

**Kahnawá:ke Timeline:
Some Key Events Related to Land and Resources to 1957**

**By Daniel Rueck
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Introductory Note: This document is by no means an exhaustive list of all important events on this subject, but it includes many events that are important for understanding the history of land and land ownership in Kahnawá:ke. If events are not included it could be for number of reasons: Some are excluded in order to keep this list from becoming too long. Others are not included simply because I do not yet know about them.

I have ended the timeline at the opening of the Seaway. This is not because history ended in 1957 but because I do not feel qualified to bring the timeline to the present. You will also notice that the events listed are not all of equal importance – I have included everything from major treaties to a few small, apparently trivial events. I believe there are times when we can learn as much from a small, seemingly-unimportant occurrence as we can from an obviously-important one. I hope you find this document interesting and useful. If you have any comments or questions, please feel free to contact me at danrueck@yahoo.com.

- Before 1647 The Haudenosaunee lived, travelled, and worked in this area long before the French arrived.
- 1647 The French crown grants the Jesuits a concession for seigneurie of La Prairie de La Magdeleine.
- 1667 First Aboriginal settlers arrive at La Prairie site, also named Kentake.
- 1669 White and Native communities separate; settle on either side of a chapel built in 1670.
- 1672 At least twenty-two Aboriginal nations are represented in Kentake.
- 1674 The aboriginal population at Kentake is majority Mohawk.
- 1676 The Laprairie Seigneurie is established by decree in fief to the Jesuits.
First grant of the Sault Saint Louis Seigneurie to the Kahnawá:ke Iroquois.
Aboriginal village is relocated a mile upriver near the Lachine Rapids and called Kahnawá:ke. The community is increasingly Mohawk.
- 1677 Kateri arrives in Kahnawá:ke.
- 1680 Second grant of the Seigneurie of Sault St. Louis. It includes about 40,000 acres.
- 1689 Kahnawakehró:non move to Montreal for protection in the context of King William's War. It takes French soldiers six weeks to transport Kahnawá:ke corn stores across the river. Iroquois allies of the English burn, pillage, and kill two hundred in Lachine. Kahnawakehró:non spend one year in Montreal.
- 1690 The village is relocated a short distance upriver.
- 1696 The village is relocated again and located opposite Devil's Island.
- 1701 Iroquois Confederacy signs peace treaty with French and others (The Great Peace).
- 1716 The village is relocated for the last time and named Kahnawà:ke.
- 1717 Sault St-Louis concession confirmed.
- 1718 The two seigneurial grants are made into one.
- 1722 Kahnawakehró:non complain about garrison troops in their village.

- 1724 Governor Vaudreuil gives up on the idea of keeping a garrison in Kahnawá:ke.
- 1727 The Desauniers sisters secure a concession of land next to Kahnawá:ke chapel and build a shop. They are involved in the smuggling trade and make hefty profits.
- 1741 Governor Beauharnois laments Kahnawá:ke has become "a sort of Republic" because of its free trading. Furs are being diverted from Montreal to Kahnawá:ke.
- 1750s At least thirty Kahnawá:ke families, along with others, establish the village of Akwesasne.
Albany is no longer the fur trading mecca it once was now that Oswego has surpassed it. Kahnawá:ke fur trade to Albany is on the decline.
- 1750 Kahnawá:ke lodges a formal complaint against the Jesuits for ceding land within the seigneurie without permission.
Governor La Jonquière says that the entire area surrounding Kahnawá:ke is outfitted with English linens and calicoes (provided by Kahnawá:ke smugglers).
- 1752-3 Military engineer Louis Franquet says most dwellings at Kahnawá:ke are longhouses, but notes that some Kahnawakehró:non are building houses "in the French style, with squared timber and even masonry." By 1800, Kahnawakehró:non no longer lived in longhouses.
- 1755 During the Seven Years War, Kahnawakehró:non join the French in the Battle of Lake George and the attack on Fort William Henry. New York bans trade with Kahnawá:ke (again).
- 1757 Military engineer Pierre Pouchot observes that Kahnawakehró:non make living from farming and raising livestock and poultry.
- 1760 After the fall of New France, Mohawk title to Kahnawá:ke land is recognized by the British.
- 1762 The Jesuits dispute Mohawk ownership of Seigneurie of Sault Saint Louis.
Governor Gage affirms Mohawk title. The seigneurie is vested in the Mohawks under the supervision of the Indian Department. The Indian Department gives itself the responsibility to collect and manage the seigneurial dues for Kahnawakehró:non.
Gage rules that the disputed eastern boundary tract belongs to Laprairie.
- 1763 General Burton (successor of Gage) instructs three surveyors to examine the eastern boundary. Surveyors are: J. Raimon, J. Péladeau, L. Guyon. The disputed tract is subsequently re-integrated within the Sault.
Indian Agent Daniel Clauss asks for a survey of western boundary.
- 1766 The Jesuits take eastern boundary case to the Court of Common Pleas in Montreal.
They are unsuccessful.
The Seigneurie of Chateauguay passes from the hands of Marie-Anne Robutel de Lanoue to L'Hôpital Général de Montréal. The western boundary is resurveyed.
- 1768 The Jesuits win an appeal on the eastern boundary tract in the Superior Court of Quebec. It reverses a lower court boundary decision. The disputed tract is restored to Laprairie.
Fur trader John Long reports that Kahnawá:ke depends less on hunting than other First Nations. Growing corn and trading are more important. He also cites seigneurial rent as an important source of income.
- 1769 Governor Guy Carleton orders Deputy Surveyor General John Collins to retrace the eastern boundary.

- Carleton advocates on behalf of Mohawks for the ten acres under dispute on the western boundary.
- 1770 Governor William Johnson meets with the Seven Nations (St. Lawrence Valley First Nations) to discuss peace with the western First Nations.
- 1771 An envoy of twenty-two Kahnawá:ke warriors visits Johnson to ask him to stop French-Canadians from settling on their lands.
- 1773 John Collins' survey re-establishes the western boundary to where it had been.
- 1775 Governor Carleton is instructed to suppress Jesuit order. Jesuit assets (and lands) now belong to the Crown.
- 1783 Jesuit priests at Kahnawá:ke are replaced by secular priests, and the parish is placed under the jurisdiction of the Bishop of Quebec.
- Claude de Lorimier (1744-1825) marries a Mohawk woman named Marie-Louise Schuyler, moves to Kahnawá:ke, and becomes Indian agent.
- 1787 Kahnawá:ke chiefs grant de Lorimier land concessions (he is required to pay cens and rentes).
- 1790 Kahnawá:ke chiefs make de Lorimier a member of the nation and acknowledge him as a fellow-chief. He is given land rights in Kahnawá:ke, and in-so-doing gives up the right to buy from and sell land to non-Mohawks.
- 1794 The Seven Nations (including Kahnawá:ke) complain that they have been deprived of the lands that served as their principal hunting places.
- Kahnawakehró:non make a long list of complaints against de Lorimier including that he accumulates land to detriment of the poor and of the nation.
- Surveyor Jeremiah McCarthy works to define the Kahnawá:ke boundary. Mohawks show him a boundary marker on the Laprairie side that was allegedly moved so that a mill would be considered to be in Laprairie and not in Sault Saint Louis.
- 1795 Kahnawá:ke chiefs have submitted papers for a land claim stretching from Longueuil to Kingston.
- 1796 Kahnawá:ke, as part of the Treaty of Seven Nations of Canada, cedes lands to State of New York, receives annuity in return (commuted in 1848). Part of the money is spent on the church, and the rest is held in trust at the Seminary of Montreal.
- Jarvis McComber (1780?-1866) moves to Kahnawá:ke from Massachusetts. He is adopted by Mohawk merchant, Thomas Arakwente, and eventually marries his daughter. Arakwante is the first known Kahnawakehró:non to take disputes over land and resource disputes to British courts, attempting to bypass the chiefs.
- Kahnawá:ke chiefs try to stop Arakwente from using British Courts. Eight chiefs meet with the Attorney General to voice their complaints about Arakwante.
- Aug Seven Nations Council at Kahnawá:ke. There are speeches by aboriginal leaders of the Seven Nations, Ottawas, and Malacites protesting prohibition of Indian hunting and fishing in the King's Domain (today Innu territory).
- 1797 Kahnawá:ke chiefs claim the right to fish at Beauharnois, and complain that Jesuits have fraudulently moved boundaries.
- 1798 Successful crown suit (on behalf of Mohawks) against Jesuits for encroachment on Laprairie side in Court of King's Bench.
- 1799 The Jesuits win an appeal on the eastern boundary when the same court reverses its decision.

- Thomas Arakwente argues before a court that Kahnawá:ke tradition allows him to cut wood for his own commercial benefit. The chiefs disagree, saying that no one may cut wood for commercial purposes on the territory. Arakwente continues, in the next decade, to take his disputes with other Mohawks to Montreal courts. The chiefs resolve that any member of the nation has the right to a half-acre of common land.
- 1800 The last Jesuit in Canada dies and all Jesuit assets go to the Crown. On this pretext, the most valuable part of seigneurie (including grist mill and other buildings) is seized by the colonial government.
- 1801 Claude de Lorimier, following the deaths of his first two wives, marries a Mohawk woman named Anne Skaouennetsi (aka Anne McGregor or Gregory).
Claude De Lorimier has obtained 53 lots totalling 107 acres.
Kahnawá:ke chiefs pass a list of twenty-one laws, including several about land ownership and resource management.
- 1803 Kahnawá:ke try to stop the sale of Kahnawá:ke firewood in Chateauguay (firewood scarcity was an ongoing problem throughout the nineteenth century).
- 1806-7 Chiefs try to ban Arakwente from the village because he won't renounce the laws of Canada (because he continued to use the British courts to resolve his disputes). He and his wife are carried to the edge of the territory and dropped at the boundary.
- 1807 Kahnawá:ke Mohawks send a delegation to London to petition on the eastern boundary. Lord Castlereagle, Secretary of the Colonies is unwilling to take action. Jarvis McComber, after serving as land agent for the chiefs' council, obtains lots amounting to 97 acres.
- 1808 The chiefs declare the 1801 list of twenty-one laws null and void, but they continue to enforce many of the laws throughout the century.
- 1811 Claude de Lorimier is apparently rejected by the majority as being a member of the nation.
- 1812 War of 1812: Kahnawake musters several hundred warriors to do battle with the Americans.
There are two incidents where young French-Canadian men tried to marry Mohawk women and were physically prevented from entering the church to prevent the marriage.
- 1815 Surveyor Joseph Bouchette says that the half of the seigneurie lying downstream from the village of Kahnawá:ke is nearly completely settled and cultivated by French-Canadians.
- 1816 Summer frosts and snowfalls destroy crops (due to volcanic eruption in southern hemisphere). This leads to food shortages.
- 1817 Kahnawá:ke chiefs complain about Claude De Lorimier has no right to own so much land, and that his cattle encroach on others' property.
Jarvis McComber is ordered by Court of King's Bench to return his lands. He does so but repurchases them the same year.
- 1819 Joseph Marcoux, missionary, arrives after having lived and worked at Akwesasne (priest at Kahnawá:ke until 1855).
- 1820 Lord Dalhousie decides that the eastern boundary tract had always belonged to the Jesuits and thus did not belong to Kahnawakehrónon.

- A 39-arports strip is added to the seigneurie by Lord Dorchester in recognition of the participation of Kahnawá:ke warriors in the defense of Canada during the War of 1812.
- 1821 The Northwest Company amalgamates with the Hudson's Bay Company. Many Kahnawakehró:non men lose their jobs in the fur trade. A number move to what is today Alberta.
- 1822 Claude De Lorimier is dismissed as Indian agent for irregular conduct. The new agent, Nicolas Doucet, reports growing frustration and unrest regarding white men gaining rights and land through marriage with Indian women.
- 1823 It is decided that at the death of Claude De Lorimier all his land grants will be annulled and all his lands will revert back to the community. This was not enforced upon his death in 1825.
- There is heavy quarrying activity in Kahnawá:ke related to the construction of the new Lachine Canal.
- 1825 Wildfires all around the Island of Montreal from Laval to Oka to Beauharnois to Chateauguay to LaPrairie.
- Claude De Lorimier dies.
- July Kahnawá:ke chiefs want to eliminate Indian agents. They are convinced that the best way forward is to conduct their business themselves.
- 1827 Jan Petition from Michel Perthuis asking for an uncultivated part of the seigneurie to be split into lots and conceded, one of the lots to himself. Unsuccessful.
- Oct Complaints to General Darling that Kahnawakehró:non (and Abenakis) are trespassing on others' hunting territories. There are also complaints by Mohawks about white encroachment on Kahnawá:ke land, and rents not paid.
- 1828 There are repeated complaints about white people living in Kahnawá:ke and selling liquor. Some have been expelled.
- Kahnawá:ke presents a petition to Sir James Kempt concerning the boundary tract. Marcoux, acting on behalf of Mohawks, argues that Mohawk ownership of the seigneurie is demonstrated by the fact that the Jesuits had to get Mohawk permission before building their grist mill in the previous century. Kempt rejects the claim.
- Mar Ann Fitzpatrick, white widow of a non-Mohawk quarry labourer and raftsman, and whose children are marrying Mohawk men, is denied the right to live in Kahnawá:ke.
- 1829 Kahnawá:ke chiefs go to a notary to have acts established in their favour registered, including the favourable Gage decision.
- Oct Kahnawá:ke sends a delegation to England to meet with Sir George Murray, Colonial Secretary, about the eastern boundary tract.
- Dec Non-Mohawk *censitaires* in the seigneurie have recently been obliged to get new titles. New titles make no mention of Mohawk ownership. *Censitaires* are also required to sign a declaration that they recognize the queen as sole seigneur.
- 1830 280 non-Mohawk families live in the seigneurie with a total of 12,000 arpents conceded to them.
- Kahnawá:ke seigneurial income is about £200 in rents and £800 in agricultural produce. This is used for church repair, chiefs' travel, legal and burial services, public

- roads and fences, pay for the miller and guardians of the pasture, food for distribution to visiting delegations, and for upkeep of the Moulin de la Tortue. When the Indian department comes under control of civilian government, Kahnawá:ke chiefs ask Lieutenant-Coloniel Duncan C. Napier, Superintendent of the Montreal district, to address the eastern boundary tract issue, but nothing is done.
- Kahnawá:ke priest, Joseph Marcoux, says most gardens and fields in Kahnawá:ke are not fenced, but that a fenced common area is used for pasturing.
- 1833 Kahnawá:ke sends a protest to the King, saying that their hunting territories are being settled by white settlers.
- A dispute over the ferry license leads to leadership conflicts and factionalism. Involved are George de Lorimier (son of Claude Delorimier and holder of the ferry license), Bernard St. Germain (interpreter), Ignace Kaneratahere Delisle (wanted the license), Agent James Huges and Marcoux (priest).
- 1834 St. Germain tries to get George Delorimier expelled, saying he is not member and has no rights.
- Dec A Montreal court rules that George Delorimier is an Indian, but the Indian Department cancels his annual presents anyway.
- 1835 George Delorimier has repurchased most properties lost since the death of his father Agent Hughes obtains Delorimier's ferry license for Ignace Delisle.
- April Kahnawá:ke chiefs petition for exclusion of whites from Kahnawá:ke. Kahnawá:ke chiefs send petition to the bishop, saying that Marcoux is opposing their interests by siding with G. Delorimier.
- June The Delorimier faction sends the bishop a petition supporting Marcoux.
- July A government inquiry into Marcoux. He is later acquitted.
- Sept Agent Robert McNab, after investigating, concludes that the Mailloux, McComber, and Delorimier families have no right to land in Kahnawá:ke. Petitioners complain of whites, including C. Delorimier and Gervais McComber, having illegally taken land and wood with the help of the agents. They see the only way to re-establish peace in the village as putting into place the ancient laws and customs, and to remove all whites and strangers. They also want all lands to be returned to Mohawks.
- 1836 Saint Isidore becomes a parish. Majority of chiefs and councillors petition to rid the village of white people and to bring in a law forbidding sale or lease of properties to non-Natives. Agent Hughes compiles a list of 61 non-Mohawks but Marcoux says there are only about a half-dozen, and that none have taken land. Marcoux argues that these supposed 'whites' are just as Indian as everyone else.
- 1837 Kahnawá:ke corn crops fail.
- 1838 Petition asking for the expulsion of whites (whites being the Giasson, Mailloux, McComber, de Lorimier families). Those families counter-petition.
- 1839 Kahnawá:ke chiefs refuse the offer to have their reserve divided into lots of 30-50 acres, saying this was feasible only before most good land was not already privately owned.
- 1840 May Petition of 46 Kahnawakehró:non asking for reduction of number of chiefs and expulsion of whites. Preservation of wood is a primary concern.

- Nov Petition from nine people asks for removal of whites because they have taken much land.
- Dec Tentative end to the bitter disputes that began in 1833 over the ferry licences. Both parties sign peace treaty in which they agree that children of Indian women are to be considered Indian regardless of father.
- 1841 St. Constant and St. Philippe become parishes
- Nov Those who believe the Delorimier family should not have membership rights finally agree to let G. Delorimier stay, but stipulate that after his death his family should leave.
- 1843 Fifty Mohawk families are engaged in farming (most others are probably engaged in small-scale farming and gardening).
Of the original seigneurie, 12,400 acres are left unconceded. 10,000 are considered by outsiders to be in a "primitive state."
Agreement w/ New York, which is to commute annuities with a one-time payout.
- 1845 Farming techniques used in Kahnawá:ke: field rotation, use of harrows, fertilizers. The municipality of Caughnawaga established.
- 1847 Father Marcoux says Kahnawá:ke crops are attended by women and old men; young men plough and harrow fields. Everyone is free to clear and work lots that are not being used.
- 1850s A group of Kahnawakehró:non moves to the shores of Lake Huron (Cape Crocker). Most do not stay there more than a few years.
- 1850 Kahnawá:ke chiefs send petition raising concerns about white men marrying in, and Indian women marrying out and losing status.
A Montreal court acknowledges G. Delorimier's right to live in Kahnawá:ke.
United Canada adopts a law to protect Indian lands and starts the process of the creation of reserves. It creates eleven reserves in Quebec. Kahnawá:ke is given reserve status. Under this law Indian status is transferrable to both male and female spouses.
- 1852 The Lake St. Louis and Province Line Railway opens. It runs from Kahnawá:ke to Lake Champlain. Much land is expropriated and character of the village is changed.
- 1854 The seigneurial system is abolished.
- 1860 The "Cadastre abrégé" of the Seigneurie du Sault-Saint-Louis. It lists the *censitaires* acceding to the right to property in the part of the seigneurie occupied for French-Canadians. The Cadastre abrégé indicates that the seigneurie is possessed "par la tribu des sauvages Iroquois, etc." (by the tribe of the Iroquois Indians, etc). The "etc" is crossed out.
Surveyor H. Judah assesses Sault Saint Louis land value at \$99,209.83. He stipulates that the Iroquois are owners and thus entitled to the indemnity. The survey shows 13 large concessions with 439 white tenants (*censitaires*) with registered titles (representing 13,282 acres).
- 1862 Mar G. E. Cartier suggests selling the Kahnawá:ke reserve.
- 1863 George Delorimier dies at age 58.
- Jan A referendum is held in Kahnawá:ke in which the majority vote for a public sale of the seigneurie and to move the community elsewhere. The Indian Department takes no action.

- 1866 A land survey, carried out by A. Campbell, Commissioner of Crown Lands, "officially brought the holdings of the Kahnawá:ke Iroquois to its present size." The survey establishes the reserve at 15,035 acres.
Jarvis McComber dies, father of 28 children.
- 1867 Canadian Confederation. Seigniorial revenues no longer go to the chiefs. Community finances are now managed by the Secretary of State in Ottawa.
- 1869 Enfranchisement Act.
- 1870 Entrepreneur John Young is making great efforts to build the Caughnawaga Canal. It would run from Kahnawá:ke to Chambly.
There are continued community efforts to sell the territory and move the community.
- 1871 The Indian agent's annual report says Mohawks have abandoned subsistence pursuits; instead they work in performing arts, river navigation, bridge building, bead and craft work. Other evidence suggests subsistence pursuits continue alongside other work.
More and more *censitaires* are refusing to pay rent.
- 1872 The last of the Kahnawakehró:non who moved to Cape Crocker (Lake Huron) in the 1850s are reported to have left that area.
- 1873 Jan There are complaints, depositions, and investigations about white people living on the reserve and taking wood.
May The new Indian agent M. Joseph Pinsoneault is instructed to focus on suppression of liquor sales, prevention of squatting on Indian lands, and regulation of wood cutting.
Dec Petition from half-dozen landowners, lawyer, and agent request protection from wood-cutting custom (which allows any Kahnawá:ke Mohawk to cut wood on their lands). The Department of Indian Affairs (DIA) says not much can be done until the reserve is surveyed and subdivided.
- 1873-4 Louise McComber (George Delorimier's widow) asks to be enfranchised. She is denied because the federal government does not consider her an Indian.
- 1874 Feb The same group of landowners asks for a survey of property boundaries.
Mar Kahnawá:ke chiefs present a list of issues they want addressed: rumours of subdivision, wood-selling off-reserve, Mohawk language, land-leasing, whites on reserve, illegal saloons, the agent who does nothing to help the poor, and the cutting of maples.
Apr Kahnawá:ke chiefs complain about Agent Delorimier not collecting rents. The DIA says the account books have not been kept since 1848.
May Mohawk owners along the boundary complain of white encroachment. They want the boundary defined.
The DIA instructs its agent to prosecute those who sold Kahnawá:ke wood off-reserve this year.
Petition from the chiefs opposing a subdivision survey, and asking if the government will purchase the reserve as requested. Four of seven chiefs want to sell reserve and move the community elsewhere.
- 1875 Petition from 37% of males asks for an elected council in line with the Enfranchisement Act.
- 1876 The Indian Act.

- Jan The federal government passes an Order in Council for Kahnawá:ke forbidding cutting of wood on another person's property. The chiefs protest. A number of Mohawks begin to fence pieces of land because they believe the DIA will then recognize their property rights.
- Feb Petition requesting repeal of the Order in Council. It explains Kahnawá:ke customary law and that this change will only benefit a minority.
- 1877 The enlargement of the Lachine Canal is causing a quarrying boom at Kahnawá:ke.
- Mar Newly appointed Agent Cherrier gets instructions: stop trespassing, wood-stealing, and maple cutting; measure stone and regulate quarries; induce Mohawks to maintain road w/ statute labour if possible, collect seigneurial dues.
- Sept Agent Cherrier says there are about twenty "Canadians" living on the reserve.
- 1878 Agent Cherrier suggests creating a land register because, according to him, transactions are chaotic and unregulated.
- 1880 The Indian Act is amended to empower the DIA to impose the band council system on communities that do not want it.
- Apr Kahnawá:ke chiefs ask for boundary survey. The DIA asks if they want a subdivision survey also. They do not.
- Aug Provincial Land Surveyor, William McLea Walbank, is given the contract to survey the Kahnawá:ke boundary and begins his work.
- Dec The Walbank boundary survey is complete.
- 1881 The Department of Finances pays the DIA \$10,039.33, an amount that was supposedly representative of the seigneurial indemnity for casual rights at Sault St. Louis, but this amount was probably not related to the Seigneurial Act of 1854.
- Jan Agent Cherrier states that few Mohawks obey the Order in Council concerning wood and that most heat their homes with maple.
- Mar Kahnawá:ke general assembly decides by majority vote that the chiefs would have authority to pass laws about wood. Chiefs then grant everyone the right to cut wood anywhere (but not for sale), which is in line with customary law.
- July A new Order in Council about maple cutting in Kahnawá:ke is passed.
- Oct St. Isidore farmers want Mohawks to maintain the boundary fence. The DIA says they are not required to do so.
- Nov The chiefs expel Louis Soriowane from Grand Park (Big Fence) but they ask the DIA to help him move.
- Chateauguay farmers want Mohawks to build a boundary fence. The DIA says Mohawks are not required to. Chiefs say there is no point discussing it until the proposed Walbank survey defines boundaries.
- 1882 First annual agricultural exhibition at Kahnawá:ke.
- Feb Walbank reports that farmers along eastern boundary want the line straightened. More complaints about border fences from non-Mohawk neighbours. The DIA now says half of fencing should be done by Mohawks.
- Mar A DIA official reports that the chiefs are happy about subdivision and want it to happen fast (most chiefs were actually opposed).
- Apr The DIA informs Prime Minister Macdonald that Kahnawá:ke Mohawks have given consent, and recommends Walbank for job.
- May Walbank goes to Kahnawá:ke and begins work on subdivision survey.

- Four chiefs agree to a straightening of the eastern border as suggested by Walbank, on the condition that the farmers who get land pay for it and for any new fencing. The chiefs ask that the abandoned Grand Trunk Rail line (today St. Isidore Road, 207) be kept as a public road on the condition that the DIA constructs fences on both sides of the line.
- June Walbank relocates to Kahnawá:ke and has three teams of surveyors in the field.
- July St. Constant farmers sign the agreement to make the Grand Trunk right-of-way into highway.
Walbank is concerned about the effect of the proposed CPR bridge (built 1886-1887) approach on the subdivision survey.
- Nov Walbank reports expenses have been \$550 per month (for himself, two surveyors, and five men including their board), and he estimates the work will take at least another year.
- 1883 More white farmers demand a boundary fence around the reserve.
- July Agent Cherrier reports that Mohawks are leasing land to whites for pasturing, and that due to lack of fences, cattle are causing damage around the reserve. DIA does not trust Cherrier in this matter because he is involved in pasturing himself.
- 1884 Kahnawá:ke quarries are producing stone for the construction of the Cornwall Canal.
- Jan The chiefs allow landless Mohawks to cut wood on two lots of disputed ownership.
- July The DIA tells Walbank to value lands as if they are owned by Indians who can only buy and sell from each other (this lowers the valuations).
- Sept Fifty-some Kahnawá:ke men arrive in Montreal to sail for Egypt on the Gordon Relief Expedition.
- 1885 Jan Walbank gives public notice for the subdivision survey. Claimants must schedule interviews with him and the chiefs. The Mohawks in Egypt hear that they must return to participate in the land redistribution. They return by Spring 1885.
- April Walbank's interview process is complete.
- May The chiefs make a by-law prohibiting loose pigs. Nearly 100 Mohawks petition against this by-law, saying it was put in place by the wealthy who wanted to prohibit the poor from pasturing pigs on common land.
- July More than fifty Mohawks send a petition expressing concern over the long duration and high cost of the Walbank Survey, and ask for an investigation into the matter. Walbank says the petition comes from a few troublemakers.
- Oct Walbank is running new roads.
- 1886 According to the DIA annual report, 4060 acres are cultivated. Agricultural production is 39,963 bushels of grain and roots and 1400 tons of hay.
- Mar Agent Brosseau transmits a complaint made by Mohawk landowners about the boundary between Kahnawá:ke and Chateauguay not being correct.
- May The Atlantic and North West Railway Company (CPR) asks for a right of way through Kahnawá:ke.
- June The DIA asks for Walbank's report on the Chateauguay boundary line. Walbank says he has not yet got around to it yet because the area is so swampy. It is discovered later that he did not run the boundary lines in difficult terrain.
A number of Mohawks send the DIA a carefully-worded petition about the high cost of subdivision survey. They worry being deprived of improvements without compensation and oppose the use of statute labour for roadwork.

- Facing the prospect of public revolt over the Walbank Survey, the DIA bans unauthorized public meetings.
- July Walbank is finished with valuation of improvements on lands presently held. The Delorimier brothers complain that their land is valued far too low, and hire an arbitrator to re-value their lands.
- Sept Walbank begins subdivision work on the ground.
Walbank has sent to the DIA a tabular statement giving names of occupants of land on the reserve, as well as descriptions of land use, area, and value.
Walbank plans to split the reserve into 387 new thirty-acre lots. 300 new lots have already been taken assigned. He says the swampy Grand Park (Big Fence) contains 506 acres which can be subdivided immediately.
- Fall The railroad is grading bridge access and building the line through Kahnawá:ke. This damages crops and deprives people of their land.
- Dec Walbank says 85% of the work on the subdivision survey is done.
- 1887 Feb Walbank Survey: Actual subdivision in the field: 40 lots and several roads laid out in Range 1. There are about 273 miles left to be run. At 1.7 miles per day per surveyor, that means there are 164 days of field work left. The DIA expects survey work to be done at end of Aug. 1887.
- Mar Walbank says there are almost no fences in Kahnawá:ke.
Walbank reports Range 1 has been surveyed, valued, subdivided on plan & picked in the field.
- May Twenty claims for CPR expropriations: Land is to be valued at a standard amount per acre plus the value of improvements. The arbitrator says land is not of even quality but thinks that \$100 per acre would be a fair price. There are cases of disputed ownership, and in one case the reputed owner is a "bigamist."
Compensation is doled out in December.
Prime Minister Macdonald faces questions on the Walbank survey in the House of Commons
- Sept Walbank says that several projected roads have been staked out, picketed, and are ready for construction. Work has been delayed by harassment, threats, vandalism.
- Nov. St. Constant farmers want Mohawks to build half of the boundary fence which recently burned. There is no standing wood nearby with which to rebuild the fence.
- 1888 Jan Walbank says that fieldwork is finished and that there are 6-8 weeks of paperwork left to do. In fact, he never completed the fieldwork.
- Mar ANWRC (CPR) is granted patents for expropriated land.
The Advancement Act applied to Kahnawá:ke. The Council of Chiefs is abolished. The DIA divides the reserve into six electoral divisions.
- June Walbank writes to Sir John A. Macdonald giving a lengthy report on the survey and asking for the money to complete it. No money is forthcoming.
- 1889 Ottawa sues one *censitaire*, Mr. Pinsonneault for thirty years arrears. Quebec then sues Ottawa because it said collection of rents is a provincial responsibility. The case is decided in favour of Quebec, but the appeal in the Court of the Queen's Bench went in favour of Ottawa in 1896.
- Mar Member of Parliament Cyrille Doyon raises questions about the Walbank Survey in parliament (as he has been doing on a regular basis). Doyon demands that the DIA provide justification for the \$22,000 spent surveying just 12,000 acres.

- Apr Kahnawá:ke's first band council begins its controversial tenure.
- May CPR infrastructure is causing flooding and property damage (inadequate ditches and culverts).
The band council passes a resolution on granting a quarter acre of the Common for anyone authorized by council.
- Aug Mohawks complain that railroad ditches are inadequate, even after they have been improved. They want compensation for damages.
- 1890 Eugène-Étienne Taché, Quebec Assistant Commissioner of Crown Lands, writes a report to Premier Mercier about Sault-St-Louis, arguing that Gage gave Mohawks possession, and that they still have it (ie. that the Crown should not have possession).
- Feb MP Cyrille Doyon raises questions in House of Commons over unpaid quarry royalties and the high survey cost in Kahnawá:ke. Government still refuses to give details about the survey.
- Mar Agent Brosseau reports that maple-cutting is widespread.
Doyon raises questions in the House of Commons about the cost of the survey, as well as the Kahnawá:ke land claim based on the original extent of the seigneurie. He also asks the government if it intends to help Kahnawá:ke circus performers stuck in San Francisco. There is a subsequent debate about the Kahnawá:ke seigneurial land claim.
- Mar Agent Brosseau asks for special permission for widows and infirm Mohawks to be allowed to lease their land to whites. Denied.
- Apr Petition from 52 Mohawks (Reid calls this the "Reform faction"—85% are landowners) opposed to expansion of band council powers. They argue it is an injustice for landowners to be governed by those who own no land, which is currently the situation. They want the vote limited to enfranchised Indians (own property or have education).
- Sept The CPR is filling up the trestles of the approach and cutting off the peninsula used for pasturage. The approach will cut straight across the main road through the village (Laprairie Road). There are petitions and council resolutions on this subject.
- Nov A DIA official visits Caughnawaga to inspect the bridge-trestle situation.
- Dec 121 petition against "the republic form of government of electing persons" and in favour of the continuation of hereditary chief system. Another petition by seven women of the bear clan asks for return to traditional governance.
- 1891 Fires caused by sparks from train engines have caused damage to various Kahnawá:ke holdings. Land owners want compensation. The DIA is in talks with the railroad.
- 1892 Records of seigneurial revenues are kept effectively for the first time in many years but few are paying rent anymore.
- Jan A DIA report on Walbank boundary survey concludes it was poorly done. The southern line was never actually run in the field.
- Sept Railroad fences are in such bad shape that horses from the Common frequently go onto the tracks and are sometimes killed.

- 1893 Feb DIA and Quebec Department of Crown Lands communicate about cooperating to survey the southern boundary. DIA lends Crown Lands tracings of the boundary but then Crown Lands loses them.
- Apr Deputy Superintendent General of the DIA, Laurence Vankoughnet, blames Mohawks for the fact that the land redistribution has not yet taken place. He thinks the survey was worth doing and that the redistribution will still happen. It never does.
- 1894 *Act Respecting the Seigneurie of Sault St. Louis*. This was an agreement that reduced the arrears in rents of most *ceusitaires* by 25%. The effect of the act is unclear because no rents were paid after 1891.
The DIA considers the Walbank Survey "correct." It becomes the standard for future land transactions in Kahnawá:ke.
- Aug The DIA and Crown Lands collaborate in another boundary survey.
- 1894 Sept Meeting of Grand Council in Akwesasne: 1200 participants. The council sends statement to the DIA on the evil effects of the band council system and the intention of re-introducing traditional governance, signed by representatives of each community including 168 warriors from Kahnawá:ke.
- Nov 245 Kahnawakehró:non petition for traditional governance.
- 1895 Feb Minister of Interior T. M. Daly and his deputy, Hayter Reed, visit Kahnawá:ke. They meet with 400 Kahnawakehró:non to discuss resistance to the band council system. Daly says the DIA would accept a reversion to traditional governance if there were consensus in Kahnawá:ke to do so. Louis Beauvais publishes a letter in Montreal Daily Witness to respond to Daly, and to communicate the desire of many Kahnawakehró:non to return to the traditional system.
- 1896 The CPR wants to divert the Laprairie road.
- 1897 Feb Passage of an Order in Council that allows the CPR to change the trajectory of its track (against the wishes of Kahnawakehró:non) if it builds a masonry road arch and culvert.
88 women from Kahnawá:ke petition for a return to traditional governance. The DIA responds saying such a request will never be considered.
- 1898 Aug CPR bridge closure due to worker strike (until October).
- 1899 Mar Louis Jacob causes ruckus over Commons rights by moving a shack onto an island and enclosing 1.5 acres.
June Council resolution that the 1889 Commons resolution (on the quarter-acre allotment) should have the force of law.
July Dept. of Justice opinion that the 1889 Commons law does not have the force of law and that nothing can be done against Jacob. Councillors considers splitting up the Common among themselves since they cannot enforce their laws.
Sept A number of Mohawks are taking possession of Common land without authorization. Council creates a committee to make allotment decisions.
- 1900 Feb Council threatens not to hold elections if DIA will not back it up on Common issue. The DIA says council should allow Jacob to retain a quarter acre and be compensated for whatever improvements he made.
- June The Common issue is in the Montreal Superior Court.
- 1901 Kahnawakehró:non petition twice this year to have the Advancement Act revoked.

- June Council passes Commons by-law. It is approved by the DIA and posted on the church door.
- 1902 Apr Council attempts to expand eligibility for the quarter acre to those who already own land on the reserve. The Indian agent and DIA are opposed.
- May St. Lawrence and Adirondack Railway (SLARC) informs the DIA it intends to construct a spur and needs land.
- 1903 SLARC obtains land for spur track.
- June DIA wants quarter acre lots to be measured by a professional surveyor instead of by untrained councillors.
- Aug There are reports of new flooding caused by CPR embankment.
- Sep Council posts a notice on the church door that farmers are to keep their animals on their own lands and not to let them wander on the Common.
- 1904 July The CPR's investigation into flooding concludes that railway construction is not responsible for the flooding.
- 1905 Dec Council wants the CPR's 4:30pm train from Montreal to stop at the old station near the arch. The DIA thinks this request is unreasonable.
- 1906 SLARC is taken over by the New York Central and Hudson Railway (NYCHR).
- June Council authorizes sports players to build a trench to stop carriages from crossing playing fields (on the Common), and to include the horse race track in land set aside for sports.
- 1907 J.A.U. Beaudry surveys the village of Kahnawá:ke and makes a detailed map.
Secret balloting introduced to band council elections.
- Apr Extensive flooding causes delay of Beaudry Survey.
- May Kahnawakehró:non are alarmed by prospect of another survey.
- June Beaudry Survey begins. There are delays because council will not appoint survey assistants.
- July Beaudry reports constant arguments with Mohawks, almost all of whom oppose the survey. Surveying stakes are being pulled up on many occasions.
- Aug Only one councillor agrees to assist Beaudry (at \$3.50/day, a very high rate). The other councillors refuse to be a part of it.
- Oct Beaudry fieldwork and picketing of lots is finished, including 76 new lots on the Common.
- Nov Councillors refuse to sign off on the completed Beaudry village map.
Beaudry asks for \$1300 on top of the \$1700 he was to be paid due to delays and extra expenses. DIA pays what he asks.
- 1908 Apr Questions arise as to whether or not a man is eligible for a quarter-acre if his wife owns land elsewhere in the reserve. The DIA refuses to take a position.
The DIA will no longer allow anyone except a professional surveyor to lay out the quarter-acre lots on the Common.
- Aug Council encourages quarrying activities by community members by lowering royalties for them.
- Sept Council passes resolution that only members of the band may quarry on the reserve, and gives permits to a number of Mohawks to do so.
- 1909 Jan Council wants to have the culvert between mainland and island repaired. Its failure is causing flooding.

- Mar Bishop Construction Co. applies for permission to quarry. Council initially opposes this bid but then agrees to give Bishop quarrying rights for ten years. Bishop promises to give preference to Mohawks for quarry employment. Surrender signed.
- Apr Council asks the CPR to clean its ditches and fix culverts. The CPR says there is nothing wrong with their ditches and culverts.
- 1910 Council continues to appoint its own land measurers, against the will of the DIA. Kahnawá:ke has five by-laws: one on pigs, one on roads, one on the Common, and three on public health.
- July Council demands compensation for animals killed by trains.
- Sept The CPR finally cleans the large culvert (under its bridge approach) but does not add grating (to prevent cattle from entering).
- Nov The CPR bridge is being reconstructed, double-tracked. The CPR buys a strip for the tracks, and leases commons land for piling materials. A land-surrender is not required. Sale and lease of land for CPR double-tracking is done without Council involvement.
- 1911 Land leased to the first golf course.
- Feb Council demands that the CPR to keep its culvert unclogged.
- Sept DIA inspector reports that the culvert under the CPR bridge approach is not high enough and entrance is not wide enough. Flooding is the result.
- Oct Council demands that the Bishop Company stop quarrying without permission.
- 1912 Kahnawá:ke ironworkers are in New York City for the first time. Mohawks petition for the right to walk across the bridge in winter to get to work, as was formerly allowed.
- Feb DIA is having difficulty collecting royalties from Bishop Company.
- July Bishop Company still has not paid. The company has not operated in Kahnawá:ke this season and the DIA prepares to seize its assets.
- Sept Bishop Company starts dismantling and removing equipment. Department of Justice sends in lawyers to collect amount owed. Equipment removal continues.
- Nov United Supply Company inquires about obtaining the quarry rights of Bishop Company. Other companies are also lined up asking for quarry rights in Kahnawá:ke.
- 1913 June Council refuses to make a decision on a man's application for a quarter-acre lot, because the applicant's father owns a large tract of land on the reserve. Council asks DIA to make a decision.
- 1914 Council notifies Bishop Company to remove the boiler that has been sitting on the Common for three years. Council also requires Bell Company to pay for storing its posts on the Common.
- 1915 Montreal Quarry & Construction Supply Co. begins quarrying in Kahnawá:ke. It goes bankrupt July 1917.
- 1915 Council gives P. Norton permission to build a fishing shack by the river and to act as a guardian against white poachers. Council wants to add a requirement that those who receive a quarter-acre lot must begin to build a dwelling within two months of becoming owners. Council asks that the NYCR fix railway crossing, fences, and culverts.
- 1916 After a year of trying to find someone who would sell land for a nun-teachers' residence (there is widespread opposition to this new DIA schooling effort), the DIA

- explores the legality of expropriating land for this purpose. A referendum the following year shows that 95% of Kahnawakehró:non are opposed to nuns being permanently located on the reserve.
- May Council asks the CPR to fence their right of way on the island in front of the village to prevent cattle from venturing onto tracks.
- 1918 Council battles Dr. Jacobs over whether or not he has the right to a quarter acre on the Common. He has a house moved onto the lot, builds a fence, and spends the next three years defending himself, finally losing the battle. He is forced to transfer ownership of the house and property to his brother, who is eligible.
- 1919 Miss Onwari Douglas applies for a commons lot and faces opposition because of her sex. Outcome unclear.
- 1920 After years of trying, the DIA finally succeeds in purchasing land and house in Kahnawá:ke for the teacher nuns.
The Indian Act is amended to empower the federal government to order enfranchisement of an Indian without his/her request or consent.
- 1922 Indian Act amendment on enfranchisement (1920) is repealed. It is reinstated in 1933.
- 1923 Council wants to plant eight elm trees on the riverfront but DIA does not like the idea.
- 1925 A man has built a garage on a Commons lot. Council asks him to remove it or turn it into a residence in accordance with the Commons by-law.
- 1927 Dominic Two-Axe and others write a series of letters to Ottawa on a number of issues including the contamination of local streams and the poisoning of livestock by runoff from the golf course.
- June Grand Council convenes in Kahnawá:ke. After being denied the use of the church hall as a meeting place, they build a longhouse for the occasion, which continues to be used after the event.
- 1928 Apr Council requests the 1882 surrender document for the Grand Trunk Railway (Highway 207) right of way. The DIA cannot find it.
July Council resolves reserve the riverfront as public space.
- 1930 Feb Council wants Grand Park (Big Fence) resurveyed due to encroachment since the last survey.
Oct Under current laws, the DIA rules that women are eligible for commons lots. Anna Williams is granted a quarter acre in December, 1930.
Dec Due to a strike, the CPR bridge is closed to Dominion Bridge Company (Lachine) employees, including many Mohawks.
- 1931 Mar Frank Cross the River complains he never received full compensation for land expropriated in 1887.
Sep Joseph Martin complains he and his brother never received full compensation for the railway siding built on their land in 1902-1903. DIA informs Martin that \$25 is still available for him. Martin is not satisfied with this amount.
- 1932 Sept Council makes the Commons by-law applicable only to males.
Nov The DIA rules that in future all Kahnawá:ke allotments must be accompanied by land descriptions.
- 1933 Reinstitution of the Indian Act amendment allowing government to enfranchise without request or consent.

- Feb Council asks the DIA if someone would be ineligible for the quarter acre if that person's parents die intestate (without a will) while owning land. DIA rules that yes, this would make that person ineligible.
- May Council resolves that the riverfront be reserved as a park.
- 1934 Memo from King George to New York Governor on behalf of the Mohawks, requesting approx \$249,000 for unpaid annuities. New York refuses.
- June The Mercier Bridge opens to traffic.
- 1935 Seigneurial Rents Abolition Act provides for the commutation of rental arrears by payment of "a capital sum the interest on which 6% equals the rent and which applied to Sault Saint Louis." Few *ceusitaires* of the Sault opt for this.
- 1935 Longhouse requests land for use as a cemetery. Band Council rejects request.
- 1936 Agnes Beauvais writes to King of England about lack of a cemetery.
- 1938 Council passes a resolution to remove 35 non-Mohawks.
- 1939 Council passes a resolution that white men not be allowed to finance businesses or partnerships on the reserve. The DIA is opposed.
- 1940 The Kanawaki Golf Club complains about animals on roads. The DIA asks council to make a by-law prohibiting animals from running at large. Council responds by asking for lower speed limits.
- 1941 The agent says traffic conditions are unbearable (automobile traffic to and from the Mercier bridge, through the village).
Longhouse members are still seeking land for burial ground and recognition of Mohawk religion.
- 1943 Council asks the DIA to address the issue of excessive speeds on roads, citing deaths of people and animals. The DIA passes this concern along to the province, but little is done. Council continues to demand lower speed limits over the following decades.
- 1944 The agency office burns, including land records and all printed copies of bylaws. Over the course of the next 5 years, C. H. Taggart, under contract with the DIA, resurveys land and recreates property/membership records destroyed in the fire.
- 1947 DIA pressures council to pass a law against animals running free. Council refuses (this repeats in following years)
- 1948 Council does not have printed copies of bylaws, and DIA says it does not have copies either. The department suggests passing the bylaws in force at Akwesasne.
Taggart notes there is no up-to-date band membership list.
- 1955 Passage of the Saint Lawrence Seaway Act.
- 1955-6 Land expropriations by the St-Lawrence Seaway Authority.
- 1956 Egyptian lawyer, Omar Z. Ghobashy is retained by the traditional chiefs to represent community against the seaway at the United Nations.
St. Lawrence Seaway Authority expropriation: Parish of Saint Catherine negotiates for a commutation of all obligations in connection with Seigneurial rights.
- 1957 Seaway opens.

Abbreviations

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| ANWRC | Atlantic and North West Railway Company (subsidiary of the CPR) |
| CPR | Canadian Pacific Railway |
| DIA | Department of Indian Affairs (in some cases I have used this abbreviation even when the departmental name has changed slightly). |
| MCK | Mohawk Council of Kahnawá:ke |
| RCMP | Royal Canadian Mounted Policy (federal police force) |
| SLARC | St. Lawrence and Adirondack Railway Company |
| SQ | Sûreté du Québec (provincial police) |

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