

A SHORT HISTORY OF THE SIX NATIONS OF THE GRAND RIVER

By Garry Horsnell

2nd Edition - September 27, 2008

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Introduction

The following is a short history of the aboriginal people who occupy the Six Nations of the Grand River Reserve near Brantford, Ontario.

History

Before 1500 AD - The group of aboriginals who belong to what we now call the Six Nations (Iroquois) Confederacy consisted of only five bands, the Seneca, the Mohawk, the Cayuga, the Onondaga and the Oneida, until the Tuscarora joined them in the early 1700s. For centuries, their homeland was south of Lake Ontario in what is now upper New York State, USA. Some historians say the Five Nations formed their confederacy around 1459. Recent research suggests, however, they may have formed it as early as 1142 ⁽¹⁾.

When the Five Nations formed their confederacy, they agreed to abide by the Great Law of Peace. According to the Great Law, a Grand Council was established, which included 50 chiefs. The Onondaga were allowed 14 chiefs, the Cayuga 10 chiefs, the Oneida 9 chiefs, the Mohawk 9 chiefs and the Seneca 8 chiefs. The Grand Council chiefs had to reach consensus when a making decision, which affected the confederacy, and the tradition continues to this day.

1600s - The Five Nations Iroquois tended to ally themselves with Dutch and British colonists but fought against French colonists and their aboriginal allies, the Algonquin and the Huron.

1613 - The Five Nations made a peace and friendship alliance, called the Two Row Wampum ⁽²⁾, with Dutch settlers in what is now New York State. Basically, it was an agreement that the aboriginals and the Dutch would share the land but live apart and rule their people separately.

Mid 1600s - To gain control of the fur trade with European settlers during the 1600s, the Five Nations Iroquois fought with and defeated the Mahican to the east, the Susquehanna to the south and the Erie, the Miami, the Illinois and other aboriginals to the west to conquer a large area south of the Great Lakes as far west as what is now Chicago, Illinois. They also invaded what is now southwestern Ontario to kill, conquer and disperse the indigenous Neutral, Petun (Tionontati) and Huron Indians.

1677 - The Five Nations Confederacy began talks with representatives from the British colonies of North America about a peace and friendship alliance, called the Covenant Chain ⁽³⁾. Like the Two Row Wampum, the Covenant Chain was an agreement that the aboriginals and British colonists would share the land but live apart and rule their people separately. The agreement was shaky and talks went on for decades until they eventually fell apart in 1753 when the Mohawks said the Covenant Chain was broken. The alliance was renewed, however, under Sir William Johnston in 1755, when the British were fighting the French during the French and Indian War.

1696 - A united force of Ojibwa, Ottawa and Potawatomis Indians drove the Five Nations Iroquois out of southwestern Ontario ⁽⁴⁾ and various reports say they were gone by 1700.

1701 - Against the wishes of the British, the Five Nations made peace with the French and their aboriginal allies in 1701. The pact was called the Montreal Treaty or Great Peace of Montreal ⁽⁵⁾.

That same year, in a surprise move possibly to appease the British, 20 Chiefs from the Five Nations signed or placed their marks on the Nanfan Treaty ⁽⁶⁾, named after Sir John Nanfan who was then acting Governor of the British Province of New York. In that treaty, the Five Nations said *“we...surrender, deliver up and forever quit claim”* to a huge tract of land, which they said they had conquered, to *“our great Lord and Master the King of England”* on condition the British would allow Five Nations people to hunt on that land forever.

The parcel of land, which the Five Nations surrendered, was outside of their traditional homeland. The area was about 800 miles long running from the Niagara region to Chicago and was about 400 miles wide including what is now southwestern Ontario.

The Nanfan Treaty also twice said the Five Nations Iroquois were subjects of the Crown.

Here are the quotes.

“wee having subjected ourselves and lands on this side of Cadarachqui lake wholly to the Crown of England”

“wee have lived peaceably and quietly with the people of Albany our fellow subjects”

That would suggest no other later agreement between the Five (now Six) Nations Iroquois and the Crown could be considered a treaty because the Crown does not make treaties with its own subjects.

The Nanfan Treaty may be questionable, however. First, it is titled a deed. Second, it seems the Five Nations neglected to tell the British that the Ojibwa and their allies had driven the Five Nations Iroquois out of southwestern Ontario 5 years before the Nanfan Treaty.

1712 to 1722 - Sometime between 1712 and 1722 (depending upon the reference), the Tuscarora migrated from North Carolina to join the Five Nations in New York and form the confederacy we now know as the Six Nations ⁽¹⁾.

1754 to 1763 - Between 1754 and 1763, the British and French fought what was called the French and Indian War ⁽⁷⁾ in North America, which led to the Seven Years War in Europe. Though the Five Nations Iroquois had made peace with the French in 1701, they tended to side with the British in this war against the French and their aboriginal allies.

Eventually, British General Wolfe defeated French General Montcalm in 1759 on the Plains of Abraham near Quebec City. The British took Montreal in 1760 and the war finally ended with the Treaty of Paris in 1763. As a result, Britain got Florida, Quebec and all French territory

east of the Mississippi River.

After the war, aboriginals complained to the Crown about land speculators, squatters and colonial expansion. To appease the aboriginals and maintain order, King George III issued a proclamation ⁽⁸⁾ in 1763, which told colonists in North America to vacate Indian Territory and told aboriginals that, if they wanted to sell land, they should only sell it to the Crown. This, however, angered European settlers in North America because it hampered their ability to expand westward.

1774 - Worried about rebellion and to keep French colonists from siding with Americans, the British parliament passed the Quebec Act ⁽⁹⁾ in 1774. Among other things, it extended the British Province of Quebec through what is now southern Ontario into the Ohio valley and revoked in Quebec the King's proclamation of 1763. Already upset with taxation without representation, the Quebec Act with its extension of Quebec into the Ohio valley further angered American colonists who revolted a year later in 1775.

1775 - The American Revolution ⁽¹⁰⁾ began. During the American War of Independence, Mohawk leader Joseph Brant and some Six Nations warriors helped the British fight against American revolutionaries. The Seneca, Mohawk, Cayuga and Onondaga sided with the British. The Oneida and Tuscarora, however, sided with the Americans.

1779 - Major-General John Sullivan and his American militia took upper New York State and burned all of the Six Nations villages they could find forcing many aboriginals to flee.

Likely worried about how Six Nations people would be treated if the Americans were to win the war, Joseph Brant petitioned the British Crown for some land upon which he and his Six Nations followers could settle under British protection.

1783 - The Americans won their revolution and the war ended with another Treaty of Paris.

May 22, 1784 - To help Brant and his Six Nations followers, the British purchased a huge section of British territory in what was then a part of the British Province of Quebec, now southwestern Ontario ⁽¹¹⁾, from the Mississauga Indians, an Ojibwa people who had moved into the area.

October 25, 1784 - Sir Frederick Haldimand, Governor in Chief of Quebec and British North America, issued a proclamation ⁽¹²⁾, which granted Joseph Brant and his Six Nations followers part of the Mississauga purchase six miles wide on each side of the Grand River from mouth to source, near what is now Dundalk, Ontario, as a reward for helping the British during the American Revolution and to help compensate the Six Nations for the loss of their homeland in New York.

Haldimand's proclamation was not a treaty. It was a unilateral announcement from Haldimand, which only he signed. It was never finalized and never received the King's seal. Furthermore, although it said the Six Nations were "*to take possession*" of the land, the Six Nations were never given formal title or a deed to the land. That is possibly because in British property law to take possession means to occupy, not necessarily to own.

After 1784 - European settlers began to squat and buy land on the Haldimand tract. That was easy because the Quebec Act of 1774 had revoked the King's proclamation of 1763.

In addition, the 1763 Royal Proclamation would have been extinguished on that land as soon as the Mississauga Indians sold (ceded) it to the British.

Furthermore, Joseph Brant encouraged European settlers to the Haldimand tract thinking they could teach Six Nations people farming techniques.

1785 - Brant granted parcels of land ⁽¹³⁾ in the areas around what are now Cainsville and Brantford, Ontario to John Smith and John Thomas for helping to build the Mohawk Chapel (today, some Six Nations people say those transactions were not grants but leases).

1788 - Brant leased land ⁽¹⁴⁾ near the present day town of Cainsville near Brantford to British Loyalists.

1785 to 1793 - Concerned about losing land, the Six Nations Council approached Crown representatives on numerous occasions to stop the encroachments and transactions.

John Graves Simcoe, who had become Governor of Upper Canada, investigated the situation. Among other things, he found that Haldimand had mistakenly granted land to the Six Nations, which extended beyond the northern boundary of the land the British had purchased from the Mississauga Indians.

1793 - To correct Haldimand's mistake, John Graves Simcoe issued a letter patent ⁽¹⁵⁾. That was a unilateral declaration, which only Simcoe signed. It was not a treaty but it did receive the King's seal.

The Simcoe Patent allowed the Six Nations to occupy a strip of land six miles wide on each side of the Grand River from its mouth at Lake Erie to the northern boundary of the land the British had purchased from the Mississauga Indians in May 1784. That northern boundary is near the present day town of Elora, Ontario.

The Simcoe Patent also told European squatters to vacate land occupied by the Six Nations, told the Six Nations that the remaining land was for their "*entire possession*" and told them that, if they wanted to lease or sell that land, they should only lease or sell it to the Crown otherwise the transactions would be null and void and the land would revert to the Crown.

Although the land transaction conditions in the Simcoe Patent were similar to those in the King's proclamation of 1763, Joseph Brant and the Six Nations Chiefs disagreed with the Simcoe Patent. First, it had significantly reduced the amount of land that Haldimand had originally granted the Six Nations. Second, Brant and the Chiefs believed the Six Nations possessed (owned) the land so they thought the Six Nations Council should be in charge of selling or leasing the land whenever and to whomever it pleased.

1796 - Upset with the Simcoe patent, in need of money and to make its point, the Six Nations

Council granted Joseph Brant power of attorney ⁽¹⁶⁾ to sell land from the Haldimand tract.

1798 - Joseph Brant sold huge blocks of land ⁽¹⁷⁾ totaling about 350,000 acres along the Grand River north of Brantford to European settlers.

According to the Simcoe Patent, those land transactions should have been null and void and the land should have reverted to the Crown. Whether that actually happened, however, is unclear. It seems the Crown simply allowed the transactions to stand.

1812 - The War of 1812 began ⁽¹⁸⁾. During that war, Six Nations people, the Shawnee leader Tecumseh and other aboriginals helped the British protect Canada and fight the Americans.

1814 - After the war, the Crown was still unable to enforce the Simcoe Patent, remove squatters effectively or stop Six Nations' people from selling land.

1830 - Six Nations Chiefs sold about 807 acres of land ⁽¹⁹⁾, which is now the downtown area of the City of Brantford, Ontario.

1841 - With all the disputes and difficulties managing native land, the Crown suggested it would be better if the Six Nations settled in a smaller area on a reserve where it would be easier to control the land. On January 18, 1841, six (6) Six Nations Chiefs signed a general surrender of land ⁽²⁰⁾ and agreed that Six Nations people would settle on a smaller reserve, now approximately 46,000 acres, south of Brantford, Ontario. The Crown said it would manage any land outside of the reserve that the Six Nations had not already relinquished and put any money from the sale or lease of that land into a trust fund for the Six Nations.

Within months of that 1841 surrender, some Six Nations' people protested and petitioned against the surrender claiming it was invalid so Crown representatives met with Six Nations' Chiefs over the next 3 years to resolve the matter.

1844 - Finally, David Thorburn, the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, obtained an agreement with 45 Chiefs from the Six Nations of the Grand River on Wednesday December 18, 1844. Those 45 Chiefs signed a document in which they unanimously agreed they would accept a reserve south of Brantford and unanimously agreed the Crown could sell land outside of the reserve ⁽²¹⁾.

That original hand written 1844 document is stored at Library and Archives Canada in Ottawa, Ontario on Reel C-1149 as RG 10, Volume 44, pages 83269-83279.

Here are some quotes from the 1844 agreement.

"He (meaning Commissioner David Thorburn of Indian Affairs) desires that it should be clearly understood that no Indian be compelled to remove from his present location the doing so to be an act of his own and when he wishes to settle on the Reserve his improvements to be sold for his own benefit."

"On the other part of their answer that the lands on the north side of the River known as the

Oxbow, Eagle's Nest, Martin and Johnson settlements be leased and not sold. From this answer they unanimously recede and therefore agree that the same be sold."

"The Chiefs would further recede from that part of their former answer that such portions of Lots as the Commissioner might judge not to be useful or necessary on which an Indian resides might be sold and therefore desire that any lot whereon an Indian resides out of the general Reserve no part of it be sold while it is so occupied but on the lot becoming vacant the same to be sold and not reserved."

The Canadian government used that 1844 agreement to rebut some Six Nations' claims in a 1995 Ontario Court of Justice case (file number 406/95).

1867 - Ontario (Upper Canada), Quebec (Lower Canada), New Brunswick and Nova Scotia formed a confederation. According to Section 91, subsection 24 of the Constitution Act of 1867 and the 1982 revision, the Canadian federal government has responsibility for *"Indians, and lands reserved for the Indians"*.

1876 - The Canadian parliament passed the Indian Act. It was rewritten in 1951 and revised in 1985.

1924 - Duncan Campbell Scott, the Deputy Superintendent of Indian Affairs, obtained Cabinet approval requiring Indian bands to elect band councils.

1960 - Under Prime Minister John Diefenbaker, aboriginals were given the right to vote in Canadian elections without having to give up their treaty rights or aboriginal status.

Nevertheless, many Six Nations people still believe they own the land on the Haldimand tract. A couple of court cases, however, refute that contention.

1959 - In an Ontario High Court case, Logan v. Styres et al ⁽²²⁾, the judge said *"Those of the Six Nations, so settling on such lands, together with their posterity, by accepting the protection of the Crown then owed allegiance to the Crown and became subjects of the Crown. Thus the said Six Nations Indians from having been faithful allies of the Crown became, instead, loyal subjects of the Crown."*

1974 - In another case, Isaac et al v. Davey et al ⁽²³⁾, which was upheld in the Supreme Court of Canada, it was made quite clear who owns the Haldimand now Simcoe tract when the judge said *"Since I have concluded that the tract in question is vested in the Crown ...etc."*

Incongruities and Questions

The history reveals numerous incongruities and raises many questions.

- Many Six Nations people claim, for example, they are indigenous to what is now southwestern Ontario. But, are they really indigenous if their traditional homeland is south of Lake Ontario in New York State and if they invaded southwestern Ontario to kill, conquer and disperse the Neutrals, Tionontati and Huron who were living there before the

Five Nations Iroquois invaded?

- Is the government bound to the Nanfan Treaty of 1701 if the Five Nations misrepresented the facts and neglected to tell the British that the Ojibwa and their allies had driven the Five Nations Iroquois from southwestern Ontario 5 years earlier in 1696?
- Why did the British buy a huge section of southwestern Ontario from the Mississauga Indians if the British already had control of the area according to the Nanfan Treaty?
- Why did Haldimand say the Six Nations were “*to take possession*” of the Haldimand tract but never provide them with formal title or a deed to the land? Why did Haldimand grant them land, which extended beyond the northern boundary of the land the Crown had purchased from the Mississauga Indians?
- The Haldimand Proclamation does not contain the mark or signature of any aboriginal so why do Six Nations people continually tell us it was a treaty or a deed when it was neither? It was simply a unilateral decree from an agent of the Crown.
- What was the true spirit and intention of Haldimand’s proclamation?
- Why did Simcoe say that the land along the Grand River, which he granted the Six Nations, was for their “*entire possession*” but never provide them with formal title to the land and then tell them they could only sell or lease that land to the Crown? How can you sell or lease land without formal title and conclusive proof of ownership?
- If the British bought the land from the Mississauga Indians simply to allow Six Nations people to occupy Crown land, as some people suggest, why would the Crown need to buy back or lease back its own land?
- Why do Six Nations people refer to King George’s Proclamation of 1763, which was revoked by the Quebec Act of 1774, but refuse to acknowledge the Simcoe Patent, which calls for similar actions with regard to squatters and land transactions?
- The Six Nations often complain that some agreements and land sales are invalid because they don’t contain the signatures or marks of all 50 chiefs as required by their tradition. If that is so, why do Six Nations people consider valid the Nanfan Treaty, which contains the signatures or marks of fewer than 50 chiefs, while considering invalid other agreements, which contain the signatures or marks of fewer than 50 chiefs?
- Why do some Six Nations people say the Six Nations never surrendered or quit claim to land on the Haldimand tract when there is plenty of evidence they did including the 1844 agreement?
- Why do Six Nations people think that the federal government has not lived up to its financial obligations when each year the Six Nations receives funding from Indian and Northern Affairs Canada? Private auditor’s reports show that the Six Nations of the Grand River received, for example, \$35.1 million in 2004 and \$32.5 million in 2005 from INAC.

The total has probably reached billions of dollars since the reserve began. Six Nations people also get free education through college and university and free health-care. Those who live and work on the reserve don't pay federal income taxes and, with status cards, they don't pay the GST or other federal taxes on items they buy so they get to keep more of their hard earned money. Why isn't this considered the way the federal government handles and distributes the money it is supposed to keep in trust?

- Six Nations people say the British did not conquer the Six Nations but rather made treaties and agreements with the Six Nations so they are simply allies and not British subjects or Canadian citizens. However, if rebel British colonists defeated, burned out and drove the Six Nations people from their traditional homeland in New York, why aren't they simply considered refugees who fled to British controlled now Canadian territory? If they are not Canadian citizens, why do we give them the right to vote in Canadian elections?
- When it comes to the dispute over the Douglas Creek Estates land near Caledonia, Ontario, the Crown bought that land as part of the Mississauga purchase in May, 1784. It bought that land again from the Six Nations in the 1840s, when the Crown wanted to extend the Planck Road (now highway 6) through the Simcoe tract and it bought the land again in 2006 when the Ontario government bought it for about \$12 million during the recent flare-up. How many times will the government use taxpayer's money to buy that land?
- If the Canadian federal government in 1924 made Indian bands elect band councils, why did Canadian governments decide to negotiate with unelected members of the Six Nations Confederacy over the land in dispute near Caledonia, Ontario?

Six Nations Relationship to the Crown

The relationship between the Crown and the Six Nations of the Grand River is not the same as the relationship between the Crown and the Indian bands indigenous to what is now Canada.

In the 1850 Robinson Huron Treaty, the 1850 Robinson Superior Treaty and the 11 numbered treaties across western Canada, the aboriginals, indigenous to what is now Canada, sold (ceded) to the British Crown all of the land "save and except" the parcels of land the indigenous Indian bands chose and reserved for themselves.

Joseph Brant and his Six Nations followers, on the other hand, moved in 1784 from their traditional homeland, in what is now upper New York State, U.S.A., into a part of what was already the British Province of Quebec onto land the British Crown had already paid the Mississauga Indians to vacate.

Brant and his followers were, in fact, similar to other British loyalists who were allowed to move from the American States into the British Province of Quebec after the American Revolution and were different from the indigenous Indian bands, which already lived on land in what is now Canada.

That plus the fact the Five (later Six) Nations surrendered the land in what is now southwestern Ontario to the British Crown in the 1701 Nanfan Treaty reinforces an Ontario High Court judge's statement that the land along the Grand River is "*vested in the Crown*" and the contention that Canadian governments (Crown), not the Six Nations, have ultimate jurisdiction over the land along the Grand River.

Conclusion

Regardless of Canadian court decisions, many Six Nations people disagree with Canadian authorities. They feel that they have always been allies of the British but not British subjects or Canadian citizens.

Many Six Nations people feel they are sovereign on land they own, which is not part of Canada.

They have the opinion that the Canadian government unilaterally gave Six Nations people Canadian citizenship and the right to vote without consulting with or getting agreement from the Six Nations. In the minds of some Six Nations people, that is much like suddenly telling people in the United States they are Canadian citizens and have the right to vote in Canadian elections.

It is unfortunate that Six Nations people did not fully understand the situation they were getting into when they moved into what is now southwestern Ontario. The Crown controls the land it owns and it bought what is now southwestern Ontario from the Mississauga Indians before Haldimand issued his proclamation.

The Crown (now Canadian governments) even controls the land people own outside the Haldimand tract. To my knowledge, people don't automatically own the rights to minerals under their land and the Crown can expropriate their land with proper compensation whenever it deems necessary. For example, the government expropriated farmland for an airport it planned near Pickering, Ontario.

In addition, there is plenty of evidence that the Six Nations do not own all of the land on the Haldimand tract. They lost land when Simcoe issued his patent, when Joseph Brant granted and sold land and when Six Nations chiefs sold or surrendered land at various other times including 1844.

Over the years, the Six Nations people have lost most of the land on the Haldimand tract until now they occupy about 4.8% of the original Haldimand grant. As of May 31, 2004, however, the trust fund contained only \$2.3 million, which is pittance considering the amount of land that must have been sold or leased, and many Six Nations people want to know where the money went.

Some of the money from the trust fund was invested in the Grand River Navigation Company and an early Welland canal project, both of which went bankrupt.

The Six Nations also claim that the government borrowed money from the trust fund to build the QEW highway, parts of McGill University in Montreal and Osgoode Hall Law School at the

University of Toronto. According to the Six Nations, those loans have never been repaid along with the interest.

The whole business is dog's breakfast of invasions, wars, defeats, displacements of indigenous people, nebulous treaties, varied proclamations, broken promises, dubious land deals, questionable money transactions, half-truths, misunderstandings, incongruities, claims and counter-claims. It also appears that the Six Nations and the Crown have been less than clear and forthright with each other.

To this day, the Six Nations and the Crown argue about sovereignty, land on the Haldimand tract and monies owed to the Six Nations with little evidence that the disputes will be resolved to the complete satisfaction of either side any time soon.

Sources and References

- 1) Search the web for Iroquois, Iroquois Confederacy or Iroquois history. The following are sites of interest.
<http://www.tolatsga.org/iro.html>
<http://www.accessgenealogy.com/natives/tribes/iroquois/irquoishist.html>
<http://www.native-languages.org/composition/Iroquois.html>
Wikipedia
CitizensOfCaledonia.ca website
- 2) Search web for Two Row Wampum (e.g. Wikipedia)
- 3) Search web for Covenant Chain (e.g. Wikipedia)
- 4) Hagopian, J.S.; The Myths of Caledonia, Hamilton Spectator, February 24, 2007
- 5) Search web for Great Peace of Montreal (e.g. Wikipedia)
- 6) Search web for Nanfan treaty. The following is a website of interest.
<http://raven.kisikew.org/pdf/nanfantreaty.pdf>
- 7) Search web for French and Indian War (e.g. Wikipedia)
- 8) Search web for Royal Proclamation or King Georges's Proclamation 1763 (e.g. Wikipedia)
- 9) Search web for Quebec History. Select Quebec History, Readings, Quebec Act
- 10) Search web for American Revolution (e.g. Wikipedia)
- 11) Early Canadiana Online, Indian Treaties and Surrenders, 1680 - 1890
This can be accessed through the CitizensOfCaldonia.ca website. Land Documents.
- 12) Search web for Haldimand Proclamation. The following is also a website of interest.
Champlain Society, Publications, Printed Publications, Valley of the Six Nations, Page 50.

The book Valley of the Six Nations., Introduction by Charles M. Johnston, is available at some public libraries and in the archives room at the Brantford Museum, Brantford, Ontario
- 13) Gill, J.; Research reveals claim is baseless, letter to editor, The Expositor, Brantford, Sept/07
- 14) Johnson Settlement: United Empire Loyalists of Canada, History document at
http://www.grandriveruel.ca/Newsletter_Reprints/94v6n1Changing_Native_Lands_P3.htm
- 15) Search web for Simcoe Patent. The following is also a website of interest.
Champlain Society, Publications, Printed Publications, Valley of the Six Nations, Page 73.

- 16) Brant's Power of Attorney: Champlain Society, Publications, Printed Publications, Valley of the Six Nations, Page 79
- 17) Brant Land Sales: Champlain Society, Publications, Printed Publications, Valley of the Six Nations, Pages 127-129
- 18) Search web for War of 1812 (e.g. Wikipedia)
- 19) Brantford Town Plot: Reville, F. Douglas; History of the County of Brant, Pg. 83, Hurley Printing, Brantford, Ontario. The History of the County of Brant is also available online.
- 20) 1841 Surrender: Champlain Society, Publications, Printed Publications, Valley of the Six Nations, Page 191
- 21) 1844 Agreement: A hand written copy and a printed version can be viewed online at Numberswatchdog.com, Main Menu under Useful Information & Links.
- 22) Search the web for Logan v. Styres et al, Ontario High Court, 1959
- 23) Search the web for Isaac et al v. Davey et al, Ontario Court of Appeal, 1974. This document is interesting because it refers to the Quebec Act of 1774 and it includes the King George's proclamation of 1763, the Haldimand Proclamation and the Simcoe Patent as appendices.

Other sources of information include the Woodland Cultural Center, 184 Mohawk St. W., Brantford, Ontario, Indian and Northern Affairs Canada and Library and Archives Canada.

Information about Canadian Confederation, the Constitution Act, the Indian Act, elected band councils and the aboriginal right to vote is available at websites online.

The remaining information was obtained during conversations with status Six Nations aboriginals including my sister-in-law and in conversations with people at the Six Nations Confederacy.