

DRAFT REPORT

**The St. Lawrence Seaway Expropriations on the
Kahnawake (Caughnawaga) Reserve No. 14
(1954-1978)**

**Prepared by Joan Holmes & Associates, Inc.
for the Mohawk Council of Kahnawake and
the Specific Claims Branch,
Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development
August 1999**

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Kahnawake (Caughnawaga) Reserve No. 14
(1954-1978)**

Abbreviations

Executive Summary	i
Biographical Index.....	vi
Introduction.....	1
A. Chapter One: The Initial Expropriation	4
1. Preliminary Estimates of Land Required in the Caughnawaga Reserve, March 1954 to March 1955	4
2. A Submission to Council is Prepared, and the Question of the Province of Québec's Reversionary Interest in Alienated Reserve Lands is Considered, March to June 1955	7
3. The Establishment of the Expropriation Procedure: Valuations, Compensation, and the Role of the Indian Affairs Branch, June 1955	14
4. Concerns Over and Assurances Given Respecting Plans and Procedures, July 1955.....	16
5. Order-in-Council P.C. 1955-1416: the Expropriation of Caughnawaga Reserve Lands for the Navigation Canal, September 1955	20
B. Chapter Two: Valuations and Removals.....	23
1. The Department of Transport's Valuations, the Indian Affairs Branch's Employment of an Expert Appraiser, the First Notices to Vacate, and the Formation of an Advisory Committee, October to November 1955	23
2. Work Begins Prior to the Formal Notification of Locates, and the Indian Affairs Branch Continues to Consider the Reversionary Issue, November 1955 to January 1956.....	30
3. The Branch Discusses Other Appraisals, Advances on Settlement Payments, and the Clarification of Expropriation and Compensation Procedures, June 1955 to February 1956	35
4. The Warnock Hersey Company's First Draft Valuation Compared to the Department of Transport's Appraisal, and the Branch's Request for an Advance, February 1956	42
C. Chapter Three: The Railway Spur Line.....	48

1.	Order-in-Council P.C. 1956-231: the Expropriation of Seven Arpents of Land for a Railway Spur Line, February 1956	48
D.	Chapter Four: The Lump Sum Offer and Settlement Negotiations, February to July 1956.....	49
1.	Continued Valuations by the Department of Transport and by the Warnock Hersey Company, and Discussion of Band Interest, February to March 1956	49
2.	The Lump Sum Offer for the Navigation Canal and Railway Spur Line, March 1956	58
3.	Settlement Formulas, the Distribution of the Lump Sum Payment, and the Conclusion of the First Settlements, March to May 1956	62
4.	The Mercier Bridge Approaches: Locatees on Lands with Questionable Status, May 1955 to May 1956.....	66
5.	Challenges to the Expropriation Procedure and Compensation Offers, May to June 1956	68
6.	The Warnock Hersey Company's Valuations of Islands and Comments on Village Lot Values, and the Status of Settlements, June 1956	80
7.	The Branch Requests an Increase in the St. Lawrence Seaway Authority's Overall Offer, Having Found it Inadequate to Cover Both Compensation and Various Works on the Reserve Necessitated by the Seaway Project, June to July 1956.....	83
E.	Chapter Five: The Council Petitions for an Injunction Against the St. Lawrence Seaway Authority.....	88
1.	The New Band Council Challenges the Validity of the Expropriation and Recruits Legal Advice to Relay its Concerns to the Minister of Citizenship and Immigration and to St. Lawrence Seaway Authority President Chevrier at Two Meetings, June to July 1956	88
2.	The St. Lawrence Seaway Authority and Indian Affairs Branch Discuss Ways of Convincing the Province to Relinquish its Reversionary Interest in Expropriated Caughnawaga Lands, July to August 1956.....	100
3.	Settlement Negotiations Regarding the Overall Offer and Individual Claims Continue, July to August 1956	105
4.	Contemplation of the St. Lawrence Seaway Authority's Ability to Return Lands in Light of the Province's Reversionary Interest, August 1956	112

5.	Hydro Lines, August to November 1956	115
6.	The Six Nations Confederacy's Concerns, the Petition for an Injunction, and Compensation for Communal Interest, August to September 1956.....	116
	a) The Six Nations Confederacy Expresses Concerns Regarding Compensation Practices at Caughnawaga	116
	b) The Band Decides to Petition for an Injunction Against the St. Lawrence Seaway Authority and the Branch Discusses its Position	117
	c) The Branch Investigates Whether the Band Council had Decided to Accept Ten Percent for Communal Interest in Individually-held Lands.....	123
7.	Construction of the Bridge Approaches and Relocation of the Highway, Difficulties Getting Vacant Possession, Other Construction Concerns Pending Court Ruling On Injunction, September to October 1956.....	124
F.	Chapter Six: The Expropriation of Land For Revised Approaches to the Mercier Bridge and For The Relocation of the Malone Provincial Highway No. 3/4, and Continuing Negotiations Respecting the Original Expropriations	128
	1. A Submission to Council is Made Despite the Indian Affairs Branch's Concerns that it Should Await a Ruling on the Band's Petition for an Injunction, October 1956.....	128
	2. Order-in-Council P.C. 1956-1538: The Bridge Approach and Highway Relocation Expropriation, October to November 1956	131
	3. The Band Council and Six Nations Confederacy Protest the Expropriation, December 1956 to February 1957.....	134
	4. The Rejection of the Band's Petition for an Injunction Against the St. Lawrence Seaway Authority, October to November 1956	136
	5. The Branch Considers Raising Offers to Obtain Vacant Possession and Discusses How 'Subsidiary Benefits' to the Band Counterbalance Offers Based on the Compensation Formula, October 1956 to February 1957	138
	6. Compensation Negotiations for the Navigation Canal Lands and Valuation of a Band-owned Parcel Expropriated for the Highway Relocation, February to March 1957.....	141
	7. Application for Additional Funds for Water and Sewer Facilities and for Negotiated Settlements, March to June 1957	154

- 8. Valuations of Land Taken for the Revised Bridge Approaches and Highway Relocation, April to July 1957160
- 9. Lands Leased to the Kanawaki Golf Club Affected by St. Lawrence Seaway Authority Expropriations, June 1957 to June 1958165
- 10. Compensation Negotiations Continue, April to June 1957.....166
- G. Chapter Seven: Valuations, Negotiations, and Additional Funds from the St. Lawrence Seaway Authority, June 1957 to August 1959.....168
 - 1. Director Jones' Summary of the Situation, July 1957168
 - 2. The St. Lawrence Seaway Authority Agrees to Provide Additional Funds for Settlements, July 1957174
 - 3. Highway Relocation Settlements, August 1957176
 - 4. Island Valuations, November 1956 to December 1957.....177
 - 5. Additional Funding Approved by Treasury Board, and Continued Negotiations, August 1957 to February 1958178
 - 6. Valuations of Land Taken for the Revised Approaches and Highway Relocation Continue, September 1957.....181
 - 7. Band Council Resolution No. 396 Advocates Continued Legal Action, November 1957 to June 1958184
 - 8. Discussion of Compensation Payable to the Band, Suggestions that Compensation be Counterbalanced by Expenditures and Works Performed by the St. Lawrence Seaway Authority, February to March 1958.....186
 - 9. Comparative Values -- Pitt Refers to Prices Paid for Lands in the Highway Relocation Area and Outside the Reserve to Support His Valuations of Lands Taken for the Navigation Canal, May 1958189
 - 10. Delays in the Initiation of Compensation Negotiations in Connection with Reserve Lot No. 98, July to November 1958190
 - 11. Initial Calculations of Compensation Payable to the Band and the Band's Concerns Regarding Damages and Other Expropriation-Related Issues, September 1958 to August 1959191
 - 12. Compensation Payable to the Longhouse Organization, January to August 1959.....199
- H. Chapter 8: The Breakdown of Negotiations.....201

1.	Chief Councillor Matthew Lazare Petitions the United Nations, December 1959 to March 1960.....	201
2.	The Council's Refusal to Negotiate Band Compensation and the Indian Affairs Branch's Decision to Refer Outstanding Individual Claims to the St. Lawrence Seaway Authority, April 1960.....	204
3.	Problems with the Plans of the Highway Relocation and Revised Bridge Approaches are Resolved, and the Seaway Authority Abandons an Expropriated Portion of the Adirondack Junction Road in Favour of the Canadian Pacific Railway Company, June 1960 to August 1961	211
4.	The Indian Affairs Branch Withdraws from Negotiations and the St. Lawrence Seaway Authority's Prepares to Submit Claims to the Exchequer Court, May to December 1961	214
5.	Appeal to the United Nations, May 1961.....	218
6.	Continued Attempts by the Indian Affairs Branch to Resolve Outstanding Claims through Negotiations with Locatees and the Longhouse Organization, and the Election of a New Chief Councillor, August 1961 to August 1962	221
7.	The St. Lawrence Seaway Authority Contemplates Returning Nearly 60 Acres of Surplus Lands in the Village to the Band, and Sells Nearly 15 Acres of Expropriated Lands to the Canadian Pacific Railway Company, September to November 1962	226
8.	St. Lawrence Seaway Authority Negotiations with Locatees, the Band Council, and the Longhouse Organization, and the Involvement of the Indian Affairs Branch, December 1962 to September 1963.....	228
9.	Miscellaneous Land Matters: Heron Island and a Lease to a Gas Company, August to December 1963.....	233
10.	Continued Negotiations Resulting in Initial January and April 1964 St. Lawrence Seaway Authority Offers of Compensation to the Band, December 1963 to April 1964.....	235
11.	The St. Lawrence Seaway Authority Applies for Funds to Cover Restoration Costs and Other Expenses and the Newly Elected Chief Councillor Requests a Summary of the Situation to Date, June to August 1964.....	239

12.	The Question of the Ownership of Rock Piles and the Need to Fill Low-Lying Areas, July 1964 to March 1965.....	244
I.	Chapter Nine.....	248
1.	The Band Council's Request for Funding for a Negotiating Committee is Refused, Subsequent Meetings Between the Council, Seaway Authority Officials, and Branch Representatives, and Discussion of Previous Offers, September 1964 to May 1965	248
3.	Survey and Transfer of Lots SLS 1, 2 and 3, May 1965 to May 1967.....	261
4.	The Band Council Retains Legal Counsel, February 1967 to	266
5.	Funding of the Caughnawaga Mohawk Council Seaway Settlement Committee, March to May 1967.....	269
6.	Preparation by the Seaway Committee, February to June 1967	272
7.	The Negotiating Committee Presents its Claim, December 1967 to July 1968.....	275
8.	The St. Lawrence Seaway Authority's "Proposal 'A'" and "Proposal 'B'", and the Band's Counter-claim, August to November 1968	282
J.	Chapter 10: The Interim Settlement	285
1.	The Conciliator's Report of 30 May 1969, May to June 1969.....	285
2.	The Band's Revised Claim and the St. Lawrence Seaway Authority's "Proposal 'C'", and Response to the Conciliator's Report, June to July 1969.....	292
3.	The Band's Consideration and Acceptance of the St. Lawrence Seaway Authority Amended "Proposal 'C'", August to November 1969.....	295
4.	Continued Consideration of the Return of Lands, December 1969	306
5.	Negotiations Regarding Damages, May 1970	309
6.	Breakdown of Negotiations for Damages, November 1970 to April 1971....	311
7.	The Band's Lawyers File a Statement of Claim in Exchequer Court, May 1971 to June 1972.....	314
K.	Chapter 11: Final Settlement and Return of Lands	323
1.	Final Settlement, March to June 1973	323
2.	Submission to Treasury Board, June 1973	331
3.	The Return of Lands and Fulfillment of Other Terms of the Settlement	333
Appendix A:	Compensation of the Band's Interest in Expropriated Seigniorial Lands East of the Reserve	343

Appendix B:	The Advisory Committee, Its Members and Function.....	351
Appendix C:	The Payment of the Warnock Hersey Company and Associated Implications in the Preparation of Cases for Submission to Exchequer Court	357
Appendix D:	Compensation to Non-Indian Tenants.....	361
Appendix E:	Payment of Legal Fees Incurred by the Band Council	363
	1. Émile Colas and Frank R. Scott.....	363
	2. Raymond Lachapelle	367
	3. James O'Reilly	369
Appendix F:	The St. Lawrence Seaway Authority's "Proposal 'A'", dated circa 26 August 1968.....	370
Appendix G:	The Claim Submitted by the Band on 29 October 1968, and the St. Lawrence Seaway Authority's "Proposal 'B'", dated 5 November 1968	371
	1. The Band's Claim.....	371
	2. "Proposal 'B'", as appended to Vergette's 5 November 1968 memorandum (showing Vergette's annotations in the form of totals and amounts listed under "Band's Counter Offer").....	374
Appendix H:	The Band's Claim, as Presented at a 11 June 1969 Meeting	376
Appendix I:	Control of Compensation Funds.....	378
Appendix J:	The Conciliator's Report, dated 30 May 1969	384
Appendix K:	Waterfront Improvement Planning.....	392
Appendix L:	The St. Lawrence Seaway Authority's "Proposal 'C'", as Amended on June 23, 1969	395
Appendix M:	The St. Lawrence Seaway Authority Expropriations and the Kanawaki Golf Club, 1956-1974.....	397
Appendix N:	Receipt Forms.....	403
Appendix O:	Section 35, <i>Indian Act</i>	404

Abbreviations

ADM	Assistant Deputy Minister
BCR	Band Council Resolution
CPR	Canadian Pacific Railway
DIAND	Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development
DLS	Dominion Land Surveyor
DOJ	Department of Justice
DOT	Department of Transport
IAB	Indian Affairs Branch
O.C.P.C.	Order-in-Council P.C.
QLS	Quebec Land Surveyor
SLSA	St. Lawrence Seaway Authority
WHC	Warnock Hersey Company

Executive Summary

Between 1955 and 1956, over 1300 acres of land were taken from Caughnawaga (now Kahnawake) Reserve for the purpose of constructing a portion of the St. Lawrence Seaway canal. This was done in three separate expropriations under the authority of Section 35 of the *Indian Act* and Section 18 of the *St. Lawrence Seaway Authority Act*:

- approximately 1,262 acres for the navigation canal (O.C.P.C. 1955-1416);
- approximately 7 arpents for the railway spur line (O.C.P.C. 1956-231); and,
- approximately 90 acres for new approaches to the Mercier Bridge and the relocation of the Malone Provincial Highway No. 3/4 (O.C.P.C. 1956-1538).

The seaway project affected existing rights-of-way and other land uses, including:

- the Mercier Bridge and its approaches;
- the Canadian Pacific Railway (CPR) line;
- the La Prairie Road;
- the New York-Montreal Highway (Provincial Highway No. 9C);
- the Cedars Rapids Manufacturing Power Company right-of-way (Hydro Line No. 2);
- the Québec Hydro-Electric Commission right-of-way (Hydro Line No. 4);
- the Bell Telephone Company right-of-way;
- the Kanawaki Golf Club; and,
- the Adirondack Junction Road.

Land immediately to the east of the reserve boundary in the Parish of La Prairie de la Madeleine was also expropriated in 1954. The Band had an interest in these lands as they formed part of the original seigneurie of Sault St. Louis, for which the Band was entitled to seigneurial rents.

The most notable changes to the appearance of the reserve were along the banks of the St. Lawrence; the reserve lost the vast majority of its natural shoreline and offshore islands, including Maline Island. These lands were engulfed by the navigation canal. In addition, many low-lying or swampy areas were filled. The highway relocation and raised bridge approaches cut off part of the village, boxed in the golf course, and made access difficult for many locatees.

Initially, authorities had considered building the seaway canal on the north side of the river, adjacent to the Island of Montreal. The decision to avoid the north shore and excavate the canal along the south shore was influenced by contemporary conditions at Montreal and concern for future development. The main factors mitigating against north shore location were railway congestion, potential for greater industrial development, potential use of harbour facilities at Montreal, and provincial interests in possible power development. No documentation has been located that reflects consideration of the impact on contemporary or future land use on the Caughnawaga Reserve.

In 1954 the St. Lawrence Seaway Authority (SLSA) notified the Indian Affairs Branch (IAB) that it required land on the Caughnawaga Reserve for seaway purposes. Officials from the IAB, Department of Transport (DOT) and SLSA discussed procedures to be followed in expropriating the land and determining compensation. These parties decided that

an expropriation via Order-in-Council was the only way to circumvent the reversionary interest of the Province of Quebec.

The Band Council requested and was assured of the IAB's defense of the Band's interests on reserve and seignior lands. The Band wanted the following:

- the return of expropriated lands surplus to seaway purposes;
- the maintenance of beach facilities;
- the preservation of houses on partially expropriated lots;
- the compensation of individuals with title (certificates of possession, location tickets) in a timely fashion;
- indemnification to Band for communal interest in expropriated land;
- the investigation of the canal's effects on fishing;
- assured access to Maline Island;
- the investigation of sewage and disposal issues;
- the study of individual water supply issues; and,
- advisement regarding plans for new highways.

The DOT conducted appraisals of land and improvements on behalf of the SLSA. IAB officials were responsible for:

- providing lists of individuals (and estates) and the expropriated lots in which they had an interest;
- assisting the appraiser in identifying lots in the field; and,
- providing logistic assistance to those required to relocate.

DOT appraisals were to be submitted to the Departmental Legal Adviser prior to any action being taken. Both the IAB and the SLSA agreed to review and agree on the overall principles used to determine compensation payable to both individuals and the Band before opening negotiations with individuals.

Early in the appraisal process, IAB officials became concerned with the DOT appraisers' attitude towards reserve land. Consequently, the Warnock Hersey Company (WHC) was hired to conduct independent appraisals and an advisory committee was established to review offers and hear individual concerns. One stated function of the advisory committee was to "avoid serious attempts by Indians to litigate the matter before the Exchequer Court."

The IAB and SLSA initially decided that there were four basic factors to be considered in the estimation of compensation payable to both individuals and to the Band as a whole, namely:

- bare land values of Band-held and individually-held village and reserve lands;
- replacement values of buildings and improvements;
- compensation for forcible taking, calculated as ten percent of compensation offers; and,
- compensation payable to the Band for communal interest in individually-held lands.

The Band Council does not seem to have been involved in the valuation process in any way.

When the SLSA began work on the reserve in December 1955, land holders had yet to be officially notified of the expropriation, settlements had yet to be negotiated, and valuations were not available. Families were forced to vacate their lots prior to reaching settlement. This pattern continued as several locatees refused to accept the offers made by the IAB on behalf of the SLSA.

Normally it was the DOT's responsibility to carry out negotiations with individuals on behalf of the SLSA, however in the case of the Caughnawaga expropriations, the IAB was enlisted for this purpose, based on the SLSA's rationale that land holders did not have fee simple title to their lots. IAB officials were not comfortable with this arrangement, as they were often perceived by locatees and the media as representing the interests of the SLSA.

After submitting several DOT estimates of the total compensation payable to both the Band and individuals, which were reviewed by IAB and compared with WHC appraisals, the SLSA made a lump sum offer of \$2,560,961 as full and final compensation in connection with the navigation canal and railway spur line expropriations. This offer was ostensibly accepted by the Minister of Citizenship and Immigration, who qualified "If the individual Indian occupants accept the amounts offered to them at this time, this maximum will not be exceeded and your offer will then be accepted fully and finally."

The IAB assumed the responsibility of dividing the lump sum between the interested parties and obtaining vacant possession of the lands. To distribute funds from the lump sum, IAB officials developed a formula, ostensibly based on a compromise between DOT and WHC valuations, to use in calculating offers. The formula can be explained as follows:

- \$0.06/square foot for village land, plus ten percent for forcible taking;
- \$1,000/acre for reserve land;
- the DOT's appraised value of improvements, plus ten percent for forcible taking.

The researchers are unable to show that the formula was truly the basis of the offers based on the few records found indicating land areas and property valuations.

The terms under which the Minister had accepted the offer were later to become a source of dispute as the amount proved insufficient. The IAB sought an additional \$200,000 in June 1956 for water and sewer facilities, on the grounds that:

- the lump sum offer was based on unreasonably low land values and inconsistent valuations of improvements;
- it did not take the value of islands into account;
- that factors such as loss of business and the interests of non-Indian tenants had not been considered;
- offers would have to be increased in cases where locatees refused to settle for SLSA offers based on the compensation formula; and,
- a "potentially serious health situation" with respect to water and sewage facilities had resulted from changes in the water table caused by seaway construction.

The SLSA contended that the Minister had accepted the sum as a full and final settlement, thus discharging the SLSA from further financial obligation, whereas the IAB claimed that the Minister's acceptance had been conditional on the adequacy of the sum. The SLSA did eventually pay the additional amount, however, with the understanding that it would be "in full and final settlement of any claims that may exist against the Authority because of interference with the existing water supply but without prejudice as regards the overall settlement of lands and improvements." Approximately one year later, the IAB requested another \$100,000 to settle outstanding claims, which the SLSA agreed to provide on the basis of WHC reports.

Several locatees hired their own independent appraisers. The valuations submitted by the WHC and the independent appraisers were generally significantly higher than the values assigned by the DOT. The discrepancy was generally a result of the attribution of higher

rates for land by the former, however it was also a function of their consideration of compensation payable for associated factors, such as disruption, loss of associated uses and amenities, the special nature of reserve land, aesthetic factors, etc. The manifold valuation reports submitted over the years are dealt with in detail in the report.

The Band Council and a number of locatees retained legal counsel, and several legal actions were initiated, including a petition for an injunction against the SLSA. The Council appealed to the United Nations, to no avail. None of the legal actions were successful, and at least six families were evicted from their properties near the Mercier Bridge approaches in March 1957.

At a meeting with Band members in July 1956, Lionel Chevrier, President, SLSA, assured the Band that its concerns had been addressed, referring to good faith undertakings that had cost the SLSA approximately \$750,000 (such as the fill of low-lying areas, the construction of a retaining wall to protect the Roman Catholic Church property on the reserve, and a significant contribution to the construction of new water and sewer facilities), and argued that the new canal would be a tourist attraction that would benefit the reserve. Chevrier promised to return any land not required by the SLSA.

The SLSA took the position that it was the IAB's responsibility to deal with the reversionary interest of the Province of Quebec in alienated reserve lands. From mid-1955, the Departmental Legal Adviser began meeting with provincial officials to obtain a release from Québec of its right to compensation, and mentioned the possibility that Provincial Highway No. 3/4 would have to be rerouted. Over a year later, the SLSA suggested the IAB argue that the province should forgo its reversionary interest because the SLSA was prepared to furnish the land required and assume the costs of the portion of the highway that was being relocated and the new bridge approaches. At the same time, the province could be asked to abandon its interest in the portion of the original highway that would no longer be used. The Authority suggested that they would build the approaches and highway, and in return the province should relinquish its interests and abandon the old highway running through the village. The SLSA and the province reached a cost sharing agreement without the IAB's involvement, however, and no evidence was found indicating that the reversionary interest issue was ever resolved. The Band Council does not appear to have been involved in any of these discussions.

The WHC conducted valuations of land and improvements taken for the revised Mercier Bridge approaches and relocation of Highway No. 3/4. The SLSA paid the company's fees directly, although the WHC remained under the direction of the IAB, and SLSA offers to locatees were based entirely on the company's valuations.

Settlement negotiations with individuals proceeded slowly, often delayed by the slow pace of appraisal work. In general, individuals who refused the SLSA's offers and retained legal and other representatives to pursue their claims were successful in getting offers raised somewhat, based on WHC valuations of their properties. The IAB did not want increased offers to be based on increased land values, and was reluctant to give breakdowns of the WHC appraisals on which such revised offers were based. This reluctance was based on IAB's perceived role of ensuring that all locatees were treated equally, and their fear that higher settlements would result in protests from those who had already settled.

When asked to complete valuations of the hold-outs' properties, the WHC appraiser noted that the land values he attributed were the minimum he was prepared to defend in court, and

that in some cases the DOT's valuations, and the offers based thereon, were inconsistent. The WHC appraiser's minimum land values were over 60 percent higher than the rates in the formula used by the IAB to calculate the SLSA's original offers.

As mentioned earlier, several rights-of-way were adversely affected by SLSA construction. When the location of Hydro Line No. 2 had to be modified, IAB officials asked the SLSA to consider the possibility of keeping the relocated transmission lines within the land already expropriated by the seaway. The SLSA complied with this request.

For its interest in seigneurial lands east of the reserve expropriated in 1954, the Band was offered \$3,000 by the SLSA, which it rejected in a referendum on the subject. Nonetheless, this amount was approved as adequate by Order-in-Council in June 1955. The funds were deposited in a special account in 1955. In 1968, the Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development (DIAND) investigated the deposit on the request of the Chief Councillor, and discovered that the money had never accrued any interest. The DIAND made plans to have the funds deposited to Band funds, with interest payable as though it had been in a compensation suspense account from July 1958, however the Chief Councillor advised the DIAND not to do this as the Band was not prepared to accept it in settlement of its claim. When the issue arose again in 1973, the Chief Councillor requested that the DIAND leave the money in the suspense account pending legal advisement. Nearly one year later, the Chief Councillor requested that the \$3,000 be deposited to the Band's Capital Account. No record of the Band formally accepting this amount has been found.

Settlement negotiations with the Band Council for Band lands and communal interest did not seriously get underway until the 1960s, at which time the Council refused to accept ten percent of the value of individually held lands in compensation for Band interest, demanding instead \$3.00/square foot for all lands taken in the course of the three expropriations. In 1965, an agreement between the Council and the SLSA was reached regarding the construction of a swimming pool and restoration of the beach area, however the issue of compensation remained outstanding. The Council protested the SLSA's contention that land north of the canal could not be returned because the Province of Québec wanted it for possible hydro development on the Lachine Rapids.

The Band Council obtained legal representation and other expert advice to aid in making its claim against the SLSA. In 1969, after a long process of reappraisals, land use studies, conciliation, and negotiations, the Band voted to accept the SLSA's offer of \$862,210.60 in cash and \$1,142,969.95 in nearly 550 acres of land returned as compensation for land, without prejudice to further negotiations for damages. Claims for damages were based on the pollution and water problems caused by the seaway canal, loss of access to the river for harvesting and recreational purposes, aesthetic damage, and social impact. Negotiations broke down briefly in 1970-1971, at which time the Council instructed its lawyers to file a Statement of Claim in Exchequer Court. After some time, negotiations appear to have resumed out of court.

In March 1973 the Council and SLSA reached a final settlement of remaining claims. The SLSA returned more land (approximately 250 acres), and paid \$370,000 in cash, and amounts owing on the interim settlement of 1969.

An Order-in-Council returned over 805 acres of lands formerly held by the SLSA to reserve status in October 1978.

Biographical Index

The following is a preliminary, alphabetized list of individuals mentioned in the report. The information presented remains to be completed and verified.

Name	Position
Adams	Department of Transport appraiser, 1950s
Warren Allmand	Minister of Indian Affairs and Northern Development, 15 September 1976 to 14 September 1977
Léon Balcer	Minister of Transport, 1961
R. F. Battle	Director, Indian Affairs Branch/Assistant Deputy Minister (Indian Affairs), 1964-1971
Joseph A. Beauvais	Chief Councillor, Caughnawaga Band Council, 1954 to 4 July 1956
Jean Bélique	Engineer and Appraiser, Bélique & Sherry, Appraisers
L. E. Beland	Secretary, St. Lawrence Seaway Authority, 1964-
Roger E. Bélanger	Regional Director, Eastern Region, St. Lawrence Seaway Authority, St. Lambert, 1967 to 1973
Jacques G. Belisle	St. Lawrence Seaway Authority solicitor, mid-1960s
Richard A. Bell	Minister of Citizenship and Immigration, 9 August 1962 to 22 April 1963
J. B. Bergevin	Assistant Deputy Minister, Indian and Eskimo Affairs, 1960-1972
Raymond-J. Bériault	Secretary, St. Lawrence Seaway Authority, 1956-
W. C. Bethune	Superintendent/Chief, Reserves and Trusts Division, Indian Affairs Branch, 1955 to 1961
G. Boudreault	Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development official, 1970s
R. L. Boulanger	Regional Supervisor of Indian Agencies, Québec, 1955-
François Brisebois	Superintendent, Caughnawaga Agency, 1934-1967

L. L. Brown	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Superintendent, Reserves and Trusts Division, Indian Affairs Branch, ? to 1955 • sometimes acted as Director, Indian Affairs Branch, 1957-1958
R. D. Brown	Assistant Deputy Minister, 1970s
Judd Buchanan	Minister of Indian Affairs and Northern Development, 8 August 1974 to 14 September 1976
C. H. Buck	Chief, Engineering and Construction Services, Indian Affairs Branch, 1956-
L. H. Burpee	St. Lawrence Seaway Authority official, 1960
Max Campbell	Member of Parliament for 'The Battlefords', mid-1950s
Pierre Carnu	President, St. Lawrence Seaway Authority, 1968-
Charles E. Cantin	Deputy?/Assistant> Attorney General, Province of Québec, 1955-
John T. Carvell	Senior? Counsel, St. Lawrence Seaway Authority, 1970-
Paul Champagne	District Superintendent, Montreal District, 1974
Harry H. Chapman	Estates Section, Indian Affairs Branch, 1950s; given the title "Seaway Liaison and Administration Officer" in 1956?
Lionel Chevrier	President, St. Lawrence Seaway Authority, 1955 to 1958?
Jean Chrétien	Minister of Indian Affairs and Northern Development, 6 July 1968 to 7 August 1974
D. H. Christie	Departmental Legal Adviser, Legal Division, Indian Affairs Branch, early 1957-
J. W. Churchman	Director, Indian Affairs Branch, 1968-
John Ciaccia	Assistant Deputy Minister, 1970s
Émile Colas	with Professor Frank. R. Scott was Band Council's legal representative in the mid- to late-1950s [from the Montreal firm of Carignan, Colas, & Provost, Solicitors (1956), later Carignan, Colas, Provost & Favreau (1957), later Lalande & Colas (1960), later Colas & Lapointe (1962)]
Hugh R. Conn	A/Chief, Economic Development Division, 1960s
A. J. Cormier	Chief, Band Management Division, Québec Region, 1970s

L.-A. Couture	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Departmental Legal Adviser, Legal Division, Indian Affairs Branch, 1955-late 1956/early 1957 • General Counsel, St. Lawrence Seaway Authority, from late 1956/early 1957-
Jules D'Astous	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Superintendent of Agencies, Indian Affairs Branch, 1956 to 1958 • Chief, Agencies Division, Indian Affairs Branch, 1958- • Chief, Economic Development Division, Indian Affairs Branch, 1962- • Director of Administration, 1967-
R. F. Davey	Acting Director, Indian Affairs Branch, 1961-
George F. Davidson	Deputy Minister of Citizenship and Immigration, 26 April 1960 to 31 December 1962
Tansey de Grandpré	Agent of the Department of Justice? from the law firm of de Grandpré & de Grandpré, Avocats et Procureurs, Montreal
Andrew T. Delisle	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Councillor, Mohawk Council of Caughnawaga, early 1960s • Chief Councillor, Mohawks of Caughnawaga, 1964 to ?, and again from 1976 to ?
R. de Stecher	Warnock Hersey Company representative who worked on water and sewer studies on the Caughnawaga Reserve
Ellen L. Fairclough	Minister of Citizenship and Immigration, 12 May 1958 to 8 August 1962
Guy Favreau	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Assistant Deputy Minister of Justice, 1957- • Minister of Citizenship and Immigration, 22 April 1963 to 2 February 1964 • Minister of Justice, 1964-
N. Ferland	Acting District Supervisor, Montreal District, Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development, 1970s
Hugo Fischer	Departmental Legal Adviser, Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development, 1970s
Laval Fortier	Deputy Minister of Citizenship and Immigration, 18 January 1950 to 26 April 1960

E. D. Fulton	Minister of Citizenship and Immigration (Acting), 21 June 1957 top 11 May 1958
Bob Gagnon	an appraiser from Oka, possibly contracted by the St. Lawrence Seaway Authority in the 1960s???
Charles Gavsie	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Vice-President, St. Lawrence Seaway Authority, 1955-? • President, St. Lawrence Seaway Authority, 1957-?
John H. Gomery	Band Council's legal representative in the 1960s [from the law firm of Martineau, Walker, Allison, Beaulieu, Phelan and MacKell?]
J. H. Gordon	Acting Director, Indian Affairs Branch, February 1963 to January 1964 (Acting Deputy Minister of Indian Affairs and Northern Development in the late 1960s?)
G. G. Gouin	Legal Adviser, St. Lawrence Seaway Authority, Montreal, 1957-
J. E. Hodges	Departmental Legal Adviser, Legal Division, Indian Affairs Branch, 1957
Andrew Hoffman	Jean-Claude La Haye et Associés, Urbanistes- Conseils/Planning Consultants
Robert B. Hulley	Administrative Division, Real Estate Department, Royal Trust Company, Montreal -- executor of the Estate of Dr. J. H. Jacobs, late 1950s
C. T. W. Hyslop	Acting Director, Indian and Eskimo Economic Development Branch, 1969-
F. J. Jetté	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Superintendent, Caughnawaga Agency, 1967- • Assistant District Supervisor, Caughnawaga District, 1969-
Colonel H. M. Jones	Director, Indian Affairs Branch, 1953 to February 1963
P. Juneau	Office of the General Counsel, St. Lawrence Seaway Authority, 1950s
Jutras	Superintendent, Montreal District, 1967
Ronald Kirby	Assistant Grand Chief, Mohawks of Caughnawaga, 1965 to ?, 1973 to ? (and Councillor in the interim)
G. J. Labonté	Solicitor, St. Lawrence Seaway Authority, 1961-

Raymond Lachapelle	Represented evicted locatees in the mid-1950s [from the Montreal firm of Cutler & Lachapelle, Lawyers]
Arthur Laing	Minister of Citizenship and Immigration, 1 October 1966 to 5 July 1968
Pierre A. Landry	Dominion and Québec Land Surveyor, Legal Surveys and Aeronautical Charts Division, Department of Mines and Technical Surveys, 1955-
O. E. Lang	Minister of Transport, 1976
J. A. Laplante	Acting Superintendent, Caughnawaga Agency, 1954-
John Lazare	Chief Councillor, Caughnawaga Band Council, 1962 to 1964
Matthew Lazare	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Secretary, Caughnawaga Band Council, 1956 • Chief Councillor, Caughnawaga Band Council, 1958 to 1962 • Secretary, Caughnawaga Band Council, 1962-
Jules Leblanc	Senior Assistant Engineer (Right-of-Way), St. Lawrence Seaway Authority, Montreal, 1955-
A. Ledoux	General Manager, Real Estate Division, Lands Branch, Department of Transport, 1955
J. J. LeVert	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Indian Affairs Branch official, Caughnawaga Agency, 1955- • Superintendent, Caughnawaga Agency, 1965- • Regional Superintendent of Development, 1966- • Acting Regional Director, 1968-
John A. MacDonald	Deputy Minister of Citizenship and Immigration, 1 March 1968 to 15 January 1970
MacAdam	Administrator of Lands, late 1960s
S. G. MacMillan	Estates Section, Indian Affairs Branch, 1955-
P. E. R. Malcolm	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Director of Administration, St. Lawrence Seaway Authority, 1955- • Vice-President, St. Lawrence Seaway Authority, late 1960s
George J. McIlwraith	Minister of Transport, 1963

W. P. McIntyre	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Reserves and Trusts Division, Indian Affairs Branch, 1956- • Economic Development Division, Indian Affairs Branch, 1963- • Administrator of Lands, 1965 to 1968?
J. L. Menard	Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development official, late 1970s
Claude Mercier	Québec Land Surveyor
Bernard S. Mergler	Lawyer for the Six Nations Confederacy [from the firm of Mergler & Normandin, Barristers & Solicitors], 1950s
Mike T. Montour	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Chief Councillor, Caughnawaga Band Council, 1956 to 1958 • Councillor, 1958-1962?
B. Mulvihill	Senior Accountant, Accounting Division, St. Lawrence Seaway Authority, Cornwall, 1961
A. G. Murphy	Chief Engineer, St. Lawrence Seaway Authority, Montreal, 1955-
William J. Mussell	Special Assistant to the Minister of Indian Affairs and Northern Development, 1960s
Paul D. Normandeau	President, St. Lawrence Seaway Authority, late 1970s
D. W. G. Oliver	Comptroller, St. Lawrence Seaway Authority, Montreal
James O'Reilly	Lawyer for the Band [from the law firm of Martineau, Walker, Allison, Beaulieu, Tetley & Phelan, later Martineau, Walker, Allison, Beaulieu, Phelan & MacKell, later O'Reilly, Allain & Hudon] 1960s-1970s
David Q. Patterson	Solicitor, St. Lawrence Seaway Authority, 1963-
Andrew Paull	President, North American Indian Brotherhood, North Vancouver, 1955 to 1958
A. C. Pennington	Administrator of Estates, Estates Section, Indian Affairs Branch, 1955-
John W. Pickersgill	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Minister of Citizenship and Immigration, 1 July 1954 to 21 June 1957 • Minister of Transport, 1964-

John E. Pitt	Real Estate Appraiser & Evaluation Consultant, hired by several locatees to represent their interests and/or value their properties in the 1950s
G. A. Poupore	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Assistant (and sometimes Acting) Administrator of Lands, 1967- • Director, Lands and Membership Branch
Jack Puddington	Departmental Legal Adviser, Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development, 1973-
R. J. Rankin	President, St. Lawrence Seaway Authority, 1961-
James D. Raymond	Professional Engineer and Appraiser, J. D. Raymond et Associés, hired as conciliator by Band and SLSA in 1960s
B. J. Roberts	President, St. Lawrence Seaway Authority, 1958-
Ernest Rossi	Regional Director, Eastern Region, St. Lawrence Seaway Authority, 1970s
Michael Rowe	Manager, Appraisal-Assessment Division, The Warnock Hersey Company Ltd., Montreal, 1955-
G. H. Roy	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • (Acting?) Regional Supervisor of Indian Agencies, Québec, 1956- • Assistant Regional Director, Québec, 1965-
Jacques Roy	Director, Legal Services, late 1970s
H. J. Ryan	Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development official, late 1970s
C. Saylor	District Officer, Band Management, 1970s
Norman Saylor	Asselin & Saylor, Barristers, Montreal, represented at least one locatee expropriated by the St. Lawrence Seaway Authority
Cyril E. Schwisberg	Barrister & Solicitor, Montreal, hired by several locatees to represent them
Professor Frank R. Scott	Faculty of Law, McGill University, with Émile Colas was Band Council's legal representative in the mid- to late-1950s
E. Sherry	Appraiser, Béïque & Sherry, Appraisers
D. R. Slessor	Legal Surveys and Aeronautical Charts Division, Department of Mines and Technical Surveys, 1956-

Milton Smith	American lawyer consulted by several locatees and Councillors, residing in Highgate Springs
A. T. Snow	Secretary, Caughnawaga Band Council, 1954-
A. L. Stein	Stein & Stein, Barristers & Solicitors, Montreal, represented at least 2 locatees
D. H. Stevens	Administrative Officer, St. Lawrence Seaway Authority, Montreal, 1956
Jacques St. Laurent	Certified Appraiser, Real Property Administrator, Eastern Region, St. Lawrence Seaway Authority, 1960s
R. Thistlethwaite	Surveyor General, Legal Surveys and Aeronautical Charts Division, Department of Mines and Technical Surveys, 1955-
R. Tourigny	Secretary to the Premier of Québec, mid-1950s
René Tremblay	Minister of Citizenship and Immigration, 3 February 1964 to 14 February 1965
H. T. Vergette	Head, Land Surveys and Titles Section, 1965-1969
D. Vogt	Assistant Superintendent, Reserves and Trusts Division, Indian Affairs Branch, 1957-
Ian Watson	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Andrew T. Delisle's lawyer in 1963 [from the firm of Cerini and Jamieson, Barristers & Solicitors] • Member of Parliament, Chateauguay-Huntingdon-Laprairie, 1963
W. E. Webb	St. Lawrence Seaway Authority Engineer, 1960s