How Canadian Policy used the Protestant Work Ethic to Injure the Indigenous Peoples of the Northwest Plains Relationship to the Earth

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Abstract

It’s only been a very short time since the occident began to think of religion as something distinct from the Commonwealth's governing body. Likewise, to believe that Canada's labor policy is somehow divorced from those roots, and to think in terms of a divide between political social ideas and religion would have been, until very recently, an audacious point of view. Therefore, the purpose of this essay, will be to look at how the political objectives of North Western Canada's labor policies were derived from conceptions of work rooted in religious ideology. This essay argues that North Western Canada's labor policies are inflected by an economy of knowledge that ideologically injures and challenges Indigenous people’s relationships to the earth using religiously defined ideas including the ubiquitous concept of the Protestant work ethic. The goal of this paper is to demonstrate how the contemporary conception of work became defined by the Apostolic Protestant work ethic expressed in various symbolic associations including the figure of the ox. This essay demonstrates why the metaphysical analogy associated with oxen is useful to weaponization of Apostolic notions of work; designed to destroy Indigenous people’s relationship to the earth. This paper draws upon historical evidence that shows that since ancient times, labor has been weaponized against earthly Indigenous lifeways. Central to this essay is how Canada's North Western magistrate policies have weaponized the religious economy of knowledge called the Protestant work ethic.

Keywords: Indigenous, Religion, Settler-Colonial, Work, Northwest Policy, Oxen

Introduction

This work looks historiographically at the ox-like temperament of the Anglo-Saxon and how the symbolic character of the ox was used by policy makers to express the Protestant work ethic and its inevitable alterity to Indigenous earthliness within Canada's North West. The method of investigation employed throughout the work is unconventional. In section I and II the focus is on the development of anti-Indigenous labour policy in the Victorian Era and in the 1960’s. While expounding on these time periods, the work tangentially describes how Anglo-Saxons reified their racial
character, using the ox to make fictional claims about racial superiority over Indigenous peoples and how the Anglo-Saxon race imagined itself with reference to a knowledge economy that used the ox as a standard of work ethic and godliness. I have argued that the ox-like character of the British and the Settler-Colonial institutions was far from incidental it is a primary symbolic characteristic that can be found expressing labour's alterity to earthliness since the Classical Age.

The method employed is experimentally related to what Sartre (1960) describes in his chapter "Critique of Critical Investigation: The Basis of Critical Investigation" in *Critique of Dialectical Reason*. Like Sartre, I believe that critique "of knowledge must itself be intelligible... from the standpoint of knowledge" (ibid), and so, to critique this system of knowledge this attempts to make it visible-by making it visible I do the opposite of prescribing the message it would like to promote.

I have used the work of Jean Paul Sartre (1960), and sometimes Henri Lefebvre (1972), to describe the ox's symbolic unity with the alterity of the Protestant work ethic as a form of analogon. I use this concept of analogon to show that the ox has been a personified embodiment of the Anglo-Saxon and Settler-Colonial's religious economy of knowledge associated with the Protestant work ethic and expressed by labour policy for a very long time. I also describe how this symbol's long lineage can be found symbolizing the religious conception of wealth existing in alterity to the earth going back all the way to the Old Testament, as well as in the empire of Mithras, and among the Gnostics.

But how is the theory of the analogon relevant to the reading of North West Canada's history? In the context of this paper, one might look to the analogon of the ox, which is distinct from the sum of its parts, "is present in its entirety, in one form or another, in each of these parts" and as well, the relationship between those parts. "This reality is created," it can "exist only in the imaginary" which is to say that it is "the correlative of an act of imagination" that is inert. These "human objects" are things that "lie heavy on our destiny," although they appear to be a "synthetic unity" of diverse elements, their unity "is not merely the labour that has produced it, but also the activity of inhabiting it" (Sartre, 1960).

In other words, the historiographic work of interpreting the way that labour has produced alterity to the earth is not simply a question of how the Protestant work ethic has sought to produce a particular outcome, aka, the development of its commercial and Agro-Industrial world. It is also a question of how its physiognomic character has sought to objectify itself using the inert symbol of the ox in a system of discourse that it wants to appear objective, when in fact the act of producing that economic goal has been imaginative.

This work shows how the ox can be seen as an embodiment of the Anglo-Saxon and Settler-Colonial economy of knowledge associated with the development of Agro-Industrial policy in Canada's North West. It also articulates how the knowledge system was inherited from ancient religious traditions that it has been equating with unearthly godliness for the past several Millennia. I argue that the ox-like character of the British personae is a contemporary emanation of that religious tradition, and in Section III and the Conclusion, will show how the religious framework associated with the ancient analogon of the ox imaginally expresses the Settler-Colonial notion of labour found in its policies and laws. And also, how that unearthly concept of labour has been carried forwards into qualifications of personhood and social status today.

In George Bryce's (1906) *A History of Manitoba: Its Resources and People*, one of Winnipeg's most famous and popular Settler-
Colonial historians exhibited how British Settler-Colonial literature staged its labor-based claims about the nature of the Anglo-Saxon Settler-Colonial by reference to the laborious character of the Anglo-Saxon race. At the beginning of that text, Bryce situates his history from a vantage point within Winnipeg's Settler-Colonial commercial center, called Portage and Main. From that point of view, Bryce begins to illustrate one of the most important ideological and popular beliefs expressed by the British Settler-Colonial milieu when they sought to manifest their racial supremacy in North Western Canada. In the book, Bryce clarifies the laborious method by which the British staked their claim to sovereign ownership of the land itself:

What then, is to be the future of this Canadian west? The possibilities are illimitable. The Anglo-Saxon race, with its energy and pluck, has laid hold of the land so long shut in by the wall built around it by the fur traders. This race, with its dominating forcefulness, will absorb and harmonize elements coming from all parts of the world to enjoy the fertile fields and mineral treasures of a land whose laws are just, whose educational policy is thorough and progressive, whose moral and religious aspirations are high and noble, and which gives a hearty welcome to the industrious and deserving from all lands (1906, p. 306).

In this excerpt, Bryce exhibits how the Settler-Colonial knowledge system conceived of its industriousness and commerce having facilitated Anglo-Saxon claims that it felt illimitable. Bryce's writing exhibits the well-established historical idea that the occidental Settler Colonial system has always perceived its political economy as an expression of that society's metaphysics. It also shows that this metaphysics is not restricted to just the commercial system, as it sees the knowledge system in general being manifested in the legal, educational, and moral framework that it pluralistically prescribes to all of the races of the earth.

Bryce's totalizing view of general knowledge forges absolute links between the Anglo-Saxon social economy and its religious knowledge system. These equations have played an enormous part in how the Victorian Settler-Colonial policy makers went about designing their policies for Indigenous peoples. In the excerpt above, Bryce describes Anglo-Saxon civilization having inherited their power to rule from their racial character being sharp tempered and innovative in its industrious; there, Bryce has factitiously portrayed the Anglo-Saxon’s forceful, and somewhat bullish nature, as a financially conquering entrepreneur.

Bryce’s egotistic conceptualization of Anglo-Saxon consciousness is obviously imperialistic. He summarily proclaims that the Anglo-Saxon's economic social standard is an absolute and universal measure of goodness. For the British, the Anglo-Saxon race was an entity whose industrious nature personified a sort of technological ideal; it believed its race's industrious work ethic was supposed to have given it a God-like right to govern the earth. As a technologically constituted form of racism, the Anglo-Saxon worldview was not static nor restricted to old ideas; it perceived itself the most adaptable coeval entity on earth, and, due to this fluid notion of its coevality, it asserted a technologically constituted supremacy over the material world and the knowledge framework (Fabian, 1983).

Iconographically speaking, the United Kingdom sought to manifest the sentience of its supreme personae that Bryce describes, using an analogon that takes on the bovine character not unlike how Bryce expresses the nature of Settler-Colonialism. The English did this through adopting a national personae named John Bull. In the Victorian Era, John
Bull was, quite possibly, the most common personification of England, and often the United Kingdom generally, and is considered a political manifestation of Englishness generally. (For a visual depiction of John Bull see Appendix: “A Union in the Interest of Humanity-Civilization Freedom and Peace for All Time” (1898) - this poster is also found in Ellen Sebring’s (2015) article “Civilization and Barbarism”).

In the Commonwealth's history, the ox has been the working engine held responsible for the domestication of the earth, both materially and analogically. The oxen analogon operated as a material yet also symbolic expression of the way that religious social values and the Protestant work ethic continued to be manifested by Settler-Colonial systems of knowledge in the contemporary Victorian Age.

Let us consider, for example, how Adam Smith (1776) describes the establishment of commercial society in chapter IV of his book An Inquiry into the Nature and Causes of The Wealth of Nations, "Of the Origin and Use of Money." For Smith, "society itself grows to be what is properly a commercial society" by the use of money. The importance of oxen and cattle generally to the development of the commercial society has, since ancient times, been generally held to have been of great religious and economic importance, such, that Smith writes of how oxen and cattle ought to be considered one of the most fundamentally original instruments facilitating the development of commercial exchange and circulation "In the rude ages of society," when "cattle are said to have been the common instrument of commerce." Cattle are, in other words, one of the first commodities to have been transformed into a universal exchange value. Thus, it was, in a nutshell, an analogon, thought tied directly to the origins of money; and Smith traces its literary usage as such backwards into the ancient literature of Pliny and Homer.

During the Victorian age, the Anglo-Saxon race depicted itself having an energetic and innovative ox-like nature through the English farmer's willingness to work (Carter, 1990, p. 142-143). The historical ox-like image of the Anglo-Saxon race as a technologically progressive hard worker, in a Settler Colonial context, pictures the ox's character as a racial ideal that has been said to run parallel to the development of the Agro-Industrial financial system from ancient times. Converse to the Victorian image of the Anglo-Saxon race as an ox-like people, the Indigenous peoples of the North Western plains were also pictured by Canada's most prominent historians as having an analogously bovine nature; they were equated to the wildness of the plains buffalo. Indigenous peoples were known to depend upon the buffalo for survival, and, like the buffalo, Indigenous peoples were said to impede the spread of the technological progress narrative that the Anglo-Saxon agricultural economic system sought to qualify through its economy of knowledge in general.

Within Canadian history, John Bull’s magistrates and legislators in the Northwest typically characterized labour as the primary measure of the Settler-Colonial person’s social status. Predictably, the dialectical devaluation of the Indigenous peoples’ value became replete with characterizations intended to disqualify them from being full persons. They did this by asserting that their lifestyle and their work ethic (aka, what they produced) as well as their lifestyles’ lack of consumption of cattle meat failed to meet the Anglo-Saxon's most basic civilizational standards. As Owen Toews (2018) writes, British conceptions of: whiteness (got) associated with a set of practices- sobriety, industriousness, beef eating, and grain growing... cast as essential to the dominant regional development vision, and people of colour were systematically barred from the North-West on this basis (2018, p. 59; parenthesis added).
For Toews, the Anglo-Saxon policies defining historical segregation exemplified in the policies of Clifford Sifton, the Ministry of the Interior were an essential part of how the Agro-Industry’s development vision sought to put the wilderness into an ox’s harness by turning land-based Indigenous peoples into low paid labourers working for the Agro-Industrial system. It was in reference to that economic context that the historical white man was said to have claimed supremacy within social hierarchy, by arguing that the Anglo-Saxon farmer was an inherently better worker or industrialist than anyone from any other race.

Rudyard Kipling, for example, describes that colonial situation in his poem "The White Man's Burden", when he writes that the British have to:

Take up the White Man's burden—
/Send forth the best ye breed—/Go bind your sons to exile/To serve your captives' need;/To wait in heavy harness,
/On fluttered folk and wild... (Kipling as quoted in Sebring, 2015).

The job of the Settler-Colonial, in the eyes of the chief government magistrates was to turn "Your new-caught, sullen peoples,/Half-devil and half-child" to the "service of humankind" (ibid), and away from the natural condition within a wildly non Agro-Industrialized world (ibid).

The job of the Settler-Colonial, in other words, was to turn their new Indigenous bondsmen away from the wilderness and the wild buffalo through yoking them to the financial work of farming. This fictional narrative portrayed Indigenous peoples as ‘unyoked’ non-producers that had to be forced to bear Christian cross of industry (see Sebring’s illustration of “The White Man’s Burden (Apologies to Rudyard Kipling)” by Victor Gillam in Judge).

That laborious predicament gets cited by Sarah Carter’s (1990) Lost Harvests in an illustrative way that foregrounds how the civilizational achievements economic system were also thought to be a manifestation of religiously constituted conceptions of labour. In Carter’s work, the Indigenous labourers were proverbially described by Settler-Colonials with reference to their wild and dangerous origins. Civilization, however, was said to have transformed the Indigenous person's habits, and it claims that Indigenous peoples were being assimilated through having adopted the more industrially civilized style dress, a farming way of life, and joining the church-going Settler-Colonial milieu:

Accustomed to a roving life, it was no easy matter to transform him into a farmer. But the work has been manfully undertaken, and now, instead of meeting in the Indian the feathered, painted, and treacherous master of the prairies, we find in him the inoffensive settler; poor, yet progressing; rough in his habits, yet much like a white man in that he boasts the dress of civilized life, with, in a few instances, a beaver or plug hat for Sunday wear. (Toronto Mail, April 20th, 1891, p. 135).

Work, Religion, and Policy in the late Victorian and Edwardian Era: 1) The Apostolic Notion of Work in the Policy of Hayter Reed

Between 1881 and 1893 it was Hayter Reed that created what he called the 'Indian policy' designed to bind Indigenous peoples to labour while seeking to exile them from their land and harnessing them to Agro-Industrial enterprise. Hayter's policy proscribed an Apostolic notion of work that he had personally designed to justify starving Indigenous peoples to death if they did not heed the religiously Apostolic call to work.

For Reed, the absence of oxen on the North Western plains was an inadmissible way
of explaining why his Indigenous charges were, at the time, starving to death in large numbers. Despite the fact that their main food source, the buffalo, was destroyed in 1879 as the result of the influx of settlers (Carter, 1990, p. 144), Hayter Reed maintained the view that they were not starving because of lack of buffalo, but because they had not learned to work.

Owen Toews usefully summarizes how the total destruction of the buffalo, described in Carter’s work, was done in order to weaken Indigenous peoples, to the benefit of the growing commercial society: buffalo and fur-bearing animals were disappearing rapidly as a result of technological innovation, (and) the region’s extended incorporation into worldwide markets, and the genocidal US policy of exterminating the Plains buffalo in order to weaken the Indigenous peoples of the area (Toews, 2017, p. 40; parenthesis added).

At the time, the wholesale slaughter of the buffalo was being done by Settler-Colonial people with intentionally genocidal goals in mind. The growth of the commercial market was predicated by the destruction of the existing economy of the plain’s Indigenous people. The destruction of the wild food source was the beginning of the end of large scale self-sustaining hunting lifestyles in Manitoba and the North. It was for this reason that Métis scholar Howard Adams, in Prisoners of Grass (1975) describes the local French Métis and English ‘Half Breeds’ having been forced into the harness of cheap “coolie” positions. They had been effectively moved away from their preferred hunter gathering ways of being and forced into a new role as cheap Agro-Industrial labourers.

For Hayter Reed, the destruction of hunter gathering and the establishment of Anglo-Saxon industrialism was a morally just and righteous affair because this policy maker believed that the technological superiority of the Anglo-Saxon race meant that the entire process of removal through starvation was a divinely preordained process. Reed believed that the mass deaths were the result of Indigenous peoples having failed to heed God’s call to work. For Reed, his policy was not at fault, because, the Indigenous peoples were victimizing themselves when they did not fully integrate into the Christian world to begin to live the Agro-Industrial lifestyle. (Carter, 1990).

Hayter Reed claims that cause of the starvation happening on the plains was the result Indigenous peoples ‘idleness,’ and, their ‘lack of Christian conviction.’ Meanwhile, he had intentionally withheld the food that Indigenous diplomats had been guaranteed in Treaty arrangements. Reed himself purposely starved them hoping to force them into the workforce while claiming that he was only doing God's work:

Through the introduction of ‘work,’ and by not tolerating ‘idleness,’ that reform could be effected. The job of the Indian agent, Reed believed, was to compel obedience, and ‘when moral suasion failed the only means of coercion was to stop their rations and try and establish the Apostle’s law that if a man would not work he should not eat’ (Carter, 1990, 143-144; quoting Reed).

As Indian Agent, Reed personally set up the illegal regulations that he had intended to “establish the Apostle’s law” on reserves. While factitiously blaming Indigenous “idle-ness,” rather than acknowledging the agreements made in treaties, Reed set out to compel Indigenous peoples into Agro-Industrialism.

The ideological conception of work that Reed had personally put into place was in many ways virtually identical to that religious knowledge system that Max Weber (1930) had described having evolved in England out of reformed Lutheran concepts known in Germany as beruf (p. 39). In The Protestant Ethic and the Spirit of Capitalism, Weber defines the
English nation's Apostolic notion of work, "more clearly (expressed) in the English call-ing" having been derived from beruf; and to show the heritage of that English Protestant idea, Weber traces the Anglo-Saxon Protestant concept of work being a word with a "concrete" connotation, having evolved out of the Lutheran concept of God's ultimate "call to labour" that many English Protestants believed everyone had to follow at all costs.

By 1905, Max Weber’s *The Protestant Ethic and the Spirit of Capitalism* had been published in German to describe how British capitalism developed as an expression of the Anglo-Saxon Protestant lifestyle and worldview. During the Victorian and Edwardian era, their racially defined capitalist order was seen by British people as a definitive expression of the developmental and technological nature of the Anglo-Saxon race character. According to Weber, the racial character of that kind of capitalism was by no means incidental to Protestantism's work ethic; he writes that capitalism was an essential consequence of the English's race genius' technologically progressive nature.

That kind of a racist and Eurocentric conception of the Anglo-Saxon’s racial *habitus* is a holistically capitalist concept tied directly to the development of commerce itself. As a concrete conception of the nature of the race in relationship to the call to work it is not unlike the John Bull personae. This religious economic framework can be found underlined in numerous English texts, for example R.H. Tawney's (1922) *Religion and the Rise of Capitalism*. But also, it is a dominant theme throughout the various English Protestant treatises; it can, for example, be seen debated at length in E. Misselden's (1623) *The Circle of Commerce* and G. Malnye's (1622) *The Centre of the Circle of Commerce*. Arguments over whether money is the soul of their Anglo-Saxon society had directly influenced Charles I (a High Anglican whose wife was Catholic) and the Earle of Middle Sex, the Lord High Treasurer.

For Weber (1905), the English were primarily qualified by the English as an economic and technological species whose relationship to the physical world depended upon the cultivation of a particular kind of commercial environment. Weber's technological claim with regard to the race-based knowledge contextualizing the biological traits (such as “neu-rology and psychology”) as important but secondary factors to what the Anglo-Saxon had perceived as the most important element in the Protestant Anglo-Saxon character, aka, the exchange value of the social environment produced by the social and economic *habitus* of its particular category of civilization (ibid).

**Work, Religion, and Policy in the late Victorian and Edwardian Era: ii) Work in North West Policy**

Jean-Pierre Morin, staff historian of the department formerly called the Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Department, writes that:

Between 1830 and 1867… colonial legislation… attempt(ed) to protect Aboriginal lands and increase… assimilation… (while) reduc(ing) the administrative cost of its colonial empire (which is why)… the imperial government transferred control of the Indian Department of the Province of Canada in 1860 …. When the Indian department was returned to civil authority in 1830, it underwent major changes, both in its structure and in its policies. Influenced by the growing humanitarian and evangelical movements in Great Britain, the department’s policies shifted towards the promotion of ‘civilization and Christianization’ of Aboriginal peoples. The new approach, which envisioned a transformation of Aboriginal
peoples into a sedentary and Christian agricultural people (Leslie and Maguire 1979, 16), would dominate Indian policy for the next century (2005, p. 27; parenthesis added).

By 1873, the Federal government had the North West under the administrative power of the Dominion Lands Branch of the Department of the Interior. In practice, that meant that it was primarily the local magistrates and governments, and not the Federal government, who were the ones who were wielding much of the power in the North West. In my understanding of the situation, the Federal government had diminutive powers over the interior's policy. When the Federal government placed First Nations under the Ministry of the Interior’s administration by decree of the Secretary of State for the Province, the central axiom guiding the ministry’s policy was to stimulate the growth of industry through farming and resource extraction activities- for example, mining and lumber (Kulchyski & Tester, 2007). The Ministry of the Interior was responsible for designing the policy for sourcing labour to operate these new industries.

The central axiom guiding the ministry’s policy for the region was their Settler-Colonial desire to boost and stimulate the growth of local industries. In 1880, the ministry had created the Department of Indian Affairs and given them half the administrative control over policies regarding Indigenous peoples in the Northwest Territory and Manitoba. The Ministry of Interior had to share power with the Federal government and was supposed to be governed by the Indian Act legislated by Parliament in 1876 and 1880, as well as the Treaty system.

I believe the Ministry had by that time factitiously maintained a legal pretense to ‘protection’ Indigenous people until contemporary times (see Morin above). In my view, the integrity of their factitious claim has always been highly questionable if not simply false, as the ministry has had the habit of acting independently of the Crown in a highly illegal manner when maintaining the policies designed by the Indian Agent Hayter Reed.

In the latter half of the Victorian Era, the Department of Indian Affairs’ resulting administrative agenda was a vindictive blend of Christian humanitarianism and Apostolic evangelism. The ideological agenda was to civilize Aboriginal people by forcing them onto reserves where farming would be necessary in order for them to avoid starvation and become independent of government aid. At the time, the goal was to acculturate those who were living on reserve by sending missionary educators who sought to force them to adopt an agro-industrial lifestyle that was designed to express Apostolic values that were used to injure the hunter gatherer mindset (Carter, 1990). In pursuing that goal, the Ministry of the Interior and the Department of Indian Affairs proclaimed that science and religion remained parallel belief systems. Their policies consisted of moral and scientific ideologies that sought to assault Indigenous culture using an economic and religious knowledge system designed to assimilate Indigenous peoples into the mainstream Anglo-Saxon economy and lifestyle.

**Work and Law: Indian Affairs, Occupational Acculturation, and the BNA Act**

In 1967, Indian Affairs published *The Survey of The Contemporary Indians of Canada* (Vol. 2) to describe the occupational chasm that divided the Indigenous social milieu from the rest of Canadian society. In the survey, the development of the government’s administrative ideology was summarized in order to enable the acculturation of Indigenous peoples into the agro-industrial system using the labour market. In “Chapter II: An Analysis of Competitive Ideologies” the survey summarizes the government magistrate’s social policies attitude towards the social and economic
welfare of Indigenous peoples. In “Chapter IV: Education of the Indian Child” the survey describes Indian Affairs' ideological view of occupational pursuits constituting a socioeconomic division between “the Indian world”, and “the world of the White man” (ibid). Indian Affairs used the occupational divisions it described inside that report to argue for an integrationist acculturation of Indigenous people by bringing them into the labour force, whereby, Indigenous people are told to move off the reserve and to acculturate themselves by joining the public life in labour positions. (This notion of two worlds is also found in the Canadian government's introduction to The White Paper).

In The Survey..., Indian Affairs makes it abundantly clear that the government's understanding of Canadian social hierarchy is based upon a comparative analysis of Canadian achievements within the contemporary job market, where it says Indigenous peoples have failed. This way of qualifying social power, and the Indigenous person’s lack thereof, has arisen out of the attitude that only money can buy the resources for education. That magisterial qualification of human status, offered in that survey, has much to do with a social milieu’s presumptions about what learned wisdom and the attainment of the skilled abilities ought to be taught by the public education system. When defining the government's “ideology” in Chapter II, the government claims that the influence of commercial, industrial, business and media interests on Canadian identity cannot be overlooked, and that labour force integration will be at the top of its agenda thence forth (1967, p. 20).

The Survey... offers some useful contextualizing information about how contemporary Canada sees itself having acquired the power to make these decisions for Indigenous peoples. By law, it states that Canada's legal authority to govern Indigenous peoples is generally said to have originated from Section 91 of the British North America Act. Section 91 makes the educational, economic, and social welfare of the 'Indian' a federal responsibility. Through Section 91 the federal government becomes the sole executor of legislation for Indigenous peoples. Very interestingly, in The Survey..., Indian Affairs falsely claims that the Indian Department has always followed federal legislation, the Indian Act, and the Treaty system when in fact it hasn't protected Indigenous peoples or followed federal legislation very closely. The report falsely claims that Indian Affairs' ideological desire has always been to altruistically “protect Indians from becoming victims of modern society” (1967, p. 22), when in fact it has always sought to assimilate and acculturate them. These claims have been contradicted pretty much continuously throughout the history that I have been providing in Section I and II of this paper.

The Survey... defines Indian Affair's ideology between 1867 and 1945 as having been to “protect Indians from becoming victims of modern society” (ibid). Between 1945 and 1965, Indian Affairs claims that it used “latest anthropological and sociological information” (p. 23) to declare that Indigenous society ought to be measured in a new way, by “degrees of development... from the hunter to the highly skilled labourer or professional” (ibid). These falsely predicated claims attempt to assert the idea that Indigenous peoples have not yet been brought technologically up to date in comparison to the Anglo-Saxon standards, and that for them to become full functioning members of society they need to become a "labourer or professional" and enter the "circuit of profit" and conform to the nation’s "economic motor" (Kulchyski & Tester, 2007, p. 7). The government's concept of development maintains the old Anglo-Saxon attitude towards “progress" that is "necessarily a totalization" (ibid; directly quoting Sartre) from which no deviation should ever be allowed.
Indian Affair's supposedly “new” federal ideology falsely claims that Indigenous peoples' “lack of development” resulted from their being “excluded from the economic life of the rest of Canada” (Indian Affairs, p. 24) while they were being diligently ‘protected’ by Indian Affairs by being kept restricted on reserve by Oliver's 1906 version of the Indian Act. This survey also defines what Indian Affairs calls a “new” ideology; and, calls upon Indigenous people to join industrial society by acquiring labour positions or becoming better educated. That survey then falsely proclaims that this is a “new” ideology that is “is considerably different from that of early administrators” (p. 21), and, says that by beginning to work, Indigenous peoples should begin to climb the Canadian social ladder out of the idleness of their abject poverty.

How the Analogon of the Ox Works Religiously to Split the Throat of Nature

If we see work as the force of history, the force that transforms man while it transforms the world, then a writers activity must be recognized as the highest form of work... when I build a stove: the stove transforms the empty ideal which is my desire into something real: it affirms the presence in the world of something which was not there before... (I build) the transformation of...(elements)- by work... this stove will allow me to make other objects, which will in turn deny the former condition of the world and prepare its future... (Blanchot, 1981, p. 53)

Maurice Blanchot's (1981) The Gaze of Orpheus shows that work is the force of history transforming and producing the world in a manner not unlike how the metaphor of a stove imaginatively transforms empty ideals and desires into future realities. The metaphor Blanchot offers here performs that process by reference to how the Bible has approached transforming the reality predating Jesus using logocentrism (see the Gospel of John 1:1- the "Word made flesh"). In that view, the apostolic way of materially producing a metaphysical idea that is a primary aspect of the spiritual engine driving the Christian notion of work as a transformative act that brings personhood into being by proxy to the crucifixion and rebirth of Christ. That apostolic idea, found primarily in the Gospel of John the Apostle, cannot be entirely divorced from the ancient God Head that predating the Judeo-Christian world, as that imaginative framework got imagined before Christ, before getting transformed by the cosmology of the apostle's world view.

Despite John, the religious calling to work had been analogous to the ritualistic production of God's Work since antiquity. That ancient analogy can be found expressed by the religious notion starting "at the beginning of the moment when the words become stronger than their meaning and the meaning more physical than the word" (Blanchot, 1981, p. 53). In its dogma, the Word made flesh is more important than the reality itself, as it is the transformation of the Word that is the religious moment that fundamentally transforms the world. In reference to that logocentric account, the human mind must transcend the earthly domain that the occident's ancient religion saw as 'nature' by nature of heeding the calling that questions whether the Godly conception of the Word produces reality; and the vice versa; to conclusively argue that the way, truth, and light exists by reference to the language of God. This language-based transformation of the flesh of the world has been the root of the religious economy of knowledge for Millenia; whereby, when the Word became the flesh of the law the earth began to fade away into the background of its knowledge economy.

When words, aka, the Word, became the reality of the world people entered the realm of the contemporary imagination. That imaginary world still operates with reference to
a colonial economy of knowledge where the Word becomes the master of things, and the Christian economy of knowledge renders reality a servant to its general economy. That fictitious way of reversing the natural order of things is what Henri Lefebvre (1974) describes as the ongoing and inescapable process of "constant metaphorization" that he calls analogon (1974, p. 105). For Lefebvre (like Sartre) the occidental world engages in an imaginary produce that is constantly transforming and reinventing the older religious metaphors and similitudes and forging them into contemporary truths. That synthetic yet real process is omnipresent among the objects of the imagination it produces.

In the brief section to follow, I want to risk describing the holographic imaginary surrounding the meaning of the ox’s analogon. In it, I briefly equate the meaning of the imaginary word-thing called an 'ox' to the way that this logos ha has been used ritualistically to produce the notion of atonement that facilitates how work produces an alterity to earthliness. I will do that through focusing on the figurative history of the aleph, or alef. In Greek and Hebrew, the alef and aleph are the letters of the alphabet signifying the ox. The ox of concern there is real and abstract in the sense that, like Christ, is a logocentric analogy for how the word of the law got given flesh by the religious imagination. The ox is an ancient yet contemporary emblem used in the atonement sacrifice; and, was a ritualistic symbolization of work of transforming wilderness and earthliness into the Christian cosmology revolving around its ordained altar (like described in Leviticus).

According to Georges Bataille (1985), for example, the sacrifice of bulls has always been one of the most “widespread religious practices” of the ancient world (p. 57). That sacrifice was common in the Mithraic rite of atonement; where the people seeking atonement would strip off their clothing to stand in a pit under a raised wooden scaffold, then “a priest slashed the throat of a bull” allowing the people below to get “doused with hot blood” that they believed to be literally imbued with the sun's energy (Bataille, 1985, p. 57). In that manner, the bull became the oven of transformation by metaphorically representing the earthly manifestation of God on earth. Bull sacrifice, like Jesus himself, sends down the blood associated with God Head.

In “Rotten Sun,” Georges Bataille (1985) unequivocally equates the sacrifice of the bull to a human sacrifice. For Bataille, to slash the throat of the bull is equal to “a man slashing his own throat” (p.v56). In Bataille’s anthropomorphic understanding of the rite, the sacrificial nature of this act is a process that produces a constantly evolving metaphor that is essential to the religious knowledge economy. In his book The Accursed Share, Bataille (1988) takes this analogy further and sees the sacrifice of the castration of the bull-calf materializing the religious "general economy" that he associates with the social hierarchy of the religiously organized social economy found in hierarchies of knowledge generally. Throughout his work, the anthropomorphized bull-calf remains a poignant symbol of the social hierarchy currently existing within the occident’s religious lexicon; and, is a symbol he hierarchically conceives of as an early embodiment of the language of Work that’s supposed bring man into a direct relationship with the God Head later became the sacrificial Christ upon the crucifix.

By nature of that sort of religious rite, the bull has been a long-standing logos for the agricultural and commercial religious man, par excellence. The shape of the bull was taken on ancient sacral glyphs to attest to that status by reference to its manner of existence in the Minoan era (for example, see Plate 34 of Campbell Bonner’s (1954) “A Miscellany of Stones”) and, has been pictured by reference of what that animal's metaphysical and metaphorical physique. As such, the bullock was more
than just general economic system of doublings; it is a glyph, like form a doubled bull includes a Minoan axe and a tree and what might be a fence on stone #4 and #5. These analogons seem poetic in their doubleness; picturing a double bull, they convey the double character of dual animals with double natures, like the "double sun" that Bataille refers to; with the visual duality of that glyph showing the duplicity of the bull; both standing and in repose; with reference to nature and yet giving it the double axe; and yet, it is also a glyph that references the nature of the divine name and object rotating with the double nature of the earth the bull is bound to metaphorically.

According to Bataille's (1988) The Accursed Share, when "the male (bull-calf) is castrated" (Bataille, 1997, 188) it transforms into "The origin and essence of our wealth" (ibid) by nature of it being the earth's manifestation of the sun. The act of castration is an act against nature, and is what produces the ox's ability to work and create wealth. That religious concept of the bull-calf is what made it the analogon for the essential process that grows capitalist wealth, and, it makes the castrated bull seem to be a perfect analogy for how the European's religious man has set out in pursuit of that analogon's deifying attitude towards what it means to be human.

Conclusion

Man is primarily a maker, a builder... That which marked the end of animal development and the beginning of human history was the discovery of the hand. Man at his origin is the maker. Decisive at the beginning, the role of technique is immense all along the human line. Man in the mass has been a workman ~ W.R. Lethaby (1891) in Architecture, Nature & Magic.

As a matter of fact, two axioms seem to have guided the advance of Western civilization from the outset: the first maintains that true societies unfold in the protective shadow of the State; the second states a categorical imperative: man must work. -Pierre Clastres, Society Against the State (Quoted in Lazzarato, 2015, p. 113).

The ox is a religiously contrived symbol analogous to God's calling to a particular line of work existing within a particular kind of knowledge economy. In this essay I have looked back at the history of Canada's ideological treatment of Indigenous peoples and found that there have been two main axioms guiding the development of capitalist labour policy in the North West. There is the axiom of a technologically determined future that exists within the policies of the Canadian State, and, there is the axiom of that State's assimilative ultimatum that Indigenous peoples heed the call to labour. In the events that led up to the Victorian Age, the Anglo-Saxon Protestant faith used its capitalist knowledge economy to perpetrate atrocities that it had committed in the name of forcing Indigenous people to assimilate into the labour force, and, throughout that time, it had equated its wealth to religious alterity to Indigenous ways of being.

When coming to my conclusions, my paper has skipped over much of the extensive scientific literature that it could have used to further explain why western knowledge has grown to define its concept of work as an alterity. Instead, this essay chose to take a close look at the Godly symbolism of the ox and the knowledge economy associated with how the Anglo-Saxon conception of personhood got conceived by Settler-Colonials as a God-like alterity to nature.

It would be possible for this essay to continue to present its argument through further investigating Immanuel Kant and Wolfgang Hegel's qualification of work as the process of adulterating and mastering nature. For
Kant and Hegel, work is the process that distinguishes humanity from nature, because adulterating nature gives the skilled labourer absolute power over it. Additionally, I could have continued to make my argument by looking at how Karl Marx (1867) describes the establishment of labor in a rude society being a key process by which the dissolution of Indigenous people's relationship to land takes place as their labor makes them part of the alterity of unearthly capitalism. As well, I could have considered Hannah Arendt’s tripartite theory of *Vita Activa Homo Faber* (work), *Animal Laborans* (labor), Zoon Politikon (action). and Giorgio Agamben's notion of the Work as a religious calling in reference to *Homo Sacre*, aka, the sacred man.

However, the chosen purpose of this paper has been to describe the occidental ideology behind religious conceptions of work in Canadian social policy and to look at how those concepts operate in reference to the analogon of the ox. In the view that I have provided here, the religious notion of work has been described as the most important composite factor determining how Canadian magistrates in the North West determined their economy of knowledge in alterity to the earthly lifeways of the Indigenous peoples of the Canadian plains. That qualification of work, according to these Settler-Colonial policy makers, has been shown to be a very important factor in how those magistrates and legislators have sought, throughout history, to evaluate Indigenous peoples’ harness-ability for the Canadian Settler-Colonial economic State.

According to Jean Paul Sartre's *Critique of Dialectical Reason*, the violently genocidal project of Settler-Colonialism did not emerge from the idealistic merging of two different juridical systems (the Indigenous and the Commonwealth), even if it is possible for such that argument to be made using historical sources. Instead, the violence of dispossession has emerged from the fact that its merchants were supported by the praxis of its military and the institutions (1960) that imposed a commercial code intentionally used to rob Indigenous peoples of their land. The genocidal process of growing capitalism in Canada's west is- and always has been- a practical expression of the colonial endeavor to dissolve the Indigenous population within a particular kind of economy of knowledge that destroys their relationship to the land using the economic circuit of its commercial status-quo.

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