fact, the Indian population

was increasing in Canada at almost double the rate of the rest of the country according to the federal government's census data—that is, according to objective and verifiable information—as reported in *The Native Voice* newspaper in October, 1957.[63] The Sekani were, with little evidence and no voice, written off the land and out of the story.

Province reporter Ben Metcalfe, a sports reporter who had written for the *Continental Daily Mail* in Paris as well as *Reuter's* News Agency during the Second World War and who was later to play a pivotal role in *Greenpeace International* as a founding member and chairman in 1971-72, went to Prince George the day after the Wenner-Gren announcement of 1957.[64] His stories on the city's reaction showed little to challenge the dominant paradigm celebrating the boom expected to hit BC.[65] However, he "broke" a story about the Sekani that resonated with urban readers and led to a newspaper-sponsored airlift of supplies to people described as "near starvation." This began a news cycle in several mass media and alternative press outlets, illustrating growing tension in the mainstream press between constructs of Indians that were racially deterministic and constructs building on the notion of a socially disadvantaged people whose exclusion from the dominant culture could be remedied. The story was run in the *Province*, picked up by *Canadian Press* and run in northern media; it was rebutted and expanded upon in the *Citizen*, and received attention in the alternative *The Native Voice* and the Communist *Tribune* as well as a brief mention in the Toronto *Globe and Mail*.[66]

Metcalfe visited Fort Ware and Fort Grahame and chose to shape a story where other reporters had not. He found the people at these locations suffering from a "flagging interest in the fur market" compounded by a poor hunting and trapping season. As demanded by the traditions of daily journalism, he constructed their situation as an immediate crisis, a journalistic "event" that might be specifically addressed.[67] The story was evocative of the notion that Sekani

life in the fur trade "trapped" them in an historic economic practice of the past, that hunting and gathering was "bleak" and untenable; and that the solution lay in their inclusion in the dominant culture of material progress and well-being. As the un-named fur trader, assuming a role in the story as local expert, remarked: "if it hadn't been for construction jobs the Indians wouldn't have survived." Thus, Metcalfe relied on one non-Aboriginal source—one of the "few traders" still operating in the district—and in his initial story did not talk to the Sekani, either directly or through an interpreter, or to aboriginal political organizations such as the Native Brotherhood of BC, while his use of a DIA source extended to one quote.

Readers were quick to respond to the sense of crisis, donating more than 7.5 tonnes of goods to the cause. The *Province* newspaper conducted the "Save the Sekanis" airlift to the Trench region and published a major front-page story on March 18, 1957 under the headline, "Aid reaches Sekanis: A quiet word of thanks." Black and white photographs further conveyed the pathos of families living in poverty. Metcalfe congratulated urbanites for their donations of "fine, warm gifts" while evoking sympathy for "destitute Indians" described repeatedly as wretched, living in squalor, and wearing rags congealed in dirt. His eye-witness descriptions and actual presence as items were delivered to several women and children (the men were away hunting, an indication that subsistence economies continued to be crucial) challenged discourse that had treated "Indians" as generic and irrelevant, and helped situate the Sekani in the living present. He also broke the cardinal rule of objectivity by writing in the first person and appearing in photographs as he accompanied the "mercy flight," thus emphasizing both the newspaper's active role in the event and heightening the emotional appeal of the story.[68] Metcalfe acknowledged the donations were a "stop-gap measure," but dismissed the notion as raised in the *Prince George Citizen* that the Sekani had "always lived like this" and "wouldn't

have it any other way." Metcalfe ended his story with a quote from a 'man of God:' "We must never try to believe such a thing or they are lost. And so are we." Stories thus constructed aboriginal marginalization as a moral imperative to be addressed through inclusion, apparently by public largesse. The articles garnered national attention, with Immigration Minister Jack Pickersgill, responsible for Indian Affairs, vaguely promising to take "immediate steps" to "improve living conditions" among northern B.C. Indians while at the same time scoffing at the sensationalism of the coverage provided by the *Province*.[69] The Toronto *Globe and Mail* also ran a small item, clearly deeming the story of interest to eastern readers because of Vancouver reader responses, rather than because of the plight of the Sekani.[70]

The Prince George *Citizen* reacted defensively to the urban media's attention by asserting its status as the newspaper best situated to know the region and its local people. However, the paper proved itself out of step with developing discourse on Indians in Canada in its resort to racial determinism. Its front page story, a "Citizen Exclusive," relied on a telephone interview with a single source, amateur historian and judge, Henry Castillou, touted as "one of British Columbia's most authoritative voices on the history of man in North America."[71] He deemed the "squalor" of the Sekani not an event but a condition of their culture, history, and race, and described the bands as nomadic, traditionally ill-prepared for winters and scorned by other tribes as "beggars." He also commented pejoratively on cleanliness and smell. The article noted that Castillou "left little doubt that the plight in which the Indians find themselves today is a condition in which successive generations have found themselves since the earliest recollection of man" and that "unless something drastic happens there is little hope that the Indians will ever rise much above their present level of living conditions."[72] He thus fixed the Sekani in an anthropological past as a "neolithic race of man." Yet, Castillou was also paraphrased saying

that "when it comes to engines and river boats, they are world beaters. They will come into their own if the proposed Wenner-Gren development goes through." Three days later, in a story headlined "'Save Sekanis' Move May be Heap Big Joke on White Man," the *Citizen* relied on another source, a one-time forest ranger in the Rocky Mountain Trench turned purchasing agent for the Pacific Great Eastern Railway, to further establish its credentials regarding knowledge of local Indians. Rusty Campbell argued more sympathetically that the Sekani were "by nature professional hunters and fishermen" as well as excellent woodsmen and rivermen, "capable of managing many types of employment." In his estimation they were unlikely to have ever "starved."[73] The reporter felt licensed to observe: "Charity is something these people, scarcely removed from the stone age, do not recognize." Meanwhile, a front page article headlined "Brassieres, Perfume Among Sekani Gifts" poked fun at the "backwoods necessities" donated by Vancouver readers, while a *Citizen* editorial called it "doubtful journalistic ethics to place any group of human beings on the sacrificial altar block of increased newspaper circulation." The *Citizen* argued the press could make a "valuable contribution towards final integration" only through a "sustained editorial program directed towards the Federal Government" rather than "hysteria in the form of banner headline news stories written by reporters whose observance is not rationalized by knowledge of the traditional Indian way of life."[74]

These stories illustrated a critical aspect of discourse in the *Citizen* at the time: the use of a broad range of often contradictory stereotypes to serve the paper's chosen discourse of the moment, in this case a competitive spat between urban and local presses over correct understanding of "Indians," with minimal accountability to readers, sources, or aboriginal communities. In a newspaper often short of letters to the editor, the response was pointed.[75] Lizette Hall castigated Castillou's assessment of Sekani poverty as racial by emphasizing its

economic context and added that "[I]f Judge Castillou was [sic] in politics and needed the native's votes, he wouldn't say they smell."[76] This comment was evocative of the uncertain status of aboriginals who were not considered citizens of the country and, in all likelihood, not generally assumed to be direct participants in democratic debate as conducted in the local paper. However, another letter—whose headline, "An Indian Replies," indicated its unusual significance for the *Citizen*—expressed the indignation felt by the letter's unnamed Carrier writer and those with whom he had spoken, and asserted that "what was printed about (the Sekani Indians) would make any tribe of Indians want to go on the warpath." He defended the honour of the "widely admired" Sekani and made the observation regarding reporting that "[a] person would have to associate with Indians for some time to write accurately about their ways and habits." [77] The media at this stage showed no proclivity to set the news agenda by following such suggestions despite their recognition that the issue was of national significance.

Canadian Press wire service picked up Metcalfe's story for distribution to its member newspapers throughout the country. This was the version of the story that ran in the northern Dawson Creek *Star* under the headline "Trench Indians Get Aid." The non-profit, cost-sharing cooperative wire service contributed to the homogenization of news: CP's story was essentially Metcalfe's story rewritten for a broader audience.[78] The Dawson Creek *Star* did not add its own angle or follow up with interviews with local sources that might have added nuance or challenged the urban perspective on the issue. Indeed, it was common for weeklies to run "boilerplate" copy provided from the east; weeklies, like dailies, were emphasizing technical and production efficiencies rather than improvements in content.[79] A *CP&P* story in 1963 headlined "Alberta weeklies lacking interest in editorial content" commented on poor turnouts among weekly newspaper publishers and editors for annual news and editorial conferences, and on a

paucity of zone meetings to address these issues, even as it noted weeklies had "improved greatly in appearance and production methods."[80] Nevertheless, the CP story shunned the extremes of racism characterizing the *Citizen's* coverage, using more "neutral" language tempered for a broader readership, thus indicating the *Citizen's* characterizations were out of step with national discourse. Siegel noted that the all-purpose facts story associated with the *Canadian Press* wire service was "a pragmatic response to meet the common interests rather than the individual outlooks of newspapers" and that the service prided itself on providing an accurate, impartial picture of Canada and the world.[81] Yet, *CP* used language it picked up from Metcalfe that essentially contrasted the benefits of civilization and luxury with the primitive conditions of life on the land. The Dawson Creek *Star's* version of the story also hinted at the notion the Sekani's situation could be remedied through their choice as much as through improved opportunities.[82]

The *Province* airlift of supplies to the Sekani also received attention from writers and publications that substantially challenged this dominant discourse. *The Native Voice* newspaper, published since 1946, was the official organ of the Native Brotherhood of British Columbia (NBBC) and "one of the first and longest lived Indian publications in North America." It was also playing a significant role nationally.[83] Although run by the NBBC, its goal of bringing consistent attention to aboriginal issues (aimed at both an aboriginal and a general audience, and sent directly to politicians, journalists, and interested organizations) was broad. A board of aboriginal directors from across Canada and the U.S set the agenda; its publisher until her death in 1965 was a non-aboriginal, Maisie Hurley. She was instrumental in enlisting Tom Berger, lawyer responsible for the Nisga'a appeal before the Supreme Court of Canada, into the cause of B.C. aboriginal land claims early in his career.[84] The newspaper challenged the emphasis in public and political discourse on assimilation by insistently raising the need to address land and

treaty rights. At this time, however, Hurley wrote an article, "A Fresh Look at the Sekani Problem," in which she provided context, history, and analysis—approaches sorely lacking in mainstream coverage—of the systemic issues causing the "poverty" and "squalor" emphasized so pointedly in the mainstream media.[85] Not surprisingly, the Communist *Pacific Tribune* picked up the story as Hurley saw it.

Rather than painting a depoliticized picture of northern bands lost in time and isolated from the modern world or attributing their situation to a single cause, Hurley situated northern aboriginal struggles squarely within on-going resource extraction activities in the north as well as within pro-active efforts by both DIA and the NBBC to address changing living conditions. In an article clearly intended to engage a general readership, Hurley wrote that both white and Indian trappers who had registered traplines were nevertheless affected by logging companies that "logged off" their lines and depleted game resources. She contended that game laws placed increasing restrictions on aboriginal trappers at the same time that fur farmers were stepping up competition. She noted the negative impact of "big hydroelectric projects," referring indirectly to Alcan's flooding of Ootsa Lake and the concerns of Indians as covered in the *Native Voice*, as well as the prospect of a dam on the Peace River. These, she said, "flood out large areas, killing the game and destroying the traplines." Moreover, Hurley discussed multi-faceted and complex factors impacting the well-being of northern aboriginals, such as TB, discrimination in the labour market, and inadequate public schooling that offered "woefully poor opportunities."[86]

Her writing broke the mould of event-based journalism that could be packaged in easily cut "reverse pyramid-style" narratives to accommodate changes in page layouts. Her approach, as with most of the articles in *The Native Voice,* was longer and more in-depth than was common in mainstream practice. Instead of stop-gap measures dependent on the goodwill of an urban

public, she advocated pro-active socio-political actions being taken through the agency of the NBBC in co-operation with DIA's Indian Commissioner W.S. Arneil, as well as with a "Dr. Barclay and his staff." These programmatic actions included electrification of reserves, improvement of water systems, and the provision of Old Age Pensions, Blind Pensions, and children's allowances. In her naming of bureaucrats and officials involved in addressing political change, Hurley emphasized the active role of responsible individuals, as well as indicating knowledgeable journalistic connection to her sources. She thus sought to move discourse from charity to political action.

Moreover, Hurley acknowledged tensions in aboriginal societies between the tenacity of tradition and the impetus to change, but did not suggest the answer was in assimilation alone. For instance, she noted that despite the attempts by Arneil to relocate the Sekani twice, "they trekked back to the only home they knew and love."[87] This in turn led to food and medical supplies being flown in three times since January of 1957, indicating that far from an extraordinary event, airlifts were a regular means of transportation and supply delivery in northern communities. In fact, she concluded her observations about the Sekani by challenging assimilationist federal policy requiring Indians to relinquish "special privileges" in order to gain the right to vote as Canadian citizens. She wrote: "All this boils down to exterminating the Indian and making him into a white man's image. ... Leave the Native Canadian alone to decide for himself [sic] what he wants to be. Give him the federal vote without restrictions and at the same time protect his aboriginal rights. Do not try to destroy the Native Canadian or ask him to renounce his status as an [Indian] before he can become a citizen in the land he has owned for thousands of years."[88]

This brief flurry of attention to the presence of Sekani hunting bands in the Peace dam region shows mainstream media framing aboriginal poverty and disadvantage as a racial and, increasingly, a cultural issue unrelated to the impact of land use decisions by a dominant society pursuing "modernisation." At the same time, the advocacy journalism of *The Native Voice* depicted negative consequences of resource development for aboriginal people and posed structural challenges regarding rights in land and resource use. Certainly, Metcalfe's emotive writing accompanied by dramatic photography captured the public imagination, indicating the power of the mass media to effectively raise public consciousness. Yet such stories came at the expense of nuance, depending on reporters who were not supported by their profession or their institutions to be in a position to write with authority, depth of knowledge or long-term acquaintance with particular issues. As a result, they crafted a discourse that was essentially at odds with critical concerns as articulated in the aboriginal community, aggravating rather than clarifying relations between Canada's aboriginal and non-aboriginal populations. This, however, was the last time that the mainstream media discussed the Sekani and the effects of the dam somewhat in relation to each other. The specific issue dropped from the radar screen of the local and regional press even as the "problem" of Indians gained as a general theme in their pages. The Prince George *Citizen* moved on to embrace other development projects that appeared on the horizon, and public discourse shifted in less than a year from the "grandiose" Wenner-Gren plans to the very real possibility of a major dam on the Peace.

The Puzzle of the Peace

By the fall of 1957, Wenner-Gren studies conducted under BC's water rights branch found a smaller series of dams, which might have met production demands as they developed

incrementally, was not technically feasible, but that a massive dam at the Portage site could be of global significance in terms of both power output and size.[89] Meanwhile, long-running discussions with the Americans regarding use of the Columbia River system were officially rekindled in May of 1957. W.A.C. Bennett told Ray Williston, minister in charge of water resources: "Whatever you do you've got to get the Peace project started—irrevocably started—before a deal is finalized on the Columbia River. Unless you get it started, there will never be a Peace project."[90] Hydroelectric development was critical to Bennett's agenda, and Stephen Tomblin has argued "by restricting public debate ... [Bennett] was able to implement his priorities for development rapidly." [91] Yet it is worth considering how media practice contributed to a fragmented and incoherent public discourse which facilitated the B.C. government's high-stakes goal of building the Peace Dam and the Columbia River development—without the need for "restrictions" and at the expense of more moderate and incremental growth that might have effectively served northern and aboriginal interests.

Bennett announced plans for private interests to dam the Peace during a carefully orchestrated press conference at a downtown Vancouver hotel on October 7, 1957, that also brought attention to the Westcoast Transmission pipeline deal. Press conferences were events the press was duty-bound to cover but which gave politicians the upper-hand in crafting their message, in this case, that the north was a major supplier of energy.[92] Journalist Paddy Sherman was later to complain about press manipulation at such events, including the problem that reporters typically received notes too late to allow for more sensible questions. It was an era when politicians controlled the "battleground of perception" and only with the rise of investigative reporting in the 1970s did the power dynamics between politicians and the press

begin to shift.[93] Bennett's press conference, then, served as the backdrop against which details about the dam would be worked out.

Indeed, the obstacles at this time to a Peace dam were "staggering." They included the magnitude of the project, uncertainty about the technology involved, lack of domestic buyers for the energy that would be produced, the fact Canadian law prevented sale of continuous or "firm" energy outside Canada, controversy surrounding the role of public and private development, and concerns of the federal government that damming the Peace would undermine support for the Columbia development. Nevertheless, popular argument suggests that major hydroelectric development in B.C. at this time was the solution to public demand, the result of both post-war consumption and a population boom.[94] The damming and diverting of rivers, a public resource, was also typically justified on the principle that this was intended to "benefit the many, and not merely profit the few."[95]

The impetus for large dams in B.C. had come from major corporations and from the United States, and was fuelled by complex motivations and contingencies. Ottawa had quashed an agreement between Bennett and the American Kaiser Aluminum Corporation, in 1954 to build a dam on the upper Columbia, which proved "a bitter, if instructive, moment" for the premier.[96] Scholars such as social historian Tina Loo have emphasized that "the only way (for Bennett) to assert provincial jurisdiction over the Columbia's waters and to have any influence over an international process was to make it clear that British Columbia had other energy options; namely, damming the Peace River."[97] Historical geographer Matthew Evenden found that pressure to dam the Fraser was fraught with opposition from fisheries protection coalitions and suggested that "[g]iven the political difficulties of development on the Fraser, the provincial government pursued a strategy to develop the Interior and North."[98] Political scientist Stephen

Tomblin made the case that damming the Peace served as a fundamental component of Bennett's "defensive territorial expansion" strategy to protect the northland against expansionist interests of Ottawa and Alberta, while sociologist Karl Froschauer argued the Two Rivers policy was not about "bridging gaps in infrastructure and integrating provincial systems to improve public service," but about making electricity production a key feature of provincial industrial development strategies—a far harder prospect to sell publicly, in his assessment.[99]

This constellation of motivations, political maneuverings and power politics comprised challenges to journalistic clarity in covering the issues as they occurred at the time, as did the unpredictable unfolding of the Two Rivers policy between its first announcement in 1957 and the year 1964, when B.C. at last won the right to sell rather than use its Columbia downstream benefits. The export of power to the United States allowed the province to underwrite the costs of the Columbia dams and gave the green light for construction to begin. Moreover, the period was marked by political resignations, international negotiations, changes in government, commissions of inquiry, expropriations, and legal challenges. This was also a time when engineers, technicians, and scientists claimed a pivotal role in public decision-making. As Evenden described it, "[f]ederal and provincial scientists measured rivers, analyzed their characteristics, and spoke the idiom of what Donald Worster calls the 'global engineering priesthood.'"[100] Throughout this period, experts conducted studies on the Columbia and the Peace for the federal government, for the provincial government, for the International Joint Commission, and for various stakeholders on each side of the border.[101] Meanwhile, studies were also proceeding for other river systems as the privately run BC Electric Company and the publicly owned B.C. Power Commission (BCPC) continued to pursue their own options for hydroelectric development in a climate of uncertainty surrounding the "Two Rivers" policy.[102]

Indeed, in 1958 when it was still unclear the Peace project would proceed, BCPC general manager Lee Briggs resigned in a "dramatic public quarrel" with Bennett related to concerns that the commission's development of publicly owned power was deliberately being suppressed.[103]

Reporters were generally ill-equipped at this time to undertake the social, legal, economic, and scientific analysis the era appeared to demand.[104] As a rule, they were poorly paid and still operating largely "without benefit of college training."[105] As a culture, they tended to celebrate their backgrounds as individualists and bohemians in a profession yet to be considered a "respectable career in itself."[106] Reporters were also poorly supported in playing such a vital public role despite the fact that newspapers were immensely profitable.[107] The managing editor of Southam's Medicine Hat *News* felt compelled to warn in 1960, that "Canadian newspapers are currently facing an increasingly serious shortage of trained newsmen, principally because the papers themselves are making little or no effort to train staff properly."[108] Editorials and articles in the industry's trade journal *Canadian Printer and Publisher* at this time indicated the prime concern was the "race for faster, more efficient newspaper production," leading to an emphasis on technology, engineering, and efficiency. Issues of journalism and newspaper content received little attention except, largely, to indicate the lack of training, standards, or professional development. The Medicine Hat *News* was in fact taking the lead in addressing the training problem in-house, primarily by recognizing first that "the budget simply couldn't provide an experienced staff throughout" and thus relying on high school students as "cheap and willing" labour.[109] A newspaper roughly the size of the Prince George *Citizen*, with a circulation of 7,000 and a readership of 23,000, the Medicine Hat *News* employed a staff of four reporters, one of whom, in what was

apparently viewed as an innovative move, was considered senior and paid more, while the remaining three were recruited from high schools and thus provided the solution to the fact the bulk of the newsroom budget had been spent.

The push to professionalism was in its infancy. A story in *Canadian Publisher and Printer* noted a journalism seminar in July of 1960 discussed the possibility of professional standards for journalism as in the medical, legal, and engineering professions.[110] The seminar, however, was the first of its kind, drew 20 Ontario "newsmen," and proved largely informal, concluding with a vague hope that future seminars might address some of the "ailments" of the news business. Journalism schools were few, journalists themselves had no representational body, and industry provided little support for professional standards, journalistic training, or career development.[111] By the end of the 1950s, after a decade of resistance by "hostile publishers," newsrooms in five major Canadian cities won representation by the American Newspaper Guild, leading to some improvement in wages and working conditions, but not to improvement in content and skill development.[112] The Special Senate Committee on Mass Media noted that by 1970, aside from the ad hoc Canadian Managing Editors Conference which met perhaps once a year, as well as some local groups, "there [was] no organization worrying about how news is presented and how that presentation can be improved." The committee found the American Newspaper Guild and the Canadian Daily Newspaper Publishers Association focused "exclusively on issues of revenue and production," and showed an "astoundingly offhand approach to recruitment and personnel development."[113] Roy Thomson, owner by this stage of the *Thomson* newspaper chain as well as newspapers in Britain, observed in a 1961 interview that "[m]any Canadian newspapermen have come up the hard way—most of them I think—by starting work on the paper in a junior capacity and starting to write. They haven't

really had any training." He noted, significantly, that Canadian newspapers depended exclusively on generalists:

> [T]he more important British papers have correspondents for a particular subject. They will have a naval correspondent, and he studies the navy, knows all about it. When there's something to be written about it, he writes with authority. In Canada the ordinary reporter would be sent out on that story. He has no background knowledge of any account and he writes without any specialized knowledge.[114]

In fact, informed analysis of BC's complex hydroelectric energy issue tended to be reserved for international audiences. Bruce Hutchison, for instance, editor of the Victoria *Daily Times* and one of the country's leading journalists, assessed the Peace proposal's broader geo-political implications for the benefit of American readers of the *Christian Science Monitor* in an October 1958 article where he noted that the B.C. government's decision to proceed with the Peace project had "drastically altered the hydro-electric prospects of western Canada and the United States Northwest." He suggested that with or without the concomitant development of the Columbia, the Peace dam would lead to a "major" oversupply of power, forcing Ottawa to reconsider its policy against export and further exacerbate the country's trade imbalance with the U.S.[115] The Winnipeg *Free Press* in 1959 also expressed broader Canadian concerns about the issue. It warned against BC's export of electricity, arguing historical evidence showed that once exported, rights to power could never be recaptured.[116] The *Economist* of London called the scheme a political "smokescreen" and warned starting both projects would be "dangerously inflationary."[117] Many of these articles were reprinted in the liberal Vancouver *Sun*, and while they gave readers access to different perspectives, they also privileged the perspectives of business and international audiences. Indeed, the Sun described the *Economist* as "one of the world's most respected business and opinion weeklies," and as

such argued it "deserved the serious attention of all B.C. citizens."[118] The lack of a national newspaper, as lamented by Siegel, suggests that there was an inadequate public forum to address broader issues such as inter-provincial power sharing rather than the export of hydroelectricity to the United States.[119] Indeed, Froschauer devoted a book to the failure at this critical juncture to develop a national power grid.[120]

In contrast, reporters in local and regional papers were generally in a weak position to assess scientific claims, question assumptions, analyze economic "projections" or make judgments of cost-benefit analyses for their audiences. Promoters overestimated demand, scientists were limited in the parameters of their studies and typically operating without baseline data, and economists failed to take into account such issues as lost habitat, flooded agricultural lands, or the merit of hydro-power alternatives.[121] Nevertheless, reporters recorded, in the manner of stenographers, the latest announcement, press conference, speech, and hydro development scheme, providing "facts" but seldom assessing significance, or making connections for the public to assess relevant trends.[122] As Peter Desbarats has noted, journalistic practice rarely incorporated analysis, interpretation, feature writing, investigative reporting, or background stories.[123] With two such major projects on BC's horizon, it was in the public interest to explore such critical questions as whether to place ownership in public or private hands, whether to establish rates favoring the small or the large consumer, and whether to give control over the system to technicians, capitalists, or politicians. As well, Peace dam representatives anxious to claim they had identified markets for its power made constant but vague assertions they had "various" industrial interests "currently investigating" and "making inquiries."[124] Many assumptions could have been challenged by a reference to the slow growth of secondary industries in Kitimat with the Alcan dam, while an independent analysis of the role

of hydroelectric production on industrial development in the Pacific Northwest, for example, might have shed light on the prospects for the north by showing the impact access to cheap electricity had on the relative growth of Seattle and Portland. Moreover, awareness of the broader issues might have informed the public about the evolving nature of opposition to dams as "monuments of progress," and the increasing power of preservationists and other coalitions in the United States.

However, the "two extremes" in discourse at the time—power as a public service and power as a profitable commodity—proved amenable to differing emphasis by various stakeholders in a media that tended to uncritically report the statements of officials and corporate representatives.[125] The situation was compounded by Bennett's insistence that both the Columbia and the Peace could be dammed even as uncertainty about the outcome of negotiations clouded the role each might play. News stories thus constantly see-sawed amongst explanations that the Peace dam would serve northerners' needs first or that it would meet the needs of the lower mainland of British Columbia; that it was about cheap electricity for the public or, conversely, that it would attract major industrial interests; that it was tying the provincial system into a grid or that it was about global empire; that it would categorically not involve power exports; or that, unlike the Columbia, it was the appropriate place for risk capital rather than public investment.

Such mixed messages were often the result of the fact that reporters over-credited sources with vested interests trying to negotiate the vicissitudes of political uncertainty. Typical was a key article by Ben Metcalfe given substantive play by the *Province.* He quoted Peace River Power Development Company director Bernard Gore in 1958 who claimed the scheme was "entirely feasible economically and we are going to have it."[126]

Although the technology regarding transmission was some two years from being studied adequately for application in B.C., Metcalfe wrote that transmission costs from the Peace River to the Lower Mainland were "estimated to be cheaper than those from the Columbia, according to the power interests." The story's sub-heading, "Could build dam by 1966," was speculative but seemed to predict the inevitability of the project. Another heading, "Terrain easier from the Peace," further indicated obstacles were minimal. Similarly, business reporter Bill Ryan opened a "news story" in the *Province* with the bald statement that Peace River electricity could be delivered to the Lower Mainland "cheaper than any existing or new source of power in this area—even cheaper or competitive with Columbia River power developed in Canada." He did not source the statement until the third paragraph, at which point Ryan noted the Peace River Power Development Co. directors "include titled Britons, an internationally-known power engineer, top Vancouver business and British industrialists and financiers," a pedigreed list whose assessments were thus seemingly beyond dispute.[127]

The Vancouver *Sun* certainly provided more critical coverage, calling for "dispassionate advice" about a provincial "energy crisis frightening in its confusion."[128] The period leading up to the expropriation of BC Electric and the creation of BC Hydro involved several heated political battles as well as the interruption of the Columbia treaty process by federal elections on both sides of the border.[129] The Vancouver and Victoria press played a pivotal role in forcing political responses to the situation, but these served in the end to justify Bennett's political decisions. This was the case with the inquiry headed by Dr. Gordon Shrum, a University of B.C. physicist, comparing relative costs of Columbia and Peace power. Shrum argued, despite two dissenting opinions, that public

money invested in the Peace could make it competitive with Columbia power. As a result, the Peace could become the main supplier of power to the province, and the Columbia could serve American needs, as Bennett desired.[130] Nevertheless, the *Sun's* agenda was exclusively geared to the interests of the lower mainland; its critical concern was support for the Columbia as a "matter of urgent necessity" and as the cheaper alternative for regional consumers compared to the "speculative development" of the Peace.[131]

Collectively, however, the gamut of power-related stories tended to serve a meta-narrative suggesting the damming of all rivers was both possible and inevitable. Even as the Peace dam won a green light and drilling for the Libby dam was commencing while Columbia Treaty talks were underway, Paddy Sherman in the *Province* was writing that the Alaskans were "considering" a major project on the Yukon River that would dwarf the Peace project.[132] Similarly, the possibilities and permutations for diversions on the Fraser River seemed endless: the C*itizen* ran a front page story in March of 1964 on a "giant hydro-electric and flood control development on the upper Fraser River near Prince George" proposed by a team of water resource experts and under study for some eight years.[133] Another report in 1964 showed a "big new power project" was being "investigated" on the Stikine River in relation to mineral development; and in 1964 just after the ratification of the Columbia River treaty, a scheme for a "continent-wide diversion of water" called for collecting water from the Rivers of Alaska, BC, and Yukon and redistributing them through a system of 177 lakes and reservoirs to the western U.S. and northern Mexico.[134] Dams were synonymous with hyperbole, and the indiscriminate reporting of all speculative schemes served to situate BC's own dam building in the context of an inevitable global trend. At the same time, the lack of a realistic BC-based market for Peace

power helped spur the surprise nationalization of the BC Electric Company in 1961 and the creation of BC Hydro. The move caught the media completely off-guard. Ideologically the takeover challenged the press's innate wariness of government interference in the private sector, yet a predominant role for a single Crown utility in B.C. was consistent with the norm in Canada and elsewhere, given the natural monopoly character of electricity markets.[135]

A key result of such bewildering and often contradictory coverage was that the implications of northern hydroelectric development were poorly explored. Northern "maverick" Social Credit MLA Cyril Shelford perhaps most acutely reflected ambivalence about his own government's agenda for the north, and this attitude served to dominate the tenor of his long public service. Kaiser's Alcan development at Ootsa Lake in 1952 had resulted in the dislocation of Shelford's own family. Although he was uncomfortable with the fact that the dam was developed by private interests, he accepted the expropriation of land as justified, and limited his objections to issues of compensation and the lack of local benefits from the resulting industrial activity. Shelford was particularly concerned about the lack of electricity in many areas of the north. Small diesel plants in Burns Lake, Smithers, Vanderhoof, and Prince George had made it impossible for modern sawmills, pulp and paper plans, or other industry to become established. However, the pulp industry's power needs never required the mega-dam on the Peace. Industry spokesmen in1959 said the amount of electricity used would negligible, while even newsprint mills could use only a small fraction of the Peace output.[136] As well, the publicly owned BC Power Corporation had extended electricity into the hinterland, adding 300,000 new customers to the system between 1945 and 1962, 60 per cent for the first time, with the average rate per kilowatt dropping from five to less than 2.5 cents. It had also begun the process of "piecing together a grid" and standardizing equipment across regions.[137]

Shelford felt he came from a "land of independent loggers and small sawmills," that he represented the "average person" and the "small businessman." He was "strongly opposed to policies that favoured the larger interest" such as the granting of large forest management licences to corporations that prevented locals from competing. He tried to reconcile Bennett's need to work co-operatively with industry to underwrite social programs, but was concerned about the essential contradiction in the role of state and foreign capital in large projects that benefited "elites, speculators, and fortune-builders" at the expense of locals. Indeed, he very nearly left the party. Although he remained ambivalent about government running a major industry effectively, he had been particularly anxious to extend hydroelectric power to rural areas and, after BC Hydro had been created, welcomed cuts to power costs and power extensions to areas without electricity.[138]

A similar ambivalence eventually came to surface in the *Citizen*. The dam had long been touted as the pivot upon which the northern economy would turn and a means by which regional disparities would be addressed. Yet the paper provided little critical assessment of the process and evidence eventually showed that northerners were not benefiting even from the construction phase. Indeed, the *Citizen* launched a doomed campaign against BC Energy Commission president Gordon Shrum's refusal to reopen bidding on the Peace River power development's pilot tunnel project, which had been awarded to an Edmonton company rather than to a joint Vancouver/Prince George venture.[139] Meanwhile, the Prince George Chamber of Commerce urged the establishment of a central hiring office to ensure local interests would be directly addressed. The *Citizen* claimed it had won assurance that hiring would be conducted exclusively in BC, but it was merely told final hiring procedures would not be known "until agreements are reached with the various unions."[140]

The *Citizen* subsequently launched a vitriolic attack on the dam itself in an editorial about-face that, while ironic, proved consistent with its ideological stance as an independent business. Bitterly angry that Bennett had risked alienating foreign capital with his 1961 expropriation of BC Electric, it wrote an editorial headlined "BC's name as a good place to invest money now stinks around the world."[141] Here, the paper accused the government of poisoning the investment climate by appropriating BC Electric in the manner it did. It said that "No province or country which depends for its livelihood and future development on the goodwill of investors throughout the world can afford to have its reputation tainted in the manner of this takeover."[142] Assured of its own future given the establishment of pulp mills in the region, the *Citizen* by 1964 was deriding the Peace dam as a "white elephant." Its editorials lambasted as "baloney" Fort George MLA Ray Williston's claim that Prince George Pulp was building a mill thanks to Peace power, calling it a desperate attempt to "justify the tremendous expenditures of taxpayers' money on a project which they have no logical reason for undertaking. ... Peace Power is not the motivation behind PG Pulp and would not be, even if it were available in time to supply the company here...If their other claimed markets for electricity ring as hollow as does PG Pulp, then BC will have one of the world's largest white elephants on its hands...and what that elephant will eat won't be hay. It will be taxpayers' dollars."[143]

The views of individual residents like Cliff Harrison, "formerly of the flooded-out area of Ootsa Lake," gained legitimacy as news stories because of editorial concern that people in the interior were not benefiting from industrial development. "[N]ot one kilowatt of power was given or sold to anyone in this area," Harrison told a reporter. "Not one of the people of the interior received any benefits, no steady payroll resulted and no interior resources were developed." He warned the same thing could happen again.[144] Indeed, the *Citizen* took the

stance in relation to union hiring practices that it is the "inherent right of persons living in a community to share its economic future."[145] The paper also realized that power from the Peace would not come cheaply, and began to favour damming local streams to generate energy as faster and more efficient. It claimed that "[e]fficiently designed small power projects can produce cheap power and can more than compete in terms of practicality with grandiose empire building."[146] It was indeed ironic that the *Citizen* took the Vancouver *Sun* to task for making so many changes in editorial direction that "the reader needed a compass to tell whether the paper is coming or going."[147] The same could be said of the *Citizen*. The newspaper turned its criticism on its own readership when it stated on January 10, 1964 that "[b]y showy public works and pursuit of a mad power policy Bennett has won unthinking votes."[148] The question of whether the *Citizen* itself had failed its public by failing to critically assess those "showy public works" and "mad" power policies, apparently did not occur to the writer or to the publisher who sanctioned the editorial.

CHAPTER THREE

COLLISION COURSE: THE MAINSTREAM PRESS AND THE ALTERNATIVE CHALLENGE

In the run-up to the dam's completion, stories in the Prince George *Citizen* between 1965 and 1967 essentially provided technical progress reports covering work crew movements, the latest contracts, and details of construction. Local and regional coverage celebrated the "longest conveyor belt," "the highest earth-fill wall," "the biggest reservoir," and "the largest power development in the western world."[1] Stories also revived the boosterism surrounding the project, describing Prince George as a "power hub" and predicting an abundance of cheap power at "progressively lower power rates."[2] The meaning of the dam for the north now appeared to lie as much in its status as a monolith and an attraction for tourists and recreationists as in its functional role in northern development. Indeed, 50,000 visitors were expected at Hudson Hope during the 1965 construction season.[3] Moreover, the construction boom it engendered appeared to be its most significant and, it increasingly seemed, short-lived contribution. A closed shop agreement between the BC Hydro Power Authority and a group of unions promised labour peace for ten years, but also excluded many local labourers, few of whom were members of trade unions. The *Citizen* continued to note concerns about local access to construction contracts and worker safety on-site, but also continued to blur the line between business and public interest issues despite concerns about benefits of dam-related activities to the north.[4] Cattermole Logging Company, for instance, was responsible in a "huge, hurried operation" for the "impossible" task of clearing the area to be flooded, about a billion feet of timber. The

characterization of the company's "dramatic race against the clock" suggested more excitement about the challenge than criticism of the feasibility of the undertaking. The rush, in fact, later led to innumerable problems on the reservoir. Yet advertisements and news stories assured readers that although based in Chilliwack, the company's activities in "one of the world's largest timber operations" were benefiting the north, and that the company planned to "permanently integrate its resources into the industrial development of the area."[5] Generally, the run-up to the dam's completion in 1967 was devoted to the provincial government's public relations rituals surrounding the programmatic unfolding of Bennett's economic goals for the province.[6]

This chapter explores the *Citizen's* coverage of aboriginal issues as dam construction took place. It seeks to explain why integrating aboriginal people as wage labourers on the project while severing aboriginal ties to their land was taken for granted in mainstream public discourse. It argues stories related to aboriginal issues were situated in the larger context of civil rights partially as a result of corporate dependence on cheaper imported copy from the United States, and that this occurred at the expense of local coverage. This helped promote the notion of racial equality and integration while downplaying aboriginal concerns about special and historic rights related to land and resources. At the same time, the lack of local accountability meant the *Citizen* could handle stories in ways that discounted, minimized, and framed aboriginal concerns in terms of the dominant culture's perspectives. Meanwhile, a parallel discourse unfolding in the aboriginal newspaper *The Native Voice* challenged notions in B.C. that progress was without consequence and that northlands were empty and ripe for exploitation. *The Native Voice* consistently raised concerns about hydroelectric development and asserted its position that land rights had never been surrendered in the province. The paper's early appeal to reasoned debate, coupled with calls for media accountability, suggest that the mainstream press missed an

opportunity to engage with the aboriginal community as it sought to politicize the general public. The very different perspectives expressed in the alternative and the mainstream media foreshadowed the controversy that followed the release of the 1969 White Paper on Indian policy, the concurrent decision to launch a national inquiry into Canada's mass media, and the abrupt reversal of the triumphalism surrounding the W.A.C. Bennett Dam upon its completion.

Local Discourse: Looking Outward

The flurry of activity during the construction phase of the Peace River dam inspired media campaigns in 1965 seeking to secure a place for Indians as wage labour in the northern construction boom. This appeared to be a solution to "the Indian problem," as well as to the crisis in the B.C. labour sector. In a front page *Citizen* story on June 14, Dr. Gordon Shrum, co-chairman of B.C. Hydro, called the shortage of skilled labour a "serious threat to B.C.'s industrial boom.[7] Two days later, a front page *Citizen* article reported "100 area Indians" would be working on the dam and quoted a Stuart Lake Agency official stating the "employment campaign for Indians" was designed as a "step to get them off the reserves...[and] take them from a gathering economy to a wage economy."[8] Internal departmental letters during this time show that Indian Affairs officials treated the Peace dam's impending displacement of Sekani bands as an issue solely of relocation and access to employment opportunities as bureaucrats set about to keep the size of replacement reserves to a minimum.[9] Another 1965 news story headlined "BC Resource Projects Provide Jobs" quoted B.C. Indian Commissioner J.V. Boys telling delegates to a B.C. Natural Resources Conference in Prince George that resource development in northern B.C. had given many Indians "a job, a place in the community, and a pay cheque they never had before."[10] Boys noted that 2,400 Indians out of a potential workforce

of 2,700 were on a payroll; and that 18,000 Indians living on the CNR mainline or north of it, including the Prince George area, were also employable, as were an additional 6,300 adults among other Indian bands throughout the province. Moreover, he said, Indians were rapidly leaving B.C. reserves and entering the outside world.[11] Boys appealed to his audience for aboriginal inclusion on moral grounds, arguing "industry, labour and government should give the Indian a chance to share in the benefits of an affluent society," as well as on practical ones, urging employers to consider Indians "as a part answer to the possible shortage of skilled workers in the future." To that end, he offered DIA's services and asked industry to "spell out its requirements" so the department could train and equip B.C. Indians to suit their purposes.

Such news stories were designed to overcome contemporary stereotypical views of aboriginal people, characteristic of the *Citizen's* earlier coverage, in order to facilitate aboriginal inclusion in the context of the labour crisis. The *Citizen* quoted the Stuart Lake agent urging "[w]hite acceptance" of Indian workers and saying that "[i]f we make second class citizens out of them by ignoring them, they are always going to be on our doorstep." The press also quoted Boys telling his audience, and by extension the news readership, that the "white man should banish from his mind the stereotype of the Indian as a shiftless, hard-drinking social outcast with limited capacities for learning and working in the white man's world. It was true that some aboriginal Indians fit the characterization ... but the majority have the same feelings, hopes and aspirations as other people and want only the dignity of a worthwhile job that will support a family." In his appeal to non-aboriginal audiences, Boys constructed an image of Indians based on purely individualist notions that effectively divorced aboriginal people from their ongoing communal ties to ancestral communities and traditional economies on the land.[12]

Nevertheless, such stories were an indication that the visibility of Indians to the Canadian public was steadily increasing during the 1950s and 1960s, although it was on terms that drew much of their significance from a broader American and post-colonialist discourse. One of the typical aspects of the *Citizen's* growth under Milner in the late 1950s and through the 1960s was the growing reliance on wire service copy generated by United States and international media outlets. This was not just a product of growing interest in world news. As media scholar Mary Vipond argued, this was the natural consequence of the fact that the media were now owned primarily by profit-driven enterprises. It was cheaper to publish stories from wire services than it was to pay reporters to write local stories.[13] Still, stories from the Commonwealth highlighting Africans throwing off colonial regimes, and from the United States concerning racial discrimination and the demand for civil rights, encouraged the Prince George *Citizen* to position its own local news stories and editorials within this larger general discourse. The general manager of *Canadian Press* met members of the Commonwealth Press Union in Pakistan in 1961 and indicated that the agency was seeking to increase coverage given that the "surge of nationalism, trend to independence and strife between coloured and white races have made more headlines."[14] Over time, local extremes in racial constructions, as evidenced in the *Citizen's* coverage of the Sekani "crisis" in 1957, were effectively tempered.[15] This larger discourse contributed to a post-war emphasis on Indians as a disadvantaged minority whose obstacles to integration, citizenship, and equality in a modern, liberal-democratic culture were largely cultural, a trend noted in Metcalfe's coverage of the Sekani.

In articles such as "Australian Natives Treated Shamefully" published in the Vancouver *Sun* in 1965, the writer drew parallels between the Canadian and Australian situation, describing a "grossly underprivileged group whose problem is primarily one of cultural adaptation and

adjustment. Rather like the Canadian Indian, many aborigines, because of their ancestral background, find it hard to accommodate themselves to modern civilization...Color is not the root of the problem. It is more a question of a way of life. Resettlement of the aboriginals, [education] and instruction in hygiene, provision of decent housing and of opportunities for satisfactory employment must go hand in hand."[16]

The relatively progressive Calgary *Herald* was one of the first, in 1956, to draw attention to a three-year-old running conflict concerning Immigration Minister Jack Pickersgill's determination, as head of the Department of Indian Affairs, to evict more than 100 people, including three war veterans, from the Hobbema reserve in Alberta for "not being Indian." Seeking to situate the story in a broader context, the reporter called it a "racial integration case, matching in drama any of those now occurring in the southern United States" and suggested the government's approach bore a "frightening resemblance to the methods used in Nazi Germany where a finger pointed to someone with suspected Jewish blood resulted in loss of status (and property) and imprisonment."[17] Such comparisons served to make a dramatic appeal to Canadian conscience about racial issues within the country. However, they were made at the critical price of local nuance and historical particulars relevant to aboriginal communities. The concept of equal rights for all as portrayed in mainstream mass media discourse tended to suggest special privileges for none, providing context for attacks on aboriginal rights from groups such as the Alberta Fish and Game Club, and encouraging people such as B.C. MLA Cyril Shelford to position himself as a "friend of the Indian" while arguing against special rights for Indians.[18] In the *Herald's* analysis the issue was not integration itself, but the timing and lack of support for the process of integration; treaty rights and the *Indian Act* were discriminatory obstacles to

integration. At the same time, the *Herald* purported to speak on behalf of Indians, arguing that the Hobbema Cree symbolized the

> plight of hundreds of Indians already forced into the white man's world, ill-equipped to take any position in society except along the breadline Unlike its U.S. counterpart, Canada's integration move is not supported by those the government wishes to integrate. The Indians themselves feel the move is premature and the methods employed unfair. Because of the Treaty Indians inferior legal status and the fact he has no voice in Parliament, the general public knows little or nothing about the new Indian Act passed in 1951. Few realize it contains the seeds of a serious racial problem in Canada.[19]

Cole Harris generalised that British Columbians "associate colonialism with other places and other lives—a racially segregated South Africa, Joseph Conrad's fear-ridden Congo—where they can easily condemn its brutalities yet remain 'largely oblivious' to colonialism's impact on their home province."[20] This implies a wilful and self-serving blindness to the public usurpation of land and resources. Yet it might be argued the public was poorly served by a press whose focus was as much on maximizing efficiency and profit as it was on addressing local issues of public concern. Indeed, the increasing media reliance on cheaper imported copy came largely at the expense of local news coverage. Although the *Citizen* extended its publication to five days a week in 1957, there was little evidence in its pages that the amount of locally generated news had increased, that staff had been increased significantly, or that news coverage had been creatively expanded to incorporate new "beats" or areas of emphasis allowing for longer term, in-depth and local acquaintance with developing issues. The Special Senate Committee on the Mass Media found the 1960s constituted, generally, a time of low investment in stories that might cost money and time.[21] In 1965, after-tax profits of daily newspapers in Canada as a percentage of the amount put up by shareholders was 17.5 per cent compared to 10.4 per cent for manufacturing industries and 9.2 for retail. Newspaper ownership was almost twice as profitable, and owners financed expansion and acquisitions from their profits "pulling the maximum out of their

communities, and giving back the minimum in return" in the senate committee's assessment.[22] Certainly, in the *Citizen*, Indians largely continued to be treated as a generic group—an abstract minority for whom responsibility lay with distant Ottawa—with little effort to address the local and unique aspects of aboriginal experience.

As a result, the mix of stereotypes about aboriginal people proved a rich source of material to bolster arguments that editors and writers were interested in making, with little accountability for their use. And since Jack Pickersgill was both the federal Immigration Minister and responsible for Indian Affairs, editors reflexively related Indian and immigration issues and effectively confounded discussion of aboriginal interests. A case in point was the *Citizen's* editorial "The Wasted People" which, while commenting on the 1957 federal Hawthorn commission into "the problems posed by Canada's Indian population," generated one short news story highlighting the issue of alcohol in the aboriginal community.[23] The newspaper did not seek to localize the story by addressing the significance of the report for northern aboriginals, or ascertaining local reactions. Instead, the *Citizen's* editorialists appeared as much interested in using the report to critique Canada's immigration policies as on shedding light on the aboriginal experience:

> Many of us perhaps, tend to think that the problem created by the native population was solved when the last scalp was hung up to dry and the last shot fired in retaliation...In failing to take every avenue open to us towards complete integration of the Indian races we are, every one of us, guilty of an injustice and guilty of literally wasting human lives which under different circumstances could make a real contribution to the cultural and economic well-being of our nation. Morally and ethically we have no right to swell our population in the name of economic development by means of immigration policies until we have made full use of those people who are now resident within our border. We submit that the people of Canada, through their government at Ottawa, are morally bound to put a greater effort, man for man, into the development of this wasted race of people within our borders than they are currently putting into the program of immigration.[24]

This pattern of conducting a public monologue framing aboriginal issues in the context of the dominant media-defined concerns of the day continued throughout the 1960s. For instance, editors situated a 1964 story on the return of Tahltan to their land "to give up welfare and drinking" within a major media news cycle on welfare, instigated by the outspoken protest of Prince George civil servant Bridget Moran. Moran became the *Citizen's* cause célèbre for her stance against the Bennett government's failure to address a crisis in professional welfare services (and incidentally provided grounds for the paper's self-promotion as a free press sounding "the strong voice of indignation" for "the public benefit").[25] However, Moran's agitation for better service posed an ideological dilemma for the paper's ingrained wariness of big government. This contradiction was clearly evident in the spate of stories that comprised the news cycle on the issue, including an editorial touting the value of private societies and charity in helping the less fortunate, in which editors warned that "welfare, unfortunately, is just one area in which the public has been abandoning to the politicians its right to a voice in the administration of its affairs...There is a willing acceptance of control and decree. With it the people of the province are fashioning their own kind of dictatorship."[26] The paper thus used the Tahltan story, which it ran on page one, to paternalistically applaud the idea of Indians rejecting government welfare support, giving up a "life of indolence" and taking on individual "responsibility" for their "own survival." Its editorial, "A little initiative," used the Tahltan as an example of people, including immigrants, who reach "material prosperity" even though starting from scratch.[27] Editors and reporters completely overlooked the significance of the band's return to the land (the Tahltan's "historic trapping grounds" near Kinaskan Lake) as an important angle to the story.[28]

Similarly, major front page depictions of aboriginal children at the Lower Post and LeJac Indian residential schools showing "innocent gratitude" during a charitable Christmas season newspaper campaign in 1963 served mostly to promote the newspaper while constructing aboriginals as beneficiaries of the dominant culture's largesse. The stories provided no context for the schools or the aboriginal communities whose children were the focus of the donations of toys and candies.[29] Another practice serving a journalistic agenda was story placement. Editors tended to position apparently related stories side by side on a page, suggesting implied points of comparison between, for instance, the violence of the American experience of racial integration in the school system and the Canadian experience, supporting a general sense of complacent self-satisfaction regarding Canadian race relations. The February 6, 1964 edition of the *Citizen,* for example, ran two stories on the same page, one from Prince George headlined "Indian children integrating" and another from Alabama headlined "Schools closed in race row."[30] The latter story concerned six "Negro" pupils attending classes, leading to the closure of all schools in Tuskegee, Alabama, and putting the army on alert. Typically, where aboriginal people were quoted or pictured in the *Citizen*, they were celebrated as individuals apart from their social, cultural, and historical context, furthering the notion of cultural assimilation. A characteristic example was the 1965 *Citizen* story of 113-year-old Prince George hospital patient "Granny Seymour" whose age garnered admiration while her life of "trapping furs" and her identity as the daughter of an Indian princess were treated as emblematic of an unthreatening past.[31]

Where there were clearly political and economic challenges to the existing socio-economic structure of mainstream society, the Prince George *Citizen's* editors managed them by burying stories in back pages, using a bemused tone to belittle them, or choosing not to engage journalistically with the issues raised. In 1958, when Skeena Indians protested celebrations of

British Columbia's centenary on the grounds that their land had been stolen, the story was buried in the back pages, and the B.C. celebrations continued to be discussed as if aboriginals, when they were mentioned at all, were situated in the mythic past.[32] Similarly, a 1964 stand-alone photograph of B.C. MLA for Atlin, Frank Calder, was accompanied by a "cutline" noting his status as the "first ever" aboriginal legislator. It stated that "Mr. Calder currently is engaged in a fight to establish B.C. Indian claims that their lands were taken by white men without treaty."[33] There was no explanation, context, or related story; the issue was not raised with regard to ongoing "taking of the lands" in the local region—even though Calder represented the northlands—and land claims were treated as a peculiarly aboriginal issue with little impact or genuine implication for the dominant culture.[34] Of the twelve stories published between December 1, 1963 and February 28, 1964 related to anything aboriginal in Canada, only two raised a political question that suggested underlying tensions in the racial relationship; most served as "colour" stories to break up unrelated fact-based news stories dominating the paper's pages (one item highlighted refrigerators sold to Eskimos and another an "Indian princess" in the Quebec region seeking to "preserve her culture" through folksongs and legends).[35]

Even when Indians did appear in clearly political stories, editors framed the politics within a patronizing framework, attempting to give the story "colour" where, in fact, a straight facts-based approach to news reporting might have served aboriginal interests better. A typical example was the 1964 story headlined: "Indian remembers dance but forgets birth date."[36] It began by noting Tom Omptkit, a white-haired elder from the Alert Bay Indian Band, opened a B.C. Native Brotherhood meeting using the Chinook language and performing an Indian war chant. It then noted bemusedly that "The war chant, he said through an interpreter, had been passed down to him from his forefathers almost a century ago. But he couldn't say how old he

actually was." It wasn't until the fifth paragraph that the report presented the "facts" of the story: "The Brotherhood, embracing Indian delegates from various parts of the province, gets down today to consideration of the tricky question of the lands they claim were taken from them by whites without compensation."[37]

Native voices and perspectives were thus mediated in the local press during a time when newspapers had no press councils, no ombudsmen, and no professional codes or journalistic guidelines (these were all, if somewhat cursorily, developed in the early 1970s) to ensure a degree of accountability. Generally, press responsibilities extended solely to the notion that readers who did not like what they read could stop purchasing the product even as newspapers were increasingly playing a monopolistic role in their communities. It was clearly assumed that Indians themselves did not make up part of the paper's consumption-oriented audience; they were a problem for the dominant culture's moral consideration only. The press could capitalize on public sympathy for aboriginal marginalization and appeal to an apparently sympathetic readership by constructing aboriginals as victims of cultural conditioning and objects of charity. At the same time, it could also sidestep the question of land and treaty rights in the context of the civil rights movement's emphasis on equal rights, thus maintaining the status quo.

Canadian aboriginal resentment over lack of equal rights, failure to address longstanding grievances, and inability to control their own affairs was mounting by 1965.[38] Although the Liberal government of Lester B. Pearson in 1963 promised to establish a land-claims commission to settle outstanding claims, Indian leaders rejected it for failing to acknowledge aboriginal title as the basis of their claims, and for failing to allow Indians to file suits against the provinces for land.[39] Meanwhile a federal DIA report acknowledged that its own policies were largely responsible for the poverty, inertia, and hopelessness among Native Indians.[40]

Subsequently, Harry Hawthorn's 1966 report, commissioned by Prime Minister Pearson's government, recommended that aboriginal poverty be addressed, that all forced assimilation programs ended, and, critically, that special status and privileges be retained.[41] This latter point would be ignored in a "grotesque conclusion" to consultations with Indians, and as a consequence prove the bombshell of the White Paper in 1969. J.R. Miller sought the explanation at the policy and bureaucratic level, but the state of public discourse as conducted in an increasingly monopolistic and corporatised media suggests a broader context for the depth of misunderstanding.[42]

With regard to press coverage of ethnic groups and minorities, the narrow expectations of the press to act as a watchdog on government had been challenged in 1947 in the United States by the Hutchins Commission, and would be again, by the Kerner Commission of 1968 following urban riots in that country. The Hutchins Commission asserted that the press had a social responsibility to provide a flow of information and interpretation concerning racial relations such as to "enable the reader to set a single event in its proper perspective...Factually correct but substantially untrue accounts of the behaviour of members of one of these social islands can intensify the antagonisms of others toward them."[43] The Kerner commission served as an indictment of a press reporting and writing from the standpoint of a "white man's world. [The press] repeatedly, if unconsciously, reflects the biases, the paternalism, the indifference of white America...It is the responsibility of the news media to tell the story of race relations in America, and with notable exceptions the media have not yet turned to the task with the wisdom, sensitivity, and expertise it demands."[44] The Canadian media would not be taken to task for coverage of racial and ethnic minorities until the 1980s.[45]

A Parallel Discourse, A Missed Opportunity

A parallel discourse in the pre-eminent aboriginal newspaper in Canada, *The Native Voice*, offered perspectives throughout this period on dams, development, and aboriginal rights that fundamentally challenged those in the local and regional mainstream media.[46] In particular, a June 1957 editorial called hydroelectric power and industrial development "one of the greatest problems facing British Columbia's natives," given the prospect of the Peace dam and ongoing negative effects of the Kemano Alcan project, as well as the impact of industrial logging on aboriginal interests in the northern region.[47] In addition, the paper during this time clearly put land and aboriginal rights—particularly in B.C.—at the centre of the debate. Although the early 1970s is typically characterized as an era dominated by images of "angry activism" and protest by Canadian Indians, *The Native Voice's* early appeal to debate coupled with calls for media accountability suggest the mainstream press generally missed an opportunity to engage meaningfully with the Aboriginal community, filtering its coverage in such a way as to act as a brake rather than a facilitator of full public debate on northern development issues in general and the dam in particular.[48]

The Native Voice was a decade old in 1957 and widely distributed to newspaper journalists, columnists and editors, politicians, religious organizations, private societies and labour organizations.[49] John Diefenbaker, then federal leader of the opposition, participated in interviews with editors and outlined his party's policy on Indian affairs in the April 1957 edition while political parties, including B.C. Social Credit and the federal Liberals, took out full page advertisements in the paper—an indication of the paper's significance and its degree of engagement with the "dominant public sphere" at the time.[50] As Avison noted, "Arguably this offer of access to a forum for people 'from all races' was made to encourage non-Aboriginal

people to engage in discussion with Aboriginal people...while also helping to introduce Aboriginal issues into the dominant public sphere in a systematic fashion."[51]

The Native Voice at this stage represented the first time that the tools of print technology were used autonomously by the aboriginal community to serve its own agenda, and was the first sustained effort to publish an Indian newspaper in Canada. (As Avison found, the introduction of print technology into Aboriginal communities before World War II was controlled by religious denominations and by government authorities).[52] As an "alternative publication," *The Native Voice* was funded by the Native Brotherhood of B.C. and not entirely advertiser dependent; it was distributed to the NBBC's 20,000 members and to subscribers in Canada, the U.S. and overseas. The newspaper served a broad mandate to address aboriginal issues, suggesting it was not beholden to a narrowly conceived NBBC agenda at the time, although this appeared to be less the case after 1965 when internal political divisions and the rise of other aboriginal newspapers and organizations served to fragment the aboriginal public sphere.[53] *The Native Voice* was run by a board of six directors, from northern and eastern Canada and from Oklahoma, and included two associate B.C. editors and publisher Maisie Hurley. Writers tended to submit material on an ad hoc basis. The paper, in fact, provided less a news-generating than a news gathering function, reprinting a variety of stories from other news sources. Nevertheless, *The Native Voice* clearly saw itself in the journalistic tradition of providing information to persuade by reason and fact, and to effect change politically through the existing system. At the same time, its independence, focus, and access for a range of aboriginal voices allowed for its role as a key advocate for aboriginal concerns.[54]

As a result, much content challenged notions of accepted journalistic practice in mass media newspapers, and anticipated journalistic tools only later adopted more generally, such as a

more consistent use of analysis and context. For instance, the paper published transcripts of oral history and excerpts from historical documents; it printed verbatim letters, legal verdicts, and petitions allowing readers to judge issues for themselves; and its writers often used the first-person "I" in stories challenging the purely "objective" basis of mainstream journalistic practice, situating "facts" within a framework of clearly identified advocacy.[55] As its first edition editorial statement explained in 1947, "News and views will be presented in our own way, catering always to the Native people, still, broad enough to realise that all people are human and are inclined to err, and with this thought in mind we would appreciate any comments from all races."[56] It made its pages accessible to a wide variety of readers—American and Canadian—and, ideally, was a space where the views of participants were judged on their acceptability and "reasonability" to the general Aboriginal community as determined by an Aboriginal board of editors from across Canada and the U.S., rather than on the social status of a journalistic source making an argument.[57] To a degree, its flexible approach to story forms, its broad embrace of "unofficial" and official sources, and its lively debates and engagement with readers facilitated considerably different interpretation of events, policies, and trends.

Major issues such as the three-year saga concerning the Hobbema reserve, for example, engendered stories in *The Native Voice* that were situated both in the journalistic present and in the historical past, accompanied as they were by background stories explaining historic treaties and contexts. This served to emphasize historical and special aboriginal treaty rights, in contrast to mainstream coverage that stressed integration of Indians on the basis of equality.[58] The paper also provided analysis of misrepresentation in mainstream media coverage of aboriginal issues. *The Native Voice* editorialist Guy Williams, commenting on Jack Cahill's 1958 Vancouver *Sun* series on the plight of B.C. Indians, said the articles left a "very bleak picture of the Indian

situation in B.C [suggesting] that the Indian himself is responsible for the state of poverty and squalor that he is in."[59] Similarly, *The Native Voice* drew heated attention to incidents of racial discrimination, including a 1956 riot in Prince Rupert and systematic racial exclusion in Vanderhoof, while criticizing mainstream press coverage that "conveniently overlook[ed] rampant racial discrimination in Canada."[60] In the case of a "jolly and enlightened" *Canadian Press* dispatch from Bella Coola about an elementary school being used as an experiment in social integration, a *Native Voice* editorial on the coverage agreed with the broadly accepted goal of equal opportunity for education—but also called for full economic and political rights, "without wasting time on antiquated arguments that Indians must choose between retaining reservations and their inherited privileges or attaining full citizenship and the right to vote."[61]

Because of the consistent focus the paper brought to aboriginal issues, readers were exposed to the cumulative impact of "spot news" stories. These tended to appear randomly in various newspapers across the country but together in *The Native Voice* showed that Indian rights were being affirmed in case after case in both the U.S. and Canada. Stories on local resistance to loss of land and rights also indicated that activism and protest was on the rise. Both showed the development of significant socio-political trends. Thus, while the Peace dam was being proposed and debated as if aboriginal communities were irrelevant, *The Native Voice* was drawing attention to a significant series of events indicating emerging trends concerning land and aboriginal rights, as well as growing activism. A list of such stories includes the 1959 U.S. Court of Claims ruling compensating 7,000 Natives of the Haida and Tlingit nations for 20 million acres of land in Alaska "taken from their ancestors;" actions by Vancouver Island natives in 1957 opposing fishing closures as an "encroachment" on their aboriginal rights; Ojibways refusing to sell their land in 1957; B.C. Indian fisherman Francis Point winning the

right in 1957 not to file income tax as a status Indian, with implications for all status Indians; the Six Nations Reserve asserting rights in 1959 to 30,000 acres which it declared an "independent country;" the 1956 protests of the Westbank tribe on Okanagan Lake, where people took up rifles to drive bridge surveyors off their property on the grounds that "no one bothered to think about the rights of the Indians," as well as literally dozens of similar stories.[62] *The Native Voice,* in its attempt to provide information to previously isolated communities as well as to a broader audience, served as a significant means of highlighting grassroots, localized expressions of land and treaty rights that were also plainly connected.[63]

Similarly, articles in *The Native Voice* revealed the extent to which aboriginal communities were experiencing dislocation because of major dam development, along with the resulting political implications. Before and during the Peace dam announcement, the *Voice* covered the Nez Perce who in 1957 received a settlement for loss of traditional rights at Celilo Falls on the Columbia River after the Dulles dam flooded their fishing grounds.[64] It explained that the Tuscarora Tribe in 1958 was continuing to fight to keep New York State from taking a quarter of its reservation for the Niagara Power project.[65] The *Voice* ran a story on the January 1959 U.S. Court of Appeals announcement that the army could flood the Seneca Indians off most of their Allegheny River reservation, regardless of a promise by George Washington never to claim their lands.[66] Commentary in *The Native Voice* by Chief Rising Sun, in January of 1959, also described the formation of the new Lake St. Lawrence, which flooded a portion of the Barnhardt Island Indian reserve. The writer noted in particular the failure of the local press to mention aboriginal concerns despite the critical issues at stake: "The day previous, I visited the local newspaper office and was referred proudly to their special edition, a bulky production. It contained no pictures or commentary by, or about, the local Indians. Indeed, I learned that the

Indians had some grievances not solved, about this invasion."[67] Their lack of voice in mainstream discourse underscored the significance of the role *The Native Voice* sought to play.

Local issues such as the unresolved grievances of Carrier people suffering the consequences of Alcan's flooding of Ootsa Lake in 1956 did, in fact, find a forum in *The Native Voice*.[68] The paper argued Chief Paddy Isaac and his people were "seriously hit" because of the "complete destruction of their registered traplines," which they described as historical claims that rightfully belonged to them. *The Native Voice* stated that the NBBC office had "countless letters and maps related to flooded out traplines" and that it had taken political action, approaching the Indian Commissioner who appointed a person to examine the situation. While the newspaper noted Alcan would consider compensation "if concrete evidence could be produced that cabins, traps, snares, and other equipment had been lost," its editor dryly observed the task was made more difficult by the fact the evidence was under water. The paper urged readers to support the band's lawyer Harold Sinclair and reported that native trappers were "prepared to bring the case to court in order to satisfy themselves their claims are just."[69]

Writers such Constance Cox, who had lived with the Gitksan, was of part-Tlingit ancestry, and had worked with anthropologist Wilson Duff, u rged *The Native Voice* in 1958 to bring public attention to the Sekani who she feared would face similar irreparable harm as a result of the impending Peace dam. She said an unnamed chief with whom she had talked was "concerned" about the Wenner-Gren proposal and the loss of hunting territory, and that his people did not want to move as they had lived there "now more than thousands of years." At the same time, she expressed disbelief that government would allow such an injustice to take place. However, *The Native Voice* did not appear to be in a position to do more than comment on the W.A.C. Bennett dam and the flooding of the Williston reservoir on other than an ad hoc basis,

despite its awareness of the potentially negative consequences. The paper faced its own limitations: it had no stable of reporters trained to gather information on a systematic basis or to ensure thorough coverage of a particular issue. Its function was largely to collect and disseminate stories published in a variety of presses, while its growing emphasis on unresolved land rights proved its all-consuming task and one that it clearly believed held implications for all activities affecting aboriginal territories.

Yet, there was potential for the mainstream media to act as a watchdog over government on behalf of aboriginals as a matter of Canadian "honour." This was indicated by a story reprinted in *The Native Voice* in July 1955 about the displacement of Indians during creation of the St. Lawrence Seaway."[70] The article, by the *Toronto Telegram's* reporter Judith Robinson, criticized legislation permitting the St. Lawrence Seaway authority to expropriate Indian lands near Cornwall, Ontario, and Montreal. Robinson picked up on debate by two B.C. members of Parliament, Colin Cameron (CCF – Nanaimo) and Howard Green (PC – Vancouver Quadra), challenging the dominant notions that Indians had no special rights, should be treated like everybody else, and had no right to protection despite the federal government's fiduciary responsibility.[71] Robinson wrote:

> Minister Pickersgill's department has permitted the Seaway Authority to take the law into its own hands, and send bulldozers into the Caughnawaga Reserve to destroy property on which no expropriation is completed, no agreement has yet been reached and for which no compensation has been paid. Without notice, without a scrap of writing to protect their rights, or to acknowledge that they have any, Caughnawaga land owners recently found their property given over to destructions. Their interests are in Minister Pickersgill's guardian hands and the bulldozers are on their lands. Study of a long and shabby record turns up few reasons why any Canadian Indian should trust the Department of Indian Affairs to see that he gets a fair deal. Pickersgill is a trustee for the honour of the Canadian people as well as for the property and welfare of the Canadian Indian.[72]

Such concerns were dismissed so completely out of hand in B.C. that *The Native Voice* printed in full a written exchange between CCF MLA Frank Howard of the north coast Skeena region, and Minister of Lands and Forests, Ray Williston, to illustrate for readers the polarity in perceptions of industrial-scale development in the north.[73] The article "Howard Fights for Trapline Compensation," noted the CCF MLA sought to represent trappers who had lost their livelihood as a result of industrial advance.[74] He stated that logging in northern B.C. was negatively affecting trapping, that Indians continually complained about the lack of compensation, and that a study had been requested for the Kitwancool band concerning impacts of the activities of Columbia Cellulose Co., which had a Forest Management Licence in the region. Williston, for his part, discounted such concerns, arguing trappers and miners accepted their loss as a matter of course, and asserted that "[t]he problem you present is that of a small number of individuals having their livelihood interfered with through the advance of settlement. This will occur again and again as our province continues to be developed, and is one of the penalties of progress." In Williston's assessment, the hazards of industrial development were parallel to an "Act of God and thus by inference not subject to man's responsibility." *The Native Voice* decried his stance and asked: "What chance have people in fishing, trapping or similar industries if the machine is allowed to snuff out their livelihood in the interests of profit at any price with no compensation?"[75]

The Native Voice made it evident that land rights and the push by B.C. Indians to have the issue recognized as a major public concern picked up momentum as early as 1955, providing a critical counterpoint to public discourse constructing the northland as "empty" and ripe for development with no legal or human consequence. At this stage, the paper was calling for the resignation of Immigration Minister Jack Pickersgill over his handling of the Hobbema reserve

issue, while becoming an increasingly angry watchdog over Pickersgill's attack on the tenuous rights of non-treaty Indians of BC.[76] Pickersgill intended to provide "location tickets" to Indians encouraging individual title to small pieces of land and this galvanized *The Native Voice* into a major journalistic campaign on the issue. A 1955 editorial, "Does this mean Liquidation of Indian lands in B.C.?" argued the location tickets were in fact a means of dispossession by "undercover surrender" of B.C. lands which had never been surrendered: "Unless something is done immediately by the Indians of British Columbia and if we are not careful, the result will be the complete liquidation of the Indians' claim in British Columbia."[77]

Furthermore, *The Native Voice* had become increasingly incensed at the failure of the mainstream media to grasp the significance of major federal policy affecting 31,000 non-treaty Indians in BC.[78] In 1955 it announced the NBBC had made "tentative plans to go on the radio to air its opposition to any federal government plan which will deprive the province's Indian population of its land," and thus bypass mainstream media in the hope of reaching a broad audience in an unmediated fashion.[79] The newspaper also protested the NBBC's exclusion from a joint conference in Ottawa to frame proposals for submission to Parliament on Indian issues, calling the government's refusal to release details from the meeting a "gag order" violating the democratic right to debate, and an act of censorship silencing the voice of the NBBC by the "dictates of a bureaucracy."[80] Clearly, the use of such language indicated *The Native Voice* valued and acted upon its role as a free press safeguarding democratic principles, which it considered vital to the aboriginal community's interests.

The issue regarding a $100,000 annual grant to British Columbia Indians in lieu of annuities due to the absence of treaties had also resurfaced at this time. The grant had been turned down by the Allied Tribes of 1927 who "with considerable foresight, reasoned it might

endanger their aboriginal rights."[81] Publisher Maisie Hurley printed an open letter in the paper to Prime Minister Diefenbaker on January 16, 1959 noting that discussion of the issue was coming before the House of Commons and asking that it be adjourned until the forthcoming investigation into non-treaty claims had been heard. She expressed concerns that the appointment of Indians to help the department distribute the fund "might jeopardize their claims to ownership of their lands, and might be construed as an acceptance in full settlement of their valid claims." Further, the federal government might as a result "strip Natives of hereditary rights while granting a spurious 'equality' with other Canadians."[82] An editorial in 1958 called for a Royal Commission into Indian Affairs to clarify and ensure aboriginal rights in B.C., while a year later the newspaper ran a "Special Report on Indian Land Rights," printing verbatim the portion of the Royal Proclamation relating to Indian lands, a "History of [the] Fight for Indian Land Rights" by the Allied Tribes, and editorials arguing the time had come to pick up where the Allied Tribes had left off.[83]

The intensifying mood in the aboriginal community was, at least, noted by the Vancouver *Sun* in 1959, which editorially urged a shift in public debate from deriding claims as ridiculous to being "generous" in at least considering the complaints.[84] Yet it displayed ambivalence and ultimately scepticism over the actual legal claims to land and fell back on a patronizing assertion that an aboriginal "sense of injustice" could be addressed largely through good intentions while downplaying the notion that a restructuring of land and resource interests might be at stake.[85] It argued that

> Discontent of BC Indian chiefs over their land rights and their claims of treaty violations cannot be shrugged off. It's not something to be kicked around gleefully and chuckled over, as Indian claims so often are. It's something rather for mature and generous consideration. ...The land problem and treaty rights are important to these people, displaced in their native country. They are dissatisfied. Superficial reading of their evidence suggests they have at least some reason to be.

> Even if they didn't, the importance to them of their cause makes it necessary that an open and thorough investigation of all their claims be swiftly made. In the courts, if need be, provided justice prevails over mere law.
> For probably, as in the case of the untenable liquor legislation, which entangles the Indians, it's not so much the injustice (though that is bad enough and needs correcting) as it is the sense of injustice. We must show ourselves capable of removing both.[86]

Not surprisingly, moves towards developing a "unitary voice regarding no surrender of title to lands" in the aboriginal community gained urgent momentum throughout this period. Tom Berger was arguing on behalf of the NBBC by 1965 that a federal bill creating an Indian Claims Commission should include a provision acknowledging aboriginal title of the Indian Tribes of BC.[87] By 1969 and the release of the White Paper in June, as well as the creation of the Indian Claims Commission in December of that year, aboriginal campaigns in B.C. had effectively diverted the federal government's aim of addressing the Indian Act to the need to resolve land claims and aboriginal rights.[88]

Scholars Alan McMillan and Eldon Yellowhorn note that the "passive Indians of popular imagination" had given way to the "spark of unrest brought on by the civil rights movement in the 1960s" which "rekindled the urge for resistance. Inspired by the gains made by other oppressed people in modern North America, Aboriginal People in Canada were increasingly willing to challenge the *status quo*. They would no longer sit quietly by and allow the federal government to treat them as possessions." With the rise of protest marches, sit-ins, occupations and blockades, "[s]uddenly the angry activism of young Natives espousing 'Red Power' replaced the common image of the stoic Indian and Canadians woke up to Aboriginal People speaking about unfinished business and trampled rights."[89] J.R. Miller also wrote:

> The postwar decolonization movement throughout the world raised questions among thoughtful Canadians about how long Canada could go on treating Native communities as internal colonies. The civil rights movement of the 1960s in the United States posed similar riddles, while providing both Natives and non-Natives in Canada with object

> lessons in how to bring about change and what the consequences could be of refusal to change discriminatory policies directed against non-Caucasians.[90]

The popular perception was that the activist movement was an American-inspired one and that aboriginal people, as so much of the imagery about them in Canada implied, had been passive prior to the release of the 1969 White Paper, which took the position that "Canada's Indians were disadvantaged because they enjoyed a unique legal status."[91] Perhaps overlooked, as a result, is the deeper history of Canadian aboriginal activism, given that before 1969 the mainstream press failed to provide meaningful coverage of a significant sector of Canadian society that was seeking to politicize the general public.[92] The mainstream press brought significant attention to racial equality issues in the United States and abroad, but this was largely because the news copy was cheap—and it came at the expense of dedicated resources to more local coverage that might have given consistent voice to Canadian aboriginal aspirations for equality *without* relinquishing status or historical rights.

Scholars like J.R. Miller have emphasized the personal role of Prime Minister Pierre Trudeau in the story of the White Paper, particularly his "strong liberal values" that encouraged popular participation but rejected group rights in favour of individualism.[93] However, Trudeau was also operating in a democratic society in which the "public sphere" was dominated by the limits of debate conducted by mainstream mass media. The rhetorical claim of the commercial press to be a liberal-democratic site of "objective" public discourse served in fact to advance certain political ideas at the expense of others, and tended to reinforce majority-held perspectives while marginalizing dissent and hampering political and cultural discourse. As Justice Peter Seaton said in the 1973 Nisga'a ruling,

> The fact there is an issue between the Indians and the province based upon aboriginal claims should not come as a surprise to anyone. Those claims have been advanced by the Indians for many years...We are being asked to ignore the

> problem as others have ignored it. ... Meanwhile, the logger continues his steady march and the Indians see themselves retreating into a smaller and smaller area.[94]

Partly as a result of the limitations of the mainstream press, the Vancouver-based *Georgia Straight* began to establish its presence as an alternative press in 1967, drawing on youth and environmental concerns, aboriginal rights, and anti-corporate media causes as its defining agenda. Indeed, from the paper's inception, editors linked biased coverage of the environment and aboriginal issues to alliances between government, business and mainstream press interests. The *Straight* ran a two-part investigative series on "Vancouver's News Monopoly" in 1970 analyzing links between Pacific Press and the financial and industrial sectors of Canadian corporate capitalism. It ran stories critical of the exploitation of the Peace River and more generally challenged the "galling paternalism" of corporate attitudes that treated rehabilitation of the environment as an issue of largesse rather than of public obligation. With regard to aboriginal issues, the *Georgia Straight,* like *The Native Voice,* emphasized the unresolved legal questions at the heart of land use in B.C. In interviewing noted anthropologist Wilson Duff in 1968, the newspaper laid claim to a credible source who said native title and rights were un-extinguished and still valid, both legally and morally.[95] The *Georgia Straight* predicted that with the success of the Nisga'a legal case, B.C. would have to negotiate fair treaties with all B.C. tribes, even as Arthur Laing in the mainstream press was lecturing Canadian Indians for "self-pity" and for "leaning on the taxpayer" rather than being "greedier" and making use of the "total value of his properties."[96]

The *Georgia Straight* did not, however, follow the logic of its own support of aboriginal land rights by generating news copy on the immediate threats faced by bands

such as the Sekani, who between 1967 and 1969 were being dispossessed of their territories as the Rocky Mountain Trench was slowly flooded. Editors tended to cull copy from a syndicate of other underground presses, mostly American, and provided commentary and analysis more than standard news reporting. Its coverage remained ad hoc and focused on broad issues; it simply did not have the resources or the professional reporting staff to generate province-wide news copy on a consistent basis. Nevertheless, like *The Native Voice*, the *Georgia Straight* provided pointers to significant social and political shifts and emerging trends that suggested how mainstream papers might have deployed the resources they were clearly in a position to spend. However, providing "the widest possible dissemination of information from diverse and antagonistic sources" in order to better serve the public interest was a goal that seemed, in the time under study, beyond the reach or inclination of B.C.'s daily commercialized press.[97] The Sekani paid the price not only of B.C.'s electrification process, but of a press that was complicit in their forced removal from traditional land without agreement, protection, compensation, acknowledgement or meaningful public debate.

CONCLUSION

Nearly 40 years after their displacement, the Tsay Keh Dene and Kwadacha bands signed an agreement in principle, in December 2006, accepting an offer of compensation from B.C. Hydro and the provincial government for the impact of the flooding of Williston Reservoir, although the agreement has yet to be ratified.[1] The Prince George *Citizen* in its flagship editorial applauded the offer, calling the damage inflicted by the reservoir on First Nations people a "gross negligence," and the "dark side of a dam" that had been otherwise celebrated as B.C.'s greatest engineering marvel.[2] Former Forests and Lands Minister Ray Williston, who had played a pivotal role in the dam's development and for whom the reservoir was named, died only a week earlier.[3] The editorialist noted the timing of the two events, suggested a new era of relationship had begun, and observed that when the W.A.C. Bennett dam was built, "[i]t was in keeping with the times that the permanent displacement of aboriginals wasn't openly discussed—nor were they properly consulted or compensated."[4]

This thesis has argued that ensuring "open discussion" was in fact the responsibility of the mainstream press. Issues such as the sensationalism of news coverage in B.C. during a time of competitive fervour amongst rival commercialized newspapers; the limits of journalistic practice in accessing and shaping stories in the decade before the rise of reformist journalism in Canada; the unprecedented structural shifts toward chain ownership of newspapers and press monopolies; the lack of press accountability to the public; and the dependence on cheap news copy from U.S. sources, suggest the relevance of understanding newspapers as historically situated institutions shaping public debate in ways other than the obvious party political stances of individual newspapers as reflected in their editorial positions.

The story of this era does not belong to Bennett alone, nor is the "remarkable consensus" in favour of progress and growth a sufficient explanation for the extraordinary outcomes of the 1960s.[5] Press coverage in the "public sphere" occurred at a time of transition in B.C. and Canadian press history, when journalistic practice appeared to serve less the public interest than the conjoined interests of publishers and business, and when publishers and owners still proclaimed the sanctity of a free press in a democratic state even as they served to diminish public discourse. In 1969, the Prince George *Citizen* was sold to the eastern-owned Southam chain of newspapers; shortly afterward, the Senate Special Committee on Mass Media recommended an enhanced role for professional journalism acting for the public interest within a commercial structure, promising at least one possibility for a check on the power of a corporatising private press.[6] How the rise of reformist journalism, the demise of "objectivity," and the emergence of a "new kind of journalist" affected the ongoing shaping of public discourse about the dam and the Sekani has yet to be examined.[7] Further, the role of Sekani agency in accessing corporate media as a means of addressing their concerns, and their use of changing imagery regarding aboriginal peoples, is another critical development that arguably changed the dynamics of public discourse about relations between locals and aboriginal people in the northland.[8]

By comparison to national and international attention afforded the James Bay Cree in Quebec or the Cree in Northern Manitoba, both of whom signed "modern treaties" with the provinces of Quebec and Manitoba in the mid-1970s, the Sekani experience continues to remain a blind spot in B.C. and Canadian history. A recent popular history book like "Gaslights to Gigawatts," about the human history of BC Hydro and its predecessors, did not mention the Sekani's experience except to provide a single note in an appended chronology on the 1989

compensation payment to the Ingenika Band (Tsay Keh Dene).[9] Yet it devoted several pages to non-aboriginal communities affected by the flooding of the Arrow Lakes during the early stages of the Columbia project in the 1960s. This situation it described as raising "difficult ethical issues because for the first time, whole communities would be displaced by B.C. Hydro's activities," and presented the "logistical challenge of humanely resettling people."[10] The Sekani experience continued to be rendered invisible.

Similarly, recent press stories about development pressure in northern B.C., such as the Kemess Mine expansion 450 kilometres northwest of Prince George, take place in a journalistic present that is unmindful of the price that the Sekani have already paid for industrial activity in the region. Such stories serve to diminish aboriginal concerns about environmental impacts, while framing their concerns as hostile to local interests in jobs and economic spin-offs. The *Citizen*, for example, noted aboriginal opposition to the proposed use of Amazay Lake as a tailings disposals site, which Northgate Minerals Corporation claimed was the only feasible option for its Kemess expansion proposal to proceed. At the same time, the *Citizen* repeatedly made use of a stock paragraph in many of its Kemess-related stories claiming that the mine expansion would "help secure the 350 existing jobs...and the nearly $60 million pumped each year into northern B.C.'s economy on services, goods and payroll, half of that in Prince George."[11] This served to reinforce the price the majority would pay should the expansion be halted to protect a six-kilometre long lake, while constructing aboriginal peoples as obstacles to development rather than, for instance, nations with a right to full consultation in their traditional territories. For its part, the Vancouver *Sun* emphasized the implications of the Kemess Project from the point of view of investors. These, it said, were watching the development "like hawks" for fear the mining industry's rebound would be threatened if the project failed, given the

influence of first nations and environmental opposition.[12] The mainstream press, its biases hidden or implicit in its claim to reflect majority values, continues to tell its story from the perspective of the dominant culture; as a result, "news" by definition tends to constitute threats to ongoing agendas of economic growth and development.[13]

This holds implications for how different perspectives can be meaningfully brought to public attention. The dichotomy between progressive urban and conservative hinterland newspapers, said to typify the Bennett era, is not a useful analytical tool given the shifts toward a mainstream and alternative media emerging during this period. As this thesis suggests in relation to the Peace dam and its consequences, the diversity of local interests, and particularly aboriginal concerns, were not necessarily well represented in a commercialized press like the Prince George *Citizen.* The fact that virtually all northern papers were, as of 2006, under the control of Glacier Ventures International Corporation, an information communications company focused on expanding across North America, raises concerns about the roots of this structural shift as well as the media structures necessary to support meaningful public discourse for diverse regions.[14] The alternative media provide one means for disseminating perspectives that challenge the status quo. Concerns about the newly resurrected Site C dam proposal for the Peace River near Fort St. John, for instance, have been circulated through online citizen action, environmental information, and legal education websites, as well as through public interest news sites such as *The Tyee,* an independent, B.C.-based on-line news service.[15] This and other strategies by aboriginal groups, including direct appeals to consumers and shareholders, and petitions to international forums, does not deflect from the issue of access to mainstream discourse, such as it is in a rapidly changing communications landscape that

for both new and traditional media is both fragmenting to serve smaller and more specific audiences, and increasingly controlled by conglomerates. As scholars Shannon Avison and Michael Meadows have argued, disenfranchised aboriginal people in Canada have had a long struggle to gain access to democratic institutions like the media.[16] One result is that aboriginal groups often feel forced to resort to protest and direct actions to gain attention that would otherwise not be afforded their concerns, further polarizing discourse.[17]

Meanwhile, discourse about hydroelectric development on a massive scale is again in the news. This time, hydroelectric development is portrayed as a "green" solution to global warming and a means of "economic salvation" in a time of global economic crisis. According to a *Globe and Mail* columnist writing at the end of 2008, it is again "the age of the megaproject," given the "startling consensus" that the downward spiral of the global economy will be addressed through major public spending. In Canada, the government vowed to replace 90 per cent of Canada's electricity generation by 2020 with non-carbon-emitting sources such as nuclear and hydroelectric and alternative-energy projects.[18] The prospect of a "manufactured consent" in mass-mediated public discourse in support of major hydroelectric development raises questions once again of how decisions will be made, and how fully public debate will be conducted. The *New York Times*, in an article about dam removal in the Pacific Northwest, noted that "climate change adds [a] twist to [the] debate" as power companies in Oregon are now defending Klamath River dams as a crucial source of "so-called clean energy" even as American Indians, fishermen, and environmentalists want the dams removed to undo damage to salmon resources and the river itself. The rhetorical question

posed here was: "Should Indians and family fishermen be the ones who have to sacrifice to address this problem?"[19]

The World Commission on Dams (WCD), with the release of its final report in 2000, sought to provide a framework to balance majority interests with minority concerns in future dam building, given, in part, the history of devastating effects experienced by Indigenous peoples and ethnic minorities globally in relation to large dams.[20] The thematic paper on dams, indigenous peoples and ethnic minorities that was commissioned in support of the WCD process stated that:

> [a]cceptance by national governments and the dam-building industry of the principle of free, prior and informed consent, would mean that, in future, dam-building would not go ahead without the affected communities being assured that they would benefit from the planned schemes and without them being first convinced that adequate mechanisms were in place to secure their development, compensation, resettlement and rehabilitation and their full involvement in legally enforceable monitoring procedures to ensure compliance.[21]

Measures to avoid or mitigate negative impacts of large dams globally have improved over the past 50 years as revisions to international law and the policies of developers have been made in response to growing voices of dissent.[22] However, the WCD also found these new standards tend to be overshadowed by the powerful interests and visions involved in large dam projects.

In Canada, despite advances in law, disputes between the Canadian government and Indigenous Peoples over hydro-power projects remain acrimonious.[23] The newly released book *Power Struggles: Hydro Development and First Nations In Manitoba and Quebec*, raises the question in relation to the James Bay and Northern Manitoba Cree as to whether new agreements, including the Wuskwatim Dam Project, *Paix des Braves*, and the Great Whale Project, in fact continue old relationships—if they signify the "end of

colonialism [or] its zenith."[24] Although the outcome of an agreement like the James Bay and Northern Quebec Agreement was a strengthening of political empowerment and cultural continuity, subsequent agreements are prompting questions about the prospects for long-term environmental protection; the interests promoting major initiatives; and the dissemination and accommodation of Aboriginal concerns by Canadian governments and the public in general.[25]

The history of the W.A.C. Bennett dam is very much alive, certainly for the Sekani; but also for First Nations like the West Moberly in relation to Site C development pressure, and for communities downstream of the W.A.C. Bennett Dam, where people on the Slave and Mackenzie Rivers and to the Beaufort Sea "still complain about the dam," blaming it for the dramatic drop in the muskrat population and for ice on the river. These communities also face the prospect of more hydro development. Headlines like "Ex-chief girds to battle massive $5 billion hydro generator," about a run-of-the-river generator on Slave Lake in northern Alberta, is a typical journalistic construction of a polarized "war" of opposing peoples and values, signifying power imbalances and the notion of winners and losers at ultimate costs.[26] Here, as elsewhere, many community members are sceptical about subsequent projects in which they have no true partnership role, even as communities are divided about the prospect of jobs or shared revenue from electricity sales. More generally, independent newswires like *Environment News Service* emphasize debate about decommissioning dams at the same time that the mainstream press talks about embracing them.[27] How public discourse on this critical issue is conducted in a changing media landscape, and by a mainstream corporate media whose public interests are subordinated to private profits and the interests of shareholders, continues to be a

matter of critical concern, particularly for Aboriginal peoples who otherwise fear they will be "left with the legacy for a lifetime."[28]

Finally, a note to those who use press sources as a window to other eras. Typically, journalism and business histories about structural changes in Canadian media assume such issues have relevance for, and impact on, media content and the conduct of public discourse.[29] Conversely, historians and others tend to mine press stories, using editorial content as evidence of the thinking of the day on a particular topic, on the assumption that reporters and writers reflect the biases of their time. Researchers often do so while unaware of evolving media business dynamics, journalistic practices, and structural issues. As argued here, media institutions were neither invisible nor passive, nor entirely generic; they played an active gatekeeping role in determining the topics of public debate and how that debate was conducted. Whether there is evidence enough to make a convincing case for direct cause and effect between media structure and media content may yet be open to debate.[30] The challenge is to recognize the links with, at least, greater awareness that they might indeed be critically significant to the conduct of public discourse in an evolving pluralist democratic society.

ENDNOTES

Introduction

[1]"In Fabulous Omineca: Little Known Land Scene of Project," Vancouver *Sun,* 14 February, 1957, 15. John Wedley used press sources to examine the Wenner-Gren and Peace River Power development programs in "Infrastructure and Resources: Governments and Their Promotion of Northern Development in British Columbia, 1945-1975" Ph.D. diss., University of Western Ontario, 1986. A relevant portion of Wedley's dissertation is published in John Wedley, "The Wenner-Gren and Peace River Power Development Programs," *Sa T'se: Historical Perspectives on Northern British Columbia*, ed. Thomas Thorner, (Prince George: College of New Caledonia Press, 1989), 515-46.

[2] Stu Keate, as quoted by Marc Edge, *Pacific Press: The Unauthorized Story of Vancouver's Newspaper Monopoly* (Vancouver: New Star Books, 2001), 21.

[3]Edge, *Pacific Press*, 8, 9, 21, 23. Edge notes the *Province* spent half a million dollars on a promotional budget in 1953 that still failed to increase its share of the Vancouver region market. By 1956 it had become obvious to the paper's owner, Southam Newspapers, that the *Province* would remain in second place, with the inevitable result that advertisers would follow readers to the leading paper. At the same time, as a chain-owned operation headquartered in Toronto, the *Province* was in a position to withstand a "long term [circulation] battle" with the family-owned Vancouver *Sun,* destined to be bought out by corporate chain interests in 1963. At the time under study, the two papers were draining their resources, locked as they were in a long-running circulation war; hence the impetus to merge. The 1957 merger was ruled an illegal monopoly by federal regulators, leading to lengthy hearings under the Restrictive Trade Practices Act

[4] "Wenner-Gren Named Link to Enemy During World War II," Prince George *Citizen,* 4 April 1957, 2

[5] "Welcome, Axel," Prince George *Citizen,* 21 February 1957.

[6] Publisher W.B. Milner was a businessman in the United States, the Okanagan and the Lower Mainland who also had business interests in Prince George when he bought the newspaper in 1956.

[7] Ben Metcalfe, "Aid Reaches Sekanis. A Quiet Word of Thanks," Vancouver *Province,* 18 March 1957, 1-3; "City's gifts give pause to poverty; "Aid for Sekani Indians promised by Pickersgill," Vancouver *Province,* 18 March 1957; Ben Metcalfe, "Northern Indian Tribe living in debt, squalor," Vancouver *Province,* 13 March 1957, 1; Ben Metcalfe, "Indians need a Schweitzer to save them," Vancouver *Province,* 13 March 1957, 3; Ben Metcalfe, "Help Rolls in for Starving BC Indians," Vancouver *Province,* 14 March 1957, 1; Editorial, "Self-Respect for the Sekani Indians," Vancouver *Province,* 19 March 1957, 4.

[8] Edge, *Pacific Press,* 8, 9, 21, 23.

[9] "'Save Sekanis' Move May be Heap Big Joke on White Man," Prince George *Citizen,* 21 March 1957, 2. "Citizen Exclusive: Sekanis Traditionally Beggars Says Expert; Squalor Hasn't Changed in Century and Half," Prince George *Citizen,* 18 March 1957, 1; "Brassieres, Perfume Among Sekani Gifts," Prince George *Citizen,* 18 March 1957, 1.

[10] See, for instance, Waldemaur Braul, "Ingenika Point: No More Riverboats," *Nation to Nation: Aboriginal Sovereignty and the Future of Canada*, Eds. Diane Engelstad and John Bird (Toronto: Citizens for Public Justice, 1992), 147-164.

[11] Guy Lanoue, *Brother: The Politics of Violence among the Sekani of Northern British Columbia,* (New York: Berg, 1992), xi. Braul, "No More Riverboats," *Nation to Nation,* 147-164.

[12] The 1989 Resettlement Agreement between the Ingenika Band, the Province of BC, BC Hydro and Canada on September 22, 1989, addressed the relocation and resettlement of the Tsay Keh Dene Band of Sekani Indians. Although characterized at the time as a "final agreement," it did not address land selection, survey issues, or Crown grants and transfers, leading to a further three years of negotiations. In addition, the agreement did not address the larger issue of the overall impact of the dam. In 2006, the province, the Tsay Keh Dene First Nation and the Kwadacha First Nation signed an agreement-in-principle, nearly forty years after the flooding, which the BC government press release issued at the time explained was intended to "address the impact on their communities and culture" of the W.A.C. Bennett Dam and the Williston Reservoir. The agreement is one step in a continuing process that has yet to lead to final agreement. See www.gov.bc.ca, "news," 12 December, 2006. The issue of title and rights continues to be the subject of negotiations between the Sekani and federal and provincial governments, with the impact of the Williston Reservoir central to the discussions, including concerns about impacts on wildlife and habitat. The

Peace/Williston Fish and Wildlife Compensation Program, a joint initiative of BC Hydro, the BC Ministry of Environment, and Fisheries and Oceans Canada, was established in 1988 "to compensate for the impacts to fish and wildlife caused by the creation of the Williston and Dinosaur reservoirs" and to "conserve and enhance" fish, wildlife and their habitat; the Tsay Keh Dene remain excluded from the decision-making process. Karl Sturmanis, Natural Resources Co-ordinator, Tsay Keh Dene, personal communication, 17 January 2009.

[13] Karl Froschauer, *White Gold: Hydroelectric Power in Canada* (Vancouver: UBC Press, 1999), 175.

[14] The Sekani were the original inhabitants of the region. Linguistically they fall within the Athabaskan family of languages. Anthropologist Guy Lanoue in the late 1970s studied Sekani cultural traditions under conditions of rapid change resulting from both the flooding and the impact of modern extractive industries such as logging. These, he said, had left people in a "disorganized and confused state," while "[t]hey feel and indeed act as if the flooding of the lake, the arrival of White industries and the bureaucratic flood tide aimed at 'helping' them are overwhelmingly disorienting and threatening." He argued that "what matters most to the Sekani is their view that a particular relationship to the land forms the basis of their social relationships and, hence, the core of their cultural traditions." Guy Lanoue, *Brothers: The Politics of Violence among the Sekani of Northern British Columbia* (New York: Berg, 1992), xi, 5-7. Similarly, J.E. Windsor and J.A. McVey in 2005 argued in relation to the irreversible destruction of dams that "the involuntary loss of place (place annihilation) is more devastating to First Nations' groups than to Europeans because, first, First Nations tend to have stronger spiritual and emotional connections to home places and, second, Europeans appear to have lost much of their place identity and, therefore, a sense of place." J.E. Windsor and J.A. McVey, "Annihilation of Both Place and Sense of Place: The Experience of the Cheslatta T'En Canadian First Nation within the Context of Large-scale Environmental Projects," *The Geographical Journal* (171) (2) (June 2005): 147.

[15] Michael Meadows, *Voices in the Wilderness: Images of Aboriginal People in the Australian Media,* Contributions to the Study of Mass Media and Communications, Number 59, (Westport, Connecticut: Greenwood Press, 2001), 10. Michael Meadows was summarizing British cultural theorist Stuart Hall's identification of "the role and place of ideology as important in any theory that attempts to explain both the monopoly of power and how members of a society consent to its continued influence."

[16] R. Scott Sheffield, *The Red Man's on the Warpath: The Image of the 'Indian' and the Second World War* (Vancouver: UBC Press, 2004), 6.

[17] Minko Sotiron, *From Politics to Profit: The Commercialization of Canadian Daily Newspapers, 1890-1920* (Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1997), 9.

[18] Peter Desbarats, *Guide to Canadian News Media,* (Toronto: Harcourt Brace & Company, 1996), 21-22.

[19] The "Conference on Media History in Canada," held at Ryerson University in May/June of 2006, was the first event to bring together scholars in the relatively new field of media history, addressing questions such as: What is media history? as well as addressing theories, media and national identity, and the business of media. Personal communication, Gene Allen, School of Journalism, Ryerson University, 21 March 2006. David Skinner in 2000 noted that Minko Sotiron's study of the commercialization of Canadian daily newspapers between 1890 and 1920 "provides a solid foundation for further work that might chart how the forces put into play during this period have met with more recent circumstances to nuance and shape the growth of the present day industry." David Skinner, review of "The Commercialization of Canadian Daily newspapers, 1890-1920," Canadian Journal of Communication (25)(3)(2000), http://www.cjc-online.ca/index.php/journal/article/viewArticle/1173/1092 (accessed 17 January 2009).

[20] Rowland Lorimer and Jean McNulty, *Mass Communication in Canada,* (Toronto: Oxford University Press, 1996), 73.

[21] Canada, *Special Senate Committee on Mass Media*, Report, vol 1. (Ottawa: Queen's Printer, 1970), 20.

[22] The Special Senate Committee on Mass Media, chaired by Senator Keith Davey, found that by 1970 "genuine" newspaper competition existed in only five Canadian cities. "The Uncertain Mirror: Report of the Special Senate Committee on Mass Media, Volume 1" (Ottawa: Queen's Printer for Canada, 1970), 5. By 1980, the Southam and Thomson chains controlled almost 60 per cent of Canada's English-language newspaper circulation. Two Quebec chains, Gesca and Quebecor, owned 75 per cent of French-language circulation. (CBC Archives: http://archives.cbc.ca/arts_entertainment/media/topics/790/ (accessed 28 September, 2005). The Senate Committee concluded "that this country should no longer tolerate a situation where the public interest, in so vital a field as information, is dependent on the greed or goodwill of an extremely privileged group of businessmen." Special Senate Committee on Mass Media, 67.

[23] Meadows, *Voices in the Wilderness*, 6. In 1989, a team of University of Toronto researchers, the first to study the news process in-depth, similarly described the news media as one of the most important and powerful institutions in the country. However, as Desbarats noted, the team was "intrigued by the fact that 'many people, academics in particular, are inclined not to take the news media seriously.' This was particularly true in Canada, where schools of journalism and communications studies were relatively new, small, and poorly supported by media corporations compared with those in the United States." Peter Desbarats, *Guide to Canadian News Media* (Toronto: Harcourt Brace and Company, Canada, 1996), 121. For a brief overview of Canadian literature on racism in print media and on the issue of media discourse involving First Nations Peoples, see Frances Henry and Carol Tator, *Discourses of Domination: Racial Bias in the Canadian English-language Press* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2002).

[24] Meadows, *Voices in the Wilderness,* ix. In Canada, Shannon Avison brought new attention to Aboriginal journalism in her 1996 Communications Studies thesis, where she noted researcher Hanno Hardt's observation of a "continuing need for competing or oppositional interpretations of journalism history, based on gender or ethnicity." Avison also noted Bruce E. Johansen's 1991 call to look at communication studies as both interdisciplinary and multicultural. Shannon Avison, "Aboriginal Newspapers: Their Contribution to the Emergence of an Alternative Public Sphere in Canada," (MA thesis, Concordia University, Montreal, 1996), 1, 2.

[25] Sheffield, *Red Man's on the Warpath,* 9, 10.

[26] Sheffield argued that historians in Canada "have viewed newspapers in a relatively narrow and limited fashion.....[They] tended to focus primarily on the editorial content and occasionally scanned the principal news page for the headlines, selectively checking small periods of time to find press response to particular events." Although he used the print media in a "more holistic fashion," Sheffield made the common assumption that "newspapers and magazines can be fruitfully mined for the common sense of the day" and thus failed to take into account key communication and cultural studies trends challenging such constructions. Sheffield, *Red Man's on the Warpath,* 12, 13. For instance, as Meadows summarized, the power of hegemony "lies with it being perceived not only as an expression of the interests of an elite but also because it is accepted as normal reality or common sense." Thus, hegemony offers "an appropriate means of understanding and analyzing the relations of power, consent, and authority in a social formation such as a dominant social bloc through a cultural institution, like the media." Further, discourse on social problems involves media framing, or "persistent patterns of cognition, interpretation, and presentation, of selection, emphasis, and exclusion, by which symbol-handlers routinely organize discourse." Meadows found, as a result, "the role of language and communication is ...crucial in creating the structures on which we rely to guide us through interactions outside our normal routines." Meadows, *Voices in the Wilderness*, 11, 12. See also: *Media Studies: A Reader*, eds. Paul Marris and Sue Thornham (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1996).

[27] Sheffield, *Red Man's on the Warpath,* 18.

[28] Froschauer, *White Gold,* 6. See also, World Commission on Dams, *Dams and Development: A New Framework for Decision-Making: Report of the World Commission on Dams* (London: Earthscan Publications Ltd., November 2000), 9-11.

[29] See William L. Bird, Jr., *'Better Living:' Advertising, Media, and the New Vocabulary of Business Leadership, 1935-1955* (Evanston, Ill.: Northwestern University Press, 1999) for a discussion of the U.S.-generated "Better Living" public relations campaign. Russell Johnston, in *Selling Themselves: The Emergence of Canadian Advertising* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2001), explored the development of advertising in the print media and the rise of public relations in Canada, as well as the connections between the Canadian and U.S. advertising industry. Regarding modernization as an ideology, Arn Keeling and Robert McDonald discussed "modernity" and "modernism" in "The Profligate Province: Roderick Haig-Brown and the Modernizing of British Columbia," *Journal of Canadian Studies (*36) (3) (Fall 2001), 7-23.

[30] Froschauer, *White Gold*, 4.

[31] World Commission on Dams, "Dams and Development: A New Framework for Decision-Making," *Report of the World Commission on Dams,* (London: Earthscan Publications Ltd., 2000), 120. Typical was the attitude of a developmental analyst in the 1960s who said that "The suffering and dislocation that may be caused in the process (of major hydroelectric development) may be objectionable, but it appears to be the price that has to be paid for economic development: the condition of economic progress." Colchester,

M. 2000 - Forest Peoples Programme: "Dams, Indigenous Peoples and Ethnic Minorities," Thematic Review 1.2 prepared as an input to the World Commission on Dams, Cape Town, www.dams.org , 52.
[32] World Commission on Dams, *Dams and Development,* xxx, 98, 103, 105,107, 108, 100-111, 120.
[33] Canadian ethnologist Jean-Luc Chodkiewicz in 1999 called for a study of social and environmental upheavals experienced in northern Canada, noting the growing literature on such themes in the aftermath of megadam construction in Asia, Africa and South America. J-L.Chodkiewicz, and Jennifer Brown, eds., *First Nations and Hydroelectric Development in Northern Manitoba. The Northern Flood Agreement: Issues and Implications* Rupert's Land Publications Series (Winnipeg: The Centre for Rupert's Land Studies, 1999), 13. Canadians C.M. Rosenberg, R.A. Bodaly, and P.J. Usher also raised concerns about the lack of attention to the consequences of major hydroelectric developments in their article: "Environmental and social impacts of large scale hydro-electric development: who is listening?" *Global Environmental Change* (5) (2) (1995), 127-148.
[34] Lanoue, *Brothers*; Mary Christina Koyl, "Cultural Chasm: a 1960s Hydro Development and the Tsay Keh Dene Community of Northern British Columbia," MA Thesis, University of Victoria, 1993; Katherine Buehler, "Come Hell or High Water: The Relocation of the Cheslatta First Nation," MA Thesis, University of Northern British Columbia, 1998; and, more recently, Windsor and McVey "Annihilation of Both Place and Sense of Place," 146-165.
[35] Thus, Mary Koyl's emphasis on communications challenges at the bureaucratic level with the Sekani regarding the need to relocate, and the implication that better processes might have led to improved outcomes, is a narrow framework of analysis of their forced relocation, given the major systemic issues at stake.
[36] Windsor and McVey, "Annihilation of Both Place and Sense of Place," 147.
[37] Koyl, "Cultural Chasm," iii, 1, 127, 129.
[38] Matthew Evenden, *Fish versus Power: An Environmental History of the Fraser River* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004).
[39] David Nye, *Consuming Power: A Social History of American Energies* (Cambridge, Massachusetts: MIT Press, 1999), 1, 2-3. See also Nye, *Electrifying America: Social Meanings of a New Technology, 1880-1940* (Cambridge, Massachusetts: MIT Press, 1991).
[40] Keeling and McDonald, "The Profligate Province," 7-23; Tina Loo, "Disturbing the Peace: Environmental Change and the Scales of Justice on a Northern River," *Environmental History* (12) (October 2007), 895-919.
[41] Johnston, *Selling Themselves,* 10. Avison used Habermas' theory of the public sphere to explore the evolution and dynamics of an "Aboriginal public sphere" in the Aboriginal press in Canada. See Avison, "Aboriginal Newspapers: Their Contribution to the Emergence of an Alternative Public Sphere in Canada," (MA thesis, Concordia University, Montreal, 1996).
[42] The growing concentration of newspaper ownership by the late 1960s led to a Royal Commission on Newspapers and the appointment of a special Senate committee on the mass media in March 1969, headed by Senator Keith Davey. The government ignored the committee's key recommendations to create a press ownership review board to limit the concentration of ownership, a publications development loan fund to help encourage new entries into the newspaper business, and a press council to deal with public complaints. The findings, however, sparked national dialogue on press freedom.
[43] Stephen Crook, Jan Pakulski, and Malcolm Waters, *Postmodernization: Change in Advanced Society* (London: Sage Publications, 1992), 31.
[44] Lorimer and McNulty, *Mass Communication in Canada*, 105.
[45] With regard to the complex interplay between media communication and public opinion, British media analyst Stuart Hall argued mass media communication involves three "moments of articulation": production, text, and reception, each of which may be studied separately but all of which are connected as sites of negotiated meaning. However, not all three "moments" are equivalent and scholars are finding a renewed interest in the production element as a site of power in the making of meaning. Stuart Hall, "Encoding/Decoding," *Media Studies: A Reader,* 41-49.
[46] Michael Dawson, *Selling British Columbia: Tourism and Consumer Culture, 1890-1970* (Vancouver: UBC Press, 2004), 13.
[47] Sandra Lambertus, *Wartime Images, Peacetime Wounds: The Media and the Gustafsen Lake Standoff,* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2004). Kenneth Brealey, review of *Wartime Images, Peacetime Wounds: The Media and the Gustafsen Lake Standoff,* by Sandra Lambertus, *BC Studies* 146 (Summer 2005),112-114. Valeria Alia in

her study of news, media, and Aboriginal people in the Canadian north, has registered her own protest that "Aboriginal people and issues are covered in national, regional or urban media only in times of crisis." Valerie Alia, *Un/Covering the North: News, Media, and Aboriginal People* (Vancouver: UBC Press, 1999), 32. This present study examines a single issue through an extended time, one not perceived as a crisis for the dominant society although experienced as one by the Sekani. As for the focus on print media, the story's emergence predates the rise of television as a significant factor in shaping the news agenda; moreover, print media typically engage in longer-term and more consistent coverage, providing the foundation for coverage at key points by other media. Finally, this examination includes the perspectives of alternative media, a consideration missing from Lambertus's Gustafsen Lake analysis.

[48] Meadows, *Voices in the Wilderness,* 214.

[49] Meadows has argued that "A combination of the two techniques—empirical investigation and discursive analysis—enables a 'deeper' analysis." Meadows, *Voices in the Wilderness,* 213.

[50]Bruce G. Miller, "The Press, The Boldt Decision, and Indian-White Relations," *American Indian Culture and Research Journal,* (17)(2)(1993), 76.

[51] Miller, "The Boldt Decision," 79.

[52] Wedley, "The Wenner-Gren and Peace River Power Development Programs," 519, 522.

[53] Sue Careless, a member of the Canadian Association of Journalists and The Periodical Writers Association of Canada, addressed the Canadian Association of Journalists annual conference, Halifax, April 7-9, 2000 on the issue of advocacy journalism and the difference between the 'alternative' and the 'mainstream' press. Sue Careless, "The Interim," http://www.theinterim.com/2000/may/10advocacy.html. (accessed 18 January 2009). Dan McLeod, editor of the alternative *Georgia Straight,"* which began publishing in 1967, told the Special Senate Committee on Mass Media in 1970: "We are wary of depending on advertising to support the paper, as that could lead to pressure groups or pressure from the advertisers." Special Senate Committee on Mass Media, 190.

[54] See Glacier Media Inc., http://www.glacierventures.com (accessed 17 January 2009). See also: http://media.integratir.com/t.gvc/PressReleases/Glacier%20%20Q3.pdf and http://www.theholmteam.ca/farm.media.HoC.pdf, a document prepared for submission to the Standing Committee on Agriculture and Agri-Food, House of Commons, October 26, 2006 by Wendy Holm, P. Ag. based on web research (accessed 17 January 2009).

[55] See George Affleck, *Paper Trails: A History of British Columbia and Yukon Community Newspapers* (Vancouver: Arch Communications, 1999). The book consists largely of anecdotes and informal histories as submitted by the founders and editors of various community newspapers.

[56] Valerie Giles, "Up the Creek never without a needle," Prince George *Citizen*, 5 January 2009. The *PG Newspaper Project* is jointly sponsored by BC150, the Irving K. Barber Learning Centre, PG Public Library, College of New Caledonia, University of Northern BC and The *Citizen*. The project will digitize entire editions, including advertisements and announcements, up to the present. The search page is at http://content.lib.sfu.ca/pgpl/search.php or can be accessed through www.lib.pg.bc.ca; www.lib.unbc.ca or www.cnc.bc.ca/library).

Chapter One

[1] The Prince George *Citizen* was first published in 1916 following "several colourful predecessors" and continued as the sole newspaper for the next several decades. The weekly newspaper *Prince George Echo* made a brief appearance in 1958, followed by *The Prince George Progress*, which was published weekly until 1970. Bev Christensen, *Prince George: Rivers, Railways, and Timber* (Windsor Publications, Ltd., 1989), 144. Arthur Siegel noted daily newspapers had long replaced weeklies as the most important source of domestic and foreign news. Although by 1956, television was establishing itself in Prince George, local programming was minimal and the press continued to set the news agenda. Despite the rapid incorporation of broadcast media into Canadian daily life, Siegel could still make the point in 1981 that "[n]ewspapers in Canada play the key role in preparing the message which is disseminated by other mass media channels such as television, radio and magazines." Arthur Siegel, *Politics and the Media in Canada* (Toronto: McGraw-Hill Ryerson Limited, 1983), 9, 98.

[2] Harold Hilliard, "As Others See Us: A Pinch of Calgary, A Dash of Edmonton: That's Prince George," reprinted in the Prince George *Citizen*, 24 December 1956, 8. The writer exclusively quoted "boosters" like

the mayor and the president of the board of trade, along with two city staff members, while crediting the board with the city's "flair for showmanship."

[3] Mary Koyl, "Cultural Chasm: A 1960s Hydro Development and the Tsay Keh Dene Native Community of Northern British Columbia," MA Thesis, University of Victoria, 1992, 90. Tennant noted that during the 1960s a half-dozen policy initiatives emerged from DIA that were un-coordinated but rooted in the liberal ideological view that individual Indians desired to be assimilated as equals into the larger Canadian society. The final initiative, "conceived as the culmination of the others," was the federal attempt of 1969 to produce a final Indian policy. Paul Tennant, *Aboriginal Peoples and Politics: the Indian Land Question in British Columbia*, 1849-1989 (Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press, 1991), 122, 142. Cassidy and Bish argued that as the drive for Indian self-government began to develop into a movement, the federal government responded in "contradictory ways,' facilitating the process even as it "either ignored the special nature of Canadian-Indian relations" or sought to terminate any form of special relationship. They thus characterized federal policy as one of a "duality of recognition and assimilation." Frank Cassidy and Robert L. Bish:, Indian Government: Its Meaning in Practice (Lantzville and Halifax: co-published by Oolichan Books and The Institute for Research on Public Policy, 1989), 7-8. See Sheffield for a discussion of the tensions between two key patterns in perception of Indians among English-Canadians, the "Administrative Indian" and the "Public Indian," as they evolved through the Second World War. He argued that by 1955 the flurry of public interest in Canadian "Indians" generated by their role in World War Two had faded; the result was that a wide range of often contradictory perceptions existed side by side at the time under study here. R. Scott Sheffield, *The Red Man's on the Warpath: The Image of the 'Indian' and the Second World War,* (Vancouver: UBC Press, 2004), 179.

[4] Advertisement, "The Citizen Takes Its Stand on the Frontier of Freedom," Prince George *Citizen*, 10 October 1961, 2. See also: "What's the Use of Talking if You Don't Know the Facts!" Prince George *Citizen,* 30 December 1963, 2. The Prince George *Citizen* was typical, after the Second World War, of the emphasis in Canada on the role of the press as an "independent [voice] in society seeking after truth in the name of the public good." The *Citizen's* editorials indicated it had fully adopted the libertarian construction that assumed individual freedom is paramount, and that the ultimate goal of government should be to impede the individual as little as possible, with the press acting as a watchdog of government on the citizen's behalf—a "fourth estate." This was an American influence that failed to serve some more collective Canadian interests. See Rowland Lorimer and Jean McNulty, *Mass Communication in Canada*, (Toronto: Oxford University Press, 1996), 73-75, 83, 86, 87.

[5] Minko Sotiron, *From Politics to Profit: The Commercialization of Canadian Daily Newspapers, 1890-1920,* (Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1997), 13, 160-161.

[6] "The Wasted People," Prince George *Citizen,* 28 March 1957, 2. Also see "Racial Discrimination or Proper Integration," *The Native Voice,* September 1956, 4; Dick Snell, "The Hobbema Story: Broken Promises, Rank Discrimination," *Calgary Herald,* as reprinted in *The Native Voice,* February 1957, 3.

[7] "UBC Research Team Proposes Sweeping Reforms for Indians," Prince George *Citizen,* 28 March 1957, 9. The report essentially called for an "Indian bill of rights" and urged granting Indians federal and provincial voting rights. Hawthorn was later involved in producing the two-volume *A Survey of the Contemporary Indians of Canada: Economic, Political and Educational Needs and Policies* (Hawthorn 1966, 1967).

[8] The information concerning Sekani and DIA interactions is documented in "Specific Claim: Ingenika Indian Band" submitted to the Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development, July 17, 1987, a copy of which was accessed through the Tsay Keh Dene band office in Prince George.

[9] Few scholars have researched the Sekani bands during the decade leading up to the flooding. The most often cited studies include Guy Lanoue, *Brothers: The Politics of Violence among the Sekani of Northern British Columbia,*(New York: Berg, 1992), and Koyl, "Cultural Chasm."

[10] Lanoue, *Brothers*, 13. For more general comment on aboriginal people north of the agricultural frontier see Alan D. McMillan and Eldon Yellowhorn, *First Peoples in Canada (*Vancouver: Douglas and McIntyre, 2004), 259, 260.

[11] On the Lejac residential school see Koyl, "Cultural Chasm," 38-43; and Jo-Anne Fiske, "Life at Lejac," in *Sa Ts'e: Historical Perspectives on Northern British Columbia*, ed. Thomas Thorner (College of New Caledonia Press, 1989), 235-272.

[12] Koyl, "Cultural Chasm," 35; Dennis Madill, "The Treaty 8 Portion of British Columbia," *Sa Ts'e: Historical Perspectives on Northern British Columbia,* ed. Thomas Thorner (College of New Caledonia Press: 1989), 229.
[13] Koyl, "Cultural Chasm," 46; Douglas R. Hudson, "Traplines and Timber: Social and Economic Change Among the Carrier Indians of Northern British Columbia," Ph.D. thesis, The University of Alberta, 1983, v.
[14] Koyl, "Cultural Chasm," 44.
[15] Koyl, "Cultural Chasm," 32, 66-67.
[16] Ingenika Band, *Specific Claim,* Summary of facts from correspondence between Boys and Presloski, Jan. 16/64; Presloski and Boys, Feb. 4/64 and Boys and Creighton, April 7/64.
[17] Ibid.
[18] Koyl, "Cultural Chasm," 47, 69.
[19] Cole Harris, *Making Native Space: Colonialism, Resistance, and Reserves in British Columbia,* (Vancouver: UBC Press, 2002), 296, 322.
[20] Waldemar Braul, "Ingenika Point: No More Riverboats," in *Nation to Nation: Aboriginal Sovereignty and the Future of Canada,* eds. Diane Engelstad and John Bird, (Concord: House of Anansi Press Ltd., 1992), 148.
[21] Sheffield, *Red Man's on the Warpath,* 41
[22] Stephen G. Tomblin, "W.A.C. Bennett and Province-Building in British Columbia," *BC Studies* 85 (Spring, 1990): 49.
[23]. On Treaty Eight and the Sekani, see Koyl, "Cultural Chasm," 33, and Dennis Madill, "The Treaty 8 Portion," 215-234.
[24] Matthew Evenden, *Fish versus Power, An Environmental History of the Fraser River,* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004), 3, 179-83, 217, 226-29.
[25] As Desbarats noted, the "vogue for investigative journalism" was born with Watergate. Peter Desbarats, *Guide to Canadian News Media,* (Toronto: Harcourt Brace & Company, 1996), 117. In fact, Watergate stories published in the *Washington Post* were largely ignored by the rest of the mainstream media. This insight led to the creation of *Project Censored,* a research group "dedicated to studying under-reported stories in the U.S. news media." See Bill Doskoch, Preface, *The Missing News: Filters and Blind Spots in Canada's Press,* by Robert A. Hackett, Richard Gruneau *et al (*Aurora, Ont: Canadian Centre for Policy Alternatives/Garamond Press, 2000), 7-8.
[26] Hackett et al., *The Missing News,* 6.
[27] Sotiron charted the early twentieth century shift in Canadian newspaper structures from the press's early roots in political partisanship in the hands of editor/politicians to the mass market, highly capitalized products of the commercialized press in the hands of the businessman/publisher. See Sotiron, *From Politics to Profit.* W.H. Kesteron argued a significant stage in the rise of the mass media began in 1953 when press owners sought to compete with television and broadcast industries for advertising and markets. They did so initially by bringing in "more content from afar" and increasing their visual appeal. Lorimer and McNulty, *Mass Media in Canada,* 73. The Senate Special Committee on the Mass Media described the 1950s and 1960s as an era of consolidation and convergence as chains bought out family-owned and individually run newspapers, and increased their monopolies in cities across Canada. Canada, *Special Senate Committee on Mass Media*, Report, vol. 2 (Ottawa: Queen's Printer, 1970), 20.
[28] Rowland Lorimer and Jean McNulty, *Mass Communication in Canada*, (Toronto: Oxford University Press, 1996), 73.
[29] Bev Christiansen, *Prince George: Rivers, Railways, and Timber,* (Canada: Windsor Publications, Ltd., 1989), 144. "Citizen Sold," Prince George *Citizen*, 19 November 1956: 1.
[30] Siegel remarked on the classic interconnection between press and politics in Canada's early journalistic history: "There was a very direct relationship in that 'it was almost impossible to be an editor without being a politician also.'" Politicians who were also editors include George Brown (the *Globe*), Wilfrid Laurier (*L'Electeur*), Henri Bourassea (*Le Devoir*), Joseph Howe (*Novascotian*), Amor de Cosmos (Victoria *Colonist*), Hector Langevin (*Le Courier*). "They are as much a part of the history of Canada as they are of the history of journalism." Arthur Siegel, *Politics and the Media in Canada,* (Toronto: McGraw-Hill Ryerson Limited, 1983), 94. Regarding Perry, see Bev Christiansen, *Rivers, Railways, and Timber*, 144; Bob Harkins, "Prince George's Memorable Mayors," text of a speech, College of New Caledonia, www.cnc.bc.ca/__shared/assets/2000harkins-pdf4411.pdf. (accessed 16/09/2007.) Perry published and

owned, in addition to the Prince George *Citizen,* the *Rupert Daily News* and the *Nechako Chronicle* for a number of years after his time in office. See "City of Prince George: Mayors History:" http://www.city.pg.bc.ca/cityhall/councilinfo/mayors/harrygperry/ (accessed: 16 September 2007).

[31] Harkins, *Memorable Mayors*, 5.

[32] "*Citizen* a Daily Starting September 1," Prince George *Citizen,* 6 December 1956, 1. Citizen Publishers and Printers Limited announced investments of more than $40,000 in new equipment in 1956, and adopted the offset printing process in 1963. See "Our Warmest Wishes," Editorial, Prince George *Citizen,* 24 December 1963: 2. Mary Vipond noted that the increasing capital necessary to begin and run a newspaper meant that: "No longer was the liberal ideal of a multiplicity of newspapers operating as a free marketplace of ideas a reality. Now the rule was 'anything can be said, providing it can be said profitably.'" Vipond was quoting Raymond Williams, "The Existing Alternatives in Communications," in K.J. McGarry, ed., *Mass Communications* (London: Bigley, 1972). Vipond, *Mass Media in Canada,* 19.

[33] Sotiron, *From Politics to Profit*, 30-31, 36.

[34] See for instance: "Citizen Sold," Prince George *Citizen*, 19 November 1956, 1; "W.B. Milner, Publisher: T.F. Hammond Named Editor of 'The Citizen,'" Prince George *Citizen*, 28 February 1957; "'Citizen' Editor Retires March 1," Prince George *Citizen,* 25 February 1957, 2; "Prairie Newsman Joins 'Citizen,'" Prince George *Citizen,* 25 March 1957, 2; "Veteran Newsman to Join 'Citizen,'" Prince George *Citizen,* 14 March 1957, 9. Sotiron argued generally that, "in addition to favouring business staff over editorial, publishers assumed tight control over their editorial staffs, despite the myth in newspaper circles that editors and reporters have always enjoyed a substantial degree of independence from their publishers." He traced relations between Canadian editors and publishers, illustrating a like-mindedness that served business interests or, where there was disagreement, showing how the prerogative of the publisher overrode editorial decisions. Sotiron, *From Politics to Profit*, 50.

[35] Sotiron, *From Politics to Profit*, 47, 50

[36] Sotiron, *From Politics to Profit*, 23-38

[37] Special Senate Committee on Mass Media, 34.

[38] See footnote 101.

[39] Prince George *Citizen*, 18 April 1957 edition.

[40] Desbarats, *Canadian News Media,* 19-20.

[41] Sheffield, *Red Man's on the Warpath,* 11, 25, 36-39

[42] As Lorimer and McNulty stated: "[T]he media determine the signification, or the creation and articulation of a symbolic system for determining meaning, in the beats that newspaper editors decide to assign to reporters or journalists. These beats...guarantee the presence of certain information and perspectives in the news rather than other information and perspectives. That pattern of presence and absence leads to the evolution of a point of view in the paper's overall operations." Lorimer and McNulty, *Mass Communication in Canada,* 89, 92-93.

[43] Lorimer and McNulty, *Mass Communication in Canada*, 92-93.

[44] Examples of stories about aboriginals in the Prince George *Citizen,* emanating almost exclusively from police and court sources, include "Tourist Slain; Police Seek Murder Weapon, Cree Indian Charged in Fatal Downtown Stabbing," Prince George *Citizen,* 11 February, 1957; "Continues Today: Murder Hearing; Accused Impassive As Evidence Unfolds," Prince George *Citizen,* 1 April 1957." "Booked for Vagrancy; Narcotics Suspected," Prince George *Citizen,* 5 November 1956, 3. "Hangovers Cost City $1500; Thirsty City Couple Stagger to 112 Drunk Convictions" Prince George *Citizen,* 10 January 1957, 1. "Native Found Guilty of Punching Officer," Prince George *Citizen,* 15 November 1956, 13. "Alkali Lake Indian Faces Murder Charge," Prince George *Citizen,* 3 January 1957, 1.

[45] Stories emphasizing the trade board include "An Important Committee," Prince George *Citizen*, 7 January 1957, 2; "Trade Board Backs Policy Urging Northern Development," Prince George *Citizen,* 18 April 1957, 9; "400 Attend Board of Trade Installations," 11 February 1957, 1; "Trade Board Asks Loans to Stimulate Land Development," Prince George *Citizen,* 15 April 1957, 2. "Harold Moffat heads Prince George Industrial Development Committee," Prince George *Citizen,* 31 December 1956, 1.

[46] "Oil Line Through Prince George; May Bring Refinery Here," Prince George *Citizen*, 18 April 1957, 1. For boosterish stories that depended exclusively on self-interested sources, see also "Prince George, Kitimat Axis Destined for Golden Future," Prince George *Citizen,* 13 May 1957, 11; "Swedish Development May Put Dry-Kiln Beside Every Mill," Prince George *Citizen,* 18 February 1957, 12; "Atom Scientist Sees Future of Pr. George Linked to Power," Prince George *Citizen,* 11 February 1957, 1;

"Drillers working on another Turner Valley?" Prince George *Citizen*, 30 December 1963, 1; and "Big gas field seen," Prince George *Citizen,* 17 March 1964, 1.
[47] "Modern Robin Hood?" Prince George *Citizen*, 13 May 1957, 2.
[48] "Too Little, Too Late?" Prince George *Citizen,* 25 April 1957, 2.
[49] Sotiron, *From Politics to Profit,* 66.
[50] Sotiron, *From Politics to Profit*, 65-66.
[51] Special Senate Committee on Mass Media, 6-7.
[52] Sotiron, *From Politics to Profit,* 66
[53] "Dairy Dispute Talks Continue," Prince George *Citizen*, 5 November 1956, 1. "Dairy Milk Price Hike May Result from Wage Increase," Prince George *Citizen,* 19 November 1956, 1.
[54] "A Message of Vital Interest to the Citizens of Prince George Concerning Natural Gas," Prince George *Citizen,* 7 March 1957, 12-13.
[55] "B.C. Gas Cheaper in Oregon Than Pr. George Says Mayor," Prince George *Citizen,* 8 April 1957, 1. "Best Deal' Promised Pr. Geo. In Natural Gas Distribution," Prince George *Citizen,* 6 June 1957, 1.
[56] Harkins, *Memorable Mayors*, 5-8.
[57] "An Independent Newspaper," Prince George *Citizen,* 4 March 1957, 2.
[58] See, for instance, "Editorial Gas Chamber," Prince George *Citizen*, 20 December 1956, 2.
[59] Editorial, "Government By Secrecy," Prince George *Citizen,* 21 January 1957, 2. Editorial, "Muffled Legislation," Prince George *Citizen,* 17 January 1957. The editorial used the example of a "small newspaper" that ran a story about a court action involving a former city official. The court clerk was a friend of the former official, resented the story, and refused reporters access to court records. The editorial then generalized about the "shockingly large number of elected and appointed officials from prime ministers, premiers and cabinet ministers to minor municipal clerks, who seem to agree that the average taxpayer and newspaper reader isn't to be trusted with information. Some of these self-appointed censors have a supreme contempt for the public mind – an overwheening determination to keep government within their own private circle."
[60] See, for instance, "Let There Be Light," Prince George *Citizen,* 24 January, 1957, 2. The letter writer, clearly influenced by American conceptions of a free press, supported the watchdog role of the media in order that "[g]overnment of the people by the people *for!* the people, shall not perish from the earth." The writer was quoting a seminal line from US President Abraham Lincoln's Gettysburg Address of 1863.
[61] Mary Vipond argued the mass media in Canada is the product of the tensions between two Canadian idea systems: the "myth of communication" in which a government-supported technological communications system has developed to suit national purposes, and the "ideology of liberal individualism," which has led to the development of a privately financed press embracing an individualist free-enterprise ideology. She pointed out that, despite the perception that Canada was "more conservative, more cautious, more collectively oriented, more willing to let government take charge, than the Americans," Canadians also shared "the major liberal and free-enterprise assumptions and goals of the Americans." Mary Vipond, *The Mass Media in Canada,*(Toronto: James Lorimer and Company, 1989), xi. Desbarats similarly noted Canada's development of a mixed public/private communications system and argued that competition between public and private broadcasters had benefited both, leading to a high degree of professionalism in Canadian radio and television. However, he stated in 1996 that such a claim "cannot yet be made for newspaper journalism in this country." Desbarats, *Canadian News Media,* 57, 59.
[62] Desbarats, *Canadian News Media,* 79.
[63] See, for instance: "Labour, Management Combine to Make Lumber Industry Safe," Prince George *Citizen,* 6 May 1957, 15. Also, an editorial in support of the Prince George Trade Board's Industrial Committee assumed a broad alliance of interests in its readership when it stated: "Every resident with a stake in the future—wage-earner and businessman—will welcome the Prince George industrial committee." The editorialists celebrated the prospects that "capital is looking north for new investment opportunities" and that "rich resources will be exploited." Prince George *Citizen,* 7 January 1957, 2.
[64] S.L. Bouey, "Anti-Annexation," Prince George *Citizen,* 24 December 1956, 2.
[65] Bev Christiansen, *Rivers, Railways, and Timber,* 113. As long-time Member of the Legislative Assembly for the North (Omineca) Cyril Shelford noted that "We did everything that we could to bring mines, pulp mills, plywood plants, sawmills, etc. to the North." However, he noted with irony: "This brought in turn union workers who supported the NDP....There is no doubt that Ray Williston and I did more to defeat ourselves than the NDP ever did." He also felt dismayed that major corporate interests threatened. the

interests of the "average person" and "thousands of small businessmen." Cyril Shelford, *From Snowshoes to Politics*, (Victoria: Orca Book Publishers, 1987), 176.
[66] "Labor Backs Webb For City Council," Prince George *Citizen*, 22 November 1956, 1. Shelford, *From Snowshoes to Profit*, 142.
[67] James Minal, "Survival in Socialism," Prince George *Citizen*, April 18, 1957, 2.
[68] Roy Reid, "Democratic Press," Prince George *Citizen*, April 25, 1957, 2.
[69] The publishing industry, described in *Canadian Printer and Publisher* as "the largest single section of Canada's manufacturing industries," took editorial stands relating to a host of issues ranging from unions and liquor advertising to immigration and income taxes, indicating it was often in a conflict of interest regarding key issues of public concern. See, for example, "No concessions on tariffs," and "Beer on streetcars?" *Canadian Printer and Publisher,* July 1960, 156; "Weeklies pledge support of ad ethics," *Canadian Printer and Publisher,* March 1960, 73; and "Mechanizing printing," *Canadian Printer and Publisher,* November 1960, 108.
[70] Carol Swayze, *Hard Choices: A Life of Thomas Berger* (Vancouver: Douglas and McIntyre, 1987), 90.
[71] "Second in Canada with national ad volume," Editorial, Prince George *Citizen*, 6 December 1956, 2. See also: "How This Newspaper Helps Advertisers.....By Having Our Temperature Taken Regularly," 10 January 1957, 2, and "Results Count," Prince George *Citizen,* 7 February 1957, 2,which noted in 1956 that national advertising had increased by more than 20 per cent over the previous year.
[72] As Sotiron stated: "The publisher was forced to commercialize the daily press in order to attract the wider readership necessary to attract the advertising revenues that were in turn necessary to pay for the new equipment and techniques. As a consequence, the political role of their publications was reduced: news as information was replaced by information as commodity." Sotiron, *From Politics to Profit*, 6, 7. Similarly, Johnston stated, "Canadian publishers of mass market periodicals began to realize that their primary market was no longer readers seeking information. Rather, it was advertisers seeking media sympathetic to their corporate goals..... Publishers too were businessmen, and there was no necessary contradiction between running a paper and pleasing one's advertisers." Russell Johnston, *Selling Themselves: The Emergence of Canadian Advertising,* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2001), 8.
[73] "Integrity in Advertising," *Canadian Printer and Publisher,* May 1960, 108. The Special Senate Committee on Mass Media stated in 1970 that "print has shared in the advertising boom: net advertising revenue for newspapers and periodicals more than tripled since 1950, and accounted for 65 per cent of the gross income of newspapers." Special Senate Committee on Mass Media, 40.
[74] Don Peacock, "CCF leader wants probe of media, curbs on ads," *Canadian Printer and Publisher,* March 1960, 79.
[75] C. Edwin Baker, *Advertising and a Democratic Press (*Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1994), 3. Also see Baker, *Advertising and a Democratic Press*, x, xi, 3,30, 43.
[76] Quebec's *La Presse* was among the first to codify relations between reporter and editor as part of the collective-bargaining agreement, which in *La Presse*'s case included a provision protecting journalists against being forced to write advertising copy. The agreement was reached in 1969. Special Senate Committee on Mass Media, 122.
[77] GE advertisement, "Built-In Electric Ranges," Prince George *Citizen,* 1 November 1956. Similarly, "news" articles highlighted stories about a "Simpson Sears Display Home," featuring pictures of refrigerators and stoves, as well as advertisements by Simpson Sears and other companies. See Prince George *Citizen,* 8 November, 1956.
[78] Johnston, *Selling Themselves*, 273.
[79] H.G. Hopkins, "On-the-job newspaper training," *Canadian Printer and Publisher,* September 1960, 64-65. See also Sotiron, *From Politics to Profit*, 62.
[80] "Business-Press Co-operation Vital to Good Civic Relations," Prince George *Citizen*, 29 November 1956, 3; Special Senate Committee on Mass Media, 4, 85.
[81] W.A. Hewitt, the *Toronto Star's* sports editor, was the first to use the inverted pyramid, instructing his reporters to "tell the result of the contest in your first paragraph, then if your report has to be cut for an advertisement, the readers will at least know who played, where, and who won, and the score." Sotiron, *From Politics to Profit*, 21. See also: Larry Perks, interview with Canadian publisher Roy Thomson, "How to buy newspapers and run them at a profit," *Canadian Printer and Publisher*, August 1961, 37.

[82] As Bird argued "Linking the politics of 'better living' to the Cold War, consumerism invited Americans to think of consumption as a political act. Total Electric living, automobile tailfins, and television became freighted with heightened personal and political meaning. Equating consumption with power, the New Vocabulary [of business] addressed the individual at home, not at the ballot box." William Bird, *"Better Living:" Advertising, Media and the New Vocabulary of Business Leadership, 1935-1955,* (Evanston, Illinois: Northwestern University Press, 1999), 208. Examples of Cold War rhetoric promoting consumption in the *Citizen* include: "Legislation didn't end sweatshops," Prince George *Citizen,* 17 December 1963, 2; "Farewell '56," Prince George *Citizen,* 31 December 1956, 2.
[83] "Engineers and Scientists hold the key to our nation's growth: GE," Advertisement, Prince George *Citizen,* 5 November 1956: 8. The Canadian General Electric Company advertisement celebrated the engineer's "vision, initiative and orderly thinking" as "vital to progress in this swift-moving technological age." It emphasized the technological wonder of "low-priced" electrical energy "made possible through the skills of professional engineers" and stated: "The future holds many engineering opportunities in Canada, where people are so electrically minded that the demand for power *doubles every 10 years*!"
[84] Maclean-Hunter Publishing Co. Ltd. advertisement, *Canadian Printer and Publisher,* June 1960, 32. The ad associated publishing and "low-cost electric power" with nationalism, progress and steady growth of business and industry. "They are, in fact, part of the Canadian way ... the best way for Canadians."
[85] BC Power Commission, "Lighting the Way to Better Living Throughout BC," advertisement, Prince George *Citizen,* 15 November 1956, 10. Also see "Light your way to a better home with this Free Home Lighting Kit!" Prince George *Citizen,* 16 January 1964, 9; and "The Return of HPQ," Prince George *Citizen,* 17 March 1964, 2.
[86] As Russell Johnston noted of the American influence on Canadian public relations: "Canadian adworkers constantly looked to the Americans for new ideas and confirmation of their own abilities. The commercial culture of the US appeared to be the most dynamic on earth and the most advanced in the art of advertising: observing this, a long string of Canadian adworkers looked south to get their advertising education." Johnston, *Selling Themselves*, 77
[87] Bird, *"Better Living,"* 7
[88] Bird, *"Better Living,"* 3, 17.
[89] David Nye, *Electrifying America: Social Meanings of a New Technology, 1880-1940,* (Cambridge, Massachusetts: MIT Press, 1990), 174.
[90] Michael Dawson, *Selling British Columbia: Tourism and Consumer Culture, 1890-1970,* (Vancouver: UBC Press, 2004), 155, 149-152.
[91] Mary Ann Weston, *Native Americans in the News: Images of Indians in the Twentieth Century Press,* (Westport, Connecticut: Greenwood Press, 1996), 131.

Chapter Two
[1] Jean Barman, *The West Beyond the West,* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1991), 283.
[2] Ibid.
[3] Vancouver *Sun,* 13 February 1957; Vancouver *Province*, 13 February 1957. See Eileen Williston and Betty Keller, *Forests, Power and Policy: The Legacy of Ray Williston,"* (Prince George: Caitlin Press Inc., 1997), 174 for an explanation as to how the Rocky Mountain Trench came to the attention of Axel Wenner-Gren.
[4] Barman, *The West,* 272, 281.
[5] Along with the *Citizen's* initial unequivocal support for the Wenner-Gren plan as demonstrated in its editorial "Welcome Axel," (Prince George *Citizen,* 21 February 1957, 2), the newspaper published an extra edition to announce the plan, reporting "enthusiastic reception from city residents on downtown streets." Wedley, "Wenner-Gren and Peace River Power," 538.
[6] Editorial, Vancouver *Province*, 6 March 1957, 6. See also: "Trade Board Backs Wenner-Gren Deal," Vancouver *Province,* 5 March 1957; Vancouver *Sun*, 15 February 1957, 1, which quoted Brenton S. Brown, president of the Vancouver Board of Trade, saying: "Naturally we are very much in favour of the influx of capital that will help to develop the country."
[7] Eric Hutton, "Is B.C.'s fanfare for Wenner-Gren another false alarm?" *Maclean's* 13 April 1957. As Hutton wrote: "Whatever the rights and wrongs of the dispute, everyone agrees one question is of first importance: are Wenner-Gren's plans likely to succeed?"
[8] "Open letter to Axel Wenner-Gren," Vancouver *Sun*, 22 March, 5, reprinted from the Victoria *Times.*

[9] "Wenner-Gren Cash 'Has Stains on it;' Alberta Liberal Leader Lashes out at BC Deal with 'Hitler's Friend,'" Vancouver *Sun*, 19 February 1957, 9.
[10] "Welcome Axel," Prince George *Citizen,* 21 February 1957, 2.
[11] Alex Young, "Forestry Laws by-passed; Wenner-Gren Deal Illegal, Strachan Tells Gov't," Vancouver *Sun,* 26 February 1957, 3.
[12] "Mine Group Asks Gov't Life Wenner-Gren Mineral Reserve," Vancouver *Sun,* 20 February 1957, 1.
[13] Bill Ryan, "Wenner-Gren deal will aid research," Vancouver *Province*, 16 February 1957, 21
[14] Jack McCaugherty, "Old story; Wealth of Trench explored," Vancouver *Province*, 19 February 1957, 17.
[15] "Wenner-Gren Project Jeopardizes Claims," Prince George *Citizen,* 7 March 1957, 11. "That Project: It's good!....It's bad!" *VPL Clippings File: Dams – BC – to 1957.* The latter included a *Canadian Press* story datelined Vanderhoof that quoted Norman Kerr, editor and publisher of the Nechako Chronicle. See also "Death knell for us, say B.C. miners," Vancouver *Province,* 20 February 1957, 1.
[16] "Mine Group Asks Gov't Lift Wenner-Gren Mineral Reserve," Vancouver *Sun,* 20 February 1957, 1.
[17] Hutton, "B.C.'s fanfare," *Maclean's*, 13 April 1957.
[18] Jim Hazelwood, "Prince George Excited at Wenner-Gren Plan," Vancouver *Sun*, 16 February 1957, 16. Moffat later became mayor of the city and when asked in the late 1960s about pollution from the mills told a student "Don't complain. That smell is the smell of pure gold." Morrison was also a local businessman; by 1970, the alternative press, the *Georgia Straight*, was writing about the centrality of Prince George to resource exploitation in the north, noting that the "reins of civic government are in the hands of a small conservative elite." G. Cott-Cocking, "Prince George was a pretty nice guy, but boy you oughta see his town," *Georgia Straight,* April 29-May 6, 1970.
[19] At the time under study, the *Dawson Creek Star* was published Tuesdays and Fridays by Bowes Publishers Ltd., based in Dawson Creek; its editor and publisher was David M. Bowes.
[20] *Dawson Creek Star*, 19 March 1957. Front page stories included an article headlined: "Northern BC Projected Plan May Involve Billions;" a reprint of the memorandum of intent; "Reaction," a series of snippets from company spokesmen by *Canadian Press;* and a story headlined: "Alberta Looks Askance at Diversion Plan."
[21] The Vancouver *Sun* in the early 1950s emphasized local coverage; its sole correspondent outside BC was posted in Ottawa. Edge, *Pacific Press,* 36-37. Siegel, writing in 1983, was concerned about the fragmentation of the press system in Canada, the lack of a national newspaper, and the city-based and regional bias of a press that "hobbled" public debate by catering to "local prejudice" and "self-centred attitudes" at the expense of inter-regional and national perspectives. Siegel, *Politics and the Media,* xii, 125, 133-4.
[22] "Vets Hope to get rights to minerals," *Dawson Creek Star,* 19 March 1957, 1.
[23] Bennett is viewed as so pivotal to BC's "era of progress" that David Mitchell dubbed him a "one-man government," as quoted by Jean Barman in *The West,* 296, while Keeling and McDonald described him as the "ringmaster of development." Stephen Tomblin and Martin Robin centred their arguments about the era on whether Bennet's power and control was "opportunistic" or visionary. Similarly, Frank Zelko depicted a symbiotic relationship between Bennett and the general public. However, an understanding of the practices and limitations of the press, a key institution at the time, can add nuance to an historiographical propensity to situate the locus of power almost exclusively in W.A.C. Bennett. See Barman, *The West,* 296; Arn Keeling and Robert McDonald, "The Profligate Province: Roderick Haig-Brown and the Modernizing of British Columbia," *Journal of Canadian Studies* (36)(3) (Fall 2001), 6; Stephen G. Tomblin, "W.A.C. Bennett and Province-Building in British Columbia," *BC Studies,* (85)(Spring, 1990),45; Martin Robin, "British Columbia: The Politics of Class Conflict," *Canadian Provincial Politics,* ed. M. Robin (Scarborough: Prentice Hall, 1972), 53; and Frank Zelko, "Making Greenpeace: The Development of Direct Action Environmentalism in British Columbia," *BC Studies* (142/143) (Summer/Autumn) (2004): 197.
[24] Robin, Pillars of Profit, 210.
[25] Marc Edge, *Pacific Press: The Unauthorized Story of Vancouver's newspaper Monopoly,* (Vancouver: New Star Books, 2001), 8, 9, 21, 23.
[26] Edge described the intensifying circulation war between the Vancouver *Province* and Vancouver *Sun,* and argued that, for *Sun* publisher Don Cromie, "making peace with Southam (the owner of the *Province)* made a lot of sense. Newspapers had become big business, and independent, family-owned dailies like his

were becoming an endangered species. Chains like Southam and Thomson were expanding and reaping the advantages of scale economies, which allowed them to reduce costs through centralized management. The chains were also better-equipped through diversification to weather the bad times that could put individual newspapers out of business." Edge also argued that Canadian inheritance tax laws and second-generation family ownership created pressure to sell out, leading to the demise of the independent newspaper. Edge, *Pacific Press,* 39, 61, 64.

[27] Edge, *Pacific Press,* 1. Competition between the city's two largest dailies had by 1954 turned into an "all-out war and created a climate for newspapering that reminded many, including (Pierre) Berton, if somewhat nostalgically, of 'the rough-and-ready, buccaneering brand of journalism that made Chicago famous in the '20's.' *Maclean's* columnist George Bains described the Vancouver *Sun*'s formula at the time as: "Bright writing, big headlines and outrageous stunts....[A]t The Sun when the story was big, they played it big." When Stuart Keate became publisher of the Vancouver Sun in 1964, he sought to "reduce the strident tone of its columns" and to make it "less parochial, more 'independent' and more 'responsible,' thus ending the "'Front Page' school of another era." Edge, *Pacific Press,* 38, 74.

[28] Gordon McCallum, *Province* Victoria Bureau, "First stage of gigantic project set," Vancouver *Province,* 13 February 1957, 1.

[29] Edge, *Pacific Press,* 37, 38. Edge noted that in 1953 there was a "proliferation" of columnists in the city, running to eighteen among three dailies, with eight at the Vancouver *Sun.*

[30] Edge, *Pacific Press,* 8, 9, 22.

[31] Edge, *Pacific Press,* 47.

[32] "Wenner-Gren Fight Rocks Legislature," Vancouver *Sun,* 15 February 1957, 1; "Dowding Hits Investments: 'We're Squatters'" Vancouver *Province,* 15 February 1957, 3; "House debate boils," Vancouver *Province,* 15 February 1957, 3; James K. Nesbitt, "House Row Due on Wenner-Gren Deal," Vancouver *Sun,* 14 February 1957, 2; James K. Nesbitt, "Wenner-Gren Furore Subsiding," Vancouver *Sun,* 6 March 1957, 2.

[33] See, for instance: James K. Nesbitt, Dowding Hits Investments: 'We're Squatters'" Vancouver *Province,* 15 February 1957, 3.

[34] Examples include: Gordon McCallum, "Socreds' future tied to Omineca: CCF opens assault" by Gordon McCallum, Vancouver *Province,* 19 February 1957, 3; "Dowding Hits Investments: 'We're Squatters'" Vancouver *Province,* 15 February 1957, 3.

[35] "PM Won't Probe Wenner-Gren," Vancouver *Province,* 2 November 1957, 3.

[36] Peter Desbarats, *Guide to Canadian News Media,* (Toronto: Harcourt Brace & Company, 1996),138, 140.

[37]The Special Senate Committee on Mass Media in its examination of the industry through the 1960s found instances where the CCF was deliberately not covered in mainstream presses, and where "socialism" as a concept was omitted even where it might legitimately have been covered as part of a news story. Canada, Special Senate Committee on Mass Media, Report, vol. 2 (Ottawa: Queen's Printer, 1970), 87. Desbarats cited long-time journalist Charles Lynch recalling "many instances of suppression of news for political reasons," including in New Brunswick where he "learned to regard 'visiting CCF emissaries from Saskatchewan like communist agents...They got no press coverage at all.' Desbarats, *Canadian News Media,* 19, 96. More generally, labour newspapers expressing a left-leaning view of society proliferated in Canada in the early twentieth century. However, as Baker argued, the disappearance of such examples of "differentiated" content was a structural issue directly attributable to the role of advertising in a privately owned press, leading to monopolies and suggesting, not that readers were uninterested in such viewpoints, but that the press system was structured against delivering alternatives. Notoriously, Britain's *Daily Herald,* the "lone consistent voice of social democracy in the national [British] daily press," shut down in the 1960s despite serving 4.7 million largely poor working class readers— "nearly twice as many as the readership of *The Times, Financial Times* and *Guardian* added together"— because advertisers wanted a more upmarket audience with larger disposable incomes. C. Edwin Baker, *Advertising and a Democratic Press,* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1994), 12-13.

[38] Vancouver *Province,* 15 February 1957, 1. Vancouver *Sun,* 28 February 1957, 1. Sub-headings in the Sun's major overview included: "What is Rocky Mountain Trench? How Did BC Interest Swedes? What Has He Promised? Who are the Firm's Directors? How Much Will It all Cost? How Big is Mineral Reserve? What are These Objections? Why Monorail for Trench? Is 180 MPH Speed Practical?"

[39] The Vancouver *Sun* currently explains on its editorial pages why the "newspaper's views" are unsigned and how its editorial positions are arrived at. Such explanations indicate a more open relationship with readers about the news gathering and editorial process. The paper also identifies all editorial board members by name, title and role.
[40] Editorial, "The Wenner-Gren Project," Vancouver *Province:* 15 February 1957. Editorial, 'A sensible look at the Wenner-Green deal," Vancouver *Province,* 6 March 1957, 6. Bill Ryan, Province Business Editor, "Trade Board Backs Wenner-Gren Deal," Vancouver *Province,* 5 March 1957, 4.
[41] "Even A-G was Skeptical; Wenner-Gren Deal Just as Good as the Final Contract," Vancouver *Sun*, 16 February 1957, 4.
[42] "Welcome Axel," Prince George *Citizen*, 21 February 1957.
[43] Edge, *Pacific Press,* 57, 65.
[44] See, for instance, BC Fish and Game Federation, "Power vs. Fish," Prince George *Citizen,* 24 December 1956; G.M. Campbell, Veteran BC Mining Engineer, "Power projects take valuable land," *The Financial Times,* as reprinted in the Prince George *Citizen,* 30 March 1964; E.S. Howarth, "Anti-Wenner-Gren," Prince George *Citizen,* 28 February 1957, 2; Organizing Committee, Technocracy Inc, Prince George, "Technocracy Objects," Prince George *Citizen,* 14 February 1957, 2.
[45] Jeff Crane, "Protesting Monuments to Progress: A Comparative Study of Protests Against Four Dams, 1838-1955," *Oregon Historical Quarterly* 103(3) (2002), 295; 308-310.
[46] Crane, "Protesting Monuments to Progress," 311-3.
[47] Stephen Dale, *McLuhan's Children: The Greenpeace Message and the Media* (Toronto: Between the Lines, 1996), 3.
[48] See Keeling and McDonald, "The Profligate Province," 7-23; E. Bennett Metcalfe, *The Life of Roderick Langmere Haig-Brown: A Man of Some Importance (*Seattle: James W. Wood, 1985), 190-191.
[49] Metcalfe, *Life of Roderick Langmere Haig-Brown,* 189.
[50] Zelko, "Making Greenpeace," 197-239.
[51] BC Hydro Power Pioneers, *Gaslights to Gigawatts: A Human History of BC Hydro and its Predecessors,* (Vancouver: Hurricane Press, 1998), 103
[52] The BC Fish and Game Federation, for instance, questioned claims by proponents of the Moran dam on the Fraser River that it would "bring an estimated billion dollars of new industrial wealth to BC," protesting that "everyone is not in accord" with this thinking, and that power interests were over-riding public education interests on the issue. The letter further contended that "BC people are beginning to ask more and more questions about proposals to harness salmon streams for new power income. They read their own domestic power bills and ask about the 'more cheap power' claim...They know now that low power rates as in inducement to new industry is a myth, and wonder which light metal industry really wants the dam." The letter also derided the claim that the province needed the "world's biggest power source" and stated it would in fact "merely pay dividends to out of Canada investors." BC Fish and Game Federation, "Power vs. Fish," Prince George *Citizen,* 24 December 1956.
[53] See, for instance, "In Fabulous Omineca: Little Known Land Scene of Project," Vancouver *Sun,* 14 February, 1957, 15
[54] Jack Scott, "Jack Scott Visits Wenner-Grenland," Vancouver *Sun*, 19 February 1957, 1,3.
[55] Ibid.
[56] Edge, *Pacific Press,* 53
[57] Ibid.
[58] Industry spokespeople tended to emphasize skills in "colourful writing," grammar, and an ability to "pick up newspaper jargon," in stories centering largely on crime, accidents and fires. See: Pierre Berton, "You, Too, Can Break into the Newspaper Game," in P.W. Luce, *B.C.'s Weekly Press*,(1) (June 1946), 13-15; "How to get a job," Prince George *Citizen,* 18 December 1963, 9; "Weeklies have their faults and one of them is dailies," *Canadian Printer and Publisher*, June 1963, 106.
[59] Desbarats, *Canadian News Media,* 98.
[60] Doug Peck, "Power in the wilderness; This is ... the Trench." Vancouver *Province*, January 23, 1960, 3. See also: "Couldn't Care Less: Veteran Riverman; Wenner-Gren Fails to Excite Stolid Fort McLeod Residents," Prince George *Citizen,* 21 February 1957, 2. In the latter, the writer found literary merit in contrasting the "fabulous" Wenner-Gren plan with the "tough" life in the valley, paying homage to the spirit of independence of those who lived in the region even as the article signalled the inevitable demise of their way of life.

[61] Paddy Sherman, *Bennett,* (Toronto: McClelland and Steward Ltd., 1966), 209.
[62] Gordon E. Bowes, Ed., *Peace River Chronicles* (Vancouver: Prescott Publishing Company, 1963), 18.
[63] *The Native Voice*, October 1957, 1.
[64] Rex Weyler, *Greenpeace: How a Group of Ecologists, Journalists and Visionaries Changed the World,"* (Vancouver: Raincoast Books, 2004), 29-31, 40, 46.
[65] See, for instance, Ben Metcalfe, "North exults at dream come true," Vancouver *Province*, Feb. 13, 1957. Metcalfe concluded his story on an interpretive note by saying "But this city today can be forgiven if it forgets the problems of such a promising future." See also, Ben Metcalfe, "Who was the Guide? I was, says coffee-shop man, I told Wenner-Gren about BC," Vancouver *Province*, 14 February 1957, 1.
[66] Ben Metcalfe, "Northern Indian tribe living in debt, squalor," Vancouver *Province,"* 13 March 1957, 1; Charlie King, "Aid for Sekani Indians Promised by Pickersgill," Vancouver *Province,* 18 March 1957, 3; Ben Metcalfe, "Aid Reaches Sekanis. A Quiet Word of Thanks," Vancouver *Province,* 18 March 1957, 1-3; "City's gifts give pause to poverty," Vancouver *Province,* 18 March 1957; Ben Metcalfe, "Indians need a Schweitzer to save them," Vancouver *Province,* 13 March 1957, 3; Ben Metcalfe, "Help Rolls in for Starving BC Indians," Vancouver *Province,* 14 March 1957, 1; Editorial, "Self-Respect for the Sekani Indians," Vancouver *Province,* 19 March 1957, 4; "Sekanis 'Never Worth Much,'" Vancouver *Province,* 19 March 1957, 11. The stories published in the Prince George *Citizen* include: "Citizen Exclusive: Sekanis Traditionally Beggars Says Expert; Squalor Hasn't Changed in Century and Half," Prince George *Citizen,* 18 March 1957, 1; "Brassieres, Perfume Among Sekani Gifts," Prince George *Citizen,* 18 March 1957, 1; CP, "Indians Must Help Selves Says Immigration Minister," Prince George *Citizen,* 1 April 1957, 1; " 'Save Sekanis' Move May Be Heap Big Joke on White Man," Prince George *Citizen,* 21 March 1957, 2. Editorial, "Give Help, But Wisely," Prince George *Citizen,* 18 March 1957, 2. Lizette Hall, "The Judge Rebuked," Letter to the Editor, Prince George *Citizen,* 1 April 1957, 2; A Carrier Indian, "An Indian Replies," Letter to the Editor, Prince George *Citizen,* 25 March 1957, 2; Maisie Hurley, "A Fresh Look at the Sekani Problem Native Voice," *The Native Voice,* April, 1957; *Canadian Press* (Fort Ware), "Trench Indians Get Aid," *Dawson Creek Star,* 19 March 1957, 1; "Bare Plight of Indians," *Pacific Tribute,* 22 March 1957, 9; "Donations Assist Band," *Globe and Mail,* 19 March 1957, 11.
[67] Ben Metcalfe, "Northern Indian tribe living in debt, squalor," Vancouver *Province,* 13 March 1957, 1. Reporting that emphasized objectivity and facts, as noted by a media critic in the 1960s, "may be useful for stories dealing with accidents, violence or sports, but can be 'a limiting and distorting technique" in dealing with important and complicated events when they fail to situated facts in the context of history, region, economics or culture. James Reston, *The Artillery of the Press* (New York: Harper & Row, 1966), as quoted in Siegel, *Politics and the Media,* 196. See also Special Senate Committee on Mass Media, 9.
[68] Ben Metcalfe, "Aid Reaches Sekanis. A Quiet Word of Thanks," Vancouver *Province,* 18 March 1957, 1-3.
[69] Charlie King, "Aid for Sekani Indians Promised by Pickersgill," Vancouver *Province,* 18 March 1957, 3.
[70] "Donations Assist Band," *Globe and Mail,* 19 March 1957, 11. The story was accompanied by another headlined: "'Generation of Bums:' Indians Off Reserves Can't Work, Says MP," *Globe and Mail,* 19 March 1957, 11, which focused on the issue of Indian welfare.
[71] "Citizen Exclusive: Sekanis Traditionally Beggars Says Expert; Squalor Hasn't Changed in Century and Half," Prince George *Citizen,* 18 March 1957, 1. "Brassieres, Perfume Among Sekani Gifts," Prince George *Citizen,* 18 March 1957, 1. Castillou served as an advisor to Andrew Paull (who worked for a time as a sports writer at the Vancouver *Province)* and the North American Indian Brotherhood. Paul Tennant, *Aboriginal Peoples and Politics: The Land Question in British Columbia, 1949-1989,* (Vancouver: UBC Press, 1991), 120-121.
[72] Ibid.
[73] "'Save Sekanis' Move May Be Heap Big Joke on White Man," Prince George *Citizen,* 21 March 1957, 2.
[74] Editorial, "Give Help, But Wisely," Prince George *Citizen,* 18 March 1957, 2.
[75] See for instance: "The trouble with this country," Prince George *Citizen,* 13 January 1964, in which the paper admonished the public for not expressing opinions and convictions publicly. Editorialists called for more political participation and more letters to the editor, stating: "[I]n a time of creeping bureaucracy and socialization of institutions and habits, the individual must be heard or he's going to disappear forever from the scene. If democracy fails, it is because we fail to use the freedoms it offers."
[76] Lizette Hall, "The Judge Rebuked," Letter to the Editor, Prince George *Citizen,* 1 April 1957, 2. Hall later authored *The Carrier, My People.* (Quesnel: Papyrus Printers, 1992).

[77] A Carrier Indian, "An Indian Replies," Letter to the Editor, Prince George *Citizen,* 25 March 1957, 2.
[78] See: "Weeklies have their faults and one of them is dailies," *Canadian Printer and Publisher*, June 1963, 106, in which daily newspaper editors criticized weeklies for not being critical of news fed to them by the dailies, whose judgement "often is faulty and represents a limited viewpoint." With regard to the role of *Canadian Press,* Desbarats stated the wire service was "[h]eavily influenced by the writing style and journalistic practices of the *Associated Press*," and was influential in promulgating a dispassionate and 'objective' style of reporting among Canadian journalists, at least among those working on English-language newspapers." Desbarats, *Canadian News Media,* 22.
[79] "Alberta weeklies lacking interest in editorial content," *Canadian Printer & Publisher*, October 1963, 96; "Mechanizing printing," *Canadian Printer and Publisher,* November 1960, 108.
[80] "Alberta weeklies lacking interest in editorial content," *Canadian Printer & Publisher*, October 1963, 96.
[81] Siegel, *Politics and the Media,* 196
[82] *Canadian Press,* Fort Ware, "Trench Indians Get Aid," *Dawson Creek Star,* 19 March 1957, 1.
[83] Shannon Avison, "Aboriginal Newspapers: Their Contribution to the Emergence of an Alternative Public Sphere in Canada," MA Thesis, (Montreal: Concordia University, 1996), 196.
[84] Carolyn Swayze, "Hard Choices: A Life of Tom Berger," (Vancouver: Douglas & McIntyre, 1987), 65-68. "The texture and shape of Tom Berger's life as a lawyer, indeed of his entire career, was moulded by Tom and Maisie Hurley," Swayze wrote. Maisie Hurley became an associate of the Native Brotherhood of BC, and began publishing *The Native Voice* in 1946. As Swayze characterized it: "*The Voice* strove to unify Indians and to publicize their cause so that rights could be restored. A recurring theme was that, morally and legally, the Indians still owned the province because they had never signed a treaty." Swayze noted that Berger became "intrigued" with Hurley's arguments and that by 1961 he was involved with issues of sovereignty and historic rights, to the point that "Maisie's people defined Tom Berger's life." Swayze, *Hard Choices,* 67, 68.
[85] Maisie Hurley, "A Fresh Look at the Sekani Problem Native Voice," *The Native Voice,* April, 1957.
[86] Ibid.
[87] Ibid.
[88] Ibid.
[89] Eileen Williston and Betty Keller, *Forests, Power and Policy: The Legacy of Ray Williston,*(Prince George: Caitlin Press Inc., 1997), 176. Wenner-Gren surveys in 1957 identified possible dam sites above Portage Mountain at the junction with the Wicked River, at Carbon River and at Portage Mountain. Sites identified down river included Hudson's Hope (Site A) and Fort St. John (Site C). Williston and Keller noted: "These dams and their generating facilities would be constructed one by one as the demand for electricity warranted." However, technical difficulties identified at the first dam site at Wicked River appeared insurmountable. Attention subsequently focused on Portage Mountain, west of Hudson's Hope. It became apparent that not only would a massive dam be required but that "far more power would be generated by the first stage of dam construction" than would be needed for the monorail and other initial industries. Williston and Keller, *Forests, Power and Policy,* 176-178.
[90] Williston and Keller, *Forests, Power and Policy,* 178.
[91] Stephen G. Tomblin, "W.A.C. Bennett and Province Building in British Columbia," *BC Studies* (85)(Spring 199), 49.
[92] As typical of press conferences, both the Vancouver *Sun* and *Province* were in the position of liberally quoting Bennett and Williston, who orchestrated the event and were in control of the message they wanted to deliver to the public. Paddy Sherman in 1964 complained publicly about the process, informing readers of the struggle for information control between press and Bennett regarding comparative Peace and Columbia costs. Sherman wrote: "Wednesday's press conference was no exception. Reporters got their documents after [Bennett] made his speech. They hadn't had time to analyze the complications so they could ask sensible questions. Consequently, the bulk of the information that went out was the speech of Premier Bennett, and what he said it all meant." See Paddy Sherman, "Bennett Ready to Dance," reprinted in the Prince George *Citizen*, 27 January 1964, 9. Desbarats noted that by the 1970s and 1980s, the rise of investigative reporting began to shift the power dynamics between politicians and press. Desbarats, *Canadian News Media,* 155, 162-163.
[93] Paddy Sherman, "Bennett Ready to Dance," reprinted in the Prince George *Citizen*, 27 January 1964, 9.
[94] As BC historian Jeremy Mouat wrote in 1997: "Affluence and growth, the hallmarks of the post-war era, left consumers with an insatiable appetite for energy.... The sense that electricity had become a necessary

part of everyday life encouraged the provincial government to consider ways in which all British Columbians could enjoy its benefits." Jeremy Mouat, *The Business of Power: Hydroelectricity in Southeastern British Columbia,1897-1997* (Victoria: Sono Nis Press, 1997), 139, 160. Nye more critically charted the incorporation of electrification into the American cultural and economic fabric to argue that "[t]he more electricity seemed to be a natural part of life, the more it would appear to be a natural right." David Nye, *Electrifying America: Social Meanings of a New Technology, 1880-1940,* (Cambridge, Massachusetts: MIT Press, 1999), 184.

[95] Krech was quoting conservationist Gifford Pinchot. Shepard Krech III, *The Ecological Indian: Myth and History* (New York: WW Norton and Company, 1999), 25.

[96] Loo, "People in the Way: Modernity, Environment, and Society on the Arrow Lakes," *BC Studies* (142-143) (Summer/Autumn) (2004), 163.

[97] Loo, "People in the Way," 163-164.

[98] Matthew Evenden, *Fish vs. Power: An Environmental History of the Fraser River,* (Cambridge University Press, 2004), 274

[99] Tomblin, "Province Building," 46-47; Karl Froschauer, *White Gold: Hydroelectric Power in Canada,* (Vancouver: UBC Press, 1999), 14, 197-8, 210, 224; Mark Jaccard, John Nyboer, and Timo Makinen, "Managing Instead of Building: B.C. Hydro's Role in the 1990s," *BC Studies,* (91-92) (Autumn-Winter) (1991-92), 99.

[100] Evenden, *Fish vs. Power*, 268.

[101] See Williston and Keller, *Forests, Power and Policy,* 172-173.

[102] As noted, the publicly owned B.C. Power Corporation had extended electricity well into the hinterland, and was conducting surveys for potential plants, which were later shelved once the Two Rivers policy was underway. The province's key private power utility, BC Electric, had shown "little appetite for economically risky dam projects" and had concentrated on consolidation of its existing system rather than expansion. The Bridge River development was undertaken under pressure from the BC government as part of a "game of catch-up" to the American model. By 1959, BC Electric viewed the renewed talks on the Columbia as the logical prospect for increasing its source of supply. BC Hydro Power Pioneers, *Gaslights to Gigawatts,* 73-102; Evenden, *Fish vs. Power,* 269; Sherman, *Bennett,* 227; Williston and Keller, *Forests, Power and Policy,* 179-180, 187, 195.

[103] Bruce Hutchison, "Ottawa Storm: Peace River Plan Buffeted," *Christian Science Monitor,* 21 November 1958.

[104] Desbarats found, even in the 1990s, that "[m]ost reporters did not have advanced specialist knowledge. If they did have, they were not usually assigned to topics or beats in which they could make use of it." The lack of specialized journalism was raised by the Royal Commission on Newspapers in 1981as "one of the great unresolved conflicts of the newsroom." The Commission noted that lack of resources led to "many examples of rushed, slipshod, inexpert, and sometimes deliberately misleading reporting," while the unwillingness of newspaper managements to invest money in news-gathering led to an emphasis on stories "that would turn out predictably—meetings and the like, from which there would be a sure return in publishable copy. They were not willing to invest in exploratory assignments and long-term projects; consequently readers got 'a cursory view of the news.'" Desbarats was quoting George Bain, "English-speaking Journalists on Journalism" in The Journalists, by Robert Fulford et al., Royal Commission on Newspapers, Research Studies on the Newspaper Industry, vol. 2 (Ottawa: Supply and Services Canada, 1981). See Desbarats, *Canadian News Media,* 129-132, 133, 135.

[105] In the 1950s, reporters on small Canadian dailies earned $40 a week and editors at the press agencies $55. Most were high school graduates working their way up in the newsroom. Journalism was typically viewed as a stepping stone for public relations and government information services; it was not viewed as a respectable career in itself until the 1980s. Siegel, *Politics and the Media,* 28. The Report of the Special Senate Committee on Mass Media also commented on low salaries in the 1960s and found that "newsrooms are chronically understaffed, the turnover in personnel is scandalous, and the best people...frequently move on to some other industry, such as advertising or public relations, where talent is recognized and rewarded." In 1970 only three academic programmes existed offering complete courses in journalism; all three were in Ontario. Some thirty other universities and colleges offered "abbreviated courses in practical journalism" and "communications arts" but their contribution was "pitifully small in relation to the need." The Senate committee decried the lack of journalistic professionalism and called for more journalism specialists in such areas as labour, health, urban planning, politics, economics and social

sciences. Special Senate Committee on Mass Media, 65. See also: Desbarats, *Canadian News Media,* 93, 96,121.
[106] Arthur Siegel, *Politics and the Media in Canada,* (Toronto: McGraw-Hill Ryerson Limited, 1983), 28; Desbarats, *Canadian News Media,* 92-93.
[107] Special Senate Committee on Mass Media, 65.
[108] H.G. Hopkins, Managing Editor, Medicine Hat News, "On-the-job newspaper training," *Canadian Printer and Publisher,* September 1960, 64-65.
[109] Ibid.
[110] "First journalism seminar contributes to professionalism," *Canadian Printer and Publisher,* July 1960, 137.
[111] Special Senate Committee on Mass Media, 121-133; Desbarats, *Canadian News Media,* 225-241. Professional associations concerned with journalistic standards were formed in 1969, two in Quebec and the third, the Canadian Society of Professional Journalists, in Toronto. The Senate Committee found that press owners' groups (the Canadian Daily Newspaper Publishers Association and the Canadian Association of Broadcasters) "displayed no interest whatever in establishing professional standards or in training the people who produce the product they sell. They exist for one purpose—to promote the sale of advertising space and time." Special Senate Committee on Mass Media, *122-126.*
[112] Desbarats, *Canadian News Media,* 99-100. Siegel concluded that "unionization in the newsroom came late in Canada and did so in piecemeal fashion." Siegel, *Politics and the Media,* 26, 28.
[113] Special Senate Committee on Mass Media, 10
[114] Larry Perks, "How to buy newspapers and run them at a profit," *Canadian Printer & Publisher,* August 1961, 36.
[115] Bruce Hutchison, "Canadians Lay Plans to Export Power," The *Christian Science Monitor,* 29 October 1958.
[116] "Wenner-Gren Power Export Bid Must be Refused," Winnipeg *Free Press*, reprinted in the Vancouver *Sun,* 30 November 1959.
[117] "Wenner-Gren a Smokescreen? Vancouver *Sun,* 8 April 1957.
[118] Ibid. The Vancouver *Sun* also reprinted a story published in the Wall Street Journal, which it informed readers was the "bible" of United States financial circles: "You Need Freight for a Railway: Wall Street Eyes Wenner-Gren Land." Vancouver *Sun,* 23 April 1959.
[119] Siegel, *Politics and the Media,* xii, 20, 125, 133-34.
[120] See Froschauer, W*hite Gold.*
[121] See Larry Krotz, "Dammed and Diverted." *Canadian Geographic* (Feb/March) (1991), 36 ff.; Jaccard et al., "Managing Instead of Building;" Froschauer, *White Gold.*
[122] Desbarats, *Canadian News Media,* 139, 141-142.
[123] Desbarats, *Canadian News Media,* 138-142
[124] Bill Fletcher, "Damming Possible on Peace, Columbia; Simultaneous Hydro Power Development on 2 Streams, Vancouver *Sun,* 14 November 1958; 23; William Ryan, "Columbia row poses no delay, Vancouver *Province,* 14 December 1960, 1; "Peace River's Power due in city by 1968; Will be well ahead of Columbia hydro," Vancouver *Province,* 15 January 1960, 1; Bill Fletcher and Jack Brooks, "Peace Still Big Puzzle: Wenner-Gren Experts' Battleground," Vancouver *Sun,* 8 June 1959, 1.
[125] Nye described the "two extremes" in *Electrifying America,* 138-140.
[126] Ben Metcalfe, "$400 million hydro deal planned for Peace River: Dam would be biggest in world, Vancouver *Province,* 10 November 1958, 1.
[127] William Ryan, "Vast Plans Bared: Power from Peace 'cheaper, faster,' Vancouver *Province,* 13 November 1958, 1.
[128] "Get Hydro Facts First," Vancouver *Sun,* 26 February 1959.
[129] See Williston and Keller, *Forests, Power and Policy,* 169-222 for a chronological and detailed account of the Two Rivers policy as it unfolded from the perspective of Ray Williston, the Minister of Lands and Forests.
[130] BC Hydro Power Pioneers, *Gaslights to Gigawatts,* 134. Dr. Gordon Shrum was head of the B.C. Energy Board and later appointed co-chair of B.C. Hydro by W.A.C. Bennett. Martin Robin characterized the Energy Board as more political than technical, with Shrum as its only experienced professional. Robin, *Pillars of Profit,* 227.
[131] "Wenner-Gren a Smokescreen?" Vancouver *Sun,* 8 April 1957.

[132] Paddy Sherman, "Victoria Comment," Vancouver *Province,* 19 April 1957.
[133] "$400 Million Hydro Project for Fraser," Prince George *Citizen,* 10 March 1964, 1.
[134] "Stikine River seen as big power source," Prince George *Citizen,* 27 January 1964, 2. "Huge dam plan aired," Prince George *Citizen,* 17 March 1964, 1. Other examples include: "Flood, erosion problem said facing province," Prince George *Citizen,* 4 March 1964, 15; "16-Year Study Complete: Flood prevention dams urged," Prince George *Citizen,* 30 March 1964, 3.
[135] Mark Jaccard, et al., "Managing Instead of Building," 99.
[136] "Peace Still Big Puzzle: Wenner-Gren Project Experts' Battleground," Vancouver *Sun,* 8 June 1959, 1.
[137] BC Hydro Power Pioneers, *Gaslights to Gigawatts,* 102.
[138] Shelford, *From Snowshoes to Politics,* 174, 175, 176-77, 182.
[139] "Contractors' Plea Refused: Request for Reopening of Peace Job Rejected," Prince George *Citizen,* 2 November 1961, 1.
[140] See: "Peace Power: Job Office Slated for City," Prince George *Citizen,* 2 November 1961, 1; "For City: Main Peace Job Office Requested," Prince George *Citizen,* 3 November 1961, 1. Also: *"Men want Peace jobs,"* Prince George *Citizen,* 4 March 1964, 1. This *CP* story, datelined Fort St. John, noted that representatives of 80 unemployed men in the Peace River district had sent a brief to the BC government asking that persons living in the Peace River district be hired first for jobs on the power project, on Alaska Highway construction, and in oil and gas drilling. It said workers from other provinces should not be hired until locals had been hired first.
[141] "BC's name as a good place to invest money now stinks around the world," *Prince George Citizen,* 6 November 1961.
[142] Ibid.
[143] "No ray of light," Prince George *Citizen,* 10 February 1964.
[144] "'Fight giant,' says Ootsa old-timer," Prince George *Citizen,* 25 February 1964, 2.
[145] "Begins at home," Prince George *Citizen,* 3 March 1964, 7.
[146] "Smoking the old Peace pipe," Prince George *Citizen,* 6 February 1964, 7.
[147] "Are you with us or what?" Prince George *Citizen,* 27 January 1964.
[148] "We are opposed," Prince George *Citizen,* 10 January 1964, 9.

Chapter Three
[1] See, for example: "Huge Hydro Project Under Way," and "Fantastic engineering feats at Portage damsite," Prince George *Citizen,* Travel Supplement, March 1964, 26; "Racing Against Time," Prince George *Citizen,* 12 October 1963, 3; "Peace River: Work on Tunnel to Start Shortly," Prince George *Citizen,* 6 November 1963, 1.
[2] "The Peaceful Giant Awakes," Vancouver *Sun,* 8 April 1965; "Peace Lays It on Thick: 'Name it Bennett Dam,'" Vancouver *Sun,* 12 September 1965. See also: "Prince George Jubilee and Industrial Edition," Prince George *Citizen,* 20 May 1964, which celebrated the town's 50th anniversary, focusing exclusively on industrial growth and featuring dozens of pages of promotional material on mill openings, dam construction, dairy expansions, construction booms, the Northern Interior Lumberman's Association meetings and BC Chamber of Commerce meetings.
[3] "Peace Project Gears up for Spring Thaw," Vancouver *Times,* 15 March 1965. Tina Loo reported 500,000 people visited Portage Mountain during the course of construction, from 1961-1968. Loo, "Disturbing the Peace: Environmental Change and the Scales of Justice on a Northern River," *Environmental History* (12)(October 2007), 900.
[4] "Union-Hydro agreement said leaving unemployed in Peace," *Peace River Block News,* as reprinted in the Prince George *Citizen,* 18 March 1964. Local men were organizing to pass legislation to address their concerns, and the *Peace River Block News* called for training of locals so that they would be prepared for jobs the dam was expected to bring to the area. "Let us not have industry coming to the area and bringing with it the men they require for the operation of their plants." The paper otherwise predicted more unemployment even as industry relocated to the north.
[5] "Cattermole Timber takes lead in huge trench logging project," Prince George *Citizen,* 19 May 1964, 11. "Cattermole Tackles the Tough Ones," Prince George *Citizen,* 19 May 1964, 11. "Huge, hurried operation to clear Portage damsite: Two year project planned," Prince George *Citizen,* 26 March 1964.
[6] Martin Robin, *Pillars of Profit: The Company Province: 1934-1972,* (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart Limited, 1973), 263

[7] Skilled Labor Shortage," Prince George *Citizen,* 12 June 1965
[8] Prince George *Citizen,* 16 June 1965, 1.
[9] Ingenika Band, *Specific Claim*, Summary of facts from correspondence between Boys and Presloski, Jan. 16/64; Presloski and Boys, Feb. 4/64 and Boys and Creighton, April 7/64
[10] "BC Resource Projects Provide Jobs," *The Native Voice,* August 1985, 3.
[11] Ibid.
[12] Mary Koyl, "Cultural Chasm: A 1960s Hydro Development and the Tsay Keh Dene Native Community of Northern British Columbia," MA Thesis, University of Victoria, 1992, 46; Douglas Hudson, "Traplines and Timber: Social and Economic Change Among the Carrier Indians of Northern British Columbia," Ph.D. Thesis, The University of Alberta, 1983, v.
[13] Mary Vipond, *Mass Media in Canada* (Toronto: James Lorimer and Company, 1989), xi. The Massey Commission of 1949 raised the issue that "so much of what Canadians read, heard and saw came from an 'alien source.'" The commissioners' recommendations concerned the broadcasting industry, which they determined was a 'public trust' and a 'public service." As Vipond summarized: "The only means of preventing the Americanization of Canada's media was at least partial government ownership; a purely commercial system would inevitably be an American one." Vipond, *Mass Media in Canada,* 45-46. With regard to the privately owned press, Siegel discussed the mid-century American influence on *Canadian Press,* which he felt "contributed to the evolution of Canadian tastes for American news." Siegel argued that news feed from the *Associated Press* fulfilled the "quantitative needs of most newspapers" but resulted in an oversupply of U.S. news, underplayed Canadian news compared to foreign news, and emphasized U.S. interests in overseas news, problems that continued to be an issue in 1970. Arthur Siegel, *Politics and the Media in Canada,* (Toronto: McGraw-Hill Ryerson Limited, 1983), 188.
[14] "Foster 'readiness to understand' Commonwealth newsmen urged," *Canadian Printer and Publisher,* November, 1961, 59
[15] Siegel, *Politics and the Media,* 117, 125, 129.
[16] R.L. Curthoys "Australian Natives Treated Shamefully," Vancouver *Sun,* as reprinted in *The Native Voice,* March 1965, 2.
[17] Dick Snell, "The Hobbema Story: Broken Promises, Rank Discrimination," *Calgary Herald,* as reprinted in *The Native Voice,* February 1957, 3. Snell observed that "Except for the occasional spurt of publicity and the almost unnoticed protests of Indians, their white friends, and religious supporters, 118 members of the Samson Band at Hobbema are slowly being edged from their homes."
[18] Editorial, *The Native Voice,* January 1957, 7. The editorial was reprinted from the *Edmonton Journal* and criticized the secretary of the Alberta Fish and Game Club for complaining that "Indians live as a privileged class at the public's expense," because of hunting rights protected by treaty.
[19] Snell, "The Hobbema Story," reprinted in *The Native Voice,* February 1957, 3. See also: "New Deal for Indians," Toronto *Globe and Mail*, reprinted in *The Native Voice,* August, 1956, 4. The *Globe and Mail* supported calls for a Royal Commission into the condition of Canada's 150,000 status Indians given the failure of the revamped 1951 Indian Act to improve living conditions. However, the critical point of concern in a business-oriented press wary of government interference was whether the federal government's role in Indian Affairs was a cause of the problem or potentially part of the solution—if on a temporary basis. The renouncing of special rights in favour of equality was assumed to be the self-evident choice for aboriginal people: "The basic flaw is that while the Government offers full rights of citizenship to Indians who renounce their legal status as such, it does little or nothing to prepare them for the responsibilities which full citizenship entails....Such a transition would be achieved by giving Indians increasing responsibilities on their reserves, such as the right to own their own homes; and by providing them with the social and educational facilities which would enable them to meet those responsibilities. Eventually, in this way, there would be no need and no reason for an Indian Act."
[20] Cole Harris, as quoted in Michael Dawson, *Selling British Columbia: Tourism and Consumer Culture, 1890- 1970,* (Vancouver: UBC press, 2004), 176.
[21] Canada, Special Senate Committee on the Mass Media, Report, Vol. 1 (Ottawa: Queen's Printer, 1970), 63-65.
[22] Special Senate Committee on the Mass Media, 47, 63. See "The Wasted People," Prince George *Citizen*, 28 March 1957, 2.

[23] "UBC Research Team Proposes Sweeping Reforms for Indians," Prince George *Citizen,* 28 March 1957, 9. Subheadings in the story were: "Drinking Rights," "White Domination," and "More Responsibility."
[24] "The Wasted People," Prince George *Citizen,* 28 March 1957, 2. The contradictions in an Immigration Minister meeting the needs of immigrants through promises of jobs and support while, as Minister responsible for Indians, breaking treaty promises and "ejecting" Treaty Indians against their will from their reserves, as in the Hobbema's case, struck an increasingly bitter note as articulated in the pages of *The Native Voice.* See, for instance, the editorial by Ruth Gorman, *The Native Voice,* January 1957, 4 and *The Native Voice* commentary on "The Hobbema Story" as reprinted in *The Native Voice,* February 1957, 3.
[25] Editorial, Prince George *Citizen,* 18 March 1964, 2.
[26] Ibid.
[27] "A little initiative," Prince George *Citizen,* 5 February 1964, 2.
[28] "Indians return cheques, go back to trapping," Prince George *Citizen,* 24 January 1964, 1.
[29] J.E. Miller, *Citizen* General Manager, "'Reindeer' brings load of goodwill," Prince George *Citizen*, 18 December 1963,1; "Santa comes for children [at Lejac]: 175 have a good time," Prince George *Citizen,* 19 December 1963, 1; "How the Children at Lower Post will remember Christmas," Prince George *Citizen,* 18 December 1963, 2.
[30] Barrie Wells, "Prince George Agency: Indian children integrating," Prince George *Citizen*, 6 February 1964, 2. Dateline: Tuskegee, Alabama (*Associated Press),*"Schools Closed in race row," Prince George *Citizen,* 6 February 1964, 2.
[31] "Celebrates Birthday; 60 Friends Visit Granny Seymour," Prince George *Citizen,* 7 June 1965, 1.
[32] "Skeena Indians Shun Centennial Planning," Prince George *Citizen*, 18 April 1957, 10. Chief David L. Wells called on Ottawa and Victoria to "make a just and fair settlement for all lands, including all natural resources that have been stolen from the Indian race of the Skeena River."
[33] Photograph of Frank Calder, Prince George *Citizen*, 25 March 1964, 16.
[34] "Settle Indian claims in court, says MLA," Prince George *Citizen,* 29 January 1964, 3.
[35] Three stories were related to the Christmas charity campaign dubbed "Operation Reindeer," (see fn 30 above). The paper also ran three photographs of "Eskimos," none of which provided an accompanying story to explain context (Prince George *Citizen,* 24 January 1964; Prince George *Citizen,* 20 February 1964, 6; Prince George *Citizen,* 3 March 1964). The remaining stories were: "Eskimos buying refrigerators," Prince George *Citizen,* 13 February 1964, 6; "Indian girls helps preserve her culture," Prince George *Citizen,* 17 January 1964, 13; "Tomorrow is too late," Prince George *Citizen,* 11 February 1964, 7; "Indian agency wants action on land deal," Prince George *Citizen,* 14 February 1964, 2; and "Indian agency receives grant under work scheme," Prince George *Citizen,* 20 December 1963, 2. Two stories were related to the *White and Bob* case, which recognized treaty rights of Nanaimo Indian band members to hunt and fish over unoccupied land despite restrictions of the BC Game Act. These were: "Decision reserved in case of Indians' hunting rights," Prince George *Citizen,* 8 January 1964, 3 and the related story, *CP* dateline Nanaimo, Prince George *Citizen,* 6 March 1964, 5. In reporting the "other side of the story" the *Canadian Press* article quoted game officials predicting all Indians would be allowed to "hunt and fish when they please" and warning the decision could "even affect international treaties with regard to salmon fishing on the high seas." Nanaimo Indian band Chief Doug White said the privileges would not be misused.
[36] "Indian remembers dance but forgets birth date," Prince George *Citizen*, 20 March 1964, 10. *Canadian Press* stories are generated by other newspapers and sent out over the "wire." If deemed of interest to local readership, the editors at member papers can rewrite articles, develop local angles, or run them as is.
[37] Ibid.
[38] "Redress Grievances, Control Affairs: Indian Resentment Mounts," *The Native Voice,* October 1965, 7.
[39] Arthur J. Ray, *I Have Lived Here Since the World Began: An Illustrated History of Canada's Native People* (Toronto: Key Porter Books Limited, 1996), 330.
[40] "Redress Grievances," *The Native Voice,* October 1965, 7.
[41] Ray, *Since the World Began* 330-333.
[42] J.R. Miller, *Skyscrapers Hide the Heavens: A History of Indian-White Relations in Canada* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2000), 334. Miller wrote: "The explanation of this grotesque conclusion to the policy review of 1968-9 is that the policy formulation process became subordinated to the needs of government. To a considerable extent the bureaucrats in Indian Affairs had opposed meaningful change, and throughout the policy review process they had given advice that would have resulted in traditional policies being recommended." Miller argued that political operatives in the Prime Minister's Office and

the Privy Council Office "seized control" of the review and "shaped the proposals according to [the new Prime Minister Pierre Trudeau's] notions about individualism, equality, and the inappropriateness of recognizing ethnic and racial groups as collectivities." Miller, *Skyscrapers,* 334.

[43] Mary Ann Weston, *Native Americans in the News: Images of Indians in the Twentieth Century Press,* (Connecticut: Greenwood Press, 1996), 6-7.

[44] Weston, *Native Americans in the News,* 7-8.

[45] Francis Henry and Carol Tator, *Discourses of Domination, Racial Bias in the Canadian English-Language Press,* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2002), 41-42.

[46] Shannon Avison, in her examination of Aboriginal newspapers in Canada, called *The Native Voice* a "landmark publication" and the Native Brotherhood of British Columbia the first to carry out a "sustained effort to publish an Indian newspaper in Canada." *The Native Voice* in the period under study played a key role in national discourse while bringing a strong BC perspective to its pages. Shannon Avison, "Aboriginal Newspapers, Their Contribution to the Emergence of an Alternative Public Sphere in Canada," MA Thesis, (Montreal: Concordia University, 1996), 100. See also Michael Meadows and Shannon Avison, "Speaking and Hearing, Aboriginal Newspapers and the Public Sphere in Canada and Australia," *Canadian Journal of Communication* (25)(3)(Summer 2000): http://www.cjc-online.ca/viewarticle.php?id=586&layout=html ,347.

[47] *The Native Voice*, June 1957, 4.

[48] Alan D. McMillan and Eldon Yellowhorn, *First Peoples in Canada* (Vancouver: Douglas & McIntyre, 2004), 322.

[49] Avison, "Aboriginal Newspapers," 105. The first edition of the eight-page tabloid newspaper was sent to BC tribes, to Indian and non-Indian organizations and to individuals across Canada. The paper received letters of congratulations on its first edition from the BC Premier, CCF party leader, Indian Commissioner for British Columbia, the BC Indian Arts and Welfare Society; the International Woodworkers of America, the Minister of Veterans Affairs, and from churches and other organizations. The paper continued to be widely distributed to "the identified gatekeepers and opinion leaders of the dominant public sphere, including select newspaper journalists, columnists and editors, politicians, religious organizations, private societies and labour organizations." Avison, "Aboriginal Newspapers," 101-102, 105.

[50] "Leader of Opposition Outlines P.C. Policy on Indian Affairs," *The Native Voice,* April 1957, 5. Publisher Maisie Hurley interviewed Diefenbaker who promised to repeal sections X, 11 and 12 of the Indian Act, to appoint a Royal Commission to investigate and make recommendations on "the entire field" of Indian affairs, and to appoint an Indian to the Senate with special responsibility of speaking for Indians in the Parliament of Canada. He congratulated Hurley for "setting before the people of Canada the particular problems of the Indians, especially those in the province of British Columbia." The Social Credit Party included a complete list of candidates in its advertisement in *The Native Voice,* June 1957, 7; the Liberal Party also published a full page ad: *The Native Voice,* May 1957, 7.

[51] Avison, "Aboriginal Newspapers," 105.

[52] Avison, "Aboriginal Newspapers," 8, 82, 101.

[53] "Please Help us in Keeping the Native Voice Strong and Clear on behalf of all North American Indians," *The Native Voice,* March 1959, 2. See also the front page message from Robert Sifton, NBBC President, *The Native Voice,* September 1956, 1. Sifton noted that the paper had "proven a valuable instrument in the great work of the Native Brotherhood in the fight for better conditions and advancement and defence of the aboriginal rights of the Native people, not only in British Columbia, but in other parts of Canada and the US." Newspapers run by societies were certainly vulnerable to serving their agendas. *The Native Voice* at this stage performed a strongly public service-oriented function for a broad Aboriginal audience and thus largely transcended becoming a mere mouthpiece for the NBBC. However, with the death of Maisie Hurley in 1965, the paper suffered a setback. By this time, general agreement on the primacy of the land issue had been reached, raising issues of process and logistics, and leading to political divisions in the NBBC and amongst other BC organizations. *The Native Voice* was suspended in 1968 and restarted in November 1970 with support from both the NBBC and the RAVEN society, a registered, non-profit philanthropic society. Avison, "Aboriginal Newspapers," 97, 100, 127. See also "Brotherhood Aims for $10,000 Fund in Big Land Fight," *The Native Voice,* March 1964, 1.

[54] Avison, "Aboriginal Newspapers," 102. In its first editorial, in 1946, the newspaper set out its approach and purpose, "heavy with public sphere rhetoric," as Avison described it. "Our views are undenominational [sic] and non-political and all are welcome to use the freedom of the press within the pages of *[The Native Voice].*

[55] Meadows and Avison noted that "[s]torytelling, art and music, and even silence are important ways in which people make their positions known. ... The Aboriginal public sphere is a space that can accommodate non-mainstream discursive styles and non-traditional perspectives. It is a site where collective self-determination can take place." Meadows and Avison, "Speaking and Hearing," http://www.cjc-online.ca/viewarticle.php?id=586&layout=html.
[56] *The Native Voice,* 1947, 1, as quoted in Avison, "Aboriginal Newspapers," 102.
[57] *The Native Voice,* September 1956, 1. Robert Sifton, NBBC President, provided a brief description of the editorial board and correspondents: publisher Maisie Hurley, the only non-aboriginal; a Northern and Eastern editor, an Oklahoma assistant editor, two associate B.C. editors, and three NBBC directors. Correspondents were native and submitted articles from "different parts of Canada and the U.S."
[58] The Hobbema case ended in March 1957 with a court ruling that eliminated the threat of the evictions. See *The Native Voice,* March, 1957, 1. Changes in 1951 to the Indian Act resulted in the threat to more than 100 residents on the Hobbema reservation with loss of their homes, land and oil rights.
[59] Guy Williams, *The Native Voice,* June 1958, 1. Editorialists at *The Native Voice* also determined that another article in the Vancouver *Sun* ("Dreary, Apathetic Life on Skwah Indian Reserve," by Dorothy Howarth) was guilty of "manufacturing victims." See *The Native Voice,* July 1959, 4.
[60] "Discrimination in B.C. Rapped," *The Native Voice,* February 1958, 2.
[61] Editorial, *The Native Voice*, July 1956, 4.
[62] See, for instance: "Alaska Natives Win Court Case," *The Native Voice,* November 1959, 1; "Island Natives Oppose Closure," *The Native Voice,* May 1957, 2; "Natives Win Income Tax Victory," *The Native Voice,* March 1956, 1; "Income Tax Dismissal Won by BC Native," *The Native Voice,* January 1957, 5; Ojibways Refuse to Sell Island," *The Native Voice,* September 1957, 7; "Hereditary Chiefs Battle in Court, *The Native Voice,* September 1957, 1; "Indians Reverse Process, Oppose Joint Schooling," *The Native Voice,* September 1957, 7; "Native Leaders Present Ottawa With Fighting Case for Rights," *The Native Voice,* November 1957, 3; *The Native Voice,* March 1957, 7 (a story related to Six Nations Reserve near Brantford Ontario planning to present their claims before the International Court at The Hague); "Indians Take Back Territory," *The Native Voice,* March 1959, 1; and *The Native Voice,* January 1956, concerning a protest by the Westbank Indian tribe.
[63] See: Chief Rising Sun, "Indian, Stand Fast," *The Native Voice,* March 1957, 4. The writer noted that where "little groups on separate reserves" had long found it difficult to influence others regarding key issues, that things were in fact changing. "[T]oday with excellent highways and communications, there is no reason why Indians cannot be well informed wherever they are." He concluded that in this regard, "*The Native Voice* is attempting a big job."
[64] "Tribe Obtains Cash Settlement," *The Native Voice,* November 1957, 8.
[65] "Tuscarora Indian Tribe Votes to Hold Their Land," *The Native Voice*, July 1958, 3. The tribe was continuing to "fight to keep New York State from taking part of their reservation for the [six hundred and twenty five million dollar] Niagara Power Project."
[66] Brooks Atkinson, "Quakers, Too, Question Need for Breaking Seneca Treaty in Flood-Control Project," New York *Times*, 9 June 1961; "Justice for the Senecas," New York *Times*, 12 June 1961; Eleanor Roosevelt, "Moral Issue at Stake in Senecas' Land-for-Dam Fight," Philadelphia *Daily News*, 8 June 1961.Published in the "Peace News Letter: published by the New York State Peace Council, Rev. Alan B. Peabody, Editor, July 19, 1961. (http://www.peacecouncil.net/history/PNLs1961-1970/PNL256A-1961.pdf) (accessed 3 January 2008). See also: "Court Ignores Old Treaty in Ruling Against Seneca," *The Native Voice,* January 1959, 3.
[67] Chief Rising Sun, *The Native Voice,* January 1959, 7. The writer went to Cornwall Ontario in July where he "witnessed the historic event of the flooding and vanishing of the former Long Sault Rapids and the formation of the new Lake St. Lawrence." He provided a first-person account of his experiences. See also: "Seaway Waters to Cover Part of Historic Village," *The Native Voice,* October 1955, 1. Other dam-related stories: "They Won Their Battle Against Seaway 'Dozers'," *The Native Voice,* September 1956, 10; "Dams Would Kill Salmon," *The Native Voice,* December 1956, 7 (related to the Moran Develop Company's plans for the Fraser River system).
[68] "Trapline Losses Heavy," *The Native Voice*, June 1956, 3.
[69] Howard Sinclair, *The Native Voice,* November 1955, 5. Sinclair stated that Chief Paddy Isaac and his people at Burns Lake had been "seriously hit" because of the "complete destruction of their registered traplines by the flooding caused by [Alcan]," and that these were "absolutely the only dependable grounds to

these Northern Interior Indians." He described the claims as historical and "rightfully belonging to them as being descended from their ancestors."
[70] Judith Robinson, "Unfair Deal for Canada's Indians," *Toronto Telegram,* as reprinted in *The Native Voice,* March 1956, 8.
[71] Ibid.
[72] Ibid.
[73] James Fowler, "Companies Infringe on Rights of Northern Natives," *The Native Voice,* March 1955, 11.
[74] "Howard Fights for Trapline Compensation," *The Native Voice,* August 1956, 5.
[75] Ibid.
[76] Big White Owl, "Canada's Indians Being Crucified by Pickersgill," *The Native Voice,* March 1957, 4.
[77] "Does this mean liquidation of Indian lands in BC?" *The Native Voice,* December 1955, 4.
[78] "No Surrender of BC Lands," *The Native Voice,* December 1955, 9
[79] "Press Stories Heighten Fear of Federal Plans," *The Native Voice,* December 1955, 10. A further indication of aboriginal agency in using media to serve their purposes was the fact that a Native Brotherhood of BC conference was held in Vancouver in 1964 because of the presence of mainstream media, which would help facilitate "get[ting] our story to the people of Canada." "Land Issue Heads Native Brotherhood Convention Agenda," *The Native Voice,* February 1964, 1.
[80] Editorial, *The Native Voice,* January 1956, 4.
[81] Maisie Hurley, "Let us Not Forget, The Fight Goes on," *The Native Voice,* February 1959, 4.
[82] Ibid.
[83] "Royal Commission Needed," *The Native Voice,* September 1958, 4. Maisie Hurley, "History of B.C. Indian Land Rights," *The Native Voice,* January 1959, 3. "Special Report on Indian Land Rights," *The Native Voice,* February 1959. This edition was "given over in large measure to the Vital Question of Land rights."
[84] "Hear the Indians' Protest," Vancouver *Sun,* 28 April 1959, as reprinted in *The Native Voice,* May 1959, 2.
[85] Ibid.
[86] Ibid.
[87] "Lawyer Pinpoints Flaws in C-130," *The Native Voice,* March 1964, 3.
[88] Paul Tennant, *Aboriginal Peoples and Politics: The Indian Land Question in British Columbia,1949-1989,* (Vancouver: UBC Press, 1991), 149.
[89] Alan D. McMillan and Eldon Yellowhorn, *First Peoples in Canada,* (Vancouver: Douglas and McIntyre, 2004), 322.
[90] J.R. Miller, *Skyscrapers Hide the Heavens: A History of Indian-White Relations in Canada,* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2000), 328.
[91] J.R. Miller, *Skyscrapers Hide the Heavens,* 331.
[92] Regarding the lack of meaningful coverage of aboriginal perspectives in the mainstream press, Meadows and Avison noted in 2000 that the low use of Aboriginal sources in news stories in the Canadian and Australian press had not changed significantly. See Meadows and Avison, "Speaking and hearing," 348-9.
[93] J.R. Miller, *Skyscrapers Hide the Heavens,* 329. Miller explained the "grotesque conclusion" to the policy review of 1968-9, which culminated in the White Paper, as the outcome of an internal bureaucratic struggle when political operatives seized control of the review from Indian Affairs bureaucrats who he said were inclined to recommend extensions of traditional policies. Miller argued: "Since their most immediate constituency was the new prime minister, they shaped the proposals according to Trudeau's notions about individualism, equality, and the inappropriateness of recognizing ethnic and racial groups as collectivities. The brutal truth was that the series of consultations that had been carried out with Indian leaders never had any impact on the review of policy." Miller, *Skyscrapers,* 334.
[94] Tennant, *Aboriginal Peoples and Politics,* 223-224.
[95] See, for instance: "We Justify Our Existence to Ottawa," *Georgia Straight,* 8-15 April 1970, 12; Brian Slocock, "Vancouver's News Monopoly: The Press and Corporate Power," *Georgia Straight,* 6-13 May 1970, 5; John Ness, "Eskimos hurt, hot helped, by industrial development," *New York Times,* reprinted in the *Georgia Straight,* 7-14 January 1970, 4; Terry Simmons, "To be a conservationist in B.C. is...like being a civil rights worker in Alabama," *Georgia Straight,* 6-13 May 1970, 7; "Fork the Forked Tongue," *Georgia Straight,* 2-22 February 1968, 10. The latter featured an "exclusive interview" with Professor Wilson Duff.
[96] Canadian News Facts 1968, 7.

[97] Justice Hugo Black, *Associated Press v. United States,* 326 U.S. 1, 20 [1944], as quoted in the Report of the Special Senate Committee on Mass Media, 3.

Conclusion

[1] "Hydro, First Nations sign Williston deal," Prince George *Citizen*, 13 December 2006, 1. The two First Nations filed lawsuits against BC in 1999 and 2001 claiming damages from the impact of the construction and operation of the dam and reservoir. The bands subsequently agreed to negotiations. The Kwadacha band was formerly known as the Fort Ware band of Sekani Indians.

[2] Ibid. See also: "Past wrongs being righted," Prince George *Citizen,* 16 December 2006, 4.

[3] See "Williston's legacy," Prince George *Citizen,* 12 December 2006; "The dark side of a dam," Prince George *Citizen,* 14 December 2006, 4.

[4] "The dark side of a dam," Prince George *Citizen,* 14 December 2006, 4.

[5] Arn Keeling and Robert Macdonald, "The Profligate Province: Roderick Haig-Brown and the Modernizing of British Columbia," *Journal of Canadian Studies* ,(36)(3)(Fall 2001), (http://proquest.umi.com/pqdweb?did=110662074&Fmt=4&clientId=12101&RQT=309&VName=PQD 2.

[6] Victoria *Times* publisher Arthur Irwin told the Senate Special Committee on Mass Media: "Only journalists can make journalism work." The committee's report echoed the sentiment when it stated: "We wish working journalists would remember that if they don't demand better newspapers and better broadcasting, no one else will." The committee's report recommended substantially increased pay, improved education, professional development, and professional organizations for journalists; it also recommended a Press Ownership Review Board and a "[n]ational press council to remedy shortcomings that it had perceived in Canadian journalism—in particular its failure to prepare people for rapid social change." Canada, Special Senate Committee on Mass Media, Report, vol. 1 (Ottawa: Queen's Printer, 1970), 258.

[7] Desbarats argued the shift to a more interpretive journalism in the 1970s meant journalism became "infinitely more difficult, demanding, and complex," requiring a "greater awareness of the social and corporate limitations of journalism, more in-depth research, and more care and precision in the use of language. It required, in effect, a superior type of journalist working with adequate resources." Peter Desbarats, *Guide to Canadian News Media,* (Toronto: Harcourt Brace & Company, 1996), 139, 141-142

[8] In the American context, Krech argued that the image of the "Crying Indian," first used by *Keep America Beautiful, Inc.* in 1971, helped position Indians as conservationists and preservationists, and that "American Indians embraced the new shift in perception and actively helped construct the new image of themselves." Shepard Krech III, *The Ecological Indian: Myth and History,* (New York: W.W. Norton & Company, 1999), 15, 20-21.

[9] BC Hydro Power Pioneers, *Gaslights to Gigawatts: A Human History of BC Hydro and its Predecessors,* (Vancouver: Hurricane Press, 1998), 228.

[10] Hydro Power Pioneers, *Gaslights to Gigawatts,* 155-158.

[11] Gordon Hoekstra, "Natives Want More Say in Mine Review," *Prince George Citizen,* 5 August.2005, 3.

[12] Don Whiteley, "Mining investors watching B.C. project intently," Vancouver *Sun,* 14 July 2004, D5.

[13] Sue Careless, a member of the Canadian Association of Journalists and The Periodical Writers Association of Canada, addressed the Canadian Association of Journalists annual conference, Halifax, April 7-9, 2000 on the issue of advocacy journalism and the difference between the 'alternative' and the 'mainstream' press. Sue Careless, "The Interim," http://www.theinterim.com/2000/may/10advocacy.html

[14] See Glacier Media Inc., http://www.glacierventures.com (accessed 17 January 2009). See also: http://media.integratir.com/t.gvc/PressReleases/Glacier%20%20Q3.pdf and http://www.theholmteam.ca/farm.media.HoC.pdf, a document prepared for submission to the Standing Committee on Agriculture and Agri-Food, House of Commons, October 26, 2006 by Wendy Holm, P. Ag. based on web research (accessed 17 January 2009). .

[15] See for instance: Dogwood Initiative," dedicated to making B.C. "the global model for sustainable land reform," CUSP: Citizens United to Save the Peace; the Peace Valley Environmental Association; along with the Sierra club of Canada: BC Chapter; Society for the Promotion of Environmental Education; Northern Environmental Action Team, BC Sustainable Energies Association, Keepers of the Water, West Coast Environment Law Association and others. Together they raise issues concerning environmental

costs, impacts on wildlife and farmland, and on First Nations interests, while promoting options for alternative energy and conservation.

[16] Shannon Avison and Michael Meadows, "Speaking and Hearing: Aboriginal Newspapers and the Public Sphere in Canada and Australia," Canadian Journal of Communications, 25 (3) (2000) http://www.cjc-online.ca/viewarticle.php?id=586&layout=html, 1-14.

[17] One example is the article by Kate Harries, "Action on grievances is vital, native leader warns," *Globe and Mail*, 1 June 2007, A9. Judge Sidney Linden in his report on the 1995 police shooting of Dudley George wrote that aboriginals and non-aboriginals alike will the pay the price of a failure to address longstanding grievances concerning breaches of treaty and other legal obligations, "because those who are driven to direct action like blockades and occupations are people with nothing left to lose."

[18] Doug Saunders, "Economic Salvation: It's time for a new Great Wall – to keep out Mother Nature," Globe and Mail, 22 November 2008, F3.

[19] William Yardley, "Climate Change Adds Twist to Debate Over Dams," The New York Times, 23 April 2007; http://www.nytimes.com/2007/04/23/us/23dam.html?_r=1&th=&oref=slogin&emc=th&p (accessed 23/04/2007).

[20] Colchester, M. 2000 – Forest Peoples Programme: "Dams, Indigenous Peoples and Ethnic Minorities," Thematic Review 1.2 prepared as an input to the World Commission on Dams, Cape Town, www.dams.org,, 1. See http://www.dams.org to access the final report "Dams and Development – A new Framework for Decision Making."

[21] Ibid, 1.

[22] Ibid, 1. For instance, there have been improvements in state recognition of the historical territorial rights of Indigenous Peoples, and a reconsideration of the current doctrine of eminent domain, by which the properties of citizens can be expropriated in the 'national interest.'

[23] Ibid, 13.

[24] Thibault Martin and Steven M. Hoffman, eds., *Power Struggles: Hydro Development and First Nations In Manitoba and Quebec,"* (Winnipeg: University of Manitoba Press, 2008), 8.

[25] Ibid, 7.

[26] Darcy Henton, "Ex-chief girds to "battle" massive $5-billion hydro generator," Edmonton *Journal*, 21 August 2008, 1.

[27] See "Canadian Dams Shortlisted for Decommissioning," http://ens-newswire.com/ens/apr2001/2001-04-09-12.asp (accessed 09/12/2005). The international Environment News Service, was established in Vancouver, in 1990 by Jim Crabtree and Sunny Lewis, due to concerns about corporate newspaper ownership and has won several U.S. "Project Censored" awards recognizing the most important news stories not covered by the corporate media in the United States. Written by Environment News Service founding Editor-in-Chief, Sunny Lewis, the report documented case after case in which scientific input to policymaking was being censored and distorted by officials in the Bush administration and by the White House. See http://www.world-wire.com/news/0917040002.html

[28] Darcy Henton, "Ex-chief girds to "battle" massive $5-billion hydro generator," Edmonton *Journal*, 21 August 2008, 1.

[29] In his study of the genesis of the Pacific Press monopoly and the demise of daily newspaper competition in Vancouver, Edge said he was writing "much more an 'economic' history than a 'journalistic' history," aiming to "chronicle the editorial natures of the respective newspapers only to the extent [these] affected [the newspapers] as business enterprises." Edge, 11-12.

[30]The latest Senate study, *Report on the Canadian News Media*, recommended in 2006 a commercial-free CBC-TV and limits on media ownership based on concerns that a free press should incorporate a variety of different sources of news and opinion. However, the *Canadian Press* story as published in the Prince George *Citizen* said the report concluded that "Canadians are generally well-served by their news-gathering organizations." See: "Senate report recommends ad-free CBC," Prince George *Citizen,* 22 June 2006, 6. The alternative online BC news source, *The Tyee,* published a different interpretation, claiming more than half of Canadians said they had less trust in the media because of media consolidation, and that less than 10 per cent of journalists indicated they believed corporate owners of their news outlet valued good journalism over profit. The article also said 44 per cent of journalists reported a decreasing desire to stay in journalism. The story was by Steven Anderson, co-ordinator of Canadians for a Democratic Media and the Stop the Big Media Takeover campaign (http://democraticmedia.ca.) Steven Anderson, *The Tyee*,

"Canadians Want Media Choice, 16 July 2007.
http://thetyee.ca/Mediacheck/2007/07/16/CanadiansWantMediaChoice/ (accessed 18 January 2009).

Bibliography

Primary Sources

Vancouver Public Library Clippings Files
Dams—BC—Peace River to 1957, 1958-1963, 1964-1967, x
Indians—BC—Gov't Relations – 1950-1960; 1958; 1959-1964; 1965-66; 1967-8; 1970-71.
Indians—BC—Tribes—Athapaskan; Ingenika; Carrier Sekani; McLeod Lake; Tahltan; Burns Lake Indian Band.
Fishing and Hunting
Land Development—1960-71.

The Prince George *Citizen*

The Native Voice

Canadian Printer & Publisher

The *Georgia Straight*

Specific Claim by the Ingenika Indian Band to the Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development. (appendix to Ingenika Settlement Agreement: 1989).

Canada, Special Senate Committee on Mass Media, Report, vol. 1 (Ottawa: Queen's Printer, 1970).

Specific Claim for Compensation filed by Cheslatta Indian Band to the Office Of Native Claims April 21, 1984.

Secondary Sources

Adams, Stuart and Associates Planning Consultants. *Fort Chipewyan Way of Life Study: Summary Report.* Vancouver: Stuart Adams and Associates, 1998.

Alia, Valerie. *Un/Covering the North: News, Media, and Aboriginal People.* Vancouver: UBC Press, 1999.

Asch, Michael. "Dene Self-determination and the Study of Hunter-Gatherers in the Modern World." In *Politics and History in Band Societies,* edited by Eleanor Leacock and Richard Lee. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1982.

Avison, Shannon. "Aboriginal Newspapers: Their Contribution to the Emergence of an Alternative Public Sphere in Canada." MA Thesis. Montreal: Concordia University, 1996.

Baker, C. Edwin. *Advertising and a Democratic Press.* Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1994.

Barman, Jean. *The West beyond the West: A History of British Columbia.* Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1991.

BC Hydro Power Pioneers. *Gaslights to Gigawatts: A Human History of BC Hydro and its Predecessors.* Vancouver: Hurricane Press, 1998.

Bird Jr., William L. *"Better Living:" Advertising, Media and the New Vocabulary of Business Leadership, 1935-1955.* Evanston, Illinois: Northwestern University Press, 1999.

Bocking, Stephen. "Science, Politics and Dams in Canada." *Dams in Canada.* International Development Studies Network. 16 October 1998. http://www.idsnet.org/Resources/Dams/

Bowes, Gordon E., ed. *Peace River Chronicles.* Vancouver: Prescott Publishing Company, 1963.

Braul, Waldemar. "Ingenika Point: No More Riverboats," in *Nation to Nation: Aboriginal Sovereignty and the Future of Canada,* edited by Diane Engelstad and John Bird. Concord: House of Anansi Press Ltd., 1992.

Brealey, Kenneth. Review of "Wartime Images, Peacetime Wounds: The Media and the Gustafsen Lake Standoff," by Sandra Lambertus. *BC Studies.* (146) (Summer, 2005): 112-14.

Brody, Hugh. *Maps and Dreams.* New York: Pantheon Books, 1982.

Buhler, Katherine. "Come Hell and High Water: The Relocation of the Cheslatta First Nation." MA Thesis, University of Northern British Columbia, 1998.

Burch, Ernest S. Jr. and Linda J. Ellanna. *Key Issues in Hunter-Gatherer Research.* Providence, R.I.: Berg Publishers, Inc., 1994.

Burch, Ernest S. Jr. "The Future of Hunter-Gatherer Research." In *Key Issues in Hunter-Gatherer Research.* Providence, R.I.: Berg Publishers, Inc., 1994.

Carlson, Hans. "A Watershed of Words: Litigating and Negotiating Nature in Eastern James Bay, 1971-75" *Canadian Historical Review* 85 (1) (2004): 63-84.

Cassidy, Frank and Robert L. Bish. *Indian Government: Its Meaning in Practice.* Lantzville and Halifax: Oolichan Boods and The Institute for Research on Public

Policy, 1989.

Charest, Paul. "Hydroelectric dam construction and the foraging activities of Eastern Quebec Montagnais." In *Politics and History in Band Societies,* edited by Eleanor Leacock and Richard Lee. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1982.

Chodkiewicz, Jean-Luc and Jennifer Brown, eds. *First Nations and Hydroelectric Development in Northern Manitoba. The Northern Flood Agreement: Issues and Implications.* Rupert's Land Publications Series. The University of Winnipeg: The Centre for Rupert's Land Studies, 1999.

Christensen, Bev. *Prince George: Rivers, Railways, and Timber.* Canada: Windsor Publications, Ltd., 1989.

Colchester, Marcus. *Dams, Indigenous Peoples and Ethnic Minorities,* Thematic Review 1.2; prepared as an input to the World Commission on Dams, Cape Town. www.dams.org. (http://www.dams.org/docs/kbase/thematic/tr12main.pdf).

Crane, Jeff. "Protesting Monuments to Progress: A Comparative Study of Protests Against Four Dams, 1838-1955" *Oregon Historical Quarterly* 103(3) (2002): 294-319.

Crook, Stephen, Jan Pakulski and Malcolm Waters. *Postmodernization: Change in Advanced Society.* London: Sage Publications, 1992.

Dale, Stephen. *McLuhan's Children: The Greenpeace Message and the Media.* Toronto: Between the Lines, 1996.

Dawson, Michael. *Selling British Columbia: Tourism and Consumer Culture, 1890-1970.* Vancouver: UBC Press, 2004.

Desbarats, Peter. *Guide to Canadian News Media.* Toronto: Harcourt Brace & Company, Canada, 1996.

Desbiens, Caroline. "Producing North and South: A Political Geography of Hydro Development in Quebec" *Canadian Geographer* 48 (2) (Summer 2004): 101-119.

Edge, Marc. *Pacific Press: The Unauthorized Story of Vancouver's Newspaper Monopoly.* Vancouver: New Star Books, 2001.

Evenden, Matthew. *Fish versus Power: An Environmental History of the Fraser River.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004.

Feit, Harvey. "The Future of Hunters within Nation-states: Anthropology and the James Bay Cree." In *Politics and History in Band Societies,* edited by Eleanor Leacock and Richard Lee. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1982.

Francis, Daniel. *The Imaginary Indian: The Image of the Indian in Canadian Culture.* Vancouver: Arsenal Pulp Press, 1992.

Froschauer, Karl. *White Gold: Hydroelectric Power in Canada.* Vancouver: UBC Press, 1999.

Habermas, Jurgen. "The Public Sphere." In *Media Studies: A Reader.* edited by Paul Marris and Sue Thornham Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1996.

Hackett, Robert A. and Richard Gruneau, with Donald Gutstein, Timothy A. Gibson and NewsWatch Canada. *The Missing News: Filters and Blind Spots in Canada's Press.* Aurora, Ont: Canadian Centre for Policy Alternatives/Garamond Press, 2000.

Hak, Gordon. "The Communists and the Unemployed in the Prince George District, 1930-1935. In *Sa Ts'e: Historical Perspectives on Northern British Columbia.* Edited by Thomas Thorner. Prince George, BC: College of New Caledonia, 1989.

Hall Stuart. "Encoding/Decoding." In *Media Studies: A Reader*, edited by Paul Marris and Sue Thornham Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1996.

Harkins, Bob. "Prince George's Memorable Mayors." Text of speech delivered Oct. 7, 1999, Forum 2000 Millennium Series. With supplementary notes from a speech delivered December 14, 1999 to the Prince George Estate Planning Council. Prince George: College of New Caledonia. www.cnc.bc.ca/__shared/assets/2000harkins-pdf4411.pdf. Accessed 16 September 2007.

Harris, Cole. *Making Native Space: Colonialism, Resistance, and Reserves in British Columbia.* Vancouver: UBC Press, 2002.

Henry, Francis and Carol Tator. *Discourses of Domination: Racial Bias in the Canadian English-Language Press.* Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2002.

Hoffman, Steven M. "Powering Injustice: Hydroelectric Development in Northern Manitoba." *Environmental Justice: Discourses in International Political Economy,* edited by John Byrne et al. New Brunswick, NJ: Transaction Publishers, 2002.

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

Hudson, Douglas R. "Traplines and Timber: Social and Economic Change Among the Carrier Indians of Northern British Columbia." Ph.D. thesis, The University of Alberta, 1983.

Hudson, Douglas R. "Internal Colonialism and Industrial Capitalism." *In Sa Ts'e: Historical Perspectives on Northern British Columbia.* Edited by Thomas Thorner. Prince George, BC: College of New Caledonia, 1989, 177-213.

Jaccard, Marke, John Nyboer, and Timo Makinen. "Managing Instead of Building: B.C. Hydro's Role in the 1990's." *BC Studies* 91-92 (Autumn-Winter 1991-92): 98-126.

Johnston, Russell. *Selling Themselves: The Emergence of Canadian Advertising.* Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2001.

Keeling, Arn, and Robert McDonald. "The Profligate Province: Roderick Haig-Brown and the Modernizing of British Columbia." *Journal of Canadian Studies* (36) (3) (Fall 2001): 7-23. (http://proquest.umi.com/pqdweb?did=110662074&Fmt=4&clientId=12101&RQT=309&VName=PQD

Klein, Woody. "News Media and Race Relations: a Self-Portrait." *Columbia Journalism Review.* (Fall) (1968): 42-49.

Koyl, Mary Christina. "Cultural Chasm: A 1960s Hydro Development and the Tsay Keh Dene Native Community of Northern British Columbia." MA Thesis, University of Victoria, 1992.

Krech, Shepard III. *The Ecological Indian: Myth and History.* New York: W.W. Norton & Company, 1999.

Krotz, Larry. "Dammed and Diverted." *Canadian Geographic* (Feb/March 1991), 36.

Lambertus, Sandra. *Wartime Images, Peacetime Wounds: The Media and the Gustafsen Lake Standoff.* Toronto: University of Toronto Press: 2004.

Lanoue, Guy. *Brothers: The Politics of Violence among the Sekani of Northern British Columbia.* New York: Berg, 1992.

Leacock, Eleanor and Richard Lee. *Politics and History in Band Societies.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1982.

Loo, Tina. "People in the Way: Modernity, Environment, and Society on the Arrow Lakes" *BC Studies* 142-143 (Summer/Autumn 2004): 161-196.

Loo, Tina. "Disturbing the Peace: Environmental Change and the Scales of Justice on a Northern River." *Environmental History* 12 (October 2007): 895-919

Lorimer, Rowland M. and Jean McNulty. *Mass Communication in Canada.* Toronto: Oxford University Press, 1996.

Madill, Dennis. "The Treaty 8 Portion of British Columbia." In *Sa Ts'e: Historical Perspectives on Northern British Columbia.* Edited by Thomas Thorner. Prince George, BC: College of New Caledonia, 1989.

Malzahn, Manfred R. "Merchants and the Evolution of the North Cariboo, British Columbia, 1908-1933. In *Sa Ts'e: Historical Perspectives on Northern British Columbia.* Edited by Thomas Thorner. Prince George, BC: College of New Caledonia, 1989.

Manore, Jean L. *Cross-Currents: Hydroelectricity and the Engineering of Northern Ontario.* Waterloo: Wilfrid Laurier University Press, 1999.

Marris, Paul and Sue Thornham. Media Studies: A Reader. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press Ltd., 1996.

McAllister, Matthew P. *The Commercialization of American Culture: New Advertising, Control and Democracy.* Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publications, Inc. 1996.

M'Gonigle, Michael. Review of "Greenpeace: How a Group of Ecologists, Journalists and Visionaries Changed the World," by Rex Weyler. In *BC Studies*, 142-142 (Summer/Autumn 2004): 301-03.

McMillan, Alan D. and Eldon Yellowhorn. *First Peoples in Canada.* Vancouver: Douglas & McIntyre, 2004.

Meadows, Michael. *Voices in the Wilderness: Images of Aboriginal People in the Australian Media.* Contributions to the Study of Mass Media and Communications, Number 59. Westport, Connecticut: Greenwood Press, 2001.

Meadows, Michael and Shannon Avison. "Speaking and Hearing: Aboriginal Newspapers and the Public Sphere in Canada and Australia" *Canadian Journal of Communication* (25) (3) (Summer 2000): http://www.cjc-online.ca/viewarticle.php?id=586&layout=html.

Metcalfe, E. Bennett. *The Life of Roderick Langmere Haig-Brown: A Man of Some Importance.* Seattle and Vancouver: James W. Wood Publishers, 1985.

Miller, Bruce G. "The Press, the Boldt Decision, and Indian-White Relations." *American Indian Culture and Research Journal* 17 (2) (1993): 75-97.

Miller, J.R. *Skyscrapers Hide the Heavens: A History of Indian-White Relations in Canada.* Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2000.

Miswagon, John. "Cross Lake's Experience with a Hydroelectric Mega-Project and the Non-Implementation of the Northern Flood Agreement." In *First Nations and Hydroelectric Development in Northern Manitoba. The Northern Flood Agreement: Issues and Implications,* edited by Jean-Luc Chodkiewicz and Jennifer Brown. Rupert's Land Publications Series. The University of Winnipeg: The Centre for Rupert's Land Studies, 1999.

Mouat, Jeremy. *The Business of Power: Hydroelectricity in Southeastern British Columbia,1897-1997.* Victoria: Son Nis Press, 1997.

Mullins, Doreen K. "An Analysis of Key Factors Contributing to the Changes in Structure and Location in the Forest Industry of North Central British Columbia." In *Sa Ts'e: Historical Perspectives on Northern British Columbia.* Edited by Thomas Thorner. Prince George, BC: College of New Caledonia, 1989.

Murphy, Sharon. "American Indians and the Media: Neglect and Stereotype." *Journalism History* (6)(2) (1979): 39-43.

Niezen, Ronald. "Power and dignity: The social consequences of hydro-electric development for the James Bay Cree" *Canadian Review of Sociology and Anthropology* 30 (4) (1993): 510-29.

Niezen, Ronald. "Aboriginal Self-Determination and the Cree Pursuit of Northern Flood Agreement Implementation." *In First Nations and Hydroelectric Development in Northern Manitoba. The Northern Flood Agreement: Issues and Implications* edited by Jean-Luc Chodkiewicz and Jennifer Brown. Rupert's Land Publications Series. The University of Winnipeg: The Centre for Rupert's Land Studies, 1999

Nye, David. *Electrifying America: Social Meanings of a New Technology, 1880-1940.* Cambridge, Massachusetts: MIT Press, 1990.

Nye, David. *Consuming Power: A Social History of American Energies.* Cambridge, Massachusetts: MIT Press, 1999.

Orkin, Andrew. "Northern Flood Agreement 1977: A Case Study in Treaty Extinguishment and Violation of Fundamental Human Rights." In *First Nations and Hydroelectric Development in Northern Manitoba. The Northern Flood Agreement: Issues and Implications,* edited by Jean-Luc Chodkiewicz and

Jennifer Brown. Rupert's Land Publications Series. The University of Winnipeg: The Centre for Rupert's Land Studies, 1999.

Ortolano, L., Kao Cushing, K., and Contributing Authors. *Grand Coulee Dam and the Columbia Basin Project, USA,* case study report prepared as an input to the World Commission on Dams, Cape Town, 2000. www.dams.org.

Penfield, Steve. Review of "Selling British Columbia: Tourism and Consumer Culture, 1890-1970" by Michael Dawson. *BC Studies* (146) (Summer 2005): 103-05.

Pisani, Donald J. "The Bureau of Reclamation and the West, 1945-2000" *Nevada Historical Society Quarterly* 2000 43(4): 362-383.

Ray, Arthur J. *I Have Lived Here Since the World Began: An Illustrated History of Canada's Native People.* Toronto: Key Porter Books Limited, 1996.

Riggins, Stephen Harold. *Ethnic Minority Media: An International Perspective.* Newbury Park, Calif.: Sage Publications, 1992.

Robin, Martin. *Pillars of Profit: The Company Province: 1934-1972.* Toronto: McClelland and Stewart Limited, 1973.

Rosenberg, C.M., R.A. Bodaly, P.J. Usher. "Environmental and Social Impacts of Large scale Hydro-electric Development: Who is Listening?" *Global Environmental Change* 5 (2) (1995): 127-48.

Sandwell, R.W., ed. *Beyond the City Limits: Rural History in British Columbia.* Vancouver: UBC Press, 1999.

Sheffield, R. Scott. *The Red Man's on the Warpath: The Image of the 'Indian' and the Second World War.* Vancouver: UBC Press, 2004.

Shelford, Cyril. *From Snowshoes to Politics*. Victoria: Orca Book Publishers, 1987.

Sherman, Paddy. *Bennett.* Toronto: McClelland and Stewart Ltd., 1966.

Siegel, Arthur. *Politics and the Media in Canada.* Toronto: McGraw-Hill Ryerson Limited, 1983.

Sotiron, Minko. *From Politics to Profit: The Commercialization of Canadian Daily Newspapers, 1890-1920.* Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1997.

Stadfeld, Bruce. "Power's Dominion: A Review of Recent Writings on Rivers and Hydroelectricity." *BC Studies* 121 (1999): 115-21.

Suchan, Allan. "What is the Northern Flood Agreement?" In *First Nations and Hydroelectric Development in Northern Manitoba. The Northern Flood Agreement: Issues and Implications,* edited by Jean-Luc Chodkiewicz and Jennifer Brown. Rupert's Land Publications Series. The University of Winnipeg: The Centre for Rupert's Land Studies, 1999.

Swayze, Carolyn. *Hard Choices: A Life of Tom Berger.* Vancouver: Douglas & McIntyre, 1987.

Tanner, Adrian. "Culture, Social Change, and Cree Opposition to the James Bay Hydroelectric Development" in James L. Hornig, ed., *Social and Environmental Impacts of the James Bay Hydroelectric Project.* Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1999.

Taylor III, Joseph E. Review of *Fish versus Power"* by Mathew Evenden. In *BC Studies* 142/143 (Summer/Autumn 2004): 297-99.

Tennant, Paul. *Aboriginal Peoples and Politics: The Indian Land Question in British Columbia, 1949-1989.* Vancouver: UBC Press, 1991.

Tomblin, Stephen G. "W.A.C. Bennett and Province-Building in British Columbia." *BC Studies* 85 (Spring, 1990): 45-61.

Townsend, G.H. "Impact of the Bennett Dam on the Peace-Athabasca Delta." *Canadian Journal of Fisheries Research BD.* 32 (1975): 171-176.

Unrau, Norman. *Under These Waters: Williston Lake: Before it Was.* Prince George: Norman Unrau, 2001.

Vipond, Mary. *The Mass Media in Canada.* Toronto: James Lorimer and Company, 1989.

Waldram, James B. *As Long as the Rivers Run: Hydroelectric Development and Native Communities in Western Canada.* Winnipeg: The University of Manitoba Press, 1988.

Waldram, James B. "Falling through the Cracks (in the Dam): South Indian Lake and the Churchill River Diversion Project." In *First Nations and Hydroelectric Development in Northern Manitoba. The Northern Flood Agreement: Issues and Implications.* edited by Jean-Luc Chodkiewicz and Jennifer Brown. Rupert's Land Publications Series. The University of Winnipeg: The Centre for Rupert's Land Studies, 1999

Warner, Stanley. "The Cree People of James Bay: Assessing the Social Impact of Hydroelectric Dams and Reservoirs" in James L. Hornig, ed., *Social and*

Environmental Impacts of the James Bay Hydroelectric Project. Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1999.

Wedley, John R. "The Wenner-Gren and Peace River Power Development Programs." In *Sa Ts'e: Historical Perspectives on Northern British Columbia.* Edited by Thomas Thorner. Prince George, BC: College of New Caledonia, 1989.

Weston, Mary Ann. *Native Americans in the News: Images of Indians in the Twentieth Century Press.* Westport, Connecticut: Greenwood Press, 1996.

Weyler, Rex. *Greenpeace: How a Group of Ecologists, Journalists and Visionaries Changed the World.* Vancouver: Raincoast Books 2004.

Williams, Raymond. "'Mass Communication' and 'Minority Culture.'" In *Media Studies: A Reader,* edited by Paul Marris and Sue Thornham Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1996.

Williston, Eileen and Betty Keller. *Forests, Power and Policy: The Legacy of Ray Williston.* Prince George: Caitlin Press Inc., 1997.

Wilson, J.W. and Maureen Conn. "On Uprooting and Rerooting: Reflections on the Columbia River Project." *BC Studies* 58 (Summer 1983): 40-54.

Windsor, J.E. and J.A. McVey. "Annihilation of Both Place and Sense of Place: The Experience of the Cheslatta T'En Canadian First Nation within the Context of Large-scale Environmental Projects." *The Geographical Journal* (171) (2) (June 2005): 146-65.

World Commission on Dams: "Dams and Development: A New Framework for Decision-Making." *Report of the World Commission on Dams.* London: Earthscan Publications Ltd., 2000.

Young, Oran R. "Introduction to the Issues" in James L. Hornig, ed., *Social and Environmental Impacts of the James Bay Hydroelectric Project.* Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1999.

Zaslow, Morris. "The Struggle for the Peace River Outlet: A Chapter in the Politics of Canadian Development." In *Sa Ts'e: Historical Perspectives on Northern British Columbia.* Edited by Thomas Thorner. Prince George, BC: College of New Caledonia, 1989.

Zelko, Frank. "Making Greenpeace: The Development of Direct Action Environmentalism in British Columbia." *BC Studies* 142/143 (Summer/Autumn 2004): 197-239.

Zwicker, Barrie and Dick MacDonald. *The News: Inside the Canadian Media*. Ottawa: Deneau Pubishers, 1982.