

o The View from Here

Luis Jacob



What follows is a selection of twelve maps dating from 1677 to 1814. These maps are part of a larger artwork consisting of photographs, rare maps, and books, titled *The View From Here*, commissioned by The Toronto Biennial of Art for its inaugural 2019 edition.

For *Scapegoat*, each map is captioned with information that includes (in italics) the way in which it designates the Toronto region—from *Petun Nation to York*—at the time when the map was made. Quotations from various sources provide additional historical context. They are presented for publication in this format for the first time.

Luis Jacob would like to acknowledge that this artist-project is produced with the support of the City of Toronto through Toronto Arts Council; and with the support of the Canada Council for the Arts.

This place has a history. It goes back much longer than 150 years, much longer than 500 years. This place has a memory and it has a voice. And if you listen, you will hear it.¹

—Bonnie Devine

We [Nishnaabeg people] called Lake Ontario Chi'Nibiish. Ojibwe and Bodewadami (Potawatomi) people had their own territories. On the south shore of Lake Erie is where the Aayadowaad [Huron/Wendat] lived. The Neutrals were between Lake Ontario and Lake Erie. The Petun were tobacco planters over by Lake Aayadowaad. The Michi Saagiig Nishnaabeg were on the north shore of Lake Ontario right from Gananoque to Long Point on Lake Erie, and all the rivers that flow into Lake Ontario.²

—Gidigaa Migizi (Doug Williams)

The motives which caused sixteenth- and seventeenth-century Europeans to penetrate the Great Lakes are no doubt legion, [...] First, there was the persistent hope of finding a water route through the continent to China and India. The Great Lakes must have seemed an auspicious beginning. Secondly, the apparently insatiable appetite of Europeans for furs meant the beginnings of a brisk trade that dominated the northern colonial economies for decades. As early as the mid-seventeenth century fur supplies near the seaboard were virtually exhausted and attention was directed towards the interior of the continent. Thirdly, the French and English desperately wanted to discover riches in North America and on a number of locations convinced themselves that they had. [...] The copper found around Lake Superior had been an item of Indian [sic] trade for centuries [...] The fourth motive, and probably the most important for exploration and cartography, was missionary activity. French priests, especially Jesuits, penetrated the area with a tenacity seldom matched by laymen. Furthermore, unlike most other early travellers in the Lakes, they were educated—they kept journals, carefully described what they saw, and often made maps.³

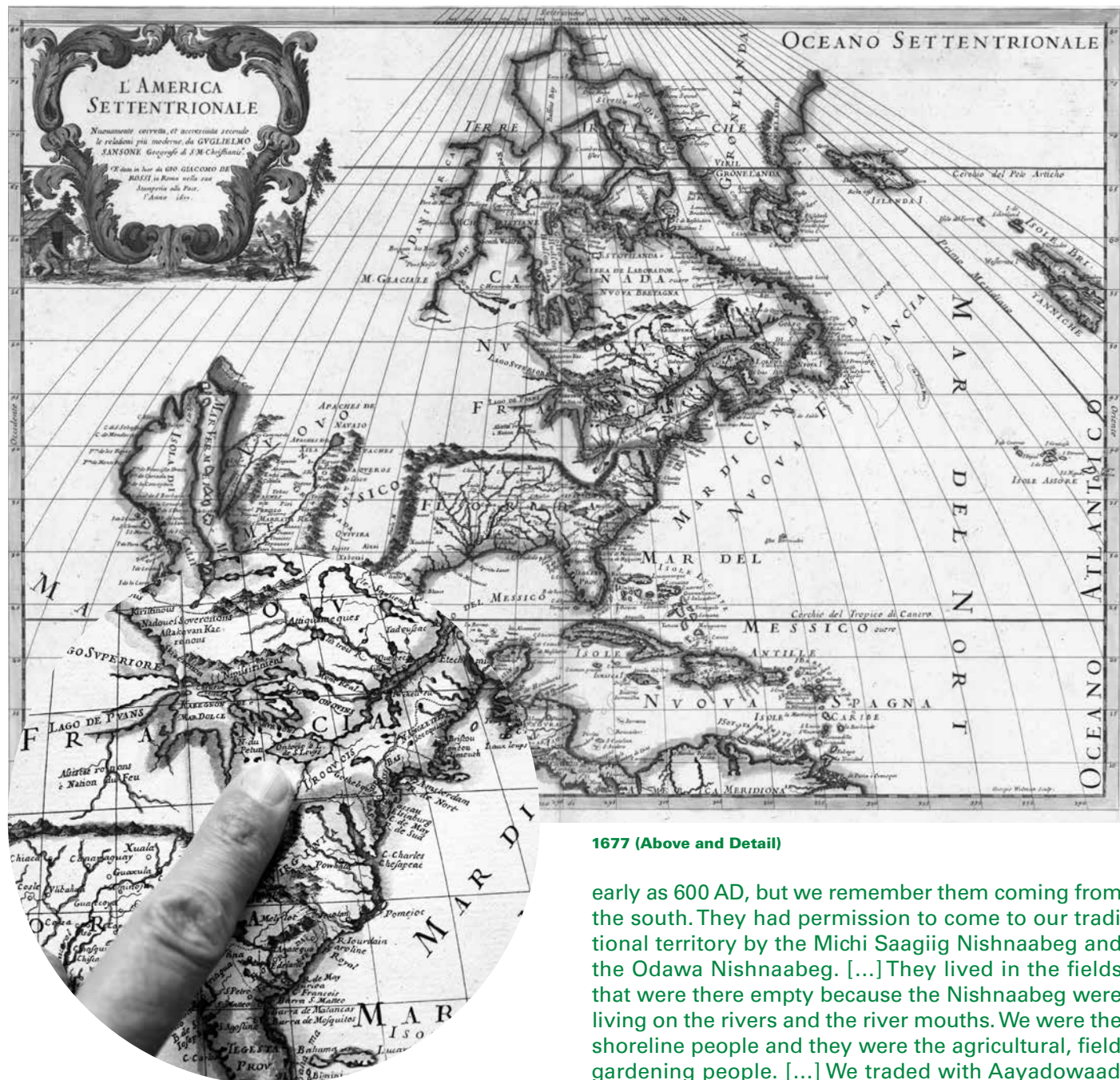
—Robert W. Kaprow

It will appear that the appellation “Toronto” has been migratory. In 1793 it was applied familiarly to the locality on which the present City of Toronto stands; [...] But 117 years earlier, these names, written precisely as we write them now, belonged to localities, not on the shore of Lake Ontario, but to a region about forty miles farther north, lying between the waters of Gloucester or Matchedash Bay on Lake Huron and those of Lake Simcoe.⁴

—Rev. Henry Scadding and John Charles Dent

I have felt the power of many details adding up to an understanding of the ground I am standing on. It is an understanding that is new to me.⁵

—Greg Curnoe



1677 (Above and Detail)

early as 600 AD, but we remember them coming from the south. They had permission to come to our traditional territory by the Michi Saagiig Nishnaabeg and the Odawa Nishnaabeg. [...] They lived in the fields that were there empty because the Nishnaabeg were living on the rivers and the river mouths. We were the shoreline people and they were the agricultural, field, gardening people. [...] We traded with Aayadowaad, especially in the winter. We traded fish and animals. They had crops—corn, beans, squash and vegetables, lived in villages and stored food. It is said later that the Aayadowaad asked to move further north to Lake Simcoe. The Odawa along with the Michi Saagiig Nishnaabeg said yes. They were bringing their friends the Neutrals, tobacco growers, and the Petun.⁶
—Gidigaa Migizi (Doug Williams)

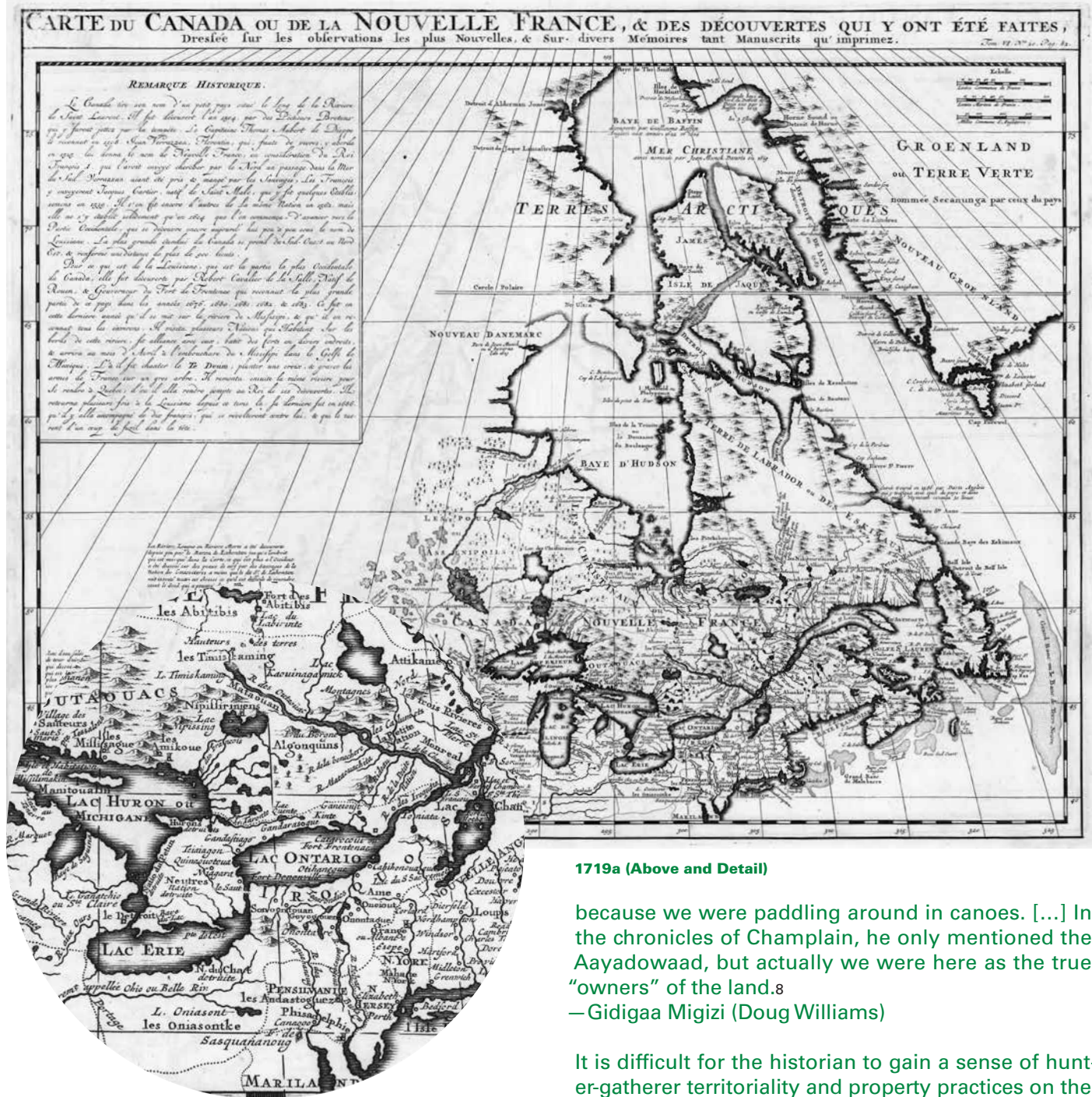
Giacomo Giovanni Rossi
"L'America Settentrionale" (Rome, 1677)
N. du Petun, Hurons

Our territory of the Michi Saagiig Nishnaabeg is the north shore of Lake Ontario stretching from where the St. Lawrence River at the eastern end of Lake Ontario and the territory stretches to the west to approximately Niagara Falls. We are river mouth people that lived at nearly every river that flowed into Lake Ontario. Starting in the east this would be the Rideau River, the Moira River, The Trent River, the Ganaraska River, Wilmor Creek, Rouge River, Don River, Etobicoke River, Credit River, Sixteen Mile Creek, and Burlington Bay as it is known today. The reason that we are here is because we love this territory.

The Aayadowaad (Huron) also lived amongst us with our permission. They moved into our area around 1000 AD and some archaeologists even say as

In 1610, the French began to visit the four confederated Iroquoian-speaking peoples they called the Huron [Wendat/Aayadowaad]. They found their settlements strewn across a small peninsula located between Georgian Bay and Lake Simcoe, in southern Ontario. The prosperity of the Huron was unmatched by that of any other native group the French had encountered along the Saint Lawrence River or in Ontario. Their populous settlements, often surrounded with palisades, were larger and more stable than were the encampments of the Algonkian-speaking

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1719a (Above and Detail)

because we were paddling around in canoes. [...] In the chronicles of Champlain, he only mentioned the Aayadowaad, but actually we were here as the true "owners" of the land.⁸

—Gidigaa Migizi (Doug Williams)

It is difficult for the historian to gain a sense of hunter-gatherer territoriality and property practices on the basis of European documents from the early contact period. It is not simply that missionaries [...] were biased in favour of agriculture and fixed residence and prejudiced against the nomadic way of life. The problem runs deeper: they and the colonisers who accompanied them to America brought with them an ingrained sense, the product of an agrarian way of life with all its attendant customs, legal principles and spatial concepts, of what land, land holding, and property were. It was difficult, if not impossible, to find a place for Indigenous approaches to land within that European mental universe. Consequently, early reports often treat the migrations that were a necessary part of forager existence as the aimless wanderings of restless savages, while they dismiss the notion that [Indigenous] people [...] had any legitimate claim to their hunting grounds. Needless to say,

nomadic peoples who inhabited the rocky, lake-covered regions to the north, an area rich in fish and game, but little suited for agriculture. The rolling hills of the Huron country supported a prosperous horticultural economy, and the Huron were accustomed to trade their surplus produce with the Algonkian hunters of the north.⁷

—Bruce G. Trigger

Samuel de Champlain was the first European to reach our territory in 1615 when he travelled through our Nishnaabeg country. He was attracted more to the Aayadowaad than to the Michi Saagiig Nishnaabeg because the Aayadowaad lived in villages and the French could relate to that, while we lived in wigwams and could dismantle them and move quickly. He wasn't too interested in the Michi Saagiig Nishnaabeg

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this view could function as a convenient justification for colonial appropriation.⁹

—Allan Greer

Henri Chatelain

«Carte Du Canada ou de la Nouvelle France, & Des Découvertes qui y ont été faites» (Paris, 1719a)

Teiaiaagon, Gandastiago

Flanked on all sides by magnificent waterways, the peninsula of Ontario occupied a strategic position long before the coming of the French. With the advent of the fur trader, the explorer and the missionary, the country of the Hurons became the key to the continent.¹⁰

—Percy J. Robinson

The key role that the Huron [Wendat/Aayadowaad] played in the French fur trade was an extension of their role as traders, which had begun in prehistoric times. [...] Although the Neutral obtained a certain amount of European trade goods from the Iroquois [Haudenasaunee/Nadaweg], and possibly also from the Susquehannock, the Huron maintained a nearly total monopoly over the trade goods that were entering Ontario from the Saint Lawrence Valley. [...]

The French recognized that the Huron were skillful traders and admired the manner in which they procured furs from native groups throughout large areas of northern Ontario and southwestern Quebec. Yet they noted that the Huron refused to haggle over the price of individual items and became annoyed if the French tried to do so. While Huron traders gave every indication of understanding market behavior, they never openly expressed a profit motive. Fluctuating rates of exchange mirrored the changing availability or demand for particular goods, but higher or lower exchange rates were invariably requested as proof of friendship and a means of reinforcing alliances between different peoples. Huron success in trade depended largely on their skills in maintaining good relations with foreign groups, and in particular with the northern Algonkians who had economies that were complementary to their own. This was done by extending hospitality to these peoples, by gift giving, and by the careful observation of protocol. By the early seventeenth century, the Huron had created a set of trading alliances that embraced all nearby groups except the Iroquois. [...]

While in the early seventeenth century the Huron were at war with all five of the Iroquois peoples, their principal adversaries were the Seneca, who lived nearest to them. According to the Huron, this war had been going on for over fifty years. There is no significant evidence in the archaeological record of warfare, or any other form of contact, between the Huron and the Iroquois prior to the sixteenth century. There is also no evidence that prior to when they obtained large quantities of guns from the Dutch in

the 1640s, the Iroquois were more aggressive than the Huron or militarily superior to them.¹¹

—Bruce G. Trigger

While the Dutch had a strong bourgeois attitude that was motivated almost exclusively by risk-taking profits, the French did not. Few arms reached the Huron and the Ojibwa [Anishnaabe] because the French feared that weapons in their hands would threaten the security of the vulnerable colony in New France. In addition, the Jesuits denied firearms to non-Christians, and distributed them only sparingly to special converts at their baptism. [...] Since the Ojibwa were much less willing to give up on their religious beliefs, it is possible that they had no firearms at the time. In contrast, as early as 1644 the Mohawk had 400 guns. With such firepower and other advantages as well, they had an immediate edge in any conflict. The Huron, along with the Petun, Neutral, and some Ojibwa, were forced from southern Ontario in 1649–50.¹²

—Peter S. Schmalz

The [Haudenasaunee/Iroquois/Nadaweg] villages, which were circular, palisaded, and up to ten acres in extent, consisted of elongated “longhouses” built of saplings covered with bark. These buildings could extend for as much as 150 to 175 feet, and were frequently aligned to present the least surface to the prevailing winds. [...] The most famous settlement [in southern Ontario], and one of the longest lasting, was located on the east bank of the Humber River near the mouth. It appears in the early records as *Teiaiaagon* or *Tayagon* (“The Crossing”). Another village, *Ganestiquiagon*, was sited near the mouth of the Rouge River at Metro Toronto’s eastern boundary with Pickering. Through these villages the Senecas, the local Iroquois, controlled the portage routes to Lake Simcoe.¹³

—Frederick H. Armstrong

Henri Chatelain

«Carte Particuliere Du Fleuve Saint Louis Dressee Sur Les Lieux Avec Les Noms Des Sauvages Du Pais» (Amsterdam, 1719b)

Ganeous

As to the signification of the term “Toronto”—one very definite tradition which has come down to us, is that it is “place of meeting”—place of concourse, or rendezvous. That this is a near approximation to the sense of the expression may be gathered thus: Gabriel Sagard, a Franciscan missionary, who collected his information in the neighbourhood of Lake Simcoe, just before the time of Denonville’s despatches, gives in his “Dictionary of the Huron Language,” published at Paris in 1632, the word “Toronton” as signifying in French “beaucoup,” in English “much, or plenty”; and the instance of its use which he adds shews that it was applied to men as well as things; thus: “Toronton S. ahouyo”—he killed many S.—Sonnontouans or Seneca Iroquois, we will suppose.

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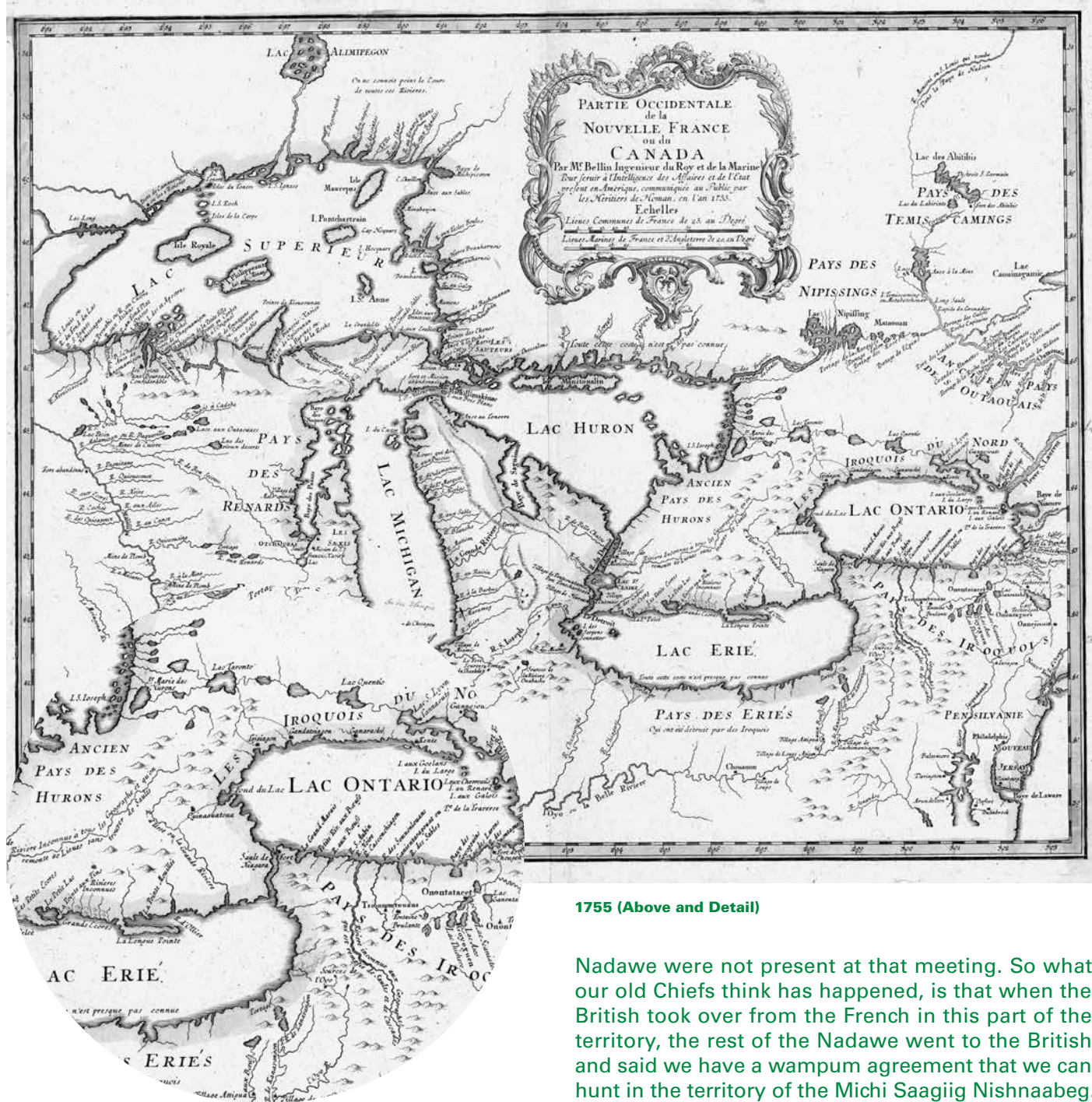


—Gidigaa Migizi (Doug Williams)

delineating

—Rev. Henry Scadding, and John Charles Dent

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1755 (Above and Detail)

Nadawe were not present at that meeting. So what our old Chiefs think has happened, is that when the British took over from the French in this part of the territory, the rest of the Nadawe went to the British and said we have a wampum agreement that we can hunt in the territory of the Michi Saagiig Nishnaabeg. The Chiefs think that naively the British may have agreed to this.¹⁷

—Gidigaa Migizi (Doug Williams)

Homann Heirs, Jacques Nicolas Bellin
«Partie Occidentale de la Nouvelle France ou du Canada» (Nuremberg, 1755)
Teiaiagon, Ganiatsiagon [with portage routes]

In the centuries when all travel was by canoe and trail, the [Toronto] Carrying-Place was the link between Lake Ontario and the upper lakes. Running from the mouth of the Humber [River] to the west branch of the Holland, it was always traversed on foot. It was a long portage, but the road was good and it saved the traveller a detour of hundreds of miles over the exposed waters of the Great Lakes. The oldest maps indicate

the portage between the western end of the lake and the Grand River. One historical geographer estimates the population of these villages at about 5,000. La Potherie recorded the Iroquois tally of their losses. They admitted “that ten cabins,” meaning villages, had been destroyed. This could account for the great decrease of 1,500 Iroquois warriors by 1701.¹⁶

—Peter S. Schmalz

We have a treaty and wampum with the Nadawe that they call the Dish With One Spoon, and it is a beautiful concept about sharing land and respecting each other’s sovereignty. We made this treaty with Kanawake [Mohawk] in Montreal in 1701. There were some misunderstandings about this treaty. I understand that we made it with Kanawake, not all of the Nadawe [Haudenosaunee/Iroquois]. The rest of the

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that... [t]his was no ordinary trail; it was a main thoroughfare, a trunk line of communication with distant regions definitely determined by the contours of the country traversed. The Carrying-Place possessed a permanence very different from casual paths through the forest. It was as old as human life in America.

Traders, too, of every description knew the mouth of the Humber and bargained here for the precious peltries; Dutchmen from the Hudson [River] before the French themselves had gained access to Lake Ontario; French traders from Fort Frontenac [present-day Kingston, Ontario]; English freebooters from Albany, they all knew the Carrying-Place.¹⁸

—Percy J. Robinson

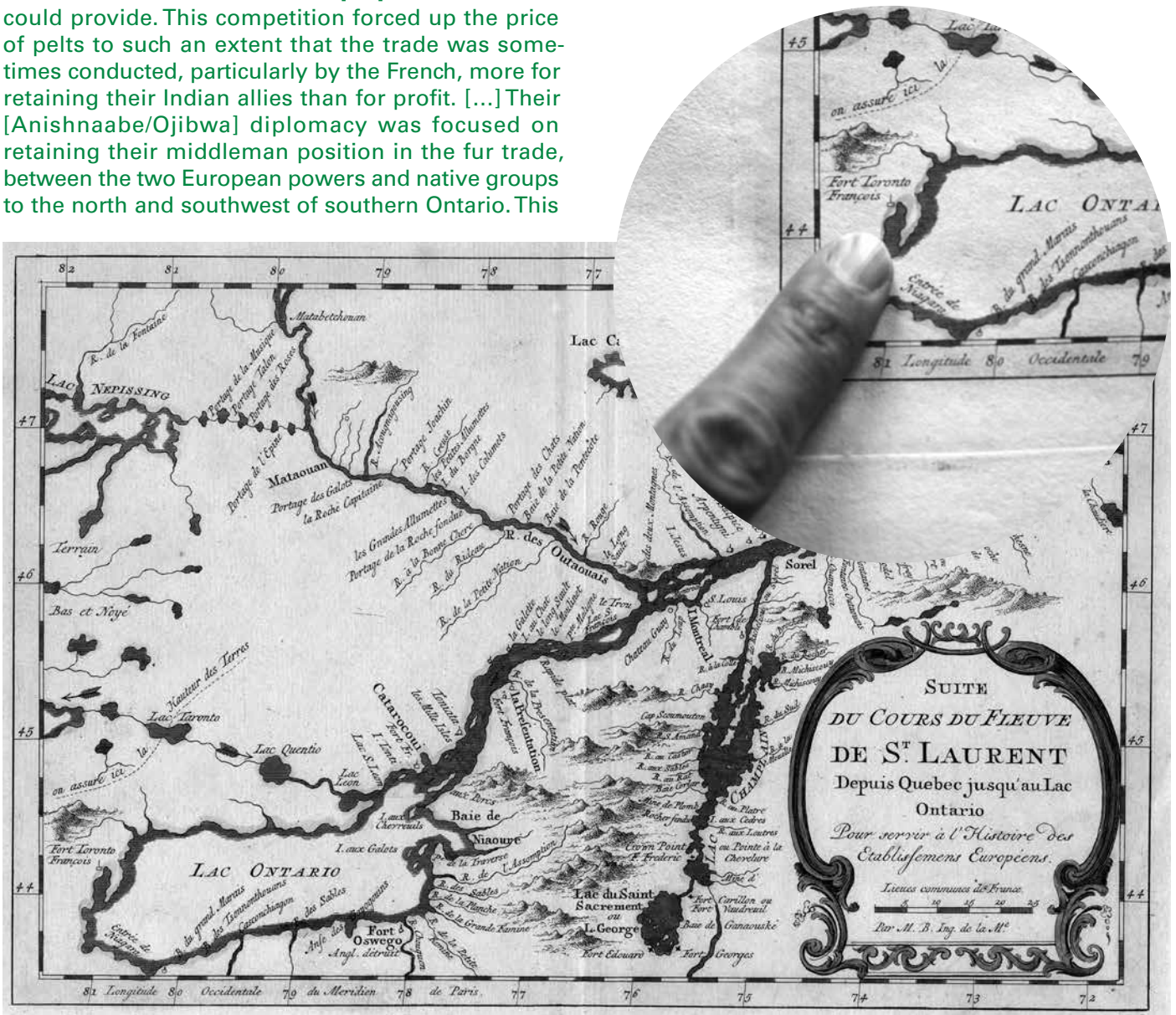
After the [Anishnaabe/Ojibwa] conquest of southern Ontario in 1701 and until the fall of New France in 1759, the Ojibwa in the Great Lakes region experienced a “golden age” of trade, presents, and plunder. With the advantages of competitively priced European goods, gifts from their allies, and war booty, the Ojibwa were in an enviable position. Both the English and the French in America vied for the coveted furs which these Indians [sic] and their allies could provide. This competition forced up the price of pelts to such an extent that the trade was sometimes conducted, particularly by the French, more for retaining their Indian allies than for profit. [...] Their [Anishnaabe/Ojibwa] diplomacy was focused on retaining their middleman position in the fur trade, between the two European powers and native groups to the north and southwest of southern Ontario. This

was no mean task. Interference by the Iroquois and other peoples continued to cause minor frustrations, but their white allies required even greater diplomacy. As long as the French were pitted against the English, the Ojibwa were treated with respect and sought as friends in trade and in war.¹⁹

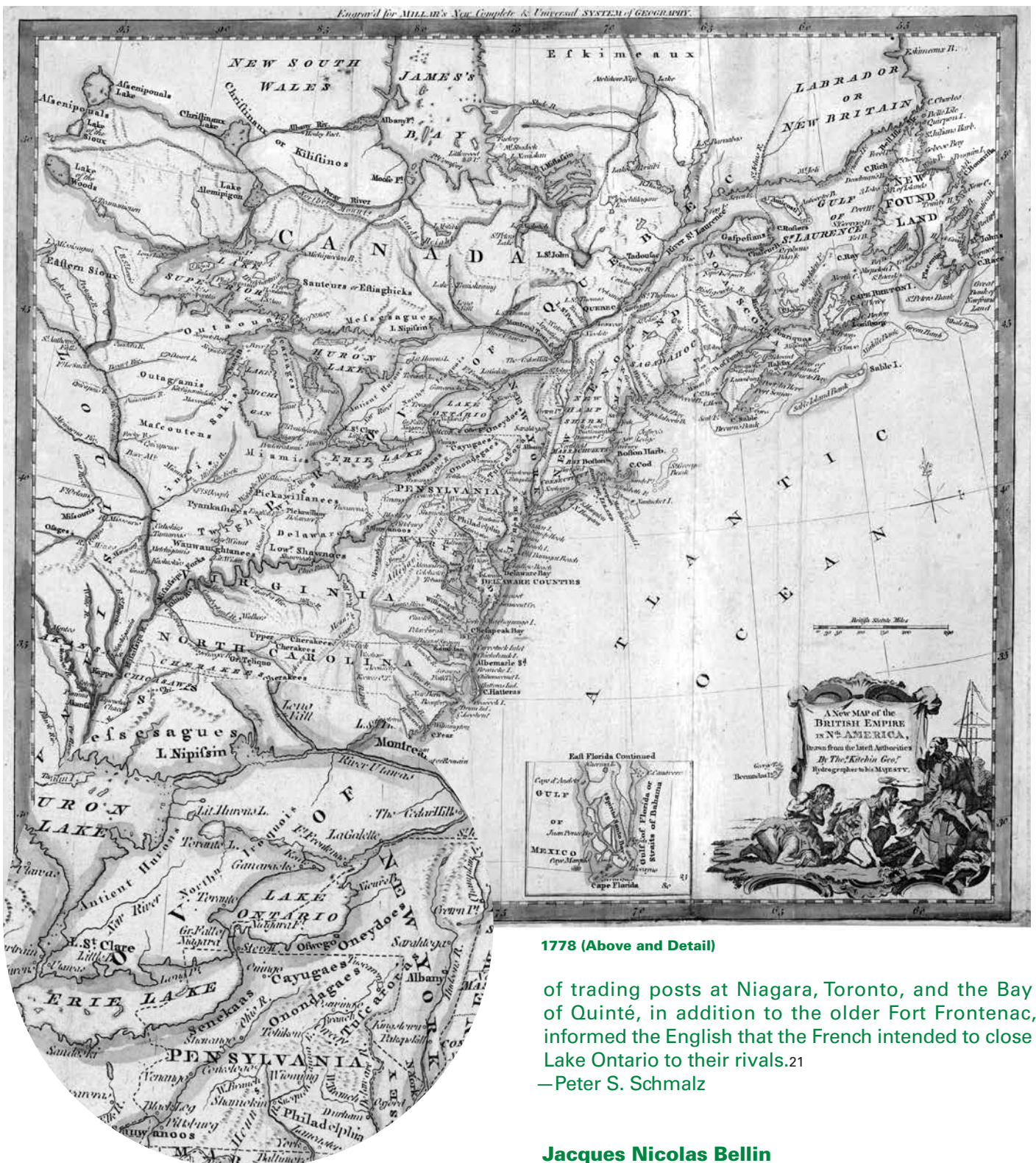
—Peter S. Schmalz

In addition to obtaining cheap trade goods, the Ojibwa expected the Europeans to respect and attempt to understand their culture. These were added factors which determined where the Southern Ojibwas would take their furs and with whom they would make their military alliances. In this context the French Canadians had a definite advantage over the English. The Ojibwa had gained a strong attachment to the free-spirited French fur traders, the *coureurs de bois*, by the beginning of the eighteenth century and this relationship continued to be entrenched throughout the period under consideration. A century of contact and especially intermarriage fused an alliance between many of the Ojibwa bands and the French, who often lived

1757 (Below and Detail)



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1778 (Above and Detail)

of trading posts at Niagara, Toronto, and the Bay of Quinté, in addition to the older Fort Frontenac, informed the English that the French intended to close Lake Ontario to their rivals.²¹

—Peter S. Schmalz

Jacques Nicolas Bellin

"Suite du cours du Fleuve de St. Laurent, depuis Québec jusqu' au Lac Ontario" (Paris, 1757)

Fort Toronto, François

The name Toronto was in use as early as 1686; researchers have located in dispatches of Marquis de Denonville, governor of New France from 1685 to 1689. Spelling of the original word varied to some degree—Toronton, Otoronton, Otoronto, Tarantou, Tarantorai, Atironta—but the meaning was generally believed to be "place of meeting." The locality also varied, the original site being about forty miles further north than

in the Indian villages. Unlike the English, it was a common practice for a French fur trader to take an Indian wife, thus establishing a vested interest in the native community. Competitively priced English products could not entirely eliminate this influence.²⁰

—Peter S. Schmalz

Ojibwa commerce with the English also expanded. A major concern of the French was to retain their existing trade and expand it if possible. [Their] paramount problem became the flow of furs to [the English in] Albany. [...] The simultaneous construction in 1720

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the present, on the waters between Lake Huron and Lake Simcoe.²²

—Charles deVolpi

The name Toronto—with greater propriety, probably, if written at full length “Otoronto”—found a resting place at last [...] at the locality which still retains it. More specifically, it became affixed to a French trading-post established on the spot in 1749, the proper official designation of which was Fort Rouillé [...] In popular language, Fort Rouillé came to be Fort Toronto, that is to say, the fort at Toronto; and as time went on, the popular expression appeared on the maps, while the official title of the station was almost forgotten. This Fort Toronto [...] was the building of which conspicuous traces continued to be visible down to 1878, when the ground was levelled for the purposes of the Toronto Industrial Association. The spot, with its grass-grown hillocks and shallow trenches, shewing the lines of the cedar pickets, was familiarly spoken of and described in the topographical books as “The Old French Fort.”²³

—Rev. Henry Scadding and John Charles Dent

The situation and dimensions of the fort at Toronto are given with a good deal of minuteness by M. Pouchot, the last French commandant at Fort Niagara, in his “Memoir upon the War in North America, 1755-60.” “The Fort of Toronto,” he says, “is at the end of the bay (i.e., the west end) upon the side which is quite elevated and covered with flat rock.... A league west of the fort is the mouth of the Toronto river, which is of considerable size. This river communicates with Lake Huron by a portage of fifteen leagues, and is frequented by the Indians [sic] who come from the north.”²⁴

—Rev. Henry Scadding and John Charles Dent

In seeking the Ojibwa [Anishnaabe] as allies, both European powers had been forced to lower the price of their trade goods during the first half of the eighteenth century. This created a golden age of trade for the native people of the Great Lakes. [...] The European forts in the Great Lakes were tolerated for only one reason—cheap trade goods. [...] Pitting the English against the French was preferable to the destruction of either one. Participation in the [Seven Years’ War of 1756-63] temporarily gained European goods and satisfied the [Anishnaabe/Ojibwa] warrior’s urge to prove himself, but the elimination of one European power drove the price of furs down in the trading posts of the victorious nation since there was no other foreign competition. This was undoubtedly understood by the Indians. A complete and decisive victory of one of the European combatants over the other was neither anticipated nor desired.²⁵

—Peter S. Schmalz

The Seven Years’ War ended with the defeat of the French in America, but their Indian allies had not been conquered, nor had they been included in the European peace negotiations between Britain

and France [...] The well-being of the Indigenous people of the Great Lakes had been sustained by the competitively priced trade goods which they obtained in exchange for furs. Their strength lay in pitting one power against the other and in surviving off the land by hunting and fishing in a territory that amply supplied their needs. Their aboriginal way of life depended on a diplomatic and ecological balance. Both appeared to be threatened as the British took over the forts on the Great Lakes.²⁶

—Peter S. Schmalz

Thomas Kitchin

“A New Map of the British Empire in North America” (London, 1778)

Toronto

Conditions in the Great Lakes [...] led to a military confrontation that was more serious than any other in the history of Ojibwa-European relations in North America. The Indians called it the Beaver War, but it is best known as the Pontiac Uprising [of 1763–66, named after the Odawa leader].²⁷

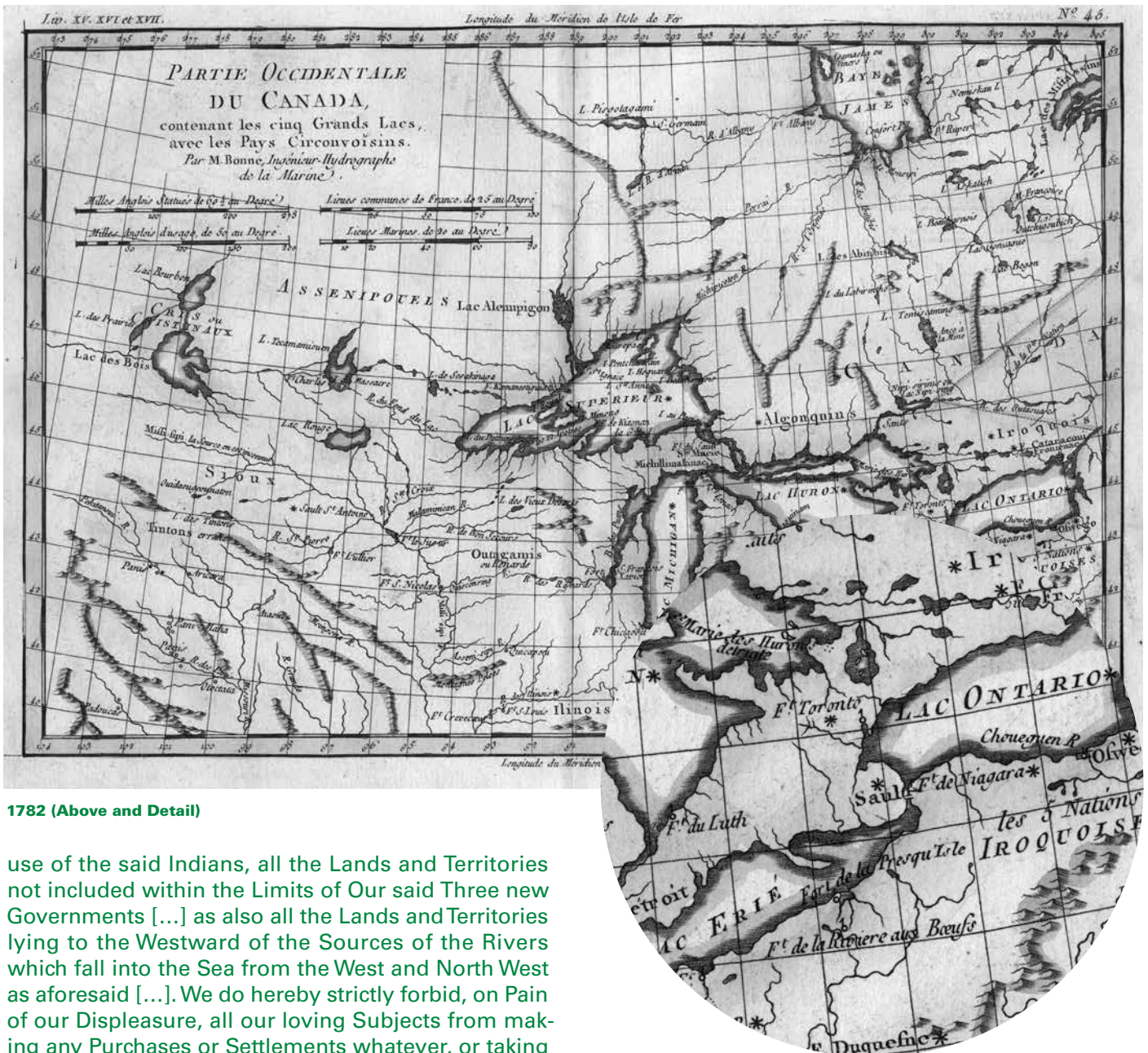
—Peter S. Schmalz

The Royal Proclamation was a document made by the British. They had a meeting with the Nishnaabeg in 1762 because we were expressing worry over the Thirteen Colonies. They were expanding like crazy and had 1.5 million people living in them. The British took over from the French after the Treaty of Ghent. They called it the Seven Years’ War but they fought until bankruptcy. [...] In 1760–62 the [American] colonists found a route over the Appalachians. The Nishnaabeg went to the British, and said we’re your allies. Protect our land. The British said yes and built a bunch of forts along the Appalachians. The British went back to Great Britain and wrote the Royal Proclamation. In hindsight, we know they were not going to try very hard to protect Indian land. In 1764, the British went to meet the 54 [Indigenous] nations at Niagara which led to the Treaty of Niagara in 1765. The Treaty of Niagara and the fifty-four-nation wampum would be a beautiful thing if the British had lived up to it and protected our land. The question is, did they give us sovereignty by saying they would protect our land, or did they think it was theirs? In retrospect, we know they wanted our land and our resources.²⁸

—Gidigaa Migizi (Doug Williams)

And whereas it is just and reasonable, and essential to our Interest, and the Security of our Colonies, that the several Nations or Tribes of Indians with whom We are connected, and who live under our Protection, should not be molested or disturbed in the Possession of such Parts of Our Dominions and Territories as, not having been ceded to or purchased by Us, are reserved to them. [...] We do further declare it to be Our Royal Will and Pleasure [...] to reserve under our Sovereignty, Protection, and Dominion, for the

delineating



1782 (Above and Detail)

use of the said Indians, all the Lands and Territories not included within the Limits of Our said Three new Governments [...] as also all the Lands and Territories lying to the Westward of the Sources of the Rivers which fall into the Sea from the West and North West as aforesaid [...]. We do hereby strictly forbid, on Pain of our Displeasure, all our loving Subjects from making any Purchases or Settlements whatever, or taking Possession of any of the Lands above reserved, without our especial leave and Licence for that Purpose first obtained. We do [...] strictly enjoin and require, that no private Person do presume to make any purchase from the said Indians of any Lands reserved to the said Indians.

—The Royal Proclamation of 1763

You may be assured that none of the Six Nations [of the Iroquois Confederacy/Haudenasaunee], Western Indians, etc. ever declared themselves to be Subjects, or will ever consider themselves in that light whilst they have any Men, or an open Country to retire to, the very Idea of Subjection would fill them with horror—Indeed I have been just looking into the Indian Records, where I find in the Minutes of 1751 that those who made ye Entry say, that Nine different Nations acknowledged themselves to be his Majestys Subjects, altho I sat at that Conference, made entrys of all the Transactions, in which there was not a Word mentioned, which could imply a Subjection, however, these matters [...] seem not to be well known at home

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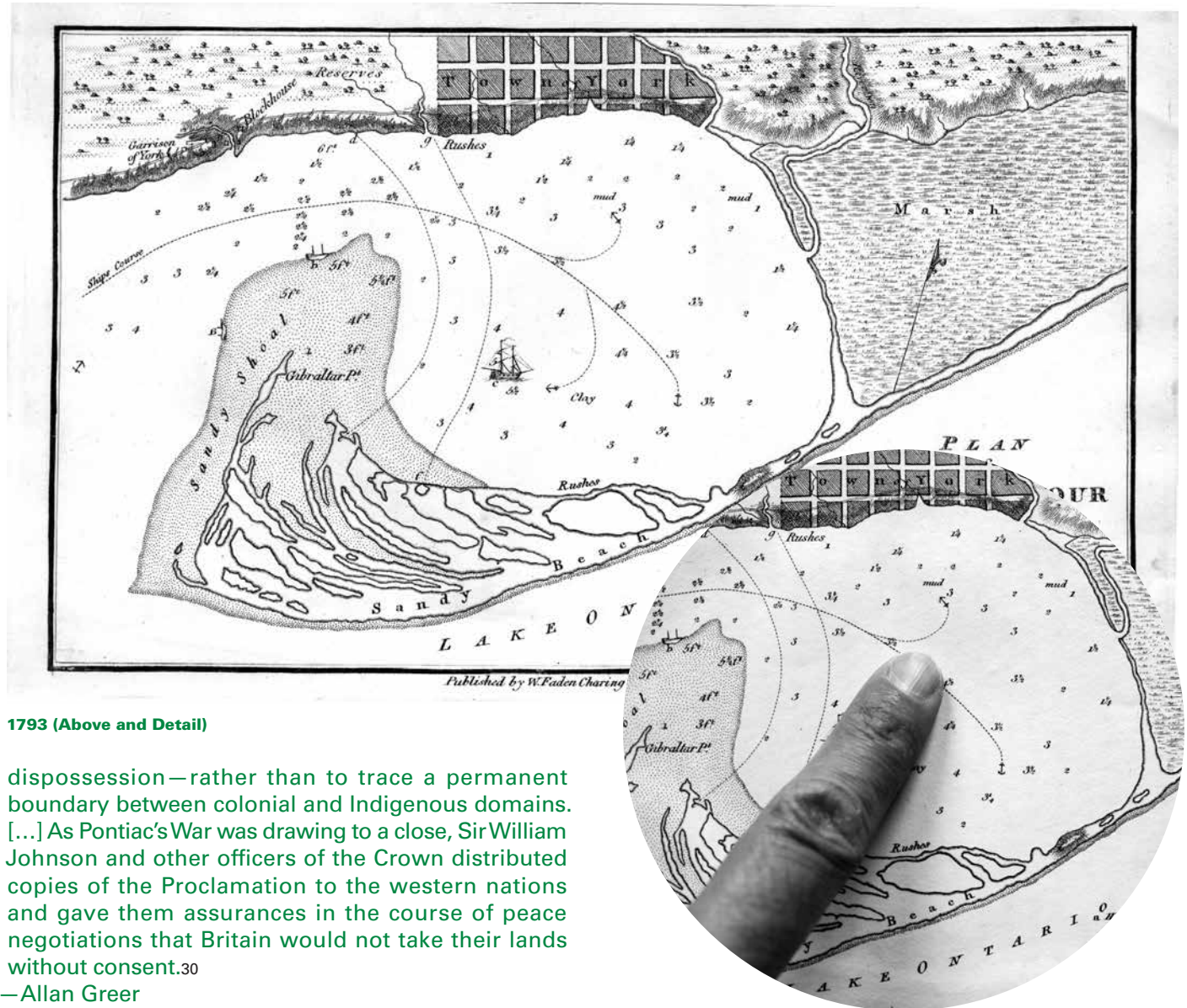
[in Britain], and therefore, it may prove of dangerous consequence to persuade them that the Indians have agreed to things which are so repugnant to their Principles that the attempting to enforce it, must lay the foundation of greater Calamities than has yet been experienced in this County—it is necessary to observe that no Nation of Indians have any word which can express, or convey the Idea of Subjection.²⁹

—Sir William Johnson in 1764

Rigobert Bonne
"Partie Occidentale du Canada" (Geneva, 1782)
 ft. Toronto

Though historians sometimes focus on the way the Proclamation tried and failed to erect a settler-proof dam along the ridge of the Appalachians, it is clear that its main thrust was to set down basic guidelines regarding settlement, property and jurisdiction—in other words, to regulate procedures of

capitalism



dispossession—rather than to trace a permanent boundary between colonial and Indigenous domains. [...] As Pontiac's War was drawing to a close, Sir William Johnson and other officers of the Crown distributed copies of the Proclamation to the western nations and gave them assurances in the course of peace negotiations that Britain would not take their lands without consent.³⁰

—Allan Greer

A basic cause of the American Revolution was the frustration experienced by settlers as a result of the Royal Proclamation of 1763, which restricted their movement into the Indian country. During and especially after the revolution, the "Westward Movement" increased in intensity and speed. This caused those Indians who had been weakened by the Americans to flee farther west and particularly into southern Ontario, where they were welcomed by their Ojibwa [Anishnaabe] allies. The United Empire Loyalists, also allies of the Ojibwa, came in great numbers too and were permitted to settle among them. These Loyalist guests proved to be their [the Ojibwa's] worst enemy. However, pioneer encroachment did not influence all of the Southern Ojibwa negatively at the same time. It took over half a century before most of the Ojibwa hunting and fishing grounds were threatened.³¹

—Peter S. Schmalz

The Dish With One Spoon (there are different versions of how this came to be—this is ours) was an agreement between the Kanawake Mohawks [Iroquois] and the Michi Saagiig Nishnaabeg in 1701, and they agreed they would share some territory. [Anishnaabe

Chief] Maskwaaki understood that this meant the Six Nations could come and hunt while they were smoking the pipe with the Nishnaabeg. At the end of the American Revolution we gave them the land at Six Nations [of the Grand River]. [...] The Six Nations people including the Mohawks at the Bay of Quinte at Tyendinaga were United Empire Loyalists, loyal to the British and were only given refuge by the Michi Saagiig Nishnaabeg. [...] It was the Michi Saagiig Nishnaabeg who agreed with the crown to give some land to the Nadawag [Haudenosaunee/Iroquois] for their use, hence, the Haldimand tract grant was given to them and it is well documented that the Grand River Valley was given to them.³²

—Gidigaa Migizi (Doug Williams)

The Crown, in the 1780s, recognized the need to secure communication and supply lines to their western outposts and to unite the settlements along Lake Ontario from Kingston to Niagara. In order to meet Crown objectives, Sir John Johnston, Superintendent General of the Indian Department, met in 1787 with a number of Mississaugas at the Bay of Quinte where the Mississaugas of the Credit purportedly sold the

delineating

lands of the Toronto Purchase Treaty. A supposed deed documenting the sale of the lands was found years later and raised serious questions about the legitimacy of the deal between the Crown and the Mississaugas. Problematically, the deed was found blank and had no description of the land “purchased” by the Crown. Also of concern was that the marks of the chiefs who had agreed to the sale were written on separate pieces of paper and then affixed to the blank deed. An attempt to survey the Toronto Purchase Treaty lands in 1788 met Mississauga opposition, indicating that there had been no clear delineation of land boundaries agreed upon by the Crown and the First Nation.³³

—Mississaugas of the Credit First Nation

[T]he name “Toronto” is printed exactly on the site of the present city in a map of North America “drawn from the latest and best authorities, by Thomas Kitchin,” being one of the maps of a “new geographical, historical and commercial grammar, and present state of the several kingdoms of the world,” by William Guthrie, published in London, 1771. [...] The name of the town was changed to “York” in 1793 to please King George the Third, as a compliment to his soldier son, Frederick, Duke of York. As we all know, the name was changed back to the more pleasing one of “Toronto” in 1834.³⁴

—W. H. Pearson

John Stockdale
“A New Map of Upper & Lower Canada” (London, 1798)
York

On July 17, 1792, the Executive Council for Upper Canada, consisting of five members, met for the first time in a frame dwelling at the corner of Queen and King Streets at Kingston. [...] Soon after his government had been established, Simcoe decided to make Newark (Niagara) his temporary capital. In 1793, however, he built a fort on the shore of Lake Ontario [at Toronto]. It was named Fort York after the King’s son, and it was to this place that Simcoe moved the permanent seat of government. [...] To ensure the progress of his vast but sparsely settled province, Simcoe, as soon as he had been designated as Lieutenant-Governor, invited new settlers. Believing that a large number of loyal subjects have remained in the States and would prefer to live again under British rule, he issued a proclamation offering free grants of the rich land in Upper Canada to all who desired to come. [All individuals] had to take an oath of allegiance promising “to maintain and defend to the utmost of my power the authority of the King and his parliament the supreme legislature of this province.” The new settlers were obliged to clear five acres of their grant, build a house, and open a road along the front of their land.³⁵

—Nick and Helma Mika

The first production of a settler was ashes for the making of potash. The trees, now so valuable, were enemies in those days, to be attacked without quarter. While the first clearing was made with the axe, fire was used afterwards. The dried underbush was set alight and the hardwood was thus charred and killed. The dead trees were brought down by the axe or the winds of winter and then followed the logging bee. All the neighbors assembled with chains and oxen and made enormous piles of the dry logs. These were fired and the ashes saved for sale. There was a social side to these logging bees, with whiskey only two shillings a gallon, and with a dance beginning at nightfall.³⁶

—Jesse Edgar Middleton

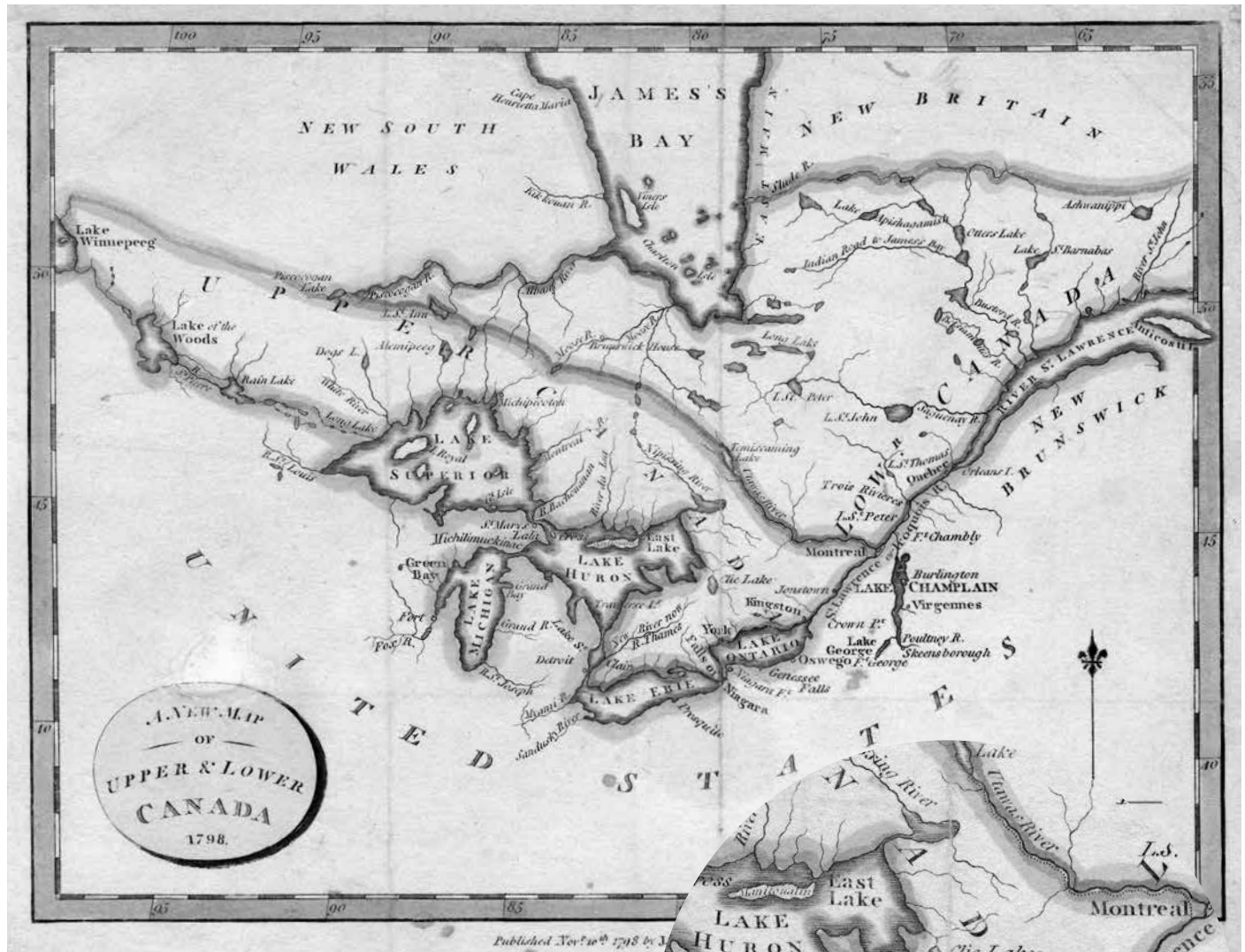
Because of bias against Indians [sic] in general, conflict began the moment the Loyalists arrived to re-establish the farms that the [American] revolution had forced them to abandon. How did the Indians expect to be treated by the Loyalist settlers whom they had first welcomed as friends into their lands? The Ojibwa [Anishnaabe] were misled by Indian agents and by early Loyalist pioneers, as Quinipeno, a Mississauga chief, complained: “Colonel Butler told us the Farmers would help us, but instead of doing so when we encamp on the Land they drove us off and shoot our dogs and never give us any assistance as was promised to our old Chiefs. Father—The Farmers call us Dogs and threaten to shoot us in the same manner when we go on their land.” There was a firmly anchored distrust of all Indians in the minds of many Loyalists. When sheep, horses, or cattle became lost or torn to pieces by wolves, the Indians were the first to be accused. In contrast, when the deer, game birds, and fish were poached from the Ojibwa reserves by the whites, the latter claimed that nobody owned them. As a result, in less than fifty years wild life all but disappeared near the most populated centres.³⁷

—Peter S. Schmalz

America (not to mention Australia, South Africa and New Zealand) did not welcome Europeans as an open-access universal commons and settlers did not necessarily establish control over the land through procedures resembling enclosure. In the long run, of course, fences, surveys, registry offices and other developments associated with enclosed property made their appearance and stabilized new property regimes from which native peoples were largely excluded. But privatization of land was not the only—or even the most important—mechanism through which Indigenous territory came into the possession of colonizers. [...] Placing the focus on pioneers, with their log cabins, axes and plows, rather than on the cattle, hogs and sheep they sent roaming across native common lands, has the effect of obscuring the central business of colonizing “new” lands, which is to say the dispossession of indigenous peoples and the imposition of new property regimes.³⁸

—Allan Greer

2



1798 (Above and Detail)

Joseph Bouchette
"Plan of York Harbour" (London/York, 1793,
printed in 1815)

York

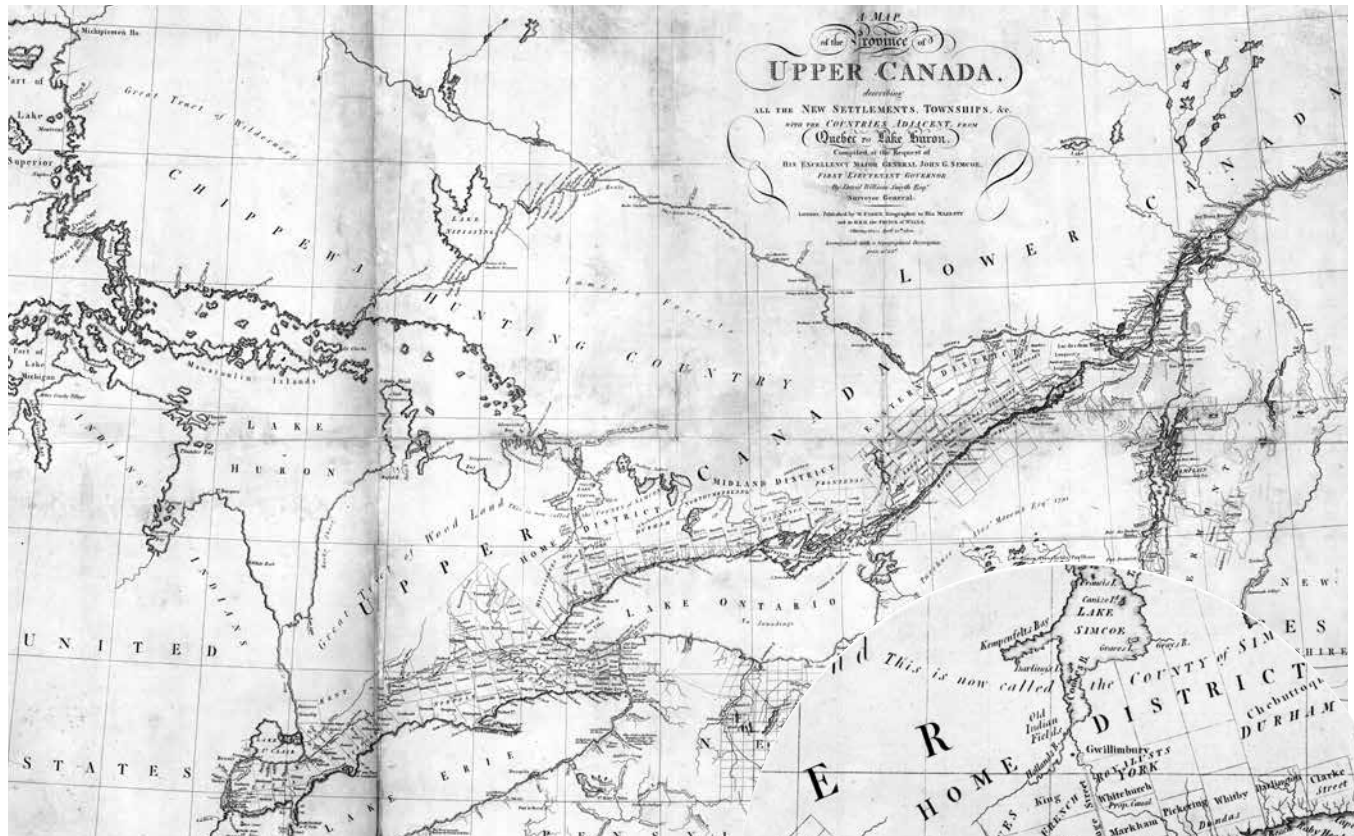
Simcoe [...] dedicated himself to establishing York as the seat of Upper Canada's government. [...] Years earlier, in 1788, Dorchester had assigned engineer Captain Gotter Mann the task of laying out the townsite, with the harbour as its focus. Mann came up with what might be expected from a military engineer: "a grid-iron settlement" reminiscent of Roman architecture. The government and military buildings were focused around a central square, with residences located nearby. Simcoe opted to reinvent the wheel and in 1793 had his own surveyor, Alexander Aitken, complete another plan. He devised a slightly more "practical" gridiron blueprint for a smaller town of about ten square blocks—"bounded by George, Berkeley, Adelaide, and Front streets, with the areas from Parliament to the Don [River] and from Peter to the Humber [River] set aside for government and military purposes." Both surveyors lacked imagination, according to Toronto architect Eric Arthur. In his view, they "ignored completely the very features that give character and beauty to Toronto—the hill and the wooded

ravines," and they left the city with the dull, yet easy to navigate, gridiron layout. In the decades that followed, Toronto spread northward, almost completely oblivious to its unique river valleys and ravines.³⁹

—Allan Levine

The town-plot, as defined at this time, was a compact little parallelogram bounded on the west by George Street, on the east by Ontario Street, on the north by Duchess Street, and on the south by Palace Street—streets that still [in the 1880s] retain their original names. The loyal, monarchical character of the Governor appears in nearly every one of these street names, as also in the names given to other streets, as

4



1800 (Above and Detail)

well as in the name of the town itself [York, formerly Toronto]. The main thoroughfare was King Street; the next street parallel to it on the north was Duke Street; the street north of that, Duchess Street. The boundary westward was George Street; the next street parallel to that, eastward, was Frederick Street, and the street following that was Caroline Street, while the one succeeding that was Princes Street. The last street running north and south was Ontario Street. George Street bore the name of George Prince of Wales, afterwards George IV. Caroline Street commemorated his wife, the unfortunate Caroline of Brunswick. Duke Street alluded to the Duke of York, Duchess Street to his wife, and Frederick Street was distinguished by his Christian name. The general name, Princes Street, was a comprehensive compliment to the other royal princes, without specifying them. Ontario Street indicated the track which doubtless from time immemorial led down to the canoe-landing nearest to the "Carrying-place" on the Island where the small craft passing up and down the lake and trading at York were wont to be lifted across the narrow neck of land there.⁴⁰

—Rev. Henry Scadding and John Charles Dent

Crown administrators soon doubted the legality of the Toronto Purchase Treaty [of 1787] and were concerned that many settlers did not have legal title to their homesteads. Also disconcerting was the possibility that York, the capital of Upper Canada, was located on land of dubious legal title. For over ten years the Crown failed to act on the dilemma until a new agreement was negotiated with the Mississaugas of the Credit. On 1 August 1805, the Crown purchased



250,830 acres of land for the sum of ten shillings while the Mississaugas reserved for themselves the right to exclusively fish on Etobicoke Creek.⁴¹
—Mississaugas of the Credit First Nation

David William Smith (Smyth)
"Map of the Province of Upper Canada, Describing all the New Settlements, Townships"
(London, 1800)

York

There were many things starting to happen in the early 1800s that determined some of the results that were written into the 1818 treaty [Ajetance Treaty, No.19]. For example, previous to this, perhaps thirty or twenty years prior the Gun Shot Treaty [the Johnson-Butler Purchases of 1788] and the Toronto Purchase [of 1787] were made. These treaties were done on the run so to speak, by younger British Officers who lost documents and did not record well the negotiated settlements.⁴²

—Gidigaa Migizi (Doug Williams)

4 The document which recognized the Indians' [sic] exclusive control over their lands was the Royal Proclamation of 1763. It contained the statement that "no private person was to presume to negotiate as land-purchase for the Indians, but if at any time any of the said Indians should be inclined to dispose of the said land the same shall be purchased only for us [the Crown], in our name, at some public meeting or assembly of the said Indians to be held for that purpose by the government." This idealism, of allowing the Indians a legal right to their own lands, had a realistic purpose at the time of its inception. As Allan G. Harper noted: "The purpose of Indian administration in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries had been to keep the Indians in peace and alliance with Great Britain [...] to secure the safety of the settlements from attack, and to use the natives, when necessary, in the conflicts arising among the warring sovereignties in the New World." The treaties which Great Britain made were but means to these ends. The need for Indians as allies, or the fear of them as enemies, decreased when the possibility of hostilities in America declined and the white settlers greatly outnumbered the Indians. The purpose of the Proclamation of 1763 had ceased to be a benefit to Britain shortly after the War of 1812, but the principle continued to be law. Settlement in southern Ontario began well before the British Proclamation was announced. [...] Without the crown being involved in the transactions, their grants should have been illegal, but most were confirmed legally later. The surrender period obviously started off in a chaotic setting.⁴³

—Peter S. Schmalz

One government official remarked: "It certainly cannot be in our interest to promote their [Indigenous people's] improvement until the land is taken from them." [...] Individual Ojibwa [Anishnaabe] bands were told in negotiations that they would be permitted to fish and hunt in their old locations as before. They would be protected from the encroachments of the settlers, who would help those Indians who wished to learn the art of farming. Indeed, they were promised that even blacksmiths and doctors would be provided for their benefit. [...] But this newly acquired area was not reserved for the Indians; later it was "simply opened to white settlers." [...] It was this type of Machiavellian diplomacy which permitted the early peaceful settlement of southern Ontario.⁴⁴

—Peter S. Schmalz

4 The Nishnaabeg always wanted to continue to live our lifestyle, our governance, our culture as we had always done. They thought that we had enough land to share some of it with the settlers. We were not giving up anything in making treaties. The government approached these negotiations with a complete disregard for all of these. They promised things in roundabout ways—yes you can still hunt, fish and trap, just like everyone else. They forgot to add that we would be severely regulated to the point where we

could not feed ourselves living off the land. [...] We were dispossessed of all of our lands other than the reserve. Trying to hunt and fish to sustain 100 families on five square miles of land was impossible. They knew it and we knew it.⁴⁵

—Gidigaa Migizi (Doug Williams)

The process of settlement was usually gradual, taking several years to "fill up" the back townships which supposedly had been surrendered. The time gap between surrender and settlement was often decisive, since many of those involved or those who should have been involved were dead when the legality of the transaction was called into question. The written agreements in almost all cases took precedence over the Indian's oral tradition, especially when they were to the advantage of the settler.⁴⁶

—Peter S. Schmalz

John Cary

"A New Map of Upper & Lower Canada, From the Latest Authorities" (London, 1807)

York

In the political history of Europe, the early modern period saw the emergence of "a more territorialized notion of monarchy and, by extension, a more cartographic approach to governance itself." Feudal political authority had been articulated more in personal terms, whereas the emergent new monarchies aspired to exercise full and uniform control over a geographically defined realm with definite borders. [...] Increasingly, [European] states were taking on the appearance of discrete, self-contained and internally uniform spaces, sharply divided from adjacent states. At least that was the ideal, frequently expressed in maps of the period. The reality is that, with the partial exception of England/Britain, an island bounded by nature, the territorial state remained an unrealized ideal. Most states of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries were internally differentiated spaces with ambiguous outer limits.⁴⁷

—Allan Greer

People inhabit places: they experience them with their bodies and indeed form part of what a place is. Place is land as local knowledge, the lived experiences of its inhabitants, rather than as abstract space. Furthermore, place implies time as well as location. [...] Observing that modernists accord priority to abstract, absolute space, [Edward S.] Casey argues that place is actually the more fundamental reality. Newtonian space, for all its prestige, never erased other modes of experiencing the world. Though place is often associated with "primitive societies," we in the "modern west" continue to inhabit a world of places. [...] For many American Indian [sic] peoples, the land was often its own best map and demanded knowing first on its own terms, almost as if the topography itself possessed some sort of volitional



—Peter S. Schmalz

—Allan Greer

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Over a period of about one hundred years, from the 1780s to the 1880s, the Ojibwa of southern Ontario surrendered almost all of their lands and began to live on reserves. The major cessions covered three distinct chronological periods and geographical areas: "Between 1781 and 1806 Britain acquired the waterfront along the St. Lawrence River, Lake Ontario, the Niagara River, Lake Erie, the Detroit River, Lake St. Clair and the St. Clair River. In the decade after 1815, the Crown arranged several large purchases which opened up a second line of settlement, behind the first range of surrenders, to accommodate the rather heavy influx of post-war immigration. After 1830 four major and two smaller 'agreements' saw the Indians agree to settlement on the Bruce Peninsula, the Manitoulin Island and the north shores of Lake Huron and Lake Superior."⁵⁰

—Peter S. Schmalz

They threw everything at us and our grandparents and our great-grandparents. They threw everything they knew to rub us out—and we are here. And we have our stories; we have our faith; we have our teachings. Everything that they could do was insufficient to destroy us. We are the seeds of that. We carry that, and it's not going away.⁵¹

—Bonnie Devine

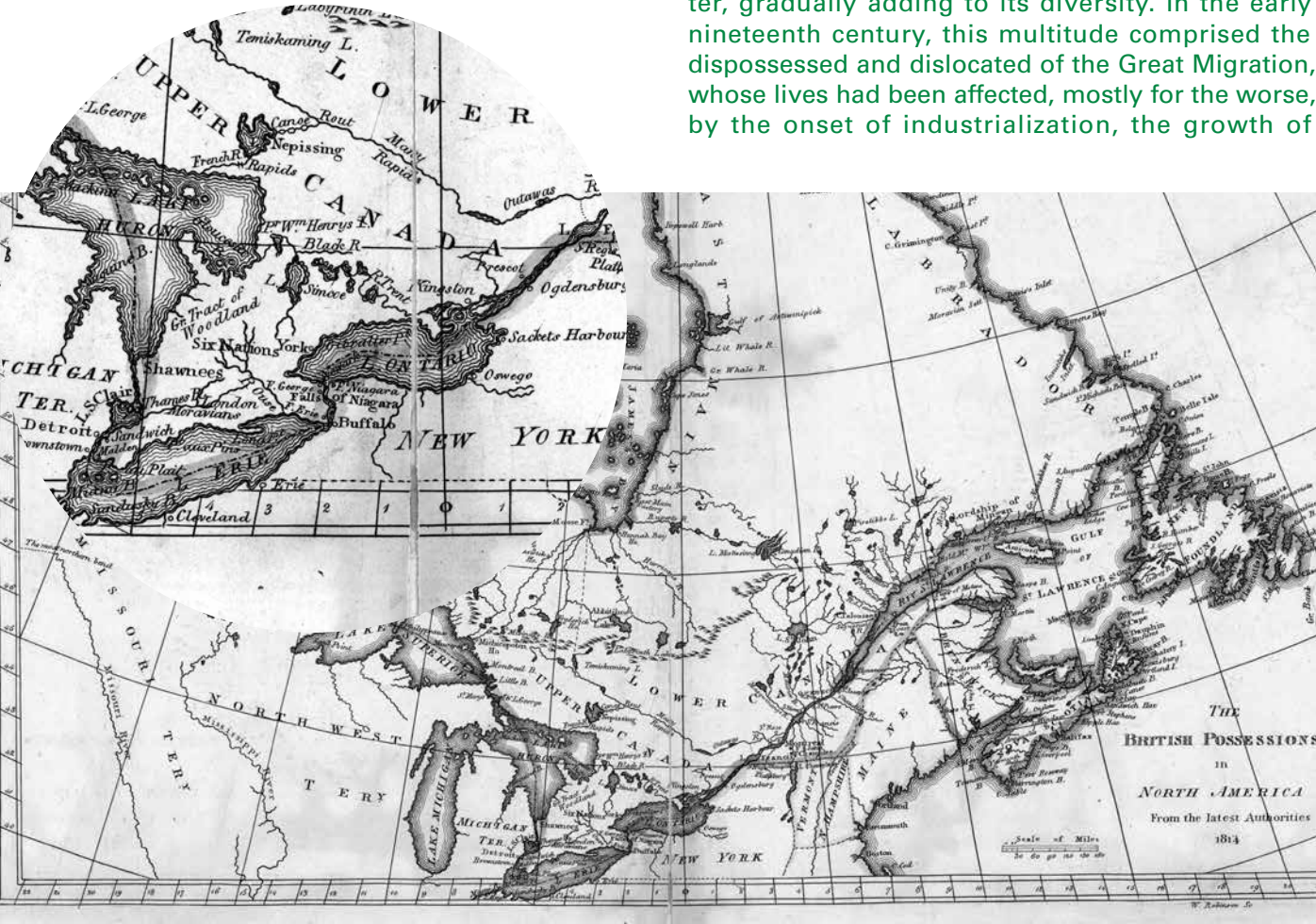
Matthew Carey
"The British Possessions in North America
From the Best Authorities" (Philadelphia, 1814)
York

The rapid influx of settlers along the coastal waters of Lake Ontario was destroying the traditional native economic base. The population growth of York well illustrates their dilemma. In 1799, the whole district around York had only 224 white inhabitants; in 1826 the town itself had a population of 1,677; and in 1830 it had increased to 2,860; by 1845 the city had mushroomed to 19,706. This large population made it impossible for the Ojibwa to subsist by hunting and fishing. In 1841, 132 barrels of fish passed through the Welland Canal; by 1844 the number had increased to 1,754 barrels. Traditionally, fish had been one of the most important means of subsisting, but commercial fishing was destroying the Ojibwa's livelihood. [...] Deer and other wild animals also decreased in numbers as the lands were cleared for farms. Pioneers also supplemented their food supply by hunting and fishing, yet the Ojibwa were threatened when they trespassed on the farm lands which had been their source of food.⁵²

—Peter S. Schmalz

What truly transformed and shook York in the 1820s was the arrival of thousands of immigrants from England, Scotland, Ireland, and Wales. It was not the last time newcomers altered Toronto's character, gradually adding to its diversity. In the early nineteenth century, this multitude comprised the dispossessed and dislocated of the Great Migration, whose lives had been affected, mostly for the worse, by the onset of industrialization, the growth of

1814 (Below and Detail)



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factories, and changes in agricultural practices and land distribution.⁵³

—Allan Levine

Within the ever-flowing river of immigration there have been important eddies, each sparked by some external event, each leaving its mark on the city. In 1956, the short-lived Hungarian revolution brought some 37,000 souls, mostly families, to Canada, and primarily to Toronto. A host of new Hungarian-led restaurants and businesses sprang up in the city. In the late 1960s, a flood of roughly 40,000 well-educated, ethically motivated young men refusing to join America's war in Vietnam swept into Toronto... The fall of Saigon directed about 50,000 Vietnamese boat people to the city. The dictatorship of Idi Amin, chaos in Eritrea, anarchy in Mogadishu, ethnic conflict in Sri Lanka, the implosion of the Balkans, clampdowns in Tibet, the heart-rending nightmare in Syria—each time the world convulses, some tens of thousands of newcomers appear in Toronto's streets.⁵⁴

—Joe Berridge

There are Italian neighbourhoods and Vietnamese neighbourhoods in this city; there are Chinese ones and Ukrainian ones and Pakistani ones and Korean ones and African ones. Name a region on the planet and there's someone from there, here. All of them sit on Ojibway land, but hardly any of them know it or care because that genealogy is willfully untraceable except in the name of the city itself.⁵⁵

—Dionne Brand

What I wanted to do was recognize the territory of the Mississauga people. And I was trying to think about the maps, trying to signal what it was like for a colonial people to recognize the territory. Usually, the territory is inscribed in pencil or crayon—it's a line on a piece of paper. But for us, as Indigenous people to this country, those lines on the paper are insufficient to express what it means to be from somewhere, to be home, and to be connected to the land that is our home.⁵⁶

—Bonnie Devine

Metis historian Jesse Thistle, who has explored the varied Metis presence in the Toronto area, has jokingly referred to the CN Tower as the spoon and the Rogers Center [originally called the SkyDome] as the dish. This visual marker [in contemporary Toronto's skyline] has the capacity to act as a reminder of our shared responsibility and commitment to the laws of the land. Toronto needs to be reminded of the Indigenous, Nation-to-Nation, simple and expansive contract.⁵⁷

—Ange Loft

Endnotes

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- 6 Gidigaa Migizi, *Michi Saagiig Nishnaabeg*, 29–30.
- 7 Bruce G. Trigger, *The Huron: Farmers of the North* (New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1969), 1.
- 8 Gidigaa Migizi, *Michi Saagiig Nishnaabeg*, 39–40.
- 9 Allan Greer, *Property and Dispossession: Natives, Empires and Land in early Modern North America* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2018), 48.
- 10 Percy J. Robinson, *Toronto During the French Régime: A History of the Toronto Region from Brûlé to Simcoe, 1615–1793* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1965), 5.
- 11 Trigger, *The Huron*, 42–43, 47, 51.
- 12 Peter S. Schmalz, *The Ojibwa of Southern Ontario* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1991), 16–17.
- 13 Frederick H. Armstrong, *Toronto: The Place of Meeting* (Windsor: Windsor Publications, 1983), 19.
- 14 Scadding and Dent, *Toronto: Past and Present*, 4–5.
- 15 Gidigaa Migizi, *Michi Saagiig Nishnaabeg*, 43.
- 16 Schmalz, *The Ojibwa of Southern Ontario*, 28–29.
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- 23 Scadding and Dent, *Toronto: Past and Present*, 6.
- 24 *Ibid.*, 7.
- 25 Schmalz, *The Ojibwa of Southern Ontario*, 61.
- 26 *Ibid.*, 63.
- 27 *Ibid.*, 63.
- 28 Gidigaa Migizi, *Michi Saagiig Nishnaabeg*, 49–50.
- 29 Quoted in Schmalz, *The Ojibwa of Southern Ontario*, 83.
- 30 Greer, *Property and Dispossession*, 383.

- 31 Schmalz, *The Ojibwa of Southern Ontario*, 86.
- 32 Gidigaa Migizi, *Michi Saagiig Nishnaabeg*, 46.
- 33 Mississaugas of the Credit First Nation, "The Toronto Purchase, Treaty No. 13 (1805)," <http://mncfn.ca/torontopurchase>.
- 34 W. H. Pearson, *Recollections and Record of Toronto of Old: With references to Brantford, Kingston and other Canadian towns* (Toronto: William Briggs, 1914), 15–17.
- 35 Nick and Helma Mika, *United Empire Loyalists: Pioneers of Upper Canada* (Belleville: On Mika Publishing Company, 1976), 231.
- 36 Jesse Edgar Middleton, *The Municipality of Toronto: A History* (Toronto and New York: The Dominion Publishing Company, 1923), 85–86.
- 37 Schmalz, *The Ojibwa of Southern Ontario* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1991), 106–107.
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- 39 Allan Levine, *Toronto: Biography of a City* (Vancouver: Douglas and McIntyre, 2014), 25–26.
- 40 Scadding and Dent, *Toronto: Past and Present*, 19.
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- 44 Schmalz, *The Ojibwa of Southern Ontario*, 124–25.
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- 48 Greer, *Property and Dispossession*, 292.
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- 52 Schmalz, *The Ojibwa of Southern Ontario*, 150–51.
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- 54 Joe Berridge, *Perfect City: An Urban Fixer's Global Search for Magic in the Modern Metropolis* (Toronto: Sutherland House, 2019) 208.
- 55 Dionne Brand, *What We All Long For* (Toronto: Vintage Canada, 2005), 4.
- 56 Devine, "Circles and Lines."
- 57 Ange Loft, "Toronto Indigenous Context Brief" (produced by Jumblies Theatre, February 2018).