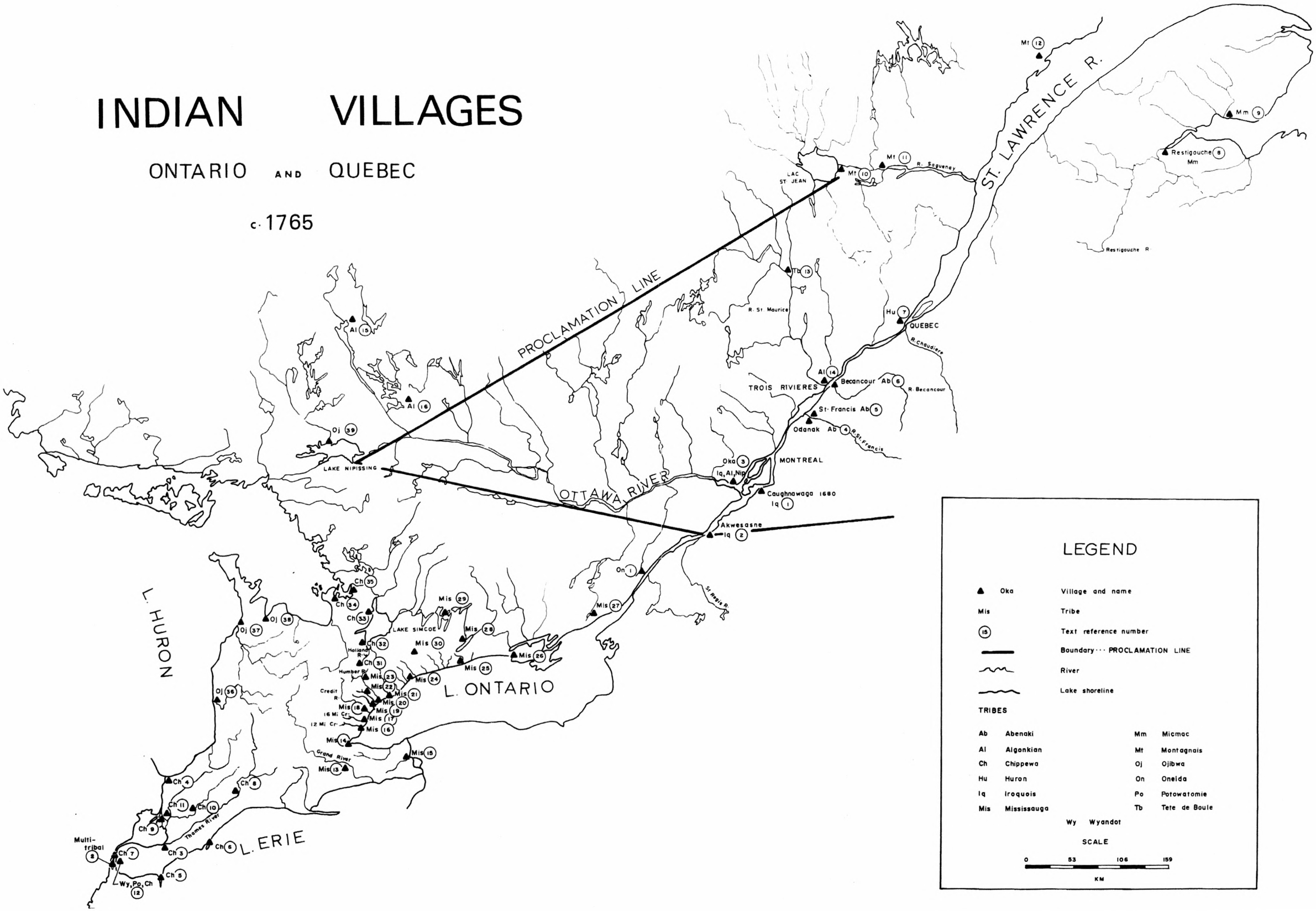
A CARTOGRAPHIC ANALYSIS OF INDIAN SETTLEMENTS AND RESERVES IN SOUTHERN ONTARIO AND SOUTHERN QUEBEC, 1763-1867

by Robert Surtees

INDIAN VILLAGES

ONTARIO AND QUEBEC

c. 1765



LEGEND

▲ Oka	Village and name
Mis	Tribe
(18)	Text reference number
———	Boundary··· PROCLAMATION LINE
~~	River
~~	Lake shoreline

TRIBES

Ab	Abenaki	Mm	Micmac
Al	Algonkian	Mt	Montagnais
Ch	Chippewa	Oj	Ojibwa
Hu	Huron	On	Onelda
Iq	Iroquois	Po	Potowatomie
Mis	Mississauga	Tb	Tete de Boule
		Wy	Wyandot

SCALE

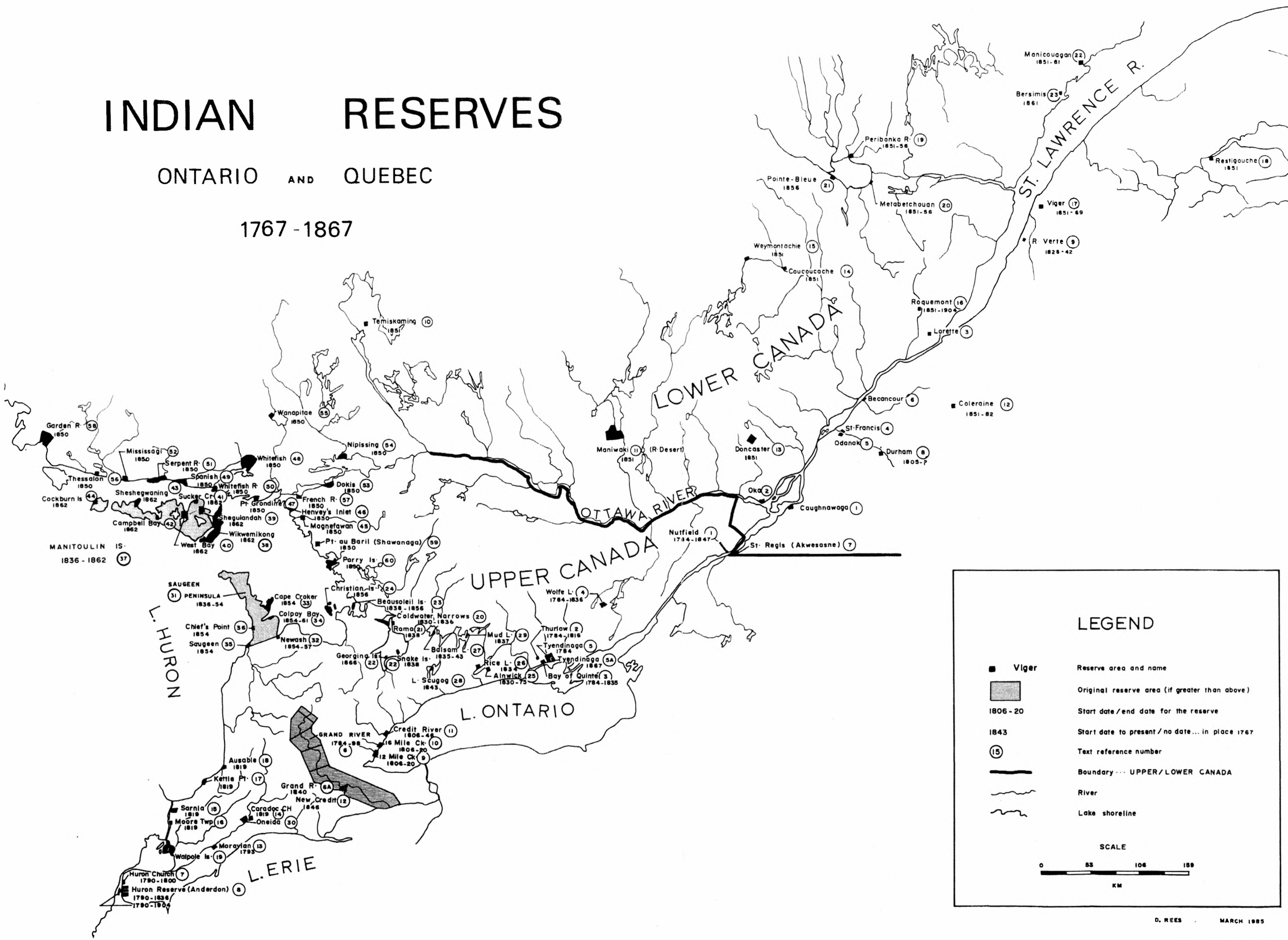
0 53 106 159

KM

INDIAN RESERVES

ONTARIO AND QUEBEC

1767 - 1867



LEGEND

■ Viger	Reserve area and name
	Original reserve area (if greater than above)
1806 - 20	Start date / end date for the reserve
1843	Start date to present / no date... in place 1767
(15)	Text reference number
	Boundary ··· UPPER / LOWER CANADA
	River
	Lake shoreline

SCALE

0 53 106 159

KM

D. REES MARCH 1985

A CARTOGRAPHIC ANALYSIS OF INDIAN SETTLEMENTS AND RESERVES IN SOUTHERN ONTARIO AND SOUTHERN QUEBEC, 1763 - 1867

by

Robert Surtees

for

Research Branch

Corporate Policy

Indian and Northern Affairs Canada

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A CARTOGRAPHIC ANALYSIS OF INDIAN SETTLEMENTS AND RESERVES IN SOUTHERN ONTARIO AND SOUTHERN QUEBEC, 1763 - 1867

Five general observations about Indian lands and settlements in the southern portions of Quebec and Ontario appear appropriate for the period 1763-1867.

First, with one, possibly two[1], exceptions, this middle period in central Canada's history did not witness extensive migrations of Indian people. Second, the precise location of Indian bands did not vary greatly. Rather the reserves which were established over the course of the century--although not defined legally as such until 1876[2]--were remarkably similar to the village locations that pertained at the beginning of this period. Third, it is often noted that Indian peoples of Ontario were protected in the occupation of their lands by the Royal Proclamation of 1763, while the Indians of Quebec did not have that protection during the French regime. The end result for native people of both provinces, however, was remarkably similar. That is, by Confederation, Indians in both provinces were restricted to small plots of territory, where it was expected they would, in time, come to adopt a civilized and Christian way of life. Fourth, although there would appear to have been no particular connection between the handling of Indian affairs in the two

provinces, the early 1850s saw several new reserves established in each: by treaty in Canada West, by legislative decree in Canada East. Fifth, any examination of native peoples' locations during this period--or indeed any period after 1608--in the history of central Canada, must be done in relation to the advance of non-Indian settlement, for this influence more than any other affected the movement of Indian lands.

Two major maps accompany this study. Figure No. 1 purports to locate, as accurately as possible, the village sites of Indian bands in the years immediately following the Peace of Paris, 1763, which formally decreed that Canada would be an English possession. These sites are referred to in the text as VO - for Ontario - and VQ - for Quebec. Figure No. 2 claims, with much more confidence, to locate the segments of land which the several Indian bands could claim as tribal possessions, or reserved lands, at the time of Confederation in 1867. In the text, these are referred to as RO - for Ontario - and RQ - for Quebec. It is hoped that these two maps will reveal, in a visual fashion, the evolution of Indian possessions at the time of Confederation. Some developments, such as the movement of the Six Nations Indians into southern Ontario, are obvious. Other notable events, such as the disappearance of the Oswegatchies, are less obvious. The text which accompanies these two maps is intended to point out these more subtle developments and to analyze, in a general fashion, the data which is presented in cartographic form.

By 1763 the relative locations of Indians and non-Indians had been settled in the region of the St. Lawrence River. Indeed it can be observed that most of the native peoples who were then present had entered the region after the first French establishment at Quebec in 1608. From the south had come the Iroquois, from the west, the Hurons and from the east, the Abenakis. Although these movements predate the parameters of this study, a summary of them would appear to be in order.

To say that in 1608 the French moved into an unoccupied region is an exaggeration; to say, however, that the region was so sparsely peopled that the French presence caused little anxiety would be accurate. It was, furthermore, with a minimum of difficulty that the French established two more centres of trade and settlement, at Trois Rivières in 1637 and at Montreal in 1642. This dramatic westward movement by a small French population so quickly after first settling at Quebec appears to have worried no one except the Iroquois League, whose concerns did not involve land but rather trade.

The question of land ownership, therefore, did not arise. It was simply not a significant factor. When it was considered at all, the two races had differing but not conflicting views. The French view has been documented, after a fashion. They would claim the territory by right of discovery (Cartier), exploration (Brulé and Champlain) and effective control. Inasmuch as the French would fight successfully in a series of conflicts against the English colonies, the Iroquois

League and several Indian tribes (for example, the Fox wars), they could also claim possession by right of conquest. The French also argued their right of suzerainty, if not sovereignty, over the Native peoples on the basis of a superior civilization and on the basis of their being Christian.[3] But these issues, while they may have been discussed among the French themselves, were not debated between the French and the Indians.

The absence of such a debate was the result of sparse settlement, the native views of land tenure, and immigration into the French territory--the lower St. Lawrence valley--from the Iroquois territory. Indian bands and tribes thought in terms of communal ownership and spheres of influence; areas were conceded to belong to a particular tribal grouping, and an area was then held by the tribe in common. Private property, apart from personal and household possessions, did not exist. Thus when the French moved into the St. Lawrence valley, at a time when population was scarce, their presence was seen as that of any tribe. They were accorded a sphere of influence, essentially the parcel of land from Stadacona to Hochelaga, and were recognized as the legitimate occupants of that region. It is true that their ways were different and strange, but since the region was their sphere, their rules would apply. It was this consideration which likely explains the willingness of the Algonquin chiefs to accept the French laws regarding rape and murder in 1664.[4]

Recognition of the French sphere of influence was inadvertently strengthened by the Iroquois emigrants into that region. This feature of the French regime is too little noted. In English language literature in particular, great emphasis is always placed on the animosity that existed between the French and the Iroquois League. In light of this emphasis there would appear to have been little opportunity for co-operation between the two. Yet substantial Iroquois villages developed in New France, and their beginnings, with one exception[5], predate the Grand Peace of 1701.

The first foreign village, at Lorette (VQ7)[6], was formed following the 1649 destruction of the Huron strongholds in the Lake Simcoe region. Refugee Hurons fled in literally every direction. Among them was a large band of some 500 who ran eastward to seek the protection of their friends and trading partners, the French at Quebec. This event can be understood easily, for the French and Hurons had had religious and commercial relations for a generation by that point and it is not surprising, therefore, that this band was granted asylum and land near Quebec. Equally dramatic was the creation of Indian settlements within the French territory for members of the hostile Iroquois League. Here, too, the basis lay in religion.

From the earliest days of French settlement in Canada, evangelism was a pervading influence. Champlain himself had a habit of articulating that a main motive for the French presence was the conversion of Indians to the Catholic faith, and even the humble apothecary,

Louis Hebert, stated that he had crossed the Atlantic "pour venir secourir les savages plûtot que pour toute autre intérêt particulier."[7] Moreover, as W.J. Eccles illustrates in The Canadian Frontier, spiritual enterprises, both lay and religious, were as responsible for keeping the colony together in the years before royal rules as were the commercial activities of the fur trade.[8] And, of course, the dogged activities of the Recollet fathers, the Sulpician priests and especially the Jesuit Order have been examined extensively, and extensively praised. Most attention, however, has been directed towards the Jesuit mission in Huronia, or among the Algonquians. It is somewhat surprising to observe, in the light of the long war between the French and the Five Nations Confederacy, that the greatest long-term successes of the priests actually lay among the Iroquois.

The French-Iroquois war was not constant. It was punctuated by periods of truce in 1645-46 and 1654-58. During the first, Father Jogues travelled to the Mohawk Towns, arriving there in June 1646. Although the principal object of his mission was to urge a continued peace between the Mohawks and the French, the priest also sought conversions. He was unsuccessful on both counts, for the renewal of the war in September led directly to his death in October. Less than a decade later, three Jesuits, Fathers Dablon, Chaumont and LeMoyne took advantage of another break in hostilities to seek converts among the Onondaga villages. They reported good success, better in fact than the Jesuits had had at first among the Hurons.

But the truce did not last, and war returned in 1658. In this case the three priests learned of the state of war in time and were able to sneak away, thereby avoiding the fate of Father Jogues. Nine years later three more Jesuit priests, Fathers Fremin, Bruyas and Pierron, achieved a much better conversion record among the Onondaga. This mission lasted twenty years before the combined opposition of the English and the unconverted Mohawks forced the French to abandon it. Subsequent attempts to re-establish it were futile.[9]

But during the tenure of these priests in the Mohawk country, a significant and vital trend began. Quite early on, the priests observed that both they and their converts, who included Hurons and Algonkians who had been accepted into the Mohawk tribe and who had converted to Catholicism before their adoption,[10] were the objects of abuse, suspicion and scorn by many of their own people. It was an unhealthy environment. The Jesuit response was to encourage their converts to remove themselves from the Mohawk cantons and to settle among the French and Christian Indians on the St. Lawrence River.[11]

The first to make the move were a small group of Oneidas who visited Montreal in 1667 during a period of truce and journeyed to Quebec, where they were apparently impressed by the Huron settlement of Lorette and decided to remain in New France. They took up residence near La Prairie, which was a French village that grew up around the Jesuit chapel dedicated to St. Francois-Xavier. The chapel was built in 1667 on lands which had been granted to the Order in 1647. It was

to this centre that the converted Iroquois began to come. The Indian village which thus emerged, in close proximity to the growing French settlement, gradually took on a predominantly Mohawk tone. It should be observed, however, that it was widely diverse in its tribal content, a feature which likely surprised no one at the time, for mixed villages were quite common. In the case of La Prairie, one observer said that as many as twenty tribes were represented at one point.[12] This village would eventually lose its Indian population, but it was from this central clearing house that several Iroquois cantons would develop right in the heart of New France.

The Jesuits who supervised this village were no doubt very pleased with their success in winning converts and in their convincing Iroquois converts to move to the St. Lawrence. But the circumstances at La Prairie were not ideal. Leading missionaries had very early concluded that the two races should be kept separate. It was generally conceded that conversion to Christianity should be accompanied by an adoption of a settled existence and an acceptance of European (in this case, French) values. While these assumptions would appear to argue in favour of cultural contact, experience had taught the priests that the harmful or negative aspects of contact appeared to dominate any good.[13] The principal concern was the use of liquor which had such a debilitating effect on Indians that the very presence of the product could wipe away years of hard work. It became conventional wisdom, therefore, that Indians should be segregated from white communities and supervised in their progress towards Christianity and civilization by concerned and watchful priests.

It was this logic that inspired the Jesuits to urge the Indians at La Prairie to move. The first group did so in 1676, when they carried their belongings upstream to Sault St. Louis, near the Lachine rapids. Prior to the move, the Order had received a promise of another land grant, confirmed by the government in 1680, in order to operate their mission apart from the influence of a white town. Within this tract, the village moved on four separate occasions, in the process becoming known as Caughnawaga (VQ1).

Concurrent with the move to Sault St. Louis, another band, largely Mohawk but including representation from several tribes, established themselves, under the supervision of Sulpician fathers, on the mountain on the island of Montreal. After twenty years the majority of this village moved, in 1696, to Rivière des Prairies near Sault au Recollet. Eventually the problems associated with the brandy trade caught up to this band, as it had while they were on the mountain. Thus in 1721 the Sulpicians convinced their charges to move again, this time to the site of Oka (VQ3), at the Lake of the Two Mountains. The Mohawks set the tone at Oka, as they did at Caughnawaga, but the actual composition of the village was mixed. It became more cosmopolitian a few years later when a combined band of Nipissings and other Algonkians were lured to the site. It should be noted, however, that the two groups -- Algonkian and Iroquoian-- maintained distinct identities and even neighbourhoods within the same village.

Two further Iroquois settlements were established late in the days of the French regime. Internal disputes and a gradual soil depletion caused a group from the Caughnawaga village to separate itself and move further upstream to the mouth of the St. Regis River (VQ3). At the time, about 1750, the Jesuits received verbal assurances that they would be awarded another land grant to cover the village site. The Seven Years' War intervened, however, and no formal grant was issued before the 1763 Treaty of Paris. One reason why civil authorities had approved, even encouraged, the move to St. Regis had been the consideration that the village could serve as a point of defence against a possible English attack on Canada from Oswego. Similar military considerations motivated the establishment of another Iroquois village, this one at the mouth of the Oswegatchie River.

Father Francois Picquet, a Sulpician priest, opened the mission of La Presentation there in 1749, designed to cater to the Onondagas. Civil authorities followed this by building a fort at the same place. During the 1750s substantial numbers of Onondagas and smaller numbers of Oneidas and Cayugas made La Presentation (VO1) their home. One source states that 500 families[14] were domiciled there by the middle of the decade, and another commented that the success of this mission-fort had almost depopulated the traditional Onondaga territory.[15] The heavy population did not last, but for a brief time the French had managed to draw a large colony of Iroquois, who became known as the Oswegatchies, into their sphere of influence.

In encouraging the settlement and growth of the Iroquois villages within the confines of New France, the French had two principal motives. Obviously the priests were anxious to promote conversions to Catholicism and continued adherence to the faith, as well as the hope of a continued progress towards a civilized state. Civil and military authorities espoused the cause because of the advantages that this Iroquois presence had in military terms. The "mission Iroquois" not only reduced the size of a potential enemy, but also increased the size of the warrior pool from which the French could draw in their wars with the English. On the whole, the French could be pleased with the results, although the total Canadian effort was not sufficient to prevent an English victory in 1759 and 1760.

The method by which these villages were established was also significant and has served to determine the nature of Indian land possession and occupation in the province of Quebec. The lands which the Mohawks and other Iroquois occupied were made available to them according to the French system, for the Iroquois were invited to enter the region. That system called for (1) the general acceptance of the principle that the affairs of the Indians would be supervised by the religious orders, thereby incorporating the goal of conversion and civilization into the general Indian policy, and (2) the granting of tracts of land to the religious orders so that they would have the means to promote those two goals. Grants were made formally for the Caughnawaga and Oka village sites, and promised for the St. Regis and Oswegatchie locations. It is unlikely that the long-range

significance of this system was apparent, or even discussed by either party at the time. But it did conform to the general concept of land management which was then held by the Indians; and it conformed also to French views of sovereignty in the new world. Because the Iroquois were immigrants into the French sphere, and because they accepted the rules and methods set forth by the French, they can be said to have strengthened the French view. And of course it was the concept which would extend beyond the conquest and beyond Confederation.

Various Algonquian bands also accepted land according to the French system, and several pre-dated the Iroquois settlements. The first was a band of Algonquins who accepted an invitation from Father Le Jeune, the Jesuit Superior in New France, to form a settlement at Sillery, a site near Quebec, the development of which was made possible by a gift of money from Noel Brulart de Sillery. Work at the site began in 1637, and for a number of years, reports from the village indicated considerable progress towards a civilized state among the Indians who lived there. But those happy circumstances gradually dissipated and by 1649 the mission had been abandoned by its native population. Support to re-establish the mission was sought, and the Company of New France agreed to endow the enterprise in 1651 by granting the seigneury of Sillery to the Indians, under the direction of the Jesuits.

> La compagnie de la Nouvelle-France ayant donné par un acte du troisième jour de mars dernier aux sauvages quy se retirent ordinairement proche de Québeq au dit pais, une lieue de terre sur le grand fleuve Saint-Lorent, bornée d'une part du cap qui termine l'ance de Saint-Joseph ou de Sillery du costé de Québec et de l'autre de l'endroit ou limite et finit cette lieue montant sur le grande fleuve sur quatre lieues de profondeur dans les bois ou dans les terres tirant au nord avec tout droit de chasse et de pêche...le tout sans aucune dépendance avec tous les droits de la seigneurie, sous la conduite et la direction des PP. de la compagnie de Jesus qui les ont convertys à la foy de Jésus-Christ et sans qu'aucun Français puisse chasser ou pescher dans cette étendue, sinon la permission du capitaine chrestien de cette nouvelle Eglise...De l'advis de la Reine régente notre très honorée dame et mère et de notres conseil qui a veu ladite concession dudit mars dernier, cy attachequ soubz notre contre scel.[16]

Sillery was unique in two ways. First, the land for the mission was given directly to the Indians. It marked the only instance during the French regime where this was done; subsequent grants, from individuals and from the state, would be made to one of the religious orders, with a stated purpose of ministering to the spiritual and temporal needs of the Indians who would assemble there. Second, Sillery operated as a working example of the good results that would follow if a band followed the advice of the priests--in this case, the Sulpicians--and adopted a sedentary and Christian life. Like La Prairie, which followed the Sillery experiment by three decades, this community gradually lost its Indian character and its Indian occupants and is therefore not shown on the village map; but it can be termed a success in that it was largely responsible for inspiring similar attempts at St. Francis (VQ5) and Pierreville (Odanak) (VQ4), and at

Becancour (VQ6). To these locations came Abenaki allies of the French to pursue a settled existence on lands granted for that purpose to the Jesuits and the Sulpicians in the first decade of the eighteenth century. Micmac allies of the French also accepted small parcels of land in this fashion in the Restigouche River (VQ8).

It should be noted that while the villages thus created tended to be identified as representing a particular tribe, they were often quite mixed in their tribal composition. Various considerations, such as religious motivation or the forced migrations connected to the military operations by the French and their Indian allies against the Anglo-Americans, drew individuals and families (as well as bands) to any of the several villages for varying periods of time. It is for this reason that Gordon Day, in his study of the village of Odanak, prefers to use the neutral term St. Francis Indians[17] rather than any particular tribal designation.

All of these villages, however, had two things in common. First, they were sedentary and located on lands assigned for their use by the French and operated by a religious order. Second, they all lay within a region which can be termed the French sphere of influence, and were generally recognized as such.

There were other village locations within the province which did not conform to those characteristics. The Algonquin village at Trois Rivières (VQ14) did lie, admittedly, within the French sphere, but the band which resorted to that location to trade did not possess land

there and resembled not the settled bands such as that at Oka, but rather the Montagnais and other Algonquian bands which continued to move according to the season and according to the commerce of the forest. These villages are more difficult to locate. Figure No. 1 shows several Algonquin, Montagnais and Tête de Boule villages whose locations must be considered approximate and representative. The Montagnais, for example, had little direct contact with the French. Their locations were known only by the people with whom they conducted business. The villages shown in Figure No. 1, therefore, are included to indicate their presence, a presence which was suggested by decisions to construct trading posts in those regions (VQ 10, 11, 12). The same consideration accounts for the Algonquin sites shown in the regions of Lake Timiskaming and Lake Abitibi (VQ 15, 16) (VQ13).[18]

The French could and did also claim sovereignty over the territory west of Montreal, and their European rivals, the English and the Anglo-Americans, recognized the Great Lakes basin as a French sphere of power. In the region of present southern Ontario, however, their influence and control was far less complete than on the lower St. Lawrence River. In this region the grand events of the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries centred around two rival Indian tribal groupings, the Iroquois and the Mississaugas.

With the explusion of the Hurons, the Neutrals and the Petuns--collectively referred to as the Ontario Iroquois--by the Five Nations Confederacy's incursions of 1649-51, southern and southwestern Ontario became a political vacuum. And the first people drawn into it were the creators of the vacuum, the Iroquois themselves. A major reason for their 1649 invasion of Huronia had been their desire to supplant the Hurons as the middlemen in the growing and lucrative fur trade. In this they were unsuccessful, but they would have been content to draw off a substantial share of the northern fur harvests and to carry these furs to Albany where the animal skins could be exchanged for English trade goods. This feature explains the continuing Iroquoian raids further and further to the north, including campaigns against the Nipissings on their own lake in 1651 and an incredibly extended raid as far north as Nemiscore, just to the east of James Bay, in 1661.[19]

The base from which the Iroquois expected to control this siphoned trade was southern Ontario. That is, they would bypass the normal highway of the Ottawa River and draw furs through the Niagara frontier and thence to Albany. To secure that base, they established villages at several strategic and convenient locations across the northern shore of Lake Ontario. One scholar observes that these villages were located in such a fashion as to permit easy access to the "richer hunting-grounds of the north."

> Beginning at the eastern end of Lake Ontario, the names of these Iroquois villages are as follows: Ganneious on the site of the town of Napanee, a village of Oneidas; Kente on the Bay of Quinte, Kentsio on Rice Lake, Ganaraska on the site of the present town of Port Hope, villages of Cayugas who had fled from the menace of the Andastes into a securer position beyond the lake; Ganatsekwyagon at the mouth of the Rouge and Teiaiagon at the mouth of the Humber, villages of Senecas who had established themselves at the foot of the two branches of the Toronto Carrying-Place and were thus in command of the traffice across the peninsula to Lake Simcoe and Georgian Bay.[20]

It is likely that the presence of good arable land, the relatively warm climate, and the existence of salmon fisheries at the mouths of several rivers flowing into Lake Ontario were further inducements to settle the north shore of Lake Ontario, in addition to the pursuit of the trade in furs. The fur trade remained significant, however, and it is to that enterprise that we can trace the factors which led to the entry of the Mississaugas and the eventual expulsion of the Iroquois from southern Ontario.

By moving northward into the fur-bearing regions, Iroquois war and trading parties made contacts and business arrangements with the Algonquian peoples there. The principal trading attraction offered by the Iroquois were the English (after 1664) trade goods, which were less expensive by far than the French. Also, through the Iroquois the northern Algonquians could secure English rum, a commodity not only less expensive than French cognac, but also more available because of efforts by the Jesuits to stop the brandy trade. These features drew a portion--how great a portion cannot be gauged accurately--of the fur trade to the Iroquois of southern Ontario. It also began to draw Algonquian peoples towards the south.

This arrival of Algonquian peoples into southern Ontario led to a large-scale war with the Iroquois. It began about 1695,[21] when the Iroquois were already engaged in a savage war with the French. Both wars ended in 1701. The French-Iroquois peace ended almost a century of hostility; the Algonquian-Iroquoian peace saw the Iroquoian acceptance of an Algonquian people in the regions of southern Ontario. These were the Mississaugas.

One source suggests that the Mississaugas were Shawnee who migrated from the Ohio country to southern Ontario.[22] A more recent study by D.B. Smith[23] argues that this tribe can be traced in the 1650s to Lake Superior, and the north shore of Lake Huron in the 1670s. Smith allows that they may have been forced to the Lake Superior region by the vicious Iroquois attacks of the 1650s, making their way eastward as the Iroquois wrath subsided. He suggests also that the tribal name may simply have been applied to several relatively independent bands, just as the term Saulteur became the one used by the French to designate the bands to the westward. And he observes further that when peace was concluded between the Iroquois and the advancing Algonquians in 1701, "one of the seven nations designated on the elk skin, given to the Five Nations, was that of 'Assisagh,' or Mississauga, whose name would soon be extended to apply to the other six."[24]

Although the war between the Algonquian newcomers and the Iroquois was over at the turn of the century, animosity between them continued. This gradually dissipated, partly because the Mississauga numbers rose, and partly because the general Iroquoian strength declined. In the next fifty years, the village sites of Lake Ontario's north shore gradually changed hands. During this same period, a secondary trade in furs continued to pass from the north country, through southern Ontario to Albany. Here too the changing status of the Mississaugas and the Iroquois, relative to each other, was reflected in the fact that the Algonquians themselves began to carry furs through Iroquois country, directly to the English. The French did their best to stop it. The construction of Fort Frontenac had secured the eastern end of the lake for the French beginning in 1673; they hoped to accomplish the same end by building a fort at Niagara in 1721 and another, Fort Rouille, at Toronto, in 1749. Neither these, nor an earlier trading post at the mouth of the Humber, however, were sufficient to stop this portion of the trade. The British post at Oswego, established in 1724, contributed to French difficulties and assisted the Mississaugas in the conduct of trade with the British.

Two features of the Mississauga presence in Ontario bear further observation. First, the Mississaugas, the animosity noted above notwithstanding, slowly reached an accommodation with the Six Nations, the Senecas in particular, which went beyond simply "friendly nation" status and reached a point at which the Mississaugas were actually termed the "Seventh Nation" of the Confederacy. The excitement

surrounding the Albany Congress of 1764, at which that declaration was made, no doubt exaggerated the strength of the connection. It is noted here, however, because it serves to explain the absence of hostility in the years before the Seven Years' War as well as the generally ready acceptance of the Loyalist Iroquois into the Mississauga country after the American Revolution. Second, despite the best efforts of the French and the English to draw the Mississaugas into their respective camps, this group of bands insisted on maintaining an independent "foreign" policy. They did not remain neutral. They assisted the Iroquois against the Cherokees; they continued an alliance with the Iroquois despite French disapproval; they resisted French efforts at Christianization. And yet, during the Seven Years' War their warriors assisted the French against the English, in particular in an attack against Oswego. For years the bulk of historical writing perpetrated the idea that Indians generally could be manipulated by one European power or another. This myth has largely been discredited. It is noted here mainly to contribute to that discreditation. Indians generally, and in this case the Mississaugas, always followed an independent course as much as possible, just as all human groups have done everywhere.

In terms of nomenclature, the British victory in the Seven Years' War had an effect on the tribal designations of Ontario. The most significant concerned the northern neighbours of the Mississaugas. Donald Smith, who has made the most intensive study of this confusing subject, writes as follows:

> The British victory led in most areas to the gradual substitution of the word "Chippewa" for "Saulteux". The latter, however, never totally disappeared, and is still employed today, in the anglicized forms, "Saulteaux", to designate the Ojibwa in Manitoba and Saskatchewan. In the Great Lakes area, however, with the exception of the north shore of Lake Ontario, "Chippewa" completely replaced "Saulteux". Yet, even on Lake Ontario white observers like John Graves Simcoe, the first lieutenant governor of Upper Canada, notes that the "Mississauga" were but a branch of the "Chippewa". Following Sir William Johnson's example, Simcoe and others occasionally used "Chippewa" as a synonym for "Mississauga". Regardless of English practice, the native people referred to themselves as "Anishinaubag". The white missionary at the Credit River from 1836-1840, Benjamin Slight, translated the word as "the inhabitants of my country, or aborigines of the country; as they always apply it in contradition with the Shoggenosh, or the white inhabitants". When addressing an English-speaking audience the nineteenth century Mississauga also called themselves "Ojibwa". In his History of the Ojebway Nation, published posthumously in 1861, the native historian Peter Jones stressed that "Ojibwa" not "Chippewa", was the form they preferred--"Chippewa" being merely a "corruption" of "Ojebway, the proper name for Chippewa"... The French first called them "Ottawa", then "Saulteux", and "Mississauga"; The English, "Chippewa", "Mississauga", and "Ojibwa"; they termed themselves "Aninshinaubag". The white man has so confused the issue that one native writer recently observed:
>
> > The Anishinabe [Anishinaubag] are compelled still to wear the inaccurate title of "Chippewa". Many Anishinabe people do not know the difference between the names. Some believe they are Chippewa or the Ojibway, and others know they are Anishinabe.
>
> Nevertheless, it must be understood that the "Mississauga" are "Ojibwa", or to use their own name for themselves, "Anishinabe" (or "Anishinaubag" to use the plural form), were members of an Algonkian group which, by the early eighteenth century, stretched over a thousand miles from the St. Lawrence River to the Lake of the Woods.[25]

Between 1650 and 1750, therefore, two major and related Indian migrations focused on the region of southern Ontario. Iroquoian Confederacy war parties cleared the area of their rival Iroquois (that is, Huron, Neutral, Petun) and Algonquian inhabitants; in turn, Algonquian tribesmen began returning those attacks after a generation

had passed. By 1763 only sparse remnants of Iroquois power remained, largely represented by the Senecas, who still claimed control of the Niagara watershed. Elsewhere, Algonquian peoples divided the province west of the Gananoque River[26] into several fairly distinct and large homogeneous hunting territories.

The dominant tribe was the Mississauga. It should be observed in this regard that although the Mississaugas shared the same language, generally followed the same life style, and felt themselves to be part of a distinct nation (in contrast to the Iroquois or the Ottawas, for example), they cannot be said to have possessed any form of central political authority, such as the Iroquoian Confederacy or even the Western Indian Confederacy shaped by Pontiac, Little Turtle or Tecumseh. One major reason for this lack of centralization was, of course, the absence of any need for it. The lands of southern Ontario were only peripherally involved in the principal commercial enterprise of the age, the fur trade; and the region was likewise only tangentially concerned with the grand imperial policies of either England or France. Neither pressed hard on the Mississauga lands; there was therefore no need for the Mississaugas to organize in order to push back. A second consideration was the terrain. Despite its present political unity, the province of Ontario is severally divided. In an age of slow communication and sparse population, these divisions were likely to be more complete. Nor should it be surprising that these divisions followed the river valleys.

One distinct group of Mississaugas (VO26,27) centred their activities in the Kingston-Bay of Quinte sector at the lower end of Lake Ontario. The height of land separated them from the Ottawa and Madawaska River valleys. In any event, the good land and the salmon fisheries at the mouths of the Rideau, the Trend and the Napanee Rivers kept their attention directed towards the major lake, Ontario, and away from excursions deep into the interior. Like all Mississaugas -- indeed like all Algonquians -- the Bay-of-Quinte Mississaugas had two principal locations. During the late spring, summer and fall months they tended to collect in fairly substantial numbers at regular rendezvous points. A good estimate would place the population of these summer encampments at 200-400. Game and fish were fairly abundant and time was thus available to plant and cultivate limited crops. After harvest and as the cold weather approached, the large camp would break up into much smaller bands of perhaps 30 to 50 persons. They would leave the cold and barren shores of the lake and seek, again at regular locations, the protection of sheltered forests inland. Generally these lay fairly close to the major rivers or their tributaries, and generally these were reasonably close to the summer encampments. There was no reason to go further.

Immediately to the west of the Quinte group were the Mississauga bands who preferred the shores of Rice Lake (VO28), Mud Lake (VO29), Lake Scugog (VO30) and the connecting waterways. The Mississaugas also occupied sites at the mouths of other rivers flowing into Lake Ontario (VO24,25). Such locations were probably designed to take advantage of

the rich salmon fisheries which were in existence in the eighteenth century. The Chippewas claimed the shores of Lake Simcoe, Lake Couchiching, Matchedash Bay and the Penetanguishene peninsula (VO31,32,33,34,35). It is also generally conceded that the Lake Simcoe Chippewas held sway in the hunting territores northward into the Muskoka Lakes district. Communication between these two groups via the Severn and Trent Rivers was easy and frequent. Indeed the Lake Simcoe Chippewas were on several occasions considered to be part of the Rice Lake Group. In fact, they were distinct, and each maintained itself on the resources to be found within its particular sphere or hunting territory.

The Lake Simcoe Chippewas also journeyed the chain of waterways known as the Toronto Carrying Place, which connects their lake with Lake Ontario. In making such journeys, they would meet the Mississaugas who maintained camps along the Humber River. These included the sites of the old Iroquois village of Teiaiagon at the mouth of the Humber River (VO20), and among their territories would be included the fishery at the mouth of the Etobicoke River (VO19) and the beach on Lake Ontario between the Don River (VO21) and the Humber River. This same group of Mississauga bands held regular summer encampments on the Lake Ontario shore at the Credit River (VO18), Sixteen Mile Creek (VO17) and Twelve Mile Creek (VO16).[27] There would also appear to have been a connection between these bands and those who occupied the Grand River valley (VO13). This statement requires some explanation.

The British purchased an enormous tract of land from the Mississaugas in 1784. Included in that tract was the Grand River valley which the British immediately gave to the Six Nations Indians (RO6). Some Mississaugas remained on the Grand River, but most did not. Inasmuch as the Grand River Iroquois would, in 1846, make a grant of 6000 acres (RO12) to the Credit River Mississaugas, it might be assumed that the Mississaugas who held the Grand River valley in 1784 were connected to the bands who collectively came to be known as the "Mississaugas of the Credit." It is conjecture, admittedly, and it is therefore observed that the Mississaugas who left the Grand River in favour of Six Nations may also have moved westward to the Thames River valley. Lieutenant Governor Simcoe met several Mississauga bands during his journey along the Thames River in 1793 and surveyors noted their villages in the 1790s. It is likely that those villages were present two decades earlier, and it is possible that some bands moved from the Grand River to Thames River locations after the Iroquois re-entered the province in 1784.

In any event, the Mississaugas of the Thames River valley constituted yet another grouping. It should be mentioned, however, that the term Chippewa, not Mississauga, is normally applied to the Algonquian bands of the Thames valley and the Detroit River, and thus Figure No. 1 uses that designation (VO3,4,5,6,7,8,9,10,11). Their connections lay not so much with their kinfolk as with bands of Ottawas, Potawatomis (VO12) and Hurons (VO12) who communally shared a fairly distinct

geographic region which would include the western portion of Lake Erie's north shore, the lower Thames River valley, both banks of the Detroit River, Lake St. Clair, the St. Clair River and Walpole Island.

In the course of the Algonquian migrations southward after the Iroquois attacks dwindled, some bands stopped their journey before reaching the southernmost portions of the province. Among these were the Chippewas, already mentioned, who settled and claimed the Lake Simcoe region. Another significant group of bands who remained somewhat distant were the Ojibwas, who chose to remain in the central and upper regions of the Bruce peninsula. They became known as the Saugeen Indians and centred their activities in the river valleys of the peninsula. Although there were undoubtedly numerous regular sites, the two best known villages were located at the mouths of the Sydenham (VO37) and the Saugeen (VO38) Rivers, on each side of the upper peninsula.

Directly across from the Saugeen lands lay the island of the Ottawas, the Manitoulin Island. It had apparently been recognized as Ottawa territory for some time, but like so much of Ontario it too was abandoned in the face of the Iroquois attacks. And as was the case elsewhere, it was again occupied in the eighteenth century. At that time, however, the occupants appear to have included some Algonquian-speaking Ojibwa as well as Ottawa bands. It would also appear that the occupation tended to be temporary, with sites used mainly for fishing purposes.

Those Ojibwa who did visit and use the Manitoulin Island actually occupied more permanent and segmented locations on the north shore of Georgian Bay. Some were fairly substantial, such as the Garden River village near Sault Ste. Marie, but most were somewhat smaller units stretching from La Cloche Island to the head of the Lake. Inland, other Ojibway bands resorted, on a regular basis, to meeting places on the French River and Lake Nipissing. The Ottawa River was more of a highway to the interior than a centre of Indian civilization. Moreover the whole valley, and the valley of the Madawaska River, was claimed as a hunting territory by the Algonkian bands who were enticed into making a more permanent home at Oka, on the Lake of the Two Mountains, just west of Montreal.

When the Seven Years' War began, Canada was thus divided into several spheres of influence. In the eyes of Europeans, France possessed sovereign rights over the entire region, and it was to eliminate that sovereignty that Britain, especially under the premiership of William Pitt, launched a full-scale campaign against New France. In the eyes of the Indians, however, the situation appeared quite differently. France was certainly present and the French influence certainly extended well beyond the company colony on the upper St. Lawrence River, but it is unlikely that native people viewed it as anything much stronger than an influence. While they recognized the effective control that the French had on the St. Lawrence and at specific points in the interior, the bands or groups of bands that had carved out hunting territories throughout the interior considered those areas to

belong to them. They might support the French in wartime, or they might not. And the support when given might be enthusiastic or minimal. The choice was theirs. It was this manner of thinking which determined relations with respect to trade, land and warfare. That Europeans viewed the situation differently is not to be doubted; but it is also not to be doubted that the Indian bands (1) did not participate in discussions regarding sovereignty and (2) would not have accepted the European view if such discussions had taken place.

When the Seven Years' War ended and when Canada became officially a British province -- again, according to the European concept of sovereignty -- the Indians of Canada were, on a day-to-day basis, singularly unaffected. The French had lost control over their particular spheres of influence -- the St. Lawrence valley and the interior forts -- but the Mississaugas, Ottawas, Ojibwas and Algonquians generally remained and continued to occupy their traditional locations and to exercise control in them. Europeans, be they French traders or the new English entrepreneurs, were still visitors.

Two events in 1763 were harbingers of things to come, although persons at the time might be excused if they failed to observe them. The first was the Pontiac War. This conflict saw the Indians frighten the British. In addition to attacking and terrorizing the entire western frontier of settlement, war parties either captured or forced the surrender of every British post in the interior except Forts Pitt and

Detroit. Pontiac, in the end, failed to force the British from the Ohio country, and the British military commanders viewed this failure and Pontiac's peace agreement (1765) as an example of British military success. But the war might also be viewed as an indication that the Indians who participated in that contest were unwilling to permit strangers to treat them improperly. Since the British Indian policy, after that war, included instructions to post commanders to treat Indian visits to the forts with more openness and friendship, including the issuing of rations and an annual distribution of presents, the results of the war could easily be interpreted as being a British acknowledgement that the Indians continued to exercise control in their territories. In the long term, of course, the war and its results can be seen as one further instance of Indians being pushed further back by an advancing European frontier; but this was not at all obvious, especially to the Indians of southern Ontario and southern Quebec.

The second event was the British declaration of colonial policy enunciated in the Royal Proclamation of 7 October 1763. Among other considerations, this document declared the interior of the continent to be an Indian Territory in which non-Indians were forbidden to settle and from which anyone who had already settled was to move. The Proclamation Line, as it became known, which defined the territory, followed in general terms the Appalachian highlands for the full extent of North America. There were exceptions, especially in Ontario and Quebec. Here the Indian Territory was declared to be those lands

which lay beyond a line drawn from the south shore of Lake Nipissing to the point at which the 45 degree of latitude crossed the St. Lawrence River (about present Cornwall). From there it ran southeasterly to the Appalachian highland, whence it ran southward along the highlands to Georgia. It was drawn also to include the colony of Nova Scotia (presently New Brunswick, Nova Scotia and Cape Breton Island). For the purpose of this study it should be noted that from the south shore of Lake Nipissing the line ran northeasterly also to Lac St. Jean and from there to the Labrador border. From this description it can be observed that almost all of southern Ontario lay within the bounds of the Indian Territory while the region of southern Quebec, south of Lac St. Jean, lay without.

Within the Indian Territory the several tribes and bands were considered to possess the right of occupancy to the lands they occupied at that time. They also possessed the right to sell their territory, or portions of it, but the Proclamation restricted this right somewhat by declaring that the only legal purchaser was the crown. Individual non-Indians could neither live in nor purchase land in the Indian country. Two separate systems of Indian land distribution and management were thus created. In general it can be observed that in Ontario the system which evolved grew out of the new rules set forth in the Royal Proclamation of 1763; and in Quebec the system continued to evolve from the pattern begun and followed during the French regime.

In both instances the end result, by the time of Confederation, was the creation of special--and specific--plots of land, commonly referred to as reservations or reserves, for the exclusive use of specific Indian bands. These reservations are located in Figure No. 2. Before proceeding further, it should be observed that the terms "reservation," "reserve" and "band" are used here, and throughout this study, in their historical sense. They have since become legal terms as well, with the enacting formal legislation by the United Legislature of Canada in 1856 and by the Parliament of Canada in 1868 and 1874. The legal definitions, however, devolved from their historical evolution and these terms were commonly used and understood long before the formal legislation was passed.

When England assumed control of Canada at the end of the Seven Years' War, she faced the problem of fitting her new possession into the established colonial system. While the issues of an assembly, a criminal code, language and religion would create innumerable problems and crises, there seems to have been a general consensus that the Indian land policy would be continued at least in the region exempted from the new rules set down in the Royal Proclamation. At that point, as observed above, several tracts of land had been designated as Indian lands or Indian reserves. These consisted of the following:

1. Caughnawaga (RQ1)
2. Oka (RQ2)

3. Lorette (RQ3)
4. St. Francis (RQ4)
5. Pierreville (Odanak) (RQ5)
6. Bécancour (RQ6)

All of these are shown in Figure No. 2.

The St. Regis lands (RQ7) which surrounded the village location were also recognized as being the possession of the Indians there, but no formal grant had been made before the French regime ended. Twenty years later, when Governor Haldimand was seeking lands upon which to settle the United Empire Loyalists, he extended assurances to the St. Regis Mohawks that their territory on the south shore of the St. Lawrence River would not be molested.[28] These assurances were subsequently honoured, and at the time of Confederation the St. Regis reserve was firmly established. In a similar fashion, Haldimand was agreeable to recognizing the bands' ownership of the islands in the St. Lawrence River. In 1842, nine of these islands were assumed to the possession of the St. Regis Mohawks.[29] While Haldimand was prepared to leave the south shore land to the St. Regis band, he was not willing to recognize its ownership of the north shore. This created a minor crisis which was resolved in 1784 through the payment of 1500 pounds worth of goods and the grant of a long narrow strip, with two and one-half miles of frontage on the river, to the St. Regis band.[30] Known as the Nutfield tract (RQ1), this strip ran back from the river between the townships of Charlottenburgh and Cornwall. The

band made little actual use of it, however, and leased out almost the whole grant to whites. Finally, in 1847,[31] it was sold, through a formal land cession, to the government of Canada.

Over the course of almost ninety years after the conquest there was little new activity in the area of Indian policy or Indian affairs in the province of Lower Canada. The practice of using Indians as military allies continued when necessary, as during the Northwest crisis in 1794, the War of 1812 and the Rebellion of 1837-8; and the religious orders continued to minister to the settled bands. Apart from establishing the Indian Department in the province to oversee these activities, little changed from the days of French rule. The new government, therefore, was simply continuing to establish practice when it created two additional small reserves. In 1805, 8900 acres in Durham township (RQ8) were granted "in free and common soccage to seventeen heads of families belonging to the Abenquois tribe of St. Francis."[32] And in 1827 an Order in Council provided 3000 acres for about 30 families of Malecites who were induced the following year to settle on a branch of the Rivière Verte (RQ9), about 225 kilometres below Quebec.[33]

A crisis of sorts began to develop, however, as the entrepreneurs began to exploit the forest resources of the lower province. The Algonkian bands who for generations had occupied the valleys of the Ottawa, St. Maurice, Saguenay and Chaudière Rivers had never been pressed by an advancing European frontier, and as long as the fur

trade remained the principal commercial enterprise of the region, there were no significant demands for land. As has been noted, however, the interior of the province[34] was exempted from the regulations of the Royal Proclamation, and its Indian occupants therefore had no protection for their ownership other than longstanding occupation. As the resource industries moved into what had been traditional spheres of Indian interest, the original occupants began to protest.[35] It became a source of some embarrassment for government officials and a point of considerable concern[36] for the Indians.

To solve the problem, the Canadian legislature followed the precedents of the past. To assist bands which were suffering from hardships related to the declining fur trade and the white penetration of their hunting places, the Canadian legislature authorized in 1851 the expenditure of 1000 pounds annually to be distributed to the Indians of the province through the Indian Department. At the same time, the legislature authorized a grant of 93 150 hectares[37] of land for reserves for the unsettled bands of the province.

From this pool of land resources, the following reserves were established:[38]

1. Timiskaming, at the head of Lake Timiskaming, for the Algonquins of that region (RQ10).

2. Maniwaki, also known as Rivière Désert (RQ11), on the west bank of the Rivière Gatineau, for the Nipissing and Algonquin residents of the Lake of the Two Mountains.

3. Coleraine (RQ12), in the eastern townships, for the Albenakis of Bécancour.

4. Doncaster (RQ13), near St. Lucie, for the use of the Iroquois of Oka and Caughnawaga.

5. Coucoucache (RQ14), in the vicinity of La Tuque on the Rivière St. Maurice, for the Tête de Boule.

6. Weymontachie (RQ15), on the Rivière St. Maurice, for Tête de Boule.

7. Roquemont (RQ16), northwest of Quebec, for the Hurons of Lorette.

8. Viger (RQ17), for the Malecites of the Rivière Verte.

9. Restigouche (RQ18), at the mouth of the Rivière Restigouche, for the Micmacs.

10. Peribonka (RQ19), on the Rivière Peribonka, for the Montagnais.

11. Metabetchouan (RQ20), on Lac St. Jean for the Montagnais.

12. Manicouagan (RQ22), for the Montagnais.

Although these were intended to be permanent and established locations of Indian settlements, several proved to be temporary. In 1856 the Montagnais traded their Peribonka and Metabetchouan reserves in favour of a slightly larger tract at Pointe-Bleue (RQ21) on Lac St. Jean,[39] and in 1861 the Montagnais also traded their Manicouagan reserve in return for one on the St. Lawrence River east of the Bersimis River (RQ23). The move to the Bersimis reserve permitted them to move closer to the trading and missionary activity that developed in the 1850s on that section of the river. Shortly after Confederation, in 1869, the Malecites abandoned the Viger reserve which was later sold,

and in 1882 the Abenaki land at Coleraine was returned to government. The Roquemont reserve was sold in 1904, and most of the Coucoucache location was flooded out in 1932.[40] Additional reserved lands were set apart after Confederation, as the need for them was perceived and as the province was enlarged[41] to its present size through territorial expansion in 1898 and 1912.

The reserves set apart in Quebec in the 1850s, therefore, were originally a response to resource development, especially the lumber industry, in the interior of the province. It was also resource development which prompted the Canadian government to come to terms with the Indians of the interior and the northwest of Ontario. In the latter case, the new circumstances led to the conclusion of two major land cession treaties--the Robinson Treaties of 1850--within which were included schedules of reserve locations. In both provinces, then, reserves were set apart for the Indians.

While the results may have been largely the same in Ontario, the process was considerably more diverse and complicated. They evolved gradually, based on (1) the native policies of the British government, (2) the changing image of the Indians and (3) the growth of European settlement in the province. The genesis of the Ontario system rested as far back as the Puritan Indian policy in New England. Puritans may have had little regard for the souls of Indians, who were generally considered to be lost and beyond hope, but they were always careful to conduct business with them in a legal fashion. This included formal

treaties for peace or trade and for land transactions. The same was true in the other English colonies of America, as these were founded and developed. The Royal Proclamation of 1763, with its provisions for Indian lands and the methods of purchasing them, was therefore the most recent development in this land alienation process. It was logical for the British to continue the French system in those areas of Canada where there was a fairly dense French population. Where there was not, it was equally logical for them to follow the system that had developed in their other frontier colonies.

The new Canadian frontier did not open, however, for two decades, until the successful revolution in America drove several thousand British Loyalists towards Canada. Among them were almost two thousand Indian Loyalists who had supported the British standard during the Revolutionary War and who feared to return to their former territories, part of the new American republic. These stories have been told in many places, including an earlier volume in this series of publications.[42] Here it is sufficient to note that the governor of Canada, Frederick Haldimand, made the important decisions (1) to offer asylum in British North America to dispossessed Indian Loyalists and any others who might choose to move there, and (2) to permit the settlement of Loyalist immigrants on lands lying beyond the Proclamation Line. These decisions marked the beginning of the land cession (or treaty) era in Indian affairs in Canada and, concurrently, the origin of the establishment of Indian reserves in southern Ontario.

The Loyalist Indians, mainly Mohawks and others of the Six Nations Confederacy, were at the centre of both. To settle the Iroquois Loyalists in Canada meant that lands had to be placed at their disposal. And that in turn meant that lands had to be purchased from their present occupants. Land also had to be purchased for white Loyalists if they were to be permitted to settle beyond the Proclamation Line. For various reasons a small band of 200 Mohawks, led by John Deseronto, chose to settle in the region of the Bay of Quinte while Joseph Brant, who headed a much larger group of 1846, declared his preference for the Grand River valley. Accordingly, on orders from Haldimand, land was purchased in the name of the crown from the Bay of Quinte Mississaugas and from the Grand River-Credit River Mississaugas, and portions of these areas were then granted to each Mohawk group. Both cessions and both grants were made in 1784. In the case of the Grand River, the description of the tract given to Brant was found to be at variance with the region's topography, and the Bay of Quinte grant was later considered to be inadequate. Adjustments were made, and in 1793, under patents issued through the office of Lieutenant Governor Simcoe, new arrangements were made.[43] Brant's group of Six Nations Indians was granted a tract of land extending six miles on each side of the Grand River from mouth to source (RO6). The Deseronto band received the full township of Tyendinaga (RO5). At the former location, the several tribal groups spread themselves out into several separate villages stretching the full length of the river; the latter group congregated in a single village at the mouth of the Napanee River.

These two actions--the purchase of lands from the Mississaugas and the granting of lands to the Six Nations--began a chain of events which would, admittedly by a rather circuitous route, lead to the gradual establishment of Indian reserves in Ontario. In the long term these reserves came to be viewed as select locations, restricted to Indian occupation, where it was expected that Indians would gradually adopt a settled and civilized way of life, similar to the non-Indian society that surrounded them. Such a view had formed a major feature of French Indian policy since the years that Father Le Jeune first proposed it in the Relations of 1632.[44] It would be almost 200 years later before it was adopted as official Indian Department policy for Upper Canada. But the formal adoption of the Indian Reserve policy in 1830[45] was preceded by an ad hoc, almost a contingency or crisis, system of land management in the province which resulted in the reservation of particular sections of land for Indian use. Sometimes these reservations were described in written agreements; sometimes they were not. It is the latter which are most difficult to identify.

The Indian land question in the region westward from Montreal became urgent, as just observed, only when Loyalists, Indian and white, began to enter the region after the close of the American Revolution. In addition to the land sale agreements made with the St. Regis Iroquois, the Grand River-Credit River Mississaugas and the Bay of Quinte Mississaugas,[46] British authorities also concluded arrangements which brought them the north shore of the upper St. Lawrence from an

Oka chief[47] and the Onondaga of Oswegatchie.[48] The corollary to making these lands available to the Loyalists (both Indian and white) was the obvious consideration that they would not be available to the original occupants. The St. Regis Mohawks recognized this and were able to secure written entitlement to the Nutfield tract. The Onondagas of Oswegatchie were talked into moving from the north to the south shore. It was an unfortunate decision. In 1796 the British abandoned the fort at Ogdensburg according to the terms of the Jay Treaty, thereby leaving the Onondagas at the mercy of the Americans.[49] It was only a decade or so before these bands were dispersed to other locations. Some joined Akwesasne reserve, but most found themselves in new locations in New York state.

The Mississaugas who sold the Bay of Quinte lands to Captain Crawford in 1783-84 were only slightly more fortunate. No written accounts of the negotiations surrounding that purchase have survived. Consequently it cannot be stated with certainty if the Indians received any assurances that they would continue to be perceived as the owners of specified sites. Circumstantial evidence, however, indicates that they did receive either written or verbal assurances in this regard, or at least that they perceived that such assurances were part of the agreement. The following is offered to support this contention.

In 1811, government officials reached a provisional agreement (made permanent in 1816) with the Mississaugas of the Quinte region for the sale of 428 acres of land at the mouth of the Moira River in Thurlow Township (RO2).[50] For this the Indians received 107 pounds in trade goods. In 1835, they surrendered four lots of lands (RO3) in front of concession one on the Bay of Quinte,[51] and the following year they gave up another 2680 acres on Wolfe Lake (RO4) in Bedford Township.[52] The Special Commissioners appointed in 1856 to investigate Indian affairs in Canada reported that the Bay of Quinte Mississaugas, by then residing at Alnwick,[53] claimed four blocks of land as their reserves as well as several islands eastward from Presq'Isle to Gananoque.[54] Finally, it should be observed that in 1856 government considered it advisable to negotiate two land surrender agreements to settle these claims. In one the Quinte Mississaugas agreed to give up all claim to the islands and the mainland sites, except for the Alnwick reserve. In the second the Mississaugas of Rice Lake, Mud Lake and Lake Scugog agreed to relinquish their claims to island and mainland locations.[55] The lands in Thurlow Township and Bedford Township are shown in Figure 2. The others are not, since none was specifically described in the land sale documents. Taken together, however, they constituted several locations and considerable acreage. If government was prepared at those late dates to make these arrangements, it seems logical to assume that the Mississaugas had been given assurances about those lands either at the time of the Crawford Purchase or on a subsequent occasion.[56]

In other instances there is a written record of Indian demands for reserved sites and of government's acquiescence. When Alexander McKee completed a purchase that included the land between the Thames River and Lake Erie in 1790 he was required to set apart both the Huron reserve (RO8) and the Huron Church reserve (RO7). The latter was sold in 1800; two-thirds of the former was sold in 1836, and the remainder after Confederation. The next group to insist upon, and receive, written guarantees were the Mississaugas living on the north shore of Lake Ontario in the Toronto region. They agreed to sell substantial parcels of land between the Don River and the Head of the Lake in 1805-6, but insisted on retaining small parcels of land at the mouths of Twelve Mile Creek (RO9), Sixteen Mile Creek (RO10) and the Credit River (RO11). The first two, and most of the last, were sold in 1820; the remainder of the Credit River reserve was surrendered in 1846, at which time the remaining members of the steadily declining band accepted a gift of 6000 acres from the Grand River Six Nations. This tract, known as the New Credit (RO12) reserve, adjoins the remainder of the Six Nations reservation near the town of Brantford (RO6A).

The Six Nations Loyalists were not the only American Indians to come to Canada. In 1793, a band of Delawares, usually referred to as Moravians because of their allegiance to that faith, received, through their ministers, about 50 000 acres of land on the Thames River (RO13). Centred around the village of New Fairfield, this reserve was reduced by a surrender of six miles square in 1836[57] but continues to exist. Other Delawares, who declined to follow the Moravian faith,

entered the Thames valley about the same time. They attached themselves to a band of Chippewas who had a reserve (RO14) secured to them through the provisional agreement of 1819 known as the Long Woods purchase. Although the final agreement of 1825 did not mention this land in Caradoc Township, the Chippewas have retained it since that time.[58] When the Chippewas sold the Huron tract through a series of agreements between 1818 and 1827, they insisted throughout that four particular sections be reserved for their use. These were at the following locations:

1. The Sarnia reserve, near the head of the St. Clair River (RO15).
2. The Moore Township reserve, adjoining Sombra Township (RO16).
3. The Kettle Point reserve, on Lake Huron (RO17).
4. The Ausable reserve, at the mouth of the Ausable River (RO18).

Through the period 1790-1827, several groups of Indians, notably Chippewa but also significant numbers of Potawatomi, resorted to a unique tract usually referred to in correspondence as the Chenail Ecarté. The several land surrenders in the western end of the province consistently neglected to include this area, and the land known now as Walpole Island (RO19) remained an Indian possession because it was never purchased by the government.

In that the lands thus far noted were intended to be restricted to Indian use, they may be termed reserve. But it should also be emphasized that there was no clear statement regarding what should happen on these reserves. Indian policy in Upper Canada had not developed beyond thinking in terms of Indians as either warriors or as

temporary obstacles to the advance of white settlement. It was expected that Indians would use their specified plots and the general interior of the province in the same manner as they had always done. The principal activities of hunting and limited agriculture were to take place in the unoccupied regions, augmented by the small reserved tracts used for specific purposes. The Mississaugas of the Credit, for example, would exploit the fisheries of Twelve Mile Creek, Sixteen Mile Creek and the Credit River and conduct some farming activities on the land near the mouths of those streams. This was generally true for the other locations as well.

Two developments altered this. The value of Indians in warfare declined rapidly, especially after the War of 1812[60] and the European population grew greatly: from 75 000 in 1812 to 250 000 in 1830.[61] In addition, several groups -- religious and private -- began asserting that the government should adopt a more positive approach towards the Indians, by providing the means for the Native people to progress towards a civilized and Christian state. The Moravians had been attempting to do this since before the American Revolution;[61] the Methodists began such enterprises in Upper Canada after the War of 1812;[62] and Lieutenant Governor Peregrine Maitland, acting as a private individual, had sponsored civilization experiments among the Credit River Mississauga.[63] After several years of such promotions and several Indian Department reports in 1830, the government did adopt a definite civilization programme. And the

reserves were to be the locations and the instruments used to promote it. The adoption of this policy marked the beginning of a new era[64] in the establishment of Indian reserves in Upper Canada. The upper province had finally caught up with the lower province in this regard.

Among the first Indians to experience the effects of the new policy were three bands of Chippewa from the Lake Simcoe area. Led by Chiefs Yellowhead, Aisence and Snake, this group of about 500 was granted a parcel of land between the Narrows of Lake Simcoe and Coldwater. Known as the Coldwater-Narrows reserve (RO20), it was to be the pilot project of the new policy and was placed under the supervision of Captain T.G. Anderson, a longtime agent in the Indian Department. Anderson was to use the teachers, farm instructors and the missionary under his jurisdiction to promote the growth of agriculture, commerce, civilization and Christianity among his Indian charges.

Some of the reserves already established were used immediately in the same way and for the same purpose. The Sarnia reserve, for example, was placed under the supervision of Captain William Jones, whose instructions and job description were the same as Anderson's.[65] Other locations were set apart after 1830 with the new policy as the reason for their existence. And generally, the reserves, old and new, were intended to promote this new programme.

The Coldwater-Narrows experiment lasted only six years. The three bands sold their reserve in 1836 and dispersed to new locations. Yellowhead moved his band to Rama (RO21) in 1838; Snake led his group to Snake Island (RO22); the Aisence band formed a reserve on Beausoleil Island (RO23) in 1838, sold it in 1856, and moved to the Christian Island (RO24) reserve in that same year.[66] In the eastern end of the province, the Mississaugas of the Rice Lake region and the Bay of Quinte were also influenced by the new civilization policy.

In 1830, Lieutenant Governor Sir John Colbourne directed that a section of land be set apart at Alnwick (Alderville) (RO25) for a reserve for the Mississaugas of the Bay of Quinte,[67] because it was considered advisable that these bands be collected on one location to promote the civilization policy. The same motive prompted the creation of three new reserves for the Mississaugas of the Kawartha Lakes region. In 1834 a tract of 1120 acres was granted by government to special trustees "In trust, to hold...for the benefit of the Indian tribes of the Province."[68] The Rice Lake Mississaugas who occupied this land (RO26) on the northern side of the lake purchased an additional 430 acres with the annuity money they received from the Rice Lake purchase of 1818. Mississaugas living in Bexley Township moved onto a grant of 1206 acres (RO27) granted to them by the crown in 1835. They subsequently surrendered this reserve to occupy the more permanent location on Lake Scugog (RO28) in 1843.[69] The latter reserve, located in Cartwright Township, was land they purchased with their annuity money. In the meantime, in 1837 another band of this

Mississauga grouping moved onto 1600 acres of land on Mud Lake (RO29) in Smith Township. This reserve was given for them in trust to the New England Company.[70] In this period as well, Canada granted asylum to yet another group of American Indians. In 1840, a band of Oneidas[71] moved into the Thames valley and used money they brought with them to purchase a reserve in Caradoc Township (RO30), opposite the Chippewa reserve that had been set up in 1819.

The decade of the 1830s also saw dramatic developments on Manitoulin Island and the Bruce peninsula. In 1836, Lieutenant Governor Sir Francis Bond Head made his well publicized journey to Manitoulin Island to attend the annual distribution of presents to the visiting Indians. While there he concluded his equally well publicized land arrangements with the Indians of that remote region. Several accounts of this event have been written.[72] Here only a few salient features need be noted. The Chippewas and Ottawas who claimed the Manitoulin agreed to give it to the government on the condition that it be used for the general benefit of the Indians of the province who might choose to live there. The Manitoulin chain, therefore, became an enormous Indian reserve (RO37). At the same meeting the Saugeen (Ojibwa) Indians agreed to surrender the Saugeen tract and to move into the territory north of Owen's Sound on the Bruce peninsula. The upper peninsula (RO31), therefore, also became an enormous Indian reserve.

Neither would remain such, however, for the pressures of an advancing civilization began placing demands on these two regions in the 1850s. The major land cession which inevitably followed regarding the peninsula in 1854[73] included provision for five Indian reserves.

1. Newash. (RO32). This reserve was subsequently sold in 1857.
2. Cape Croker. (RO33).
3. Colpoy Bay. (RO34).
4. Saugeen Village. (RO35).
5. Chief's Point. (RO36).

The final assault on the Manitoulin Island came in the 1860s.[74] When the actual surrender took place in 1862, only one large reserve resulted immediately. This was the eastern end of the island, beginning at Heywood Sound and usually known as the Wikwemikong reserve. In that the Wikwemikong Indians refused to agree to the 1862 treaty of surrender, their lands were not included; and, like Walpole Island, it is proudly called (by its occupants) an "unceded reserve" (RO38). The bulk of the island was sold, however, and the terms of the agreement included a provision by which the Indians who signed it would retain reserves based on a "ratio of 100 acres to each head of a family, 50 acres to each single adult, 100 acres to a family of orphans and 50 acres to a single orphan." The result of this provision was the creation of reserves at the following locations:

1. Sheguiandah (RO39).
2. West Bay (RO40).
3. Sucker Creek (RO41).
4. Campbell Bay (RO42).
5. Sheshegwaning (RO43).
6. Cockburn Island (RO44).

While settlement pressures brought about the Saugeen purchase--and the resulting reserves--it was resource development that placed demands on Indian lands on the northern shores of Lake Huron. In this instance the first entrepreneurial concern was not timber, as in Quebec, but mining. And mining activities began in the late 1840s, thereby creating anxiety among the Indian peoples of the north shore. Again, the issue was settled by means of a land cession, the Robinson-Huron Treaty of 1850.[75] Included in that agreement was a schedule of specific locations which were to be set apart as reserves for particular Ojibwa bands. It was this provision which certainly inspired the inclusion of reserves in the 1854 Saugeen treaty; it is quite likely that it also prompted the 1851 legislation to provide Indian reserves in Quebec. The schedule of reserves listed the following locations.[76]

1.	Magnetawan	(RO45)
2.	Henvey's Inlet	(RO46)
3.	Pt. Grondine	(RO47)
4.	Whitefish Lake	(RO48)
5.	Spanish River	(RO49)
6.	Whitefish	(RO50)
7.	Serpent River	(RO51)
8.	Mississagi River	(RO52)
9.	Dokis	(RO53)
10.	Nipissing	(RO54)
11.	Wanapitei	(RO55)
12.	Thessalon	(RO56)
13.	French River	(RO57)
14.	Garden River	(RO58)
15.	Pointe au Baril	(RO59)
16.	Parry Island	(RO60)

Although they began from quite different premises and progressed along two different development routes, by the time of Confederation the general management of Indian lands received the same treatment in Ontario and Quebec. In the lower province, French theories of land ownership precluded any recognition of aboriginal rights of soil. Yet specific lands came to be considered Indian property. The initial impetus came from the missionary zeal that was present--and potent--from the first days of French enterprise along the St. Lawrence. From the beginning, it should be observed the French proselytizers accepted the view that conversion to Catholicism should be accompanied by a gradual acceptance of French (that is, European) manners and morals; that meant an acceptance of a more sedentary existence. In order to promote this, bands were encouraged to settle, and this meant that lands had to be provided for this purpose. The first "reserves" in Canada, therefore, were set apart for Christian Indians within the French sphere of influence. Happily for the French, the willingness of some Iroquois groups to occupy these settlements coincided with the general desire of French authorities to strengthen the colony by drawing potential enemies into the French camp.

Very early on, therefore, the French in Canada adopted an Indian policy, and an Indian land policy, which combined the promotion of a civilized state with the establishment of separate reserves for that purpose. When the British assumed control in 1763, they simply adopted the established pattern. When it was deemed either necessary or justified, the legislature of Lower Canada created new reserve

lands such as those at Rivière Verte or Restigouche. It may be argued that insufficient lands were set apart, so that insufficient attention was given to Indian affairs. But whatever was done, it was done according to customs set in the seventeenth century at Sillery, Lorette, Caughnawaga and the other early arrangements. When the European community began making serious demands in the interior areas of the province--in the lands of Montagnais and the Tête de Boule--the legislature of the United Province of Canada, in 1851, again followed precedents of the past by granting lands for specific Indian use. And of course it was expected that the new locations of 1851 would serve as centres to promote the civilization of Indians who settled on them.

In the upper province, the beginnings were quite different. The Royal Proclamation of 1763 did recognize the aboriginal right of occupancy for the entire region west of the Lake Nipissing line. When it became necessary to permit white settlement beyond that line, the British government followed its own rules by conducting a series of formal land cession agreements, beginning during and just after the American Revolution and ending with the Manitoulin purchase in 1862. This system of land alienation had the result of securing control, for the government, of virtually all of the lands in Upper Canada. In the process, however, isolated clumps of territory were set apart for Indian use.

The process was not uniform and was dictated by constantly changing circumstances. Some reserves were granted by government as a reward for military service (for example, Grand River and Tyendinaga) and others were set apart simply because the Indians insisted (for example, Huron Reserve, Credit River). When the civilization programme became official policy, new reserves were created (Coldwater-Narrows, Rice Lake, Mud Lake, etc.) and in some instances (for example, Walpole Island and Wikwemikong) land was simply not surrendered. By 1850 the system had evolved sufficiently that reserves were considered an ingredient of all cessions, and were therefore included in the Robinson, Saugeen and Manitoulin treaties. By the time of Confederation, Indian policy in Upper Canada centred around the reserve and the civilization programme that these were expected to foster. In terms of policy and land, therefore, the two provinces had reached the same point of development by 1867. Ironically the basis of the policy--the reserves--did not operate to accomplish the gradual assimilation of native people into the mainstream of white society. Rather they became homelands or refuges where Indians could continue to practise their traditional language and customs, if not their traditional economic pursuits of hunting and fishing.

Footnotes

1. The migration of the Six Nations and allied Indians to the Grand River in 1784 does constitute a major movement; the advance into Canada of some Potawatomis, Chippewa and Oneida after the Wayne campaign in the Old Northwest in 1794 and after the War of 1812 was less dramatic.

2. The term reserve was first formalized in the Indian Act of 1876.

3. C. Jaenen, The French Relationship with the Native Peoples of New France and Acadia (Ottawa: Indian and Northern Affairs Canada, 1984), p. 29.

4. See the account of this affair in W.J. Eccles, The Canadian Frontier 1534-1760 (Toronto: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1969), pp. 77-78.

5. The exception was La Presentation.

6. See G.F.G. Stanley, "The First Indian 'Reserves' in Canada," Revue d'histoire l'amerique Francais 4 (1950):178-210.

7. C. Jaenen, "The Meeting of the French and Amerindians in the Seventeenth Century," Revue de l'Université d'Ottawa 43 (1973).

8. Eccles, Canadian Frontier, pp. 35-59.

9. The literature on the Iroquois-French relations is extensive. Two fairly early studies merit particular mention: G.T. Hunt, The Wars of the Iroquois (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1940) and Stanley, "The First Indian 'Reserves' in Canada."

10. Stanley, "The First Indian 'Reserves' in Canada," p. 196.

11. Stanley, "The First Indian 'Reserves' in Canada," p. 197.

12. William Fenton and Elizabeth Tooker, "Mohawk," in Handbook of North American Indians (Washington: Smithsonian Institution) volume 15, Bruce Trigger, ed., Northeast, 1978, p. 470.

13. G.F.G. Stanley, "The Policy of 'Francization' as Applied to the Indians during the Ancien Regime," Revue d'Histoire de l'Amerique Française 3 (1949):333-348.

14. Harold Blau, Jack Campisi and Elizabeth Tooker, "Onondaga," Handbook, vol. 15, pp. 494-5.

15. Ibid.

16. Stanley, "The First Indian 'Reserve' in Canada," p. 184.

17. Gordon M. Day, The Identity of the St. Francis Indians, Mercury Series (Ottawa: National Museum of Man), 1981, p. 5.

18. See Daniel Francis, A History of the Native Peoples of Quebec, 1760-1867 (Ottawa: Department of Indian Affairs, 1983), pp. 25-28; and Ernest Voorhis, Historic Forest and Trading Posts of the French Regime and of the English Fur Trading Companies (Ottawa: Department of the Interior, 1930).

19. Donald Smith, "Who Are the Mississauga?", Ontario History, vol. 67, 1975, p. 213.

20. Percy J. Robinson, Toronto During the French Regime 1615-1743 (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1965), pp. 15-16.

21. A highly imaginative account of those conflicts can be found in George Copway, The Traditional History and Characteristic Sketches of the Ojibway Nation (London: Charles Gilpin, 1850). Reprinted by Coles Publishing, Toronto, 1972.

22. Chief Robert Paudash and Johnson Paudash, "The Coming of the Mississaugas," in The Valley of the Trent, E.C. Guillet, ed. (Toronto: Champlain Society, 1947), pp. 9-13.

23. Smith, "Who Are the Mississaugas?", pp. 211-222.

24. Ibid., p. 215.

25. Ibid., pp. 221-22.

26. J.L. Morris, Indians of Ontario (Toronto: Department of Lands and Forests, 1943), p. 7.

27. That is, present Oakville Creek and Bronte Creek.

28. Robert J. Surtees, "Indian Land Cessions in Ontario, 1763-1862: The Evolution of a System" (Ph.D. Thesis, Carleton University, 1982), pp. 70-75.

29. Canada, Legislative Assembly, Report on the Affairs of the Indians in Canada, Sections I and II. Journals, Legislative Assembly, Canada (1844-5), Appendix E.E.E., Section I.

30. Surtees, "Indian Land Cessions...Evolution of a System," p. 75, n. 83.

31. Canada, Indian Treaties and Surrenders from 1680 to 1890., 2 vols. (Ottawa: Queen's Printer, 1891). Reprinted, 3 vols. (Toronto: Coles Publishing, 1971), Vol. 1, No. 57, pp. 136-8.

32. Report on the Affairs of the Indians in Canada, Section II, 1844-5.

33. Francis, A History of the Native Peoples of Quebec, p. 26.

34. See above, p. 33.

35. Francis, A History of the Native Peoples of Quebec, pp. 29-34.

36. Ibid.

37. Ibid., p. 34.

38. Ibid., pp. 34-35.

39. Ibid., p. 35.

40. Ibid., pp. 34-35.

41. Larry Villeneuve, "The Historical Background of Indian Reserves and Settlements in the Province of Quebec," Report on file at Treaties and Historical Research Centre, Indian and Northern Affairs Canada, Ottawa, 1975.

42. R. Surtees, Indian Land Surrenders in Ontario 1763-1867 (Ottawa: Indian and Northern Affairs, 1984), pp. 25-6; C.M. Johnston, ed., The Valley of Six Nations (Toronto: Champlain Society, 1964).

43. Treaties and Surrenders, vol. 1, nos. 3 and 3 1/2, pp. 5-8.

44. S.R. Mealing, ed., The Jesuit Relations and Allied Documents (Toronto: Carleton Library no. 7, 1963), pp. 29-37.

45. Robert J. Surtees, "The Development of an Indian Reserve Policy in Canada," Ontario History 61 (1969):87-98.

46. See above, p. 38.

47. Surtees, "Indian Land Cessions...Evolution of a System," pp. 58-63.

48. Ibid., pp. 76-77.

49. Blau, Campisi and Tooker, "Onondaga," Handbook, vol. 15, pp. 494-5.

50. Treaties and Surrenders, vol. 1, no. 17, pp. 45-6.

51. Treaties and Surrenders, vol. 1, no. 40 1/2, pp. 99-100.

52. Treaties and Surrenders, vol. 2, no. 44, pp. 111-112.

53. See below, p. 46, footnote 67.

54. Canada, Report of the Special Commissioners appointed...to Investigate Indian Affairs in Canada, Sessional Papers, 1858 (Appendix 21), Ottawa, 1858, p. 91.

55. Treaties and Surrenders, vol. 1, nos. 77 and 78, pp. 205-208.

56. The Report of the Special Commissioners observed that two of the four locations (Grassy Point and Point Vesey) were considered to have been reserves as late as 1835. P. 91.

57. Treaties and Surrenders, vol. 1, no. 47, pp. 115-116.

58. Surtees, "Indian Land Cessions...Evolution of a System," pp. 198-201.

59. One aspect of this interesting story is told in James A. Clifton, A Place of Refuge for All Time: Migration of the American Potawatomi into Upper Canada, 1830 to 1850 (Ottawa: National Museum of Canada, 1975).

60. Surtees, "Indian Land Cessions...Evolution of a System," pp. 164-173.

61. The Moravian adventures are recounted in Elma E. and Leslie R. Gray, Wilderness Christians: The Moravian Mission to the Delaware Indians (Toronto: Macmillan, 1956).

62. See Donald B. Smith, "The Mississaugas, Peter Jones and the White Man" (Ph.D. Thesis, Toronto, 1975).

63. See F.M. Quealey, "The Administration of Sir Peregrine Maitland, Lieutenant Governor of Upper Canada, 1818-1828" (Ph.D. Thesis, York, 1968).

64. John S. Milloy, "The Era of Civilization: British Policy for the Indians of Canada, 1830-1860" (D. Phil. Thesis, Oxford, 1978).

65. Surtees, "The Development of an Indian Reserve Policy in Canada," p. 93.

66. See Report of the Special Commissioners..., pp. 80-85.

67. Report on the Affairs of the Indians in Canada, Section II, 1844-45.

68. Report of the Special Commissioners..., p. 86.

69. Report of the Affairs of the Indians in Canada, Section II, 1844-45.

70. Report of the Special Commissioners..., p. 86.

71. Report on the Affairs of the Indians in Canada, Section II, 1844-45.

72. The most analytical account is that in Milloy, "The Era of Civilization."

73. Treaties and Surrenders, vol. 1, no. 72, pp. 195-97. The Saugeen story is recounted in detail in Peter S. Schmalz, The History of the Saugeen Indians (Ottawa: Ontario Historical Society, 1977).

74. Surtees, Indian Land Cessions...Evolution of a System," pp. 258-68.

75. Ibid., pp. 238-57.

76. Treaties and Surrenders, vol. 1, no. 61, pp. 149-52; Report of the Special Commissioners..., pp. 68-72.

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VILLAGES: QUEBEC

1. Caughnawaga: Iroquois
2. Akwesasne (St. Regis): Iroquois
3. Oka (Lake of Two Mountains): Iroquois, Nipissing, Algonquin
4. Odanak (Pierreville): Abenaki
5. St. Francis: Abenaki
6. Bécancour: Abenaki
7. Lorette: Huron
8. Restigouche (Mission Point): Micmac
9. Cascopediac (New Richmond): Micmac
10. Lac St. Jean: Montagnais
11. Rivière Saguenay: Montagnais
12. North Shore: Montagnais
13. Rivière Ste. Maurice: Tête de Boule
14. Trois Rivières: Algonquin
15. Timiskaming: Algonquin
16. Timiskaming: Algonquin

RESERVES: QUEBEC

1. Caughnawaga
2. Oka
3. Lorette
4. St. Francis
5. Odanak
6. Bécancour
7. Akwesasne (St. Regis)
8. Durham Township (Abenaki)
9. Rivière Verte (Malecite)
10. Timiskaming
11. Maniwaki (Rivière Desert)
12. Coleraine
13. Doncaster
14. Coucouache
15. Weymontachie
16. Roquemont
17. Viger
18. Restigouche
19. Peribonka
20. Metabetchouan
21. Pointe-Bleue
22. Manicouagan
23. Bersimis

VILLAGES: ONTARIO

1. Oswegatchie: Onondaga
2. Bois Blanc Island: Multi Tribal
3. Mouth of the Thames: Chippewa
4. Sarnia: Chippewa
5. Point Pelée: Chippewa
6. Rondeau Bay: Chippewa
7. Fighting Island: Chippewa
8. Carrador Twp: Chippewa
9. Chenail Ecarté: Chippewa
10. Kitigan (present Florence): Chippewa
11. Point du Chine: Chippewa
12. Detroit River: Huron, Chippewa, Potawatomi
13. Grand River: Mississauga
14. Burlington Bay: Mississauga
15. Chippewa Creek: Mississauga
16. Twelve Mile Creek: Mississauga
17. Sixteen Mile Creek: Mississauga
18. Credit River: Mississauga
19. Etobicoke River (mouth): Mississauga
20. Humber River (mouth): Mississauga
21. Don River (mouth): Mississauga
22. Humber River (Woodbridge): Mississauga
23. Humber River (Kleinburg): Mississauga
24. Lake Ontario (Pickering): Mississauga
25. Lake Ontario, Ganaraska River: Mississauga

26. Carrying Place, Bay of Quinte: Mississauga
27. Wolfe Lake: Mississauga
28. Rice Lake: Mississauga
29. Mud Lake: Mississauga
30. Lake Scugog: Mississauga
31. Holland River: Chippewa
32. De Grassi Point: Chippewa
33. The Narrows (Lake Simcoe): Chippewa
34. Penetanguishene: Chippewa
35. Matchedash: Chippewa
36. Goderich: Ojibwa/Chippewa
37. Saugeen River: Ojibwa
38. Sydenham River: Ojibwa

RESERVES: ONTARIO

1. Nutfield tract: St. Regis Mohawk
2. Thurlow Twp.: Mississauga
3. Bay of Quinte: Mississauga
4. Wolfe Lake: Mississauga
5. Tyendinaga: Mohawk

5A. Tyendinaga 1867

6. Grand River: Six Nations

6A. Grand River 1867

7. Huron Church Reserve: Wyandot
8. Huron Reserve: Wyandot
9. Twelve Mile Creek: Mississauga
10. Sixteen Mile Creek: Mississauga
11. Credit River: Mississauga
12. New Credit (Grand River): Mississauga
13. Moraviantown: Moravian (Delaware)
14. Caradoc Township (Chippewa and Munsee)
15. Sarnia Reserve: Chippewa
16. Moore Township: Chippewa
17. Kettle Point: Chippewa
18. Ausable River: Chippewa
19. Walpole Island: Chippewa
20. Coldwater-Narrows: Chippewa
21. Rama: Chippewa
22. Snake Island: Chippewa

Georgina Island

23. Beausoleil Island: Chippewa
24. Christian Island: Chippewa
25. Alnwick: Mississauga
26. Rice Lake: Mississauga
27. Balsalm Lake: Mississauga
28. Lake Scugog: Mississauga
29. Mud Lake: Mississauga
30. Oneida Reserve, Thames River: Oneida
31. Saugeen Peninsula: Ojibwa
32. Newash: Ojibwa
33. Cape Croker: Ojibwa
34. Colpoy Bay: Ojibway
35. Saugeen Village: Ojibwa
36. Chief's Point: Ojibwa
37. Manitoulin Island
38. Wikwemikong
39. Sheguiandah
40. West Bay
41. Sucker Creek
42. Campbell Bay
43. Sheshegwaning
44. Cockburn Island
45. Magnetawan
46. Henvey's Inlet
47. Pt. Grondine
48. Whitefish Lake

49. Spanish River
50. Whitefish River
51. Serpent River
52. Mississagi River
53. Dokis
54. Nipissing
55. Wanapitei
56. Thessalon
57. French River
58. Garden River
59. Pointe au Baril
60. Parry Island