

HBCA B.22/a/19

Brandon House Post Journal 1815–1816

Journal at Brandon House Assiniboyne River Lat. 49.42 with some account of the Notorious Conduct of the NWC^o in Employing half Indians to destroy the Red River Settlement, also astronomical Observations made at the Same Place by Peter, Thomas¹ and Charles² Fidler – also the Abstract of a Thermometrical Journal kept at the same place with occasional remarks on the Seasons Productions &c & Copies of a Few Letters from Mr Rob^t Semple –

by Peter Fidler.

July 1815

16 *Sunday.* Mess^{rs} Bird,³ Thomas⁴ & self went in a Boat from Jack river along Lake Winnepeg in order to meet Mr Colin Robertson,⁵ who has been expected these

¹ Thomas Fidler (1795-1875) was born to Peter and Mary Fidler in 1795 at York Factory, and joined the HBC in 1812. He served as a Clerk at Brandon House (1815-16), and an Interpreter and Clerk at Beaver Creek and Fort Dauphin (1816-21). His superiors' views of him ranged from being a useful servant in tripping to Indians (1816), to being handy but disobedient and addicted to rum. He retired from HBC service in 1822 and settled in the Red River Colony. He was buried in St. Clements, Red River Settlement, in 1875. HBCA BS; B.51/d/4; B.63/f/1; B.239/d/175-216a.

² Charles Fidler (1798-1886) was the son of Peter and Mary Mackegonne (a Native). Charles entered the employ of the HBC in 1812 as a Labourer, working his whole career in the Winnipeg, Swan River and Red River Districts at Brandon House, Curling River, and Fort Dauphin. He quickly became a Steersman and eventually took over from his father as the Master in charge of Fort Dauphin when his father became ill in 1819. The following year (1820-21) he was posted in the Swan River District as an Assistant Trader. He retired in 1821 to the Red River with his wife, Anne Sanderson. He died in the RRS in 1886. HBCA BS; B.239/d/210 & 216a.

³ James Bird Sr. (c. 1773-1856) was born in Acton, Middlesex, England in 1773. He entered the service of the HBC in 1788 as a writer at York Factory. He continued in this role until 1792 when he was transferred Cumberland House, and in 1793 became a trader at the South Branch House. From that date until 1803, he was a trader in charge of the South Branch House, Carlton House, and Edmonton House. In 1803, he succeeded William Tomison as the Inland Chief of the HBC, stationed at Edmonton House (he had been acting chief since 1799). Thereafter, Bird spent most of his career as Inland Chief and Chief of the Saskatchewan District. With the killing of Robert Semple at Seven Oaks in 1816, Bird was named Acting Governor of Rupert's Land, a position he held until 1818. Thereafter he moved back to the Saskatchewan District and became a Chief Factor in 1820. He retired in 1824, and settled in the Red River Settlement. Over his career, he established a number of "country marriages" in his various postings. Of the wives we know about, one was a swampy Cree woman named Oo-menahhomish, referred to as Mary. When he moved to Edmonton House, he married a woman known as Elisabeth (probably Elizabeth Montour, 1789-1834), and in 1835 married Mary Kelly Lowman in the Red River Settlement. He died there in 1856. John E. Foster, "Bird, James (d. 1856)," *DCB Online*. Ted Binnema and Gerhard J. Ens (eds.), *Edmonton House Journals, Correspondence & Reports 1806-1821* (Calgary: Historical Society of Alberta, 2012), 13-80.

⁴ Thomas Thomas (c.a. 1766-1828) came from London, England, and entered HBC service in 1789. He served as Superintendent of the Southern Department from 1810 to 1814, and Governor of the Northern Department from 1814 to 1815 when he was replaced by Robert Semple. He spent the year of 1815-16 at Jack River House and convinced Colin Robertson to lead those RRS colonists who had been banished by the NWC in 1815 back to the Red River in 1815. He retired to the Red River Settlement in 1819 and was married to Sarah, a native woman. HBCA *Biographical Sheets* (BS); Bruce Peel, "Thomas, Thomas," *DCB Online*.

⁵ Colin Robertson (1783-1840) was born in Perth, Scotland, and entered the service of the NWC in 1803. In 1809 he left their service and in 1814 entered the service of the HBC with the goal of expanding the HBC presence in the Athabasca. As he passed Jack River in 1815, however, he found the dispersed Selkirk Colonists there and agreed to escort them back

several Days back from Montreal, with a considerable number of Canadians & Canoes for the Hudsons Bay Company on purpose to re-establish the Athapascan Country on a large scale and has been found already in 1791–1802 that it will not answer in a small one on account of the unjustifiable means used by the NWC^o for any beneficial purpose to the HBC^o

20th *Thursday*. We met Mr Robertson & Decoygne⁶ in a light Canoe & 8 Men 2 Miles on the South side Pigeon River early in the Morning. Francois came with them as Guide from Red River when they have been to Jack River; They relate that all the Colonial buildings have been burnt down the day after we left it, only the Smiths Shop left standing, given to us by the NWC^o to put our Goods in, altho Grant⁷ & others had previously promised that the HBC should have one of the Colonial Buildings – and accordingly every thing was removed into it, but set fire to by the NW Banditti & part of the Property burnt before it could be removed – and some stolen by the Canadians & half Breeds, Brules or Metis. and he says (Francis Mouyence)⁸ that the 2 Canoes we saw going up the Red

and re-establish the Red River Settlement which he did in September of 1815. In March of 1816 he captured the NWC Fort Gibraltar at Red River and arrested Duncan Cameron. In June of 1816, prior to the Battle of Seven Oaks, he left the colony after a dispute with Governor Semple. Thereafter he travelled to York Factory to return to London, but the ship he was travelling on, the *Prince of Wales*, got caught in the ice and he was forced to winter at Moose Factory. In June of 1817, he left Moose Factory for Canada, where he would be tried and acquitted for his actions in 1816. He stayed in the HBC until 1840, when he died. See Ted Binnema and Gerhard J. Ens (eds.), *Edmonton House Journals, Correspondence & Reports, 1806-1821*, 480.

⁶ François Decoygne (Decoigne) was born in Berthierville, Quebec, and was a clerk for the NWC at Fort George on the Saskatchewan River by 1798. By 1804 he had become the senior clerk in the NWC's Athabasca department, and from 1806 to 1810 he was on the Winnipeg River and on the South Saskatchewan. In 1813 he built the NWC Rocky Mountain House at Jasper, and the year after he travelled to Fort William. In 1814, Colin Robertson engaged him to return to the Athabasca for the HBC where he was bound at this point. He worked for two years at Lesser Slave Lake, but in December of 1816, the NWC seized his post and supplies. By 1818, dissatisfied with the HBC, he left the west to settle in Montreal. Marjorie Wilkens Campbell, "Decoigne, François," *DCB Online*.

⁷ This is Cuthbert Grant, a Metis clerk of the NWC. He was born at the NWC post Fort Treblant around 1794 to Cuthbert Grant Sr. and Margaret Utinawasis. He joined the NWC in 1810 and by 1812 was a clerk in the Upper Red River department. By 1814 he was enlisted by the NWC to gather together a group of Metis in the northwest to destroy the Selkirk Colony. As "Captain General" of the Metis, he took a prominent role in the destruction of the colony, and was one of the "Chiefs" of the Metis who signed the decree dispersing the Selkirk Colony in June of 1815. In 1816, he led a group of about 60 Metis who killed a group of HBC men and colonists at Frog Plain, leading to the second dispersal of the colony. After the merger of the NWC and HBC in 1821, Cuthbert Grant was hired by the HBC as "warden of the plains". He thereafter founded the settlement of White Horse Plain/St. François Xavier in the Red River Settlement. He died there in 1854.

⁸ This is Francois Monjeunier/Monjunier, He was a son of Germain Maugenest and a Native woman. He was born about 1791 in Rupert's Land, and joined the HBC in 1808 at Albany House. He is listed as a servant at Brandon House as early as 1810-11, and in 1815-16 when he was posted to Riviere Qu'Appelle, it was noted that he was "Sober Honest and a good interpreter." From 1816 to 1819 he was an Interpreter at Fort Hibernia and then at Beaver Creek. From 1819 to 1822 he was posted to the Red River district as an Interpreter. In 1823-24 he was listed as a Freeman, and in 1824-25 he was listed as a settler at Red River. In the 1827 Census of the Red River Settlement, he was listed as being 36 years old, a Protestant, and married with three sons and one daughter. He is listed in the Red River Censuses until 1846, and dies there in 1849. HBCA B.3/d/122-125; B. 22/d/1-4; B.63//f/1; B.239/d/165-216a; 239/g/2-4; E.4/2; E.5/1-11. AM Censuses of the Red River Settlement.

River at Riviere au Morts⁹ when they came opposite the Colonial Buildings, which was then in Flames, Duncan Cameron¹⁰ took off his hat & huzzaed two or three times – nearly all the half Breeds dispersed, the greater part

[Fo. 1]

are gone to Fort William on Lake Superior, to assist carrying out the Colonists and to receive there from the hands of the Agents of the NWC^o the goods promised them for destroying the Colony – Only 3 or 4 half breeds were seen, and they said they were very sorry for driving away all the Colonists & destroying every thing – Mr Jno McLeod¹¹ & 3 of the Colony Servants & 2 others remained there for the purposes of Trade and for securing part of the Crop of wheat, Barley & Potatoes. Mr Robertson says he left Montreal 24th May (The Agents for the NWC^o left it on the 8) and that he has engaged and brought up 157 Canadians & 20 officers included and he expects them to arrive soon – he left them a little N of Fort William, but they are short of Provisions – he met Capt. McDonell¹² in Company with 6 NW Canoes carrying him to Montreal –

⁹ Riviere au Morts, or Dead River, is today known as Netley Creek. It enters the Red River from the north side some 6 miles from Lake Winnipeg. According to John McDonnell of the North West Company, the river was named Riviere aux Morts because a camp of Assiniboines, Crees and Saulteaux were killed here by the Sioux. It was a favoured camping spot of the natives of the region. John McDonnell, "The Red River," in W. Raymond Wood and Thomas D. Thiessen (eds.), *Early Fur Trade on the Northern Plains* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1985), 79

¹⁰ At the time being described, Duncan Cameron (1764-1848) was the proprietor of the NWC's Fort Gibraltar at the junction of the Red and Assiniboine River and, as such, in the middle of the dispute between Lord Selkirk and the NWC described in this journal. He was born in Scotland and emigrated as a child to New York. He and his parents came to Canada during the American Revolution in 1784. Duncan joined the NWC in 1784 and was elected a partner in 1800. From 1807 to 1811 he was stationed at Lake Winnipeg, and from 1811 to 1814 at Rainy Lake. In 1814 he was put in charge of the Red River district and headquartered at Fort Gibraltar. He was in the forefront of destroying the Selkirk Colony in 1815. In 1816 he was taken prisoner by the HBC at Fort Gibraltar and sent to England for trial. He was never tried and was released. In 1820 he returned to Canada and settled at Williamstown, Glengarry. He died there in 1848. W. Stewart Wallace (ed.), *Documents Relating to the North West Company* (Toronto: Champlain Society, 1934), 429-30.

¹¹ John McLeod (1788-1849) was born at Stornoway, Scotland in 1788, and entered the service of the HBC in 1811. He sailed for Red River with Miles Macdonell arriving in Red River in 1812. He was much involved in the fledgling Selkirk Colony and in the period 1812 to 1814 he helped to establish the Pembina Post (Fort Daer) and the post at Turtle River in North Dakota. He was back in the Selkirk Settlement in the summer of 1815 and helped to take care of HBC matters there after the colonists had been expelled to Jack River, and he helped re-establish the Selkirk Colony in the fall of 1815. In that year he was transferred to the English River District and was there arrested by the NWC and sent to Montreal in 1817 to stand trial. His case was dismissed and he returned to Red River in 1818. The next season he was again in the English River District where he stayed until 1821. He married Charlotte Pruden in 1819 and at the merger he was made Chief Trader. Thereafter he served in the Columbia District, Norway House and in Lower Canada. He retired from the HBC in 1848 and died suddenly of Cholera in 1849. Sylvia Van Kirk, "McLeod, John," *DCB Online*.

¹² This is Miles Macdonell/McDonell (1769-1828). He was appointed Governor of Assiniboia by Lord Selkirk in 1811. He was born in Inverness, Scotland and emigrated with his family to the Mohawk Valley, New York, in 1773. The family resettled as Loyalists in Lower Canada in 1783. Miles had become an ensign in the King's Own Regiment in 1782 serving until 1784. He farmed in Upper Canada and in 1794 was a lieutenant in the Royal Canadian Volunteer Regiment rising to the rank of Captain in 1796. In 1811, Lord Selkirk selected him as governor of Assiniboia despite the fact that many of his relatives were in the NWC. Macdonell had trouble with this venture from his arrival in the RRS in 1812. This included feeding the colonists, which led to the Pemman Proclamation of 1814, and the restriction of hunting buffalo on horseback. Harassed by the NWC, and unable to control the situation, he surrendered to the NWC in 1815. As noted here, he was taken to Canada by the NWC to stand trial, but was never tried. He returned west in 1816 and helped capture Fort William with Lord Selkirk, and recaptured Fort Douglas in the January of 1817. He then assumed the duties of

a little to the N of rain Lake, – he remained with him ½ an hour & had a private conversation with him, & he brought to me 2 Letters from him & some to others he had written some time before – We stopped together one hour & got breakfast, where Mr Decoygne went ahead to Jack river in the Canoes and Mr Robertson accompanied us in the Boat

22nd *Saturday.* at 4 AM we arrived at the outlet of Lake Winnepeg The 20 Inst Mr Warren¹³ died in great agony, he had been very bad for 3 Days before – ever since his Scull was fractured with a small splinter of a wall piece bursting he has never had his right senses – he was buried this Morning with Military honours, just at the entrance of the Lake on the N Side & a handsome building erected over his pane? since:

23 *Sunday* we got back to Jack River House¹⁴

25 *Tuesday* Mr Robertson returned to the entrance of the Big Lake to meet his people

26 *Wednesday* Mess^{rs} Thomas & Bird went there also.

28 *Friday.* Mr Jn^o Clark¹⁵ the head Manager for the Athabescow business with Mr McDugald arrived in a light Canoe. Humphrey Favell¹⁶ came with them from

Governor of the colony through the spring and summer of 1817. Thereafter he returned to Upper Canada. He died in 1828 at Pointe Fortune on the Ottawa River. Herbert J. Mays, “Macdonell, Miles,” *DCB Online*.

¹³ John Warren was a Clerk for the Colony who had come out in 1812, as an HBC worker. He never shows up in the employment accounts of the HBC, so must have been employed by the Selkirk Colony. He died of wounds suffered at Fort Douglas during an attack by the NWC/Metis on 11 June 1815. Lucille H. Campey, *The Silver Chief: Lord Selkirk and the Scottish Pioneers of Belfast, Baldoon and Red River* (Toronto: Natural Heritage Books, 2003), 175.

¹⁴ Jack River House was built in 1801 on an island near the mouth of the Jack River (Gunisao R.) at the NE end of Lake Winnipeg (Playgreen Lake) and was in operation until 1817, when it was replaced by the nearby Norway House I. It operated as a trading post and a sometime inland depot.

¹⁵ This is John Clarke (1781-1852) who was born in Montreal. He entered the service of the NWC in 1804 and from then until 1810 was stationed in the Athabasca Department. He left the NWC at that point and joined the HBC in 1814 to spearhead the HBC efforts to gain a foothold in the Athabasca District. In 1815 he established Fort Wedderburn, immediately opposite Fort Chipewyan, but given the determined opposition of the NWC, the winter turned into a disaster. Sixteen of his men starved to death and the rest of his men were forced to sign an agreement not to compete with the NWC to save themselves from starvation. As noted here, Clarke led a second expedition to the Athabasca in 1816, only to be arrested by Archibald Norman McLeod of the NWC in April of 1817. He was released later that year and served on the Peace River (1818-19) and at Ile-a-la-Crosse the following year. By 1820, however, Lord Selkirk, James Bird, and Colin Robertson decided that Clarke was too vain and extravagant to front the Athabasca efforts. Though Clarke became Chief Factor in the HBC after the merger of 1821, he was never trusted by George Simpson. He retired from the HBC in 1835. See Ted Binnema and Gerhard J. Ens (eds.) *Edmonton House Journals, Correspondence & Reports 1806-1821* (Calgary: Historical Society of Alberta, 2012), 465-66. Jennifer S.H. Brown, “Clarke, John,” *DCB Online*.

¹⁶ Humphrey Favil/Favel (b.ca. 1771-1850) was the older brother of Thomas Favel and the son of John Favel and a Swampy Cree woman named Titameg. The first notice of him in the accounts of the HBC is in 1805 working in the Red River district out of Albany Factory. In 1810-11 he is found in the accounts of Brandon House where he stays until 1813. In 1813, he winters at Portage de Prairie, and in 1814-14 is a Labourer at Pembina Post. His last year in the HBC is at Fort

the Winnipeg river as Guide, he had been sent there some time before from the Forks with Pemmican to meet our Canadians – Mr Jn^o McLeod has employed 4 or 5 Freeman to

[Fo. 1d]

assist building another House – at the Sandy Point near Berens river, Mr Clarks canoe being hawled lightly on the beach and all going in search of Eggs, the wind blew her off. luckily rather a side wind, prevailed, that she drove ashore again about 20 Miles off toward Jack river, with every thing they had in her all safe – This ought to be a caution to others to hawl up the Canoe well before they leave her.

30th *Sunday* All our Canadian Canoes arrived at the outlet of Lake Winnipeg – Mess^{rs} Rod^k McKenzie,¹⁷ Linklater¹⁸ & Lewis¹⁹ Co^s old officers went there to Join them – Mr Decoygne also accompanied them – a 10 Gall Keg of High Spirits was given out amongst the Canadians and most of them got very Drunk – There is no House to receive the officers in there, nor any necessary article of Table Equipage, which I suppose will rather startle them – Thank God we have a good quantity of Pemmican to serve sufficiently to put every one to his intended place of wintering if tolerable expedition is made; There is a great want of many or Indeed all kinds of Clothing for the Canadians, as they like to flash & live well while they can, seldom thinking of the time to come, indeed this is the case with the greater number of them – being very much like English Sailors in this Respect. I believe they have 18 Canoes but some of them very indifferent, which will be replaced by Seven others new built by Mr Bird & left at Cumberland House his Spring – It is intended to send Mess^{rs} Decoygne & Lewis beyond the first ridge of the Rocky Mountains, but I afterwards found that they went to the lesser slave Lake, to compleat the Chain of Posts between the

William, on the Red River (1815-16), as a Middleman. It was noted that he was “obstinate and useless.” Presumably, he became a Freeman and in 1829 is listed for the first time as a settler (age 55) in the Red River Settlement with a wife and six children. He dies in the Red River Settlement in 1850. In the burial register he is listed as 86 years of age.

¹⁷ Roderick McKenzie (Junior) (1791-1830) was a native of Gaerloch, Ross-shire in Scotland, and entered the HBC service in 1811 as an Apprentice Clerk. He was a Writer in the East Winnipeg District in 1812-13 and was at Red River in 1814-15. He joined John Clarke’s Athabasca Expedition in 1815. He remained in the Athabasca for two years, and in 1818 travelled to Montreal to give evidence against the NWC. On his return from Montreal in 1819 he became District Master at Lac la Pluie, where he remained until 1822. Thereafter he became Chief Trader at Fort Alexander and then Churchill. In 1824 he became Chief Trader at Split Lake in the Nelson River District, and in 1825 the Chief Trader at Portneuf. He died at Portneuf in June of 1830. HBCA BS. E.E. Rich (ed.), *Journal of Occurrences in the Athabasca Department by George Simpson, 1820 and 1821, and Report* (London: The Hudson’s Bay Record Society, 1938), 454.

¹⁸ This is probably William Linklater from Sandwick, Orkney Islands. He was a long-serving servant who had joined the HBC around 1790. He was an Interpreter at Isle a la Crosse in 1814-16, and Master and Trader for the HBC at the Rock in 1816-17, and Oxford House from 1817-20. In 1820-21 he was posted to Deers Lake as a Trader. In 1821-22, George Simpson noted that William was a faithful old servant who had served 32 years, but was now superannuated. He recommended that the committee discharge him and send him home with a present. B.239/d/165-216a; B.239/f/12.

¹⁹ John Lee Lewes (1792-1872) was interpreter and trader for the HBC at Slave Lake and Lesser Slave Lake from 1815-1821. HBCA BS.

Athapescow & Saskatchewan River – Mr Clark is to be in Peace River & McAwley²⁰ at the Great Slave Lake – Mr McKenzie & Campbell²¹ at the Athapescow Lake – Mr Logan²² at the Isle a la Crosse – Mr Alex^r Kennedy²³ just now arrived here from York Factory & will Accompany them to Cumberland House to fit them out & give the Canadians another booze.

August 1815

1 *Tuesday*. Mr Thomas Thomas the Superintendent appointed me to go with 10 Men in a Boat to find a good situation for building a Depôt at about the lower end of Knee Lake, where the Athapescow

[Fo.2]

people are to receive their Goods & leave their furs, as it is considered that they would not have time to fetch the Goods from the Sea Coast – similar to the Rain Lake, where the NW get their annual supplies who winter to the

²⁰ Aulay McAulay was an HBC Clerk in the Athabasca at this time, and about 40 years of age. He was a former employee of the NWC, but was recruited for the Athabasca expeditions by Colin Robertson in 1815. He made several attempts to establish Great Slave Lake on behalf of the HBC in 1816 and 1817, and was there in 1818-19. He was left in charge of Fort Wedderburn in the summer of 1819, and rebuilt the Fort. In the fall of 1819, he was forced to surrender his goods to the NWC, and returned to Great Slave Lake in 1820-21. He served in the Athabasca until 1823, after which he retired to Canada. E.E. Rich (ed.), *Journal of the Occurrences in the Athabasca Department by George Simpson, 1820 and 1821, and Report* (London: The Hudson's Bay Record Society, 1938), 447-448.

²¹ This is Duncan Campbell. He was a clerk hired by Colin Robertson in Montreal in 1815 for the HBC's Athabasca Campaign. Prior to this he was in the employ of the NWC as a clerk and interpreter in the English River District. He had served there with Colin Robertson. When he reached Jack River, in the late summer of 1815, Campbell and his brigade were sent to Lake Athabasca as an advance party to rally the Indians and begin the construction of Fort Wedderburn. When John Clarke went to winter on the Peace River, he left Campbell, Roderick McKenzie, and fourteen men to hold Athabasca Lake for the HBC. Campbell was left in charge of Fort Wedderburn in the winter of 1815-16, and in the 1815-16 Outfit, he kept the journal there. In the spring of 1818, he returned to Jack River where he swore an affidavit to James Bird about his capture and imprisonment by A.N. McLeod (NWC) in September of 1816. He returned to Fort Wedderburn in the fall of 1818 and was there until the spring of 1819. Thereafter, he returned to Canada. A.S. Morton, *A History of the Canadian West to 1871* (Toronto: Thomas Nelson & Sons, 1939), 604, 607. E.E. Rich, *The History of the Hudson's Bay Company 1670-1870*, Volume II (London: Hudson's Bay Record Society, 1959), 341. List of Men and Accounts, NWC 1805, Masson Papers, McGill University Library. HBCA B.39/a/6; B.190/b/1, fos. 6-10d, 23-23d; B.239/d/210, fo. 23d. LAC, C3, Vol. 8 (Selkirk Papers), 2501-2502; C15, Vol. 60, 15,683-15,686.

²² Robert Logan (1773-1866) was probably born in Jamaica to a West Indian planter who moved to Montreal in the 1780s. He joined the NWC in 1801 and served at Sault Ste. Marie until 1814. In that year he was recruited by Colin Robertson to outfit his Athabasca Campaign, and accompanied Robertson west. In 1815-16 he wintered at Ile-a-la-Crosse and from 1816 to 1818 was put in charge of establishing Rock Depot at Swampy Lake. In 1818-19 he was the Master in charge of Lac La Pluie, and in 1819 was appointed Sheriff of Assiniboia at the Red River Settlement. In 1825 he purchased Fort Douglas and the Windmill at Point Douglas from the Selkirk Estate and became a settler and businessman. From 1825 to 1839 he was a Councillor of Assiniboia. He died in the Red River Settlement in 1866. HBCA BS. J.E. Rea, "Logan, Robert," *DCB Online*.

²³ This is Alexander Kennedy (1781-1832) who at this time was Master at Cumberland House. He was born in the Orkney Islands at Braehead, S. Ronaldsay, and joined the HBC in 1798. He served at York Factory as a writer until he was made Master at Cumberland House in 1805. He was then Master at Moose Lake (1806-07), Drunken Lake (1807-08), Fort Hibernia (1808-11), Brandon House (1811-12), Red Deer River (1812-13), before returning to Cumberland House (1813-19). Thereafter he served at Norway House, Cumberland House, Spokane House, and Fort George from 1820 to 1825. He became Chief Factor in 1821. After several trips to England, he served briefly as Chief Factor at Albany (1826-29). He retired, with his family, to the Red River Settlement in 1830, but died of Typhus in England in 1832. He was married to Aggathas and Mary Isbister, and they had ten children. HBCA BS.

Northward of Portage la Loche, or Methy Carrying place – at 4³/₄ AM we embarked and put up on the Hairy Lake at 7 ¹/₃ PM. Got as a supply of 1 Kettle, 3 lb Shot, 1 lb Powder, 2 flints, 2 Qts Spirits & 5 Bags Pemmican, 2 old Nets & to get 2 others and a fishing Canoe at Oxford House, to fish with where the Depot is to be built.

2nd *Wednesday.* At 3³/₄ AM we got away & arrived at the Painted Stone at 8 PM & put up – water shoal in *Each a way mam is* river.

3 *Thursday.* At 5³/₄ AM left the Carrying place and stopped a little after for rain – arrived at the White Fall and got all over, here we met 4 Boats from the Factory with Goods, most all the Men from the Swan & Saskatchewan Rivers and low Country have been employed carry^s up Goods to Jack river for the Athapescow Expedition; so that they will have two trips to make, which will cause the distant old established places to be late in the fall before they can get there with the usual supply of Goods, and in some cases perhaps a little part of the Trade may be lost – besides the Goods that came out last year will not be sufficient by a deal to furnish the old Trading posts, after the Northern Expedition is supplied.

4 *Friday.* At 4 AM left the White Fall portage and passed down the river on the left & avoided the Hill Carrying place; got to the last Carrying place in *Wee pin a pannis* river & put up at 7¹/₄ PM.

5 *Saturday.* At 3¹/₂ AM we left the Portage & arrived at Oxford House at 4¹/₂ PM.

6 *Sunday* At 8¹/₃ AM we left Oxford House taking with us two old Nets & a small Canoe to fish with; put up about 8 Miles along the Knee Lake – Left one Man at Oxford, we had from Jack river.

7 *Monday.* Got away at 4¹/₂ AM & put up near the Lower end of the Knee Lake at 7 PM. examined very well as we passed along, but found no wood of a proper size & a convenient situation to build at.

[Fo. 2d]

8 *Tuesday.* Employed the whole Day in examining both sides of the Lake and even 4 miles down Jack river, but found no good place; but the best that there is, is about 4 Miles from the lower end of the Knee Lake on the North side, but the woods on the main shore are very small & the ground covered with a deep moss and Swampy; however there are 2 or 3 Islands the farthest not above ³/₄ of a mile distant, where I believe wood will be got sufficient to finish the Depôt buildings – where the House will be built is sandy, about 2 Acres of Ground, a fine view of the Lake – Left 2 Men with the Nets at Jack river, the Tickameg

are there very numerous swimming on the surface of the water, they are to join us tomorrow.

9th *Wednesday* Set 8 Men to cut down Pines to cut into Logs of 28, 16 & 8 feet each. They cut down & made ready 94 Logs – our 2 fishermen returned but could not catch a single fish. notwithstanding they are so very numerous on the Surface – they are the same every Summer but none can be caught in Nets, as they have often times tried

10th *Thursday.* The two fishermen put down their 4 Nets in the best places they could imagine, in order to find out the best places. – The other 8 Men cutting down Logs as Yesterday & finished 106 more – This G^d is about 700 Yards from the low sandy point on the N side where the Depot is to be built, which wood can easily be rafted or hawled over the Ice in Winter. at 2 PM Mess^{rs} D^d Sutherland²⁴ & Hill arrived from YF with 4 Boats one of which is loaded with Colony Goods & people. They remained here two hours & again Embarked for Jack river above

11th *Thursday* The 8 Men cut down the Woods at the Point where the Buildings are to be erected – Got from our Nets 5 Tickameg & 7 Succors this seems to be a scarce place for fish. Indeed, in general all thro' this Country the Summer Months are generally the worst in this respect.

12 *Friday.* Sent away 9 Men to get 40 pieces each of Pine Bark to cover the two small Houses for the Men & Master to live in whilst the Larger buildings are erected, which I imagine will be the labor of 8 Men for 3 Years according to the extensive plan of the Buildings. That is 3 Buildings of 90 feet each 25 feet wide & 2 Stories high, to be built of Boards & Quartering. Two to be as Stores &c and the other to be

[Fo.3]

divided into different rooms for the accommodation of the Northern Gentlemen, whilst they remain here every Summer probably from 7 to 10 Days till the Men are supplied and Canoes fitted out. at 11½ AM Mr Thomas the

²⁴ Donald Sutherland (1778-1872) was at this time (1815-16) the District Master and Trader of the Manitoba District stationed at Big Point House. He had been in the HBC service for 19 years. He came from Clyne, Southerlandshire, and entered the service in 1795. From 1795 to 1797 he was the Tailor at Albany House. At that point he returned home, but in 1798 returned to serve as Tailor and Bowsman at York Factory until 1801, when he again returned home for one year. From 1802 to 1804 he was the Tailor at York Factory, and from 1804 to 1811 was a Tailor and Trader at various posts inland from York Factory. From 1811 to 1814 he was the Assistant Trader/Trader in the Winnipeg District and from 1814 to 1816 he was the Master and Trader in the Manitoba District at Red Deers River and Big Point. From 1816 to 1821 he was the District Master in the Winnipeg District at Pigeon River, and Beren's River. In 1821 he was appointed Chief Trader at Norway House, and in 1822 he retired and returned home with two children. He returned to Norway House in 1823, and a year later returned home for the last time with two more children. HBCA B5; B.239/123-216a.

Superintendent arrived here in a small Canoe with 2 Indians from Jack river, he is on his way to YF to be there on the arrival of the ship, he remained here two hours and again embarked, he says that the 5th Ins^t the last of our Canadians were to leave the outlet of Lake Winnepeg for their respective situations in the Athapescow Country &c. Set a few Rabbit snares here & killed 3 also received from our Nets 4 Tickameg, 2 Perch, 1 Jack & 5 Succors – in the Evening the Men returned with the Pine bark for covering the temporary houses, but it is of an indifferent quality the Trees are so very knotty.

13th *Sunday*. Marked out a place for the Buildings 40 yds & 1 foot square also two small temporary ones 20 feet by 16 – got from our Nets here 6 Tickameg & 7 Succors.

14th *Monday*. Set 4 Men each about building the 2 small Houses, 3 each got wood on the Island & the other two got roofing sticks & cut down logs to build them with, the 9th Man Dug holes for the Posts & got some roofing sticks – The other man attending the Nets, repairing them &c.

15th *Tuesday*. At 5½ AM Mess^{rs} Bird & Holdsworth²⁵ arrived here in one Boat from Jack river on their way to the Factory. They remained here 1½ hours & then embarked. they left here 8 Bundles of furs & a Tent to take down with us – he says that Mr Bourke²⁶ & Holt²⁷ got wounded by a Pistol going off unexpectedly, the former in the Shoulder where the Ball lodges & cannot be extracted, the Ball passing thro' Mr Holts hand, but both are likely to do well – Six fish from our Nets – Got the posts of the Houses up & 1 tier of Logs round.

²⁵ This is George Holdsworth. He was employed as a “Surgeon” by the HBC at York Factory in 1813, but was transferred to the Selkirk Colony in 1814. He was then appointed to Miles Macdonell’s Council. It was Holdsworth who posted the “Pemican Proclamation” at the NWC post at the Souris River. In 1815 he was at Berens River. Ross Mitchell, “Early Doctors at Red River and Manitoba,” *MHS Transactions*, Series 3 (1947-48).

²⁶ John Palmer Bourke (1791-1851) was born in Ireland, in 1791, and engaged with the HBC in 1812. He sailed from Sligo, Ireland aboard the *Robert Taylor* in that year, along with the first group of Selkirk settlers. He remained at York Factory during the winter and went to the settlement at Red River in 1813, where he acted as storekeeper for the colony. Following the dispersion of the Colony in June of 1815, Bourke moved temporarily to Jack River. He returned with Colin Robertson in the fall of the same year. He, along with Colin Robertson and a group of men, took possession of Fort Gibraltar on March 17, 1816. On June 19, 1816, he started out with Governor Semple to confront the Metis at Seven Oaks but was sent back for the cannon. On returning he saw Semple’s party under attack and made his retreat, even as he was wounded. Forced to abandon the colony, he and the other settlers fled to Lake Winnipeg. Bourke, however, was captured by the NWC, under Archibald McLeod, at Netley Creek. He was taken to Montreal to stand trial in 1818, for the destruction of Fort Gibraltar, but was acquitted. Thereafter he served as a clerk for the HBC at various Red River posts, but in 1824 was transferred to the service of Robert Pelly, the new governor of Red River, a post he held until 1826. Thereafter, he became a clerk at the HBC post at Pembina until 1829. Married to Nancy Campbell, he settled at Red River and in 1835 purchased the HBC experimental

²⁷ Lieutenant Ener Holte was the leader of a small group of Norwegians hired by the HBC and who arrived at York Factory 1814. Later in 1815, he was put in charge of armed Schooner, the *Cuchillon*, to guard the mouth of the Red River. He was one the first men killed at the Battle of Seven Oaks on 19 June 1816.

- 16 *Wednesday.* Got the Houses up to the Windows, but left off sooner than usual for rain – 13 fish of Sorts mostly succors, sometimes called in this Country Carp a very soft bony fish and very bad eating, the head & shoulders being only generally used.
- 17 *Thursday.* Got the Square of the Houses up and one ridge pole on. 5 fish of sorts from the Nets – so very few to be caught that the
[Fo. 3d]
 Pemmican we brought with us from Jack river is waisting very fast.
- 18th *Friday.* Got all the Roof sticks on one House, and the other about the half. bad cold weather these two Days Strong Gale at North on the 16th with Thunder & Rain. 8 fish from the Nets
- 19th *Saturday* Finished both Houses at 2 PM, and covered them both well with Bark – we have now only one bag of Pemmican left amongst 10 Men, the very few fish we can catch saves very little of it – Took up our Nets as we scarsely catch any thing but Succors & as we hourly expect a pilot to arrive from Jack river to conduct us down the rapid below and to have all the Nets ready dried before he arrives, to be ready to start
- 20th *Sunday.* Strong Gale at SE & South.
- 21 *Monday.* Heavy Gale all Night at S.SW & West – Sent the Men to get stones for Chimneys, but obliged to leave off on account of the heavy swell in the Lake – The Men collected & burnt all the Rubbish & cleared the point compleatly for building & Showers of Rain in the afternoon.
- 22nd *Tuesday.* As our Provisions is now nearly all expended we embarked for the Factory on that account, as all the men with me their Contracts are expired, and none of them would consent to remain Longer when they were seperately asked at Jack river before we embarked: Left this place at 9¹/₄ AM & a little after we met Mr Thomas Swain²⁸ 3 Miles below, with whom we stopped Three Hours, and engaged one Man to return with him in place of an Indian he got at YF to

²⁸ This is probably Thomas Swain (b.c. 1779) who entered the HBC service in 1793. He served as a writer at York Factory until 1796, and accompanied Peter Fidler to Lake Athabasca in 1802, where he set up Mansfield House on the Peace River. He subsequently established Chiswick House on Great Slave Lake in 1803, and was left in charge of Nottingham House in 1805. In 1806-07 he wintered at Jack River, and he was trader at Severn House in 1812, Fort Hibernia 1814-1816, and returned to Europe in 1818. In 1819-20, he was at Norway House and from 1820-21 at Cumberland House. He retired in 1821. E.E. Rich (ed.), *Journal of the Occurrences in the Athabasca Department by George Simpson, 1820 and 1821, and Report* (London: The Hudson's Bay Record Society, 1938), 470.

assist his two Boats up: The Indian returns with us – Also exchanged Wm Budge for Wm Dennett²⁹ to Guide us down – Budge is to return when he meets the other Boats expected down soon, as he did not know the rapids.

23rd *Wednesday.* Put up last night in the Sandy bay in the Swampy Lake at 7¼ PM. & this Morning we embarked at 4 AM and put up at the Still water at 7 PM cold foggy Day.

24 *Thursday.* The Men finished their last provisions last night, gave them a share of the little I had left: the whole we have will not be

[Fo. 4]

half allowance till we reach the Factory. – Embarked at 4½ AM and got to the entrance of Steel river, where we remained two Hours to Cook 3 Geese we killed in the Day & then embarked, rowed & drove with the current alternately all night.

25th *Friday.* Arrived at Penny cutway river at 8 AM at to York factory at 7 PM. cold weather – The Schooner arrived from CR & Severn 3 hours before us, very few Deer to be seen crossing the Rivers.

26th *Saturday.* The Hadlow Cap^t Davidson anchored in 5 fm hole with 84 Emigrants & then she is to go down to Moose Factory, to take on a cargo of sawn wood by the steam Engine lately erected

28 *Monday.* The Passangers came on shore, and the Prince of Wales, Cap^t Hanwell arrived & anchored in 5 fathom hole, also came on Shore Robert Semple³⁰ Esq^r the Governor General of all the Hudsons Bay Company, Territories & also Mr

²⁹ This is probably William Dunnet/Dennet (1780-1864) from Ronaldsha, Orkney Islands. He joined the HBC in 1796 and worked as a Boatman inland from York Factory his entire career. From 1811 to 1814 he was a Steersman and Runner to the Indians in the Saskatchewan District. In 1815-16 he went home due to ill health, and was probably going to York Factory here to take the ship home. By 1818-19 he was again a Steersman in the Swan River District. Thereafter, he worked briefly as a Steersman at Ile-a-la-Crosse, and in 1822 he retired to the Red River Settlement. By that time, he had a long-term relationship with Sophia Ballendine, and they had at least four children. He died at St. Andrews, Red River Settlement in 1864. HBCA BS; B.239/d/165-216a.

³⁰ Robert Semple (1777-1816) was born in Boston, Mass., and during the American Revolution he and his parents moved back to England. He became a merchant, travelling around the world. In 1815, Lord Selkirk arranged his appointment as governor of the HBC territories. Also in that year, he travelled with this contingent to the Red River Settlement arriving at York Factory in August 1815. He travelled to the recently re-established colony later in fall and left Colin Robertson in charge of the settlement. He spent the rest of the year travelling to the various posts of the HBC in the region, but in 1816 returned to the colony. He then led a contingent of HBC men and settlers to interdict the Metis led by Cuthbert Grant who had been sent by the NWC to destroy the settlement on 19 June 1816. Semple was killed in this battle, known as the Battle of Seven Oaks. Hartwell Bowsfield, "Semple, Robert," *Dictionary of Canadian Biography (DCB) Online*.

Wm Sinclair³¹ who went home last Year – at 8 PM Mr Archibald McDonald³² arrived in a small canoe from Jack River – The Dee Sloop of War Cap^t Andrews daily expected – he has a cher amie on board.

30 *Wednesday*. Geo. Ross³³ married to one of the young Settlers lately come ashore – a very short courtship – bad rainy weather.

31 *Thursday*. Another Marriage – The Governor swore in some of his Council by Mess^{rs} Thomas, Bird, Sinclair & Mr Laurence Wilkenson³⁴ as his secretary – arranged some of the Inland business – The Dee Sloop of War arrived – Mr Adam Snoddie³⁵ & 2 Boats arrived from Churchill with the Furs made in that Department – All the Hadlows Cargo on shore.

³¹ This is William Sinclair Sr. (b.ca. 1766-1818) from Harray, Orkney. He had entered HBC service in 1782 and worked inland from York Factory. He became Master and Trader in 1796 and Chief in 1811. Between 1798 and 1814, he worked at Oxford House, Knee Lake, and Jack River. In 1814-15, he went home for a year, but in 1815-16 he was again Chief of Knee Lake, and in 1816-17 Chief of Oxford House. He died of dropsy at York Factory in 1818, and was buried there. HBCA BS; B.239/d/188.

³² Archibald McDonald (1790-1853) was employed by Lord Selkirk to recruit colonists in Scotland in 1812. He arrived in the RRS in 1813. He was appointed to the Council of Assiniboia to aid the colony's governor, Miles Macdonell, and during the winter of 1814-15 he served as one of Macdonell's principal lieutenants. When the colonists were forced out of the settlement in June of 1815, McDonald proceeded with them to Jack River House. While the settlers would return to the settlement in the fall of 1815, McDonald returned to England via York Factory and prepared a written account of the events that led to the abandonment of the RRS. This account was published in London in 1816. Later that year he joined Selkirk in Montreal, and led a group of disbanded De Meuron soldiers who aided in the capture Fort William. McDonald then returned to Montreal and sailed for England in the fall. In 1818 he returned to the Red River settlement to assist in the administration of the colony. In 1820 he joined the Hudson's Bay Company as a clerk and was posted to Ile a la Crosse. In 1821 he was transferred to the Columbia Department where he spent the rest of his career. He retired to Quebec in 1848 and died in 1853. Jean Murray Cole, "McDonald, Archibald," *DCB Online*.

³³ George Ross came from Caithness, Scotland, and was in the service of the HBC at York Factory in August 1815 when the *Hadlow and Prince of Wales* arrived with a group of colonists for Selkirk's colony. Christian Murray was the daughter of Alexander and Elizabeth Murray, who came out on Prince of Wales in 1815 with their daughter, as settlers for Red River. Christian is listed as being 25 years old in 1815. After a few days' acquaintance, George and Christiana were married at York Factory on 30 August 1815 and proceeded with the rest of the settlers to Red River. The couple proceeded on to Red River and spent the winter of 1815-1816 at Pembina. They returned to Red River in the spring, but were driven from the settlement after the Battle of Seven Oaks in June 1816. The settlers spent the winter of 1816-1817 encamped at the north end of Lake Winnipeg, and George worked on the Colony boats between York Factory and Lake Winnipeg. The couple returned to the Red River Settlement in the summer of 1817. In June 1820 George, his wife, and son Benjamin left the settlement for Upper Canada, where they settled in West Gwillimbury. Lucille H. Campey, *The Silver Chief: Lord Selkirk and the Scottish Pioneers of Belfast, Baldoon and Red River* (Toronto: Natural Heritage Books, 2003), 100; <http://www.lordselkirk.ca/settler-biographies/>

³⁴ Laurence Wilkinson was the private secretary of Governor Semple. He was killed, along with Semple, in the Battle of Seven Oaks in June of 1816.

³⁵ Adam Snodie/Snoddie was born about 1780 (age 39 in 1820) and came from Orphir, Orkney Islands. He entered the HBC service in about 1800 (20 years service in 1820) as a Steward at Churchill Factory. By 1808, he was an Inland Trader at Nelson House and would remain in the Churchill District until 1819. From 1817 to 1819, he was the District Master at Churchill Factory. From 1819 to 1821, he was the District Master at York Factory. In 1821-22. George Simpson remarked that he was an excellent trader and tolerable clerk but deficient in education and unqualified to be in charge of York Factory. He could not get over old prejudices and excited much dissatisfaction in his last year at York. He resigned and went home in 1821. HBCA B.42/d/85-95; B.239/d/165-216a; B.239/f/12.

September 1815

6 *Wednesday* Sent 2 Boats of Emigrants away for red River. they want to take so much of their own things that nothing can be sent for the Company – Mr Alexander McDonell³⁶ accompanied them who is now come from Europe – My business now is to get the Boats, People & every requisite to get all the Settlers Inland to Red River. The 2^d Inst Mr James Bird embarked for Edmonton House in a Boat & 9 Men besides his Son George³⁷ who is just ret^d from England where he has been 1 Winter & John Park³⁸ – Their Boat is well manned & light so I think they will reach their destination before the Ice sets in.

[Fo. 4d]

York Factory 5th September 1815 Mr Peter Fidler

Sir

The Situation of the Colonists here for Red river requiring the exertions of a Man of Abilities and Experience, and it being proper that they should be conveyed Inland without delay, I commit to you the Superintendence of this Important object & have directed Mr Alex^r McDonell to be guided by your opinion on all occasions where your Local Knowledge may be supposed to entitle you to speak decidedly. – In your progress Inland, you will be guided by the intelligence which may be received as to the state of affairs at Red River, and will either continue to carry the Colonists up in a Body or distribute them for the Winter at the diff^t Stations where Provisions may be most readily procured – The Zeal and Readiness with which you have entered into my views on the Subject convince me that nothing will be wanting on your part to contribute towards the re–establishment of this important Colony, in the secure and flourishing condition of which you will I trust hereafter see the best and most gratifying reward to your own mind. – For the Present you will

³⁶ Alexander McDonell was one of Selkirk's Agent in charge of the Red River Settlement. He was born around 1774 in Inverness, Scotland. In 1813, he volunteered his services to Lord Selkirk who engaged him in 1814 to recruit colonists for the Red River Settlement. In 1815, he accompanied them to Red River in the company of the new Governor Robert Semple. In September of 1815, Semple appointed him as second in command to Colin Robertson, who was then in charge of the Red River Settlement. After Robertson left the Red River Colony in June 1816, Macdonell was appointed as second in command to Robert Semple. When Semple was killed at Seven Oaks on June 19, 1816, Macdonell took charge of the colony which was dispersed. Macdonell re-established the colony in March of 1817 and guided it for the next few years. Selkirk's death and the merger of the HBC and NWC greatly reduced his influence, and he alienated both settlers and the HBC. By 1824, George Simpson considered him "disaffected" and one of the most dangerous men in the colony. Given his ostracism from the HBC, he left the colony in 1828. Edith Burley, "Macdonell, Alexander," *DCB Online*.

³⁷ George Bird (c. 1766-1855) was, as noted, the son of James Bird Sr. and one of his Native wives. He retained a good reputation in the HBC until his father retired in 1824. At the time of the merger he was a Clerk. Bird left the company in 1825 to settle at Red River. See Ted Binnema and Gerhard J. Ens (eds.), *Edmonton House Journals: Reports from the Saskatchewan District Including the Bow River Expedition 1821-16* (Calgary: Historical Society of Alberta, 2016), 334.

³⁸ John Park (b.ca.1770-1847) was at this time an Assistant Trader at Edmonton House. He came from Burra, Orkney Islands, and joined the HBC in 1792. He was an important servant in the Saskatchewan District from 1798 to 1822, when he retired to the RRS. See Ted Binnema and Gerhard J. Ens (eds.), *Edmonton House Journals, Correspondence & Reports 1806-1821* (Calgary: Historical Society of Alberta, 2012), 478-79.

consider Mr Colin Robertson as First & Mr Alexander McDonell as 2^d in Command at the Red River until the Earl of Selkirks pleasure be further known. – I hope to see you there in the Spring, and shall then communicate whatever Instructions the State of Affairs may appear to me to require

I am Sir Yours Sincerely
Robert Semple

It is the Governors intention to Winter at Hudson House,³⁹ as being the most central place we have for the Northern & Southern places. he is to proceed there as soon as the Ship is ready for Sea but it will be too long I am afraid before he can leave the Factory to be able to reach that place, before the Ice sets all Navigation fast. Mr Thomas Thomas

[Fo. 5]

has now quitted the HBC Service intending to become a Settler and fix at or near the Mannelow sopow Lake, also Mr Wm Cook.⁴⁰ The former is to pass this present Winter at Jack river & the other at Oxford House.

7th *Thursday.* Sent away two more Boats of Emigrants & Mr John Rogers⁴¹ the Minerologist now come from England accompanies them. 4 Pigs came out for the Colony but Jn^o Flett⁴² one of the Steersmen absolutely refused to allow any of them to be put on board the Boat he steered – Sent away 2 long Brass 3 lb

³⁹ Fidler here almost certainly means Carlton House III built in 1810 on the north side of the North Saskatchewan River, at the northern side of the “Crossing Place.” Hudson House, which was built in 1778 was closed in 1788, and burnt to the ground by Canadian trader in 1792. It was replaced by other posts. That Fidler meant Carlton House is attested to by James Bird’s letter to Robert Logan of 27 December 1815, where he notes that Semple was planning on wintering at the “crossing place” in the North Saskatchewan River. As well, Carlton House III was only about 20 miles above the abandoned Hudson House site. See Ted Binnema and Gerhard J. Ens (eds.), *Edmonton House Journals, Correspondence & Reports 1806 – 1821* (Calgary: Historical Society of Alberta, 2012), 85, 257, 487.

⁴⁰ This is William Hemmings Cook (c. 1766-1846). He was born at St. Andrews, Holborn, London, England and joined the HBC in 1786. He worked first as a writer at York Factory, then worked inland for the next fifteen years. He became Master at Chatham House from 1791-94, in charge of Nelson River posts from 1797 to 1809, and then returned to York Factory where he was Chief in charge from 1809 to 1815. In 1815 he retired briefly to Oxford Lake, but returned in 1816. In 1818-19 he was in charge of the Swan River district, retiring in April of 1819. He settled at Red River and had several Native wives and eight children. His son Joseph, worked with him in the Swan River district in his last year, and retired with him. Cook died in 1846. HBCA B.S. Irene Spry, “Cook, William Hemmings,” *DCB Online*.

⁴¹ Captain John Rogers, was one of Lord Selkirk’s officers, who was later killed at the Battle of Seven Oaks in 1816.

⁴² John Flett (1784-1865) came from Kirkwall, Orkney, Scotland and entered HBC service in 1806 as a Labourer. By 1809 it was noted he was a good Bowsmen and by 1812 was categorized as a Steersman on the North River. In 1813 he wintered on the Saskatchewan as a Steersman and in 1814-15 wintered at Ile-a-la-Crosse. His contract expired in 1815, and he was available to be hired to steer one of the boats carrying the Selkirk Settlers from York Factory to Red River. During the course of this trip, he married Isabella Murray (1797-1868), becoming one of the settlers of the Selkirk Colony. In June of 1816 he was employed to transport pemmican from Qu’Appelle to the RRS, and was taken prisoner by the NWC/Metis at the Qu’Appelle River on 8 May 1816. He was released on May 21, 1816 and allowed to travel to the Forks. John and Isabella were among those settlers forced to flee after the Battle of Seven Oaks in June 1816. They wintered at Jack River, where their first child was born. John continued to conduct boats for the colonists during this year. On their return to the settlement in 1817, John was granted Lot #24 by Lord Selkirk. John died on 3 January 1865. HBCA B.239/d/132-175. <https://www.wikitree.com/wiki/Flett-87>

Cannon for the Colony as the NWCo carried all the former artillery away last April. Mr James Sutherland⁴³ arrived here from Jack river which place he left 28 Ult., he was detained there in fitting out his different Posts, but is very difficient in Goods as well as Men to fix them as they require; he also brought down all the Books & Papers relating to the Colony, that had been forgot there by Mr Arch. McDonald – 3 Men was sent for them in an Indian Canoe & were not ½ way up Hill river & they returned.

8th *Friday* Yesterday the Hadlow sailed for Moose Factory – Busily emp^d repairing Boats to carry Goods Inland for the Company, They have few Boats here, and obliged in the Summer to make use of Several belong^s to the Colony, and now a few more is required of them

9th *Saturday*. Very bad weather, Rain, Snow & Sleet at a heavy Gale at NE.

10 *Sunday*. Sent away two more Boats, one of Colonists & 1 cont^s the Co^s property. The Former steered by Charles Fidler the other by Rob. Garrock⁴⁴ – Yesterday morning Surgeon Manning of the Dee Sloop of War died suddenly supposed to be an apoplectic fit

11 *Monday*. Captⁿ Andrews came on shore & the Surgeon was buried with Military honours – Mess^{rs} Sinclair & Sutherland getting things ready to go Inland, the former to be at the Depot building in Knee Lake & the other in red river – The Governor in Chief swore in two other Members of his Council Mr Sutherland & self – 10 Men is to be along with Mr Sinclair at Knee Lake – he takes a considerable quantity of Beef Pork & Flour Oatmeal &c in case the fishing should not be productive in Winter to maintain all his Men in building.

[Fo. 5d]

⁴³ James Sutherland (1778-1844) was born at Ronaldshay, Orkney Islands, and engaged with the HBC in 1797. He was stationed at Edmonton House as a writer (1798-1803), and then as a writer at Cumberland House and Green Lake. He became a Trader and Master at Cumberland House from 1808 to 1811, and then assigned to the Winnipeg District (1811 to 1813). He was put in charge of the Winnipeg and Western Winnipeg Districts (1814 to 1816). That is how he enters the story here. He was imprisoned by the NWC and Cuthbert Grant on 9 May 1816 while stationed in the Qu'Appelle. He was released on May 21. Thereafter he was put in charge of the Swan River District (1816-1818) and thereafter in charge of the Forks (1818-19) and Swan River (1819-21). After the merger of the HBC and NWC he was made Chief Factor of the Saskatchewan District (1821-22), and finished his career as Chief Factor at Severn (1823-25). Thereafter he was on medical leave and retired to the Red River Settlement in 1827. He married Jane Flett (1785-1835) with whom he had seven children. After Jane died, he married an "Indian woman." Ted Binnema and Gerhard J. Ens (eds.), *The Hudson's Bay Company: Edmonton House Journals, Correspondence & Reports 1806-1821* (Calgary: Historical Society of Edmonton), 482; HBCA B5.

⁴⁴ The longer career of this Robert Garrock/Garroch/Garrloch is difficult to determine as there were numerous Robert Garrocks. This one, however, was classified as a Steersman in 1815-16, wintering at Carlton House. He was still listed in HBC accounts in 1820-21 as a Steersman posted at Edmonton House. It was further noted that he was 49 years old and had been in the HBC service for 32 years. HBCA B.239/d/165-216a.

14th *Thursday.* at 4 PM 4 Boats embarked for Inland and I accompanied them – Mr Sutherland not having finished the Papers to send home – he and Mr Sinclair will come up after in Indian Canoes – all the Boats are very heavily loaded, on account of so very little goods going up in the Summer for the Old established Posts – the greater part being sent into the Athapescow Country – Three Days ago Mr Snoddie went to Churchill in 2 Boats with Goods and Provisions – also Mr Work⁴⁵ by Land to Severn, he is to winter at Trout Lake – Mr Sinclair Jun^{r46} & Finlayson⁴⁷ embarked with me, also Mr Joseph Spence,⁴⁸ The Latter to winter at Oxford House and in Spring to go up to Jack river and to go to the Athapescow country, as an Interpreter for the Northern Indians – Mess^{rs} Cook,

⁴⁵ John Work (b.ca. 1792-1861) came from Taughboyne, near Londonderry County, Donegal, Ireland. He joined the HBC in 1814 as a Writer/Steward at York Factory. In 1815-16 he was the 2nd Trader at Trout Lake in the Severn District. He acted as Master and Clerk of the Severn District from 1818-22, and in 1823 he was transferred across the Rocky Mountains. Work would spend the rest of his career in the Columbia District and on the west coast. He became Chief Trader in 1830 and Chief Factor in 1846. He was Chief Factor at Victoria in 1861 when he died. HBCA BS; B.239/d/165-188.

⁴⁶ William Sinclair Jr. (1794-1868) was the son of William Sinclair (Sr.) (c. 1766-1818), from Harray, Orkney, and Margaret (Nahoway) a Cree woman. William Senior had been a prominent trader who spent most of his career in the York Factory district, and, as noted in this journal died in 1818. William Junior engaged with the HBC as an apprentice in 1808 when he was only 14 years old, under the tutelage of his father at Oxford House, earning £8 per annum. After serving at Oxford House, York Factory, Winnipeg River, and Norway House, he wintered at Fort Severn in 1816. In 1817-8, he served as clerk in the Lesser Slave Lake district before taking a furlough in England. Thereafter, he served at Oxford House, Sandy Lake, and Island Lake. During the South Branch expedition in 1821-22, he accompanied John Edward Harriott on his 850-mile explorations into the Missouri River watershed. Between 1824 and 1844, Sinclair served in the Winnipeg River and Rainy Lake Districts. In 1844 he was promoted to Chief Trader and sent to take charge of Churchill. In 1848, he was appointed again to the Rainy Lake District, and was promoted to Chief Factor in 1850. In 1854, he was stationed at Edmonton as head of the Saskatchewan District, but, in 1857, he was once again at Rainy Lake. He retired in 1863 and died on 12 October 1868 at Brockville, Ontario. Sinclair married Mary Wadin McKay (1804-1893), the daughter of Alexander McKay, apparently the former wife of Chief Factor, Donald McKenzie. The couple had four daughters and four sons. Ted Binnema and Gerhard J. Ens (eds.), *Edmonton House Journals: Reports from the Saskatchewan District Including the Bow River Expedition 1821-26*. (Calgary: Historical Society of Alberta, 2016), 383-84. Irene M. Spry, "Sinclair William," *DCB Online*.

⁴⁷ Duncan Finlayson (1795-1862), from Dingwall, Scotland, entered the HBC service in 1815, and served the next four years at the Qu'Appelle, Fort Hibernia, and Beaver Creek posts. He quickly caught the attention of his superiors and in 1820 became Colin Robertson's replacement as head of the Peace River District. His stature continued to rise as Clerk of Edmonton House (1821-24), and he became a Chief Trader in 1828 (Fort Garry), and a Chief Factor in 1821 (Columbia). In 1839 he became Governor of Assiniboia. He was a favourite of George Simpson, and became his brother-in-law when he married Isobel Simpson. He retired from the fur trade in 1859, but then became a member of HBC's London Committee. HBCA BS. Gerald Friesen, "Finlayson, Duncan," *DCB Online*. Ted Binnema and Gerhard J. Ens (eds.), *Edmonton House Journals: Reports from Saskatchewan District Including the Bow River Expedition, 1821-1826* (Calgary: Historical Society of Edmonton, 2016), 346.

⁴⁸ Joseph Spence (b.ca. 1772-1856) came from Harray, Orkney Islands, and joined the HBC around 1794 as an Assistant Trader inland from Churchill. He remained in the Churchill District at Nelson House, Reindeer Lake and Indian Lake until he returned home in 1811. He returned in 1812 and at this time was an Assistant Trader at Oxford House. In 1816 he was sent to Ile-a-la-Crosse where he stayed until 1821. From 1821 to 1823 he was stationed, still as an Assistant Trader at Nelson River. He retired to the RRS in 1823. He died in 1856. HBCA BS.

Ross⁴⁹ & Monkman⁵⁰ to winter at Oxford house or Gods Lake 2 Days Journey overland – they are all to leave the Factory in a few Days.

- 21st *Thursday*, Got all over the Rock Portage at 2³/₄ PM and put up on the next one at Sun set – Shoal water in the river, considering we are so heavily loaded.
- 22 *Friday*. Left the Portage 8¹/₃ and put up at the Still water at dusk.
- 23 *Saturday* Embarked at 5³/₄ AM & put up a little below the Burnt wood portage (lower) obliged to lighten the Boats at many places on account of their being so heavily loaded and little Water
- 24 *Sunday*. Got away very early and put up at Moggans rocks; in the evening Mess^{rs} Sutherland & Sinclair came up in small Canoes They left the Factory 17th Inst.
- 25 *Monday*. After consulting together we judged it better for Mr Sinclair to go expeditiously on and send back one Boat he might find the most advanced in order to lighten our 4 Boats, as they are so very heavily loaded – Mr Sutherland remains with me – Got 3 Geese from Indians, at 7 AM left the Rock & put up above the Swampy Portage at Dusk.
- 26 *Tuesday*. at 5²/₃ we embarked & put up at the rapid above the Mossy Carrying Place late – Mr Sutherland 2 Indians in hunting who saw the last 2 Boats that left York several Days before us, a little a head only – they seemingly have also been too much loaded.
- 27th *Wednesday* At 9¹/₂ AM got all over the rapid & put up at upper end of Masters Creek at dusk. [Fo. 6]

⁴⁹ William Ross was born about 1780 (age 40 in 1820) and came from Edderton, Scotland. He joined the HBC in about 1810 (9 years service in 1820) and served at Churchill as a Writer and Accountant (1810-1812). In 1815-16, he was a Trader stationed at Oxford House. From 1816 to 1819 he worked as the Master at Nelson House, and from 1819 to 1821 he was the Master at Churchill. He went home in 1821. HBCA B.42/d/95-97; B.239/d/175-216a.

⁵⁰ James Monkman (1775-1865) came from Whitby, Yorkshire, England and entered the HBC service in 1793. He served mostly at Severn Factory and its outposts 1793 to 1815, the last few years as an Assistant Trader. In 1815-15 he was the Outpost Master at Gods Lake, and in 1815-16 the Assistant Trader at Island Lake. He retired to the Red River Settlement in 1816, and between 1818 and 1887, the Monkman family established saltworks in the Lake Winnipegosis region. He was married to a Cree woman named Mary and had at least ten children. He died in 1865 and was buried at St. Peter's Church in the Red River Settlement. HBCA B3; B.239/d/165 & 175.

28th *Thursday* Got away at 5¹/₁₀ AM and arrived at the upper Portage in Hill River before Sunrise – here we found W^m Leiths⁵¹ Boat & 10 Men Mr Sinclair had overtaken and sent back to lighten our Boats. he returned from Jack Tent river Received a Packet of Letters from Mr Robertson to be sent to England, but as the Ship would have sailed before they could reach York, we took them back with us – took a part of the Cargo out of each Boat & put into the one we just met, so that I hope we shall go better on, wrote a Letter & left here for Mess^{rs} Semple & Thomas containing the News from Red River &c. put up at ☉ set, nearly all over the rapids, in this River; we have made great progress this day in comparison with what we have done before.

29th *Friday* at 5¹/₃ AM we again got away & put up at the upper end of the Long Portage on Jack river Mr Sinclair had been at the head of this river and sent all the Colonists on, leaving a Cargo of Goods – that the Colonists all might be together – he returned and found us this evening.

30th *Saturday*. At 5¹/₃ AM embarked to scarcely light to see the rocks as the season is fast advancing & we have a great distance to go – at 2¹/₂ PM arrived where the Goods were left. embarked them and at 6 PM arrived at the Depot Knee Lake where we put up. Mr Sinclair 10 Men 1 Boat & Cargo are to remain building here all winter.

October 1815

1 *Sunday*. Mess^{rs} Sutherland & Sinclair embarked in their Indian Canoes to go to Oxford House – I remained to leave the necessary things here & settle every thing and at 9¹/₂ AM we got away Three Boats – Mr Sinclair to bring some things from Oxford House he requires & has family who have remained here whilst he was in England this last Winter. Put up at 6 PM 3 Miles North of the Ten Islands in the Knee Lake – a head wind part of the Day.

2^d *Monday*. At 4 AM we embarked & at 4¹/₂ PM we reached the Trout Fall, in tracking up it, either the line untyed or broke, so that 1 Boat went down and drove against a rock & unfortunately broke her to pieces – we luckily preserved most part of the Cargo, by the other

[Fo. 6d]

⁵¹ This is likely William Leith, from Firth, Orkney Islands. Born in 1767, he joined the HBC in 1795 and served most of his career as a Boatman and Steersman/Guide working on the York Factory to Jack River/Norway House route. He finished his career at Berens River in 1819-20. The labour records of 1820-21 note that he has become a Freeman. HBCA B.S; B.239/d/162-216.

boats picking it up as it floated down – we lost a long 3 lb Brass Cannon – about 100 Tin Kettles of Sizes and 12 Hatchets belonging to the Company Three of the Men lost every thing they had Got the other 2 Boats Cargoes over the Portage.

- 3^d *Tuesday.* Early this Morning sent one Boat & 18 Men back to fetch the Boat left at the Depot, as we cannot convey the Goods up without another Boat – At 3 PM I embarked in the remaining Boat for Oxford Ho taking with us every thing that was wet and leaving some of our Cargo to be brought up by the others in order to have it opened at the House & dryed to prevent the Goods being spoiled. as the weather is rather rainy I could not dry it out of Doors – Left 2 Men here to take care of the Goods till the Men returns back from the Depot with the Boats & then to make all expedition to Oxford House, we put up at 6 PM at the Middle portage – rainy weather.
- 4th *Wednesday.* At 5½ AM left the Carrying Place and arrived at Oxford House at 4½ PM & found here Mess^{rs} Sutherland & Sinclair.
- 5 *Thursday.* Last night opened several packages that got wet when the Boat Broke & this day opened the remainder to Dry.
- 6th *Friday* Got every thing dry & a Canoe ready to embark in tomorrow morning with 4 Men to overtake the Colonists before they reach Jack river, in the evening the other 2 Boats arrived with the Goods.
- 7th *Saturday* we all left OH at 8 AM, also took the other 3 lb brass gun intentionally left here by John Flett; we all went together & put up in the narrows of the Trout Lake, strong wind in the Day which retarded us greatly – Tomorrow Mr Sinclair & family, is to embark in a small Boat with 1 Man to return to the Depot.
- 8th *Sunday* At 3½ AM got away & left Mr Sutherland & all the Boats & self & 4 Men proceeded in advance for Jack river, put up at the Side point Early, a very strong Gale ahead retarded us very much
- 9th *Monday.* At 5 AM got underway, & put up at the White Fall for rain also had a strong wind ahead
- 10th *Tuesday.* Got off at 6 AM & arrived at the Painted Stone where we found Charles Fidlers Boat & Crew, he had been left here 3 Days ago by Mr Alexander McDonell, one of the Settlers Wives being delivered of a Son –

[Fo. 7]

Tomorrow she thinks she will be able to proceed on the Journey in the Boat, gave her & another woman 7 Ducks all we killed this Day & a little Butter; we remained with them one Hour & embarked and put up at the Stony Beaver Dam at Dusk; pretty good water in the *Each way mam mis* river now.

- 11 *Wednesday* Embarked at 3¼ AM & put up 2 miles below the Sea river Carrying place at dusk, Strong wind a head all day with little snow.
- 12th *Thursday*. At 6 AM we embarked & arrived at Jack river House at 4 PM, found the Settlers had gone from this for the Entrance of Lake Winnipeg about Noon, I immediately followed them in the Canoe & obliged to stop all night on an Island near the Play Green, the night, being dark & wind strong I could not venture amongst the numerous rocks & Islands in the Dark.
- 13th *Friday*. Off early & arrived at the Settlers all well – they came here last Night; Mr White⁵² the Surgeon had been here from the Settlement about 3 weeks ago & gave very favorable account of Peace & Plenty there – Also Mr Pambrun⁵³ & 3 Men in a Boat arrived from thence a few Days ago, with some Salt Catfish & Potatoes to supply the expected Emigrants to that place; They report there is 400 Bushels of Wheat 200 Bushels of Barley & a Considerable quantity of Potatoes and that they had sent Mr Jn^o Pritchard⁵⁴ to remain with a few men at

⁵² This is James White (1789-1816) who was killed in the Battle of Seven Oaks of 19 June 1816. From 1809 to 1811 he was the assistant surgeon on the Royal Navy's HMS Beagle. He came to the RRS in 1814 as surgeon for the colony, appointed by Lord Selkirk. He was also appointed to Miles Macdonell's council in 1814. After the surrender of Miles Macdonell to the NWC, White concluded the Articles of Agreement with the Metis and NWC in June 1815. Semple was unimpressed with White's actions and characterized him as "unfit for command".

⁵³ Pierre-Chrysologue Pambrun (1792-1841) was born in Lower Canada and fought in the War of 1812. He joined the HBC in 1815 and left for the northwest with Colin Robertson. In 1816, he was captured by Cuthbert Grant and the NWC and was forced to accompany the Metis from Fort Qu'Appelle to Fort Douglas, and is one of the few HBC men to survive the Battle of Seven Oaks in 1816. As a consequence, he gave testimony for the HBC at the trials in Montreal and London. He returned to HBC service in 1819, serving as Clerk at Cumberland and York Factory. In 1822-23, he served as a Clerk in the Bow River Expedition. He continued to serve at Lesser Slave Lake, Athabasca, New Caledonia and the Columbia District until 1841. He became a Chief Trader in 1840 but died the following year in 1841, in Walla Walla, after falling off a Horse. Ted Binnema and Gerhard J. Ens (eds.), *Edmonton House Journals, Reports from the Saskatchewan District Including the Bow River Expedition, 1821-1836* (Calgary: Historical Society of Alberta, 2016), 374.

⁵⁴ John Pritchard (1777-1855) was an Englishman who came to Canada in 1800 and entered the fur trade soon after. He served the XY Company until 1804 and the Northwest Company until 1814. In that year his supply of pemmican was confiscated by the governor of Assiniboia and he was labelled as a coward by the NWC. He then quit the NWC and went to Montreal. There he was recruited by Colin Robertson to settle at the Red River Settlement. He arrived in April of 1815. He was at the battle of Seven Oaks and was captured by the Metis. He was held captive by the NWC for several years and taken to Montreal and York where he testified at the trial of Colin Robertson and others in 1818. Thereafter he travelled to London where he lobbied for the protections of the RRS. He returned to the Colony in 1820 and became a leading citizen of the colony, serving on the Council of Assiniboia until 1848, Carol M. Judd, "Pritchard, John," *DCB Online*.

Fort Daer⁵⁵ to procure provisions & that the Buffalo were plenty near that Settlement, that Mr Pritchard is certain 500 Families may be very well off all winter there for Provisions – Busily employed getting all the food & out of the Stores embarked on Board the Schooner & other Boats & got every thing ready that they may all embark tomorrow for Red River – The 3 Men left here had completed what the Schooner required; but her bottom is too thin being originally made for a Boat only and after wards lenthened & heightened – The Barley sewn here in July entrance of Play Green Lake is only 6 Inches long – The Soil seems quite unfit to produce corn – Mr Robertson with 3 Boats left this place 8th August for Red River

14th *Saturday* Got every thing ready for the Colonists to Start & told them not to lose a moment when opportunity offered to proceed thro the

[Fo. 7d]

Lake, as the season is now far advanced – Mr McDonell and White accompanies them – Yesterday Mess^{rs} Pambrun & Rogers with 7 Men went to the Settlement to make all haste they can to acquaint Mr Robertson that the Colonists were here & their Numbers, so that he might get some Corn threshed ready to serve the Emigrants from the Forks to Fort Daer 5 Days Journey in case he had no other dry provisions to serve them there, as very little Meat can be expected to be had at the Forks: at 10 AM I returned back to Jack river & to accompany Mr Sutherland up to red river – At 4 $\frac{1}{3}$ PM reached that Place, and found that Mr Sutherland had arrived this Morning in his small Canoe. The Boats & 1 of Colonists hourly expected that we passed at the Painted Stone.

15th *Sunday.* at 3 PM Charles Fidler arrived here with the last of the Emigrants; and the other Boats also arrived – Mr White came here from the Settlers for something he had left.

16th *Monday.* at 5 $\frac{1}{4}$ AM got all the Colonists away to join the others: – & Mr White the Surgeon accompanied them. All hands busily emp^d repacking Goods now brought up to send to various places.

17th *Tuesday.* at 1 PM yesterday all the Colonists embarked for Red River – Employed as yesterday – An Indian Canoe went from this to Oxford House & takes down some articles required there.

⁵⁵ Fort Daer was established by Miles Macdonell, the agent for Lord Selkirk, in 1812. It was named after the eldest son of Lord Selkirk who held the title of Lord Daer. It was located on the south side of the Pembina River near its junction with the Red River and near to where the town of Pembina now sits. After the union of the HBC and NWC, and the determination that the fort was in U.S. territory, the fort was abandoned in 1822.

- 18th *Wednesday.* at 11 AM Mr Semple & Mr Thomas & family arrived in one Boat from York Factory which place they left 24th Ulto in the Evening – The Ship was to sail the Day after – got sent away 12 Men in two Boats for Cumberland House and one Boat & 6 Men for Swan river as the Season is late the Governor intends going with us to Red River upon thence passing over land to Hudson House: it is absolutely necessary for him to see the Colony and put things there in good order.
- 19th *Thursday.* Strong wind at N.E. with Snow & very bad weather
- 20 *Friday.* Weather as Yesterday – Snow fell 1 Inch – got every thing ready.
- 21st *Saturday.* at 8^{3/4} AM Mess^{rs} Semple, Sutherland, Finlayson, J. Bird Jun^r⁵⁶ & self started for Red River in 3 Boats – we passed the Saskatchewan & Swan River Boats at the entrance of Lake Winnipeg – we put up at the Spider Islands – Mr Kirkness⁵⁷ & Thomas remain at Jack River
- [Fo. 8]
- George Yarns⁵⁸ and 4 other Canadians are to proceed after us in a small Boat to build a small Trading house at Jack head in Lake Winnipeg – They all came up with Mr Robertson from Canada.
- 22nd *Sunday* At 3 AM we embarked and obliged to put up on the Cold Island at Noon for Wind.
- 23 *Monday.* obliged to remain all day, a very heavy Gale from the NW with showers of rain – the Snow all gone.

⁵⁶ James (Jimmy Jock) Bird Jr. (c. 1798-1892) was the third son of James Bird, the Chief Factor of Edmonton House, and a Cree woman. He was hired by the HBC as an apprentice trader in 1807, by 1814 he was an assistant trader, and, in 1815-16, he was a clerk at Qu'Appelle, where he was imprisoned briefly by the NWC who had seized his post. During this time, he was representative of the English Metis hired by the HBC, and who acted in opposition to the Metis working for the NWC. From 1818 to 1821, he was classified as an interpreter in the Saskatchewan District. When the HBC and NWC merged in 1821, Bird became a freeman. Though he would periodically work for the HBC, he increasingly oriented his life and work to the plains bands south of Edmonton, primarily the Peigan and Blood and appears to have married a Peigan woman. He was subsequently an interpreter at the Blackfoot Treaty in Montana in 1855, and Treaty No. 7 at Blackfoot Crossing in 1877. He died in 1892 on the Blackfoot Reservation in Montana. Ted Binnema and Gerhard J. Ens (eds.), *Edmonton House Journals: Reports from the Saskatchewan District Including the Bow River Expedition 1821-1826* (Calgary: Historical Society of Alberta, 2016), 334-335.

⁵⁷ This is James Kirkness (b.ca. 1774-1843) from Harray, Orkney. He joined the HBC in 1797. He served most of his career inland from York Factory, and in 1815 he was a clerk/trader at Jack River. He retired to the Orkney Islands in 1822. HBCA B.S.

⁵⁸ George Yarns was an Assistant Trader at Jack River in 1815-16. He joined the HBC 1815 from Canada. HBCA B.63/f/1; B.239/d/175

- 24th *Tuesday*. Embarked at 6 AM and put up on Semples Island near Poplar river at Sun Set, fresh breezes a head at night.
- 25th *Wednesday*. a Heavy Gale at W.NW and cold, could not proceed.
- 26 *Thursday*. The Gale still continued, but towards evening it rather moderated – but freezing hard.
- 27 *Friday* – at 4 AM we embarked and reached Pigeon river at 5 PM. Sailed most part of the day – Morning very cold & much Ice on the Shores – stopped at Mr McDermots House⁵⁹ as Mr Sutherland had some business to settle with him: as we came along this day we put a shore at Cuthellin bay where she was wrecked last fall, we found several fragments of her Cargo – a little striped cotton was Still strong – the Wollen articles quite useless – They are getting pretty plenty of Fish at the House – They were to have gone high up Pidgeon river to the Lake, but found that the Boat could not be got there, so they remained in the same Houses Mr Holdsworth did last Winter.
- 28th *Saturday* Embarked at 4 AM, and only got across Pidgeon river being obliged to stop again – a strong wind & Swell. Set a Net in the Evening.
- 29th *Sunday* Took up the Net 37 Tickameg & at 5 AM we got underway fine and Calm, and put up at the Dogs head at 7½ PM. Many Gulls and Ducks here yet. and a very warm day at this Season of the Year.
- 30th *Monday*. Got away at 3 AM and sailed part of the Day & put up 5 miles South of Grindstone Point – very warm & calm weather.
- 31st *Tuesday*. at 2 AM we got away & at 6 ½ found thin Ice & went thro it, the further we went, the thicker that two of our Boats got cut quite through in 2 or 3 places by the new formed Ice, we were now about 3 Miles from Land near the Grass narrow, and broke it with

⁵⁹ In 1815-16, Andrew McDermot was the Clerk/Trader at Berens River. Andrew McDermot/McDermont (1790-1881) was born at Roscommon, Ireland in 1790, and was recruited by Lord Selkirk and the HBC in 1812. From 1812 to 1824 he served as a Writer, Clerk and Trader for the HBC. From 1812 to 1816, he was a Writer/Trader/Clerk in the East Winnipeg District at Pigeon River and Berens River. He was in the Manitoba District at Fort Dauphin and Big Point from 1816 to 1821. After serving at Thieving River, Netley Creek and Pembina (1821-1824), he retired to the Red River Settlement where he opened his own store and engaged in the fur trade with a special license from the HBC. He was a leading supporter of the Free Trade movement in the 1840s and a member of the Council of Assiniboia. He died at Winnipeg in 1881. HBCA B.S. J.M. Bumsted (ed.), *Dictionary of Manitoba Biography* (Winnipeg: University of Manitoba Press, 1999), 151-152.

[Fo. 8d]

sticks till we reached the nearest Land on the right, when we unloaded repaired the Boats took out part of the cealing and nailed on the outside of the Boat at the level of the Ice to secure better the Boat, as the narrow part is not above 1 mile off, and we think if we were there we can go well on being in the open Lake – we had no sooner fixed the Boats & loaded the boats when a fine South Easterly breeze sprung up which dashed the Ice all to pieces in less than one hour: which fortunately liberated us from our unpleasant situation; we got 2 Miles beyond the Narrow and found to our great surprize that all the Colony Boats & Schooner were here. – we went to them at Dusk & found that the Schooner in Coming thro' the Narrow stuck on a Stone & broke a hole thro her bottom – every thing was taken out & put a shore in order to repair her, and that the last heavy Gale we had at Poplar river, made the water in the narrow to rise above 2 feet above the ground where the Goods were, so that they certainly must be a good deal Damaged – and some even spoilt – There were no higher ground within 2 miles of that place – there is 2 or 3 Kegs of Gunpowder that lay under water 2 Days. They had repaired the Schooner in a Temporary manner and embarked the Cargo ready to sail for the entrance of Red River tomorrow morning if the wind is favorable – all the Colonists are hearty & well except one Man having recently caught cold. We also found here another Boat from the Settlement sent after Mr Pambrun had arrived there from Jack river – we then learnt that Mr Robertson had made Mr Duncan Cameron the NW Proprietor at the Forks prisoner with Serephim La Mar⁶⁰ & kept them 3 or 4 Days but that then they were both Liberated. Cameron giving his most solemn word that he nor any of his associates should debauch, molest or any thing against the Colonists – They also told us that Mr Robertson had lately sent Lagemonier⁶¹ & another Canadian with a Packet to Montreal, which it is expected to reach about the middle of January next, They go by Red Lake & Fon[d] du Lac superior & St Maries falls – all the Indians then about the Settlement said Mr Robertson had done right in seizing Cameron, and they were not pleased when he was liberated – The Settlers have been so long coming

[Fo. 9]

⁶⁰ This is Seraphin (Seraphim) LaMar a clerk of the NWC and a “Voyageur Ensign” from the War of 1812. He was enlisted by the NWC, along with the Metis headed by Cuthbert Grant, to destroy the Selkirk Colony. He was designated by Cuthbert as his second in command before the Battle of Seven Oaks. Among others, he was captured in 1816 when Selkirk recaptured Fort Gibraltar, and he was sent to Canada for trial.

⁶¹ This Jean-Baptiste Lagimodière (Lagemonière) (c. 1777-1855). He as born in Quebec and joined the NWC in 1800, and served in the west until 1806, when he returned home to marry Marie-Anne Gaboury. They then moved to Pembina and later Cumberland House. He worked as a provisioner for Miles Macdonell and the Selkirk Settlers in 1812-13. In 1815-16 he journeyed from Red River to Montreal on snowshoes to inform Lord Selkirk of the attacks on the Red River Settlement by the NWC. For his efforts, Selkirk gave him a grant of land in Red River. On his return he was captured by the NWC but was released. He would thereafter serve the HBC as a voyageur and messenger, and he became a farmer in Red River. J.M. Bumsted, *Dictionary of Manitoba Biography* (Winnipeg: University of Manitoba Press, 1999), 135.

Thro' the Lake, owing to bad weather, that their provisions are nearly all expended – They however got Wheat & Barley from the Vessel any quantity they choose to have – They told us that all about w[h]ere they lay was frozen over in the Morning – There is however many aquatic fowls hereabout – had we not found the Settlers here it was our Intention to have gone all night as we had a fine tail wind – Mr Ener Holt here who brot a little provisions from the Fort but it is all eaten up.

November 1815

1st Wednesday – at 3 AM we all got underway, the Settlers a little after, the Schooner waits till day light, sailed with a strong wind Northerly & arrived at McRaes Island at 9½ got breakfast and all of us entered the Red River at 1 PM, a very heavy swell & we all shipped some water – The Schooner entered the river ¼ hour after us very well, she sailed on & we stopped with Indians about ½ an hour at the entrance of the river 1 Tent of Bungees, from whom we all Traded a few Ducks; we got away again; the wind still stronger – but thank God we are now out of the Lake, and now there is little doubt but all will reach Fort Daer by water; Came to riviere au Morts & found 2 of our Men fishing, who had been here sometime but we only got from them 37 fish mostly Pike – The few Tickameg & other good fish the 2 Men & family eat; they also had supplied some to 2 Tents of Bungees near them – Took the fish & embarked leaving 2 still here to fish, to be hawled on the Ice to the Settlement towards Christmas, went away & put up below Hilliers⁶² old hut at dusk – at bed time 3 Indians brought us a few Ducks – which Mr Sutherland paid for – The Schooner still ahead of us, a strong wind right after us – Some showers of Snow in the afternoon.

2nd Thursday. at 3 AM we embarked & at 6 came to where the Schooner was at Anchor, last night. Took out 10 pieces of Goods in our Boat to lighten her every Boat to do the same that she may more easily get over the ripples, as it would not be safe to leave her a distance from home, for fear the Canadians might burn her in the Winter at Sun Set 3 of the Boats put up at the Lower Settlers Houses, that was burnt last spring by the NW men & hired banditti;⁶³ all the other Boats behind

[Fo. 9d]

⁶² William Hillier joined the HBC in 1811. He was hired to organize and lead a group of men to directly confront the aggressive NWC. He sailed for York Factory with Miles Macdonell in 1811 and accompanied him to Red River in 1812. He was assigned to the East Winnipeg District and spent one winter (1812-13) in a post on the Red River named Fort William. He left the HBC in 1814-15, on the pretext that he had not been properly supported. B.232/d/1; J.M. Bumsted, *Dictionary of Manitoba Biography* (Winnipeg: University of Winnipeg Press, 1999), 111.

⁶³ In June of 1815, the NWC and their Metis adherents drove the Selkirk Settlers from the RRS and burnt their farms. See Fidler's Winnipeg Post Journal of 1814-15, HBCA B.235/a/3.

3rd Friday. Mess^{rs} Semple, Sutherland & Self walked to the Settlement & the Boats pursued their way up there – at the frog plain⁶⁴ we met Mess^{rs} Robertson & Bourke with Horses and 1 Man – The Governor rode & Mr Sutherland & self walked to the place & came there at 9½ AM & found all well – Mr Jno McLeod had got built in Summer a House two Storey high 40 feet long & 20 wide, a small House & Cook room built since Mr Robertsons first arrival only. The following is the Crop reaped here

STACKS

	Wheat	Barley	Oats
Mr McLean	3	0	0
Lord Selkirk & Duncan McNaughton ⁶⁵	8	2	1/10
Mr Jno Pritchard	3	1	0
Alex ^r McLean ⁶⁶ & Jordan ⁶⁷	1	0	0
John McVicar ⁶⁸	0	0	1/100

⁶⁴ Frog Plain was an expanse of wet meadow land about five miles north of Fort Douglas on the west side of the Red River. It is today part of West Kildonan. These wetlands held water most of the year, and were populated by small frogs. Not surprisingly, fur traders, Metis and settlers named the area Frog Plain. As noted in this journal, it was also a location where canoes and York Boats often stopped.

⁶⁵ Duncan McNaughton/MacNaughton (1783-1816), from Kilmonivaig, Inverness-shire, was a settler who came out on the *Robert Taylor* in 1812. He was, at times, employed by Miles Macdonell as a Constable, and in April of 1815, delivered a warrant to Fort Gibraltar. He was one of the men taken prisoner by the NWC/Metis at Qu'Appelle River on 8 May 1816. He was released on May 21 and he then went to the forks. He was killed in the Battle of Seven Oaks in 1816. Lucille H. Campey, *The Silver Chief: Lord Selkirk and the Scottish Pioneers of Belfast, Baldoon and Red River* (Toronto: Natural Heritage Books, 2003), 174. LAC, Selkirk Papers, C-13, Vol. 49, p. 13,415.

⁶⁶ There were two Alexander McLeans in Red River at this time.

⁶⁷ Martin Jordan/Jourdain, from Killala, Ireland, sailed in 1811 with Miles Macdonell for the Selkirk Colony. He was sixteen years old. He spent the winter on the Hudson's Bay and arrived in the Red River Settlement in 1812 to prepare the way for incoming settlers. He spent the next two winters at Pembina, establishing Fort Daer and later marrying Mary MacLean who arrived in 1812. He would move temporarily to Jack River after the attack of 1815. He was one of the men taken prisoner by the NWC/Metis at Qu'Appelle River on 8 May 1816. He was released on May 21 and he then went to the forks. In 1816, he helped Colin Robertson capture Fort Gibraltar. Thereafter, he left Red River with Colin Robertson, just before the Battle of Seven Oaks. He would travel north to Jack River and there he would find employment for one year with the HBC (1816-17). In 1818, he would be tried with Colin Robertson for the capture of Fort Gibraltar, but was acquitted. In that year he returned to Red River and took his family away, and worked for a time with the North West Company. Little is known of Martin thereafter, but in 1831, Mary remarried in the Red River Settlement. Lucille H. Campey, *The Silver Chief: Lord Selkirk and the Scottish Pioneers of Belfast, Baldoon and Red River* (Toronto: Natural Heritage Books, 2003), 96-97, 171. HBCA B.239/d/188, fos 9d-10. <http://www.lordselkirk.ca/project/martin-jordan-15709/>

⁶⁸ John McVicar/MacVicar and his wife, Katharine Adair, sailed on the *Robert Taylor* with the first group of colonists for the Selkirk Settlement in 1812. They were from Bowmore, Island of Islay, Scotland. They arrived at the colony in 1812, and continued to Pembina for the winter, and returned to the settlement in the spring. Loyal to Selkirk, the McVicar's were driven out by the Métis and the NWC to the north end of Lake Winnipeg, where they established a camp known as Winipic Settlement in 1815. Colin Robertson, persuaded them to return to Red River, and in 1815-16 they again spent the winter at Pembina. The settlers returned to Red River in the spring of 1816, but were driven from the settlement after the Battle of Seven Oaks on June 19, 1816. They once again went to Jack River House and Winipic Settlement at the north end of the lake. At this time, McVicar entered the employ of the HBC and went to the Athabasca district. John served with the

Each Stack contains 40 Shocks of 24 Sheaves each, about 35 to 40 Bushels estimated in each Stack – The weeds for want of hands in Summer, had hurt the Crop greatly, also a deal was shaken out by the Wind before reaped – McNalty⁶⁹ has about $\frac{2}{3}$ of one stack of Wheat & Barley – The whole Potatoe Crop housed was about 400 Bushels St. Germain⁷⁰ went by Land last night from the Image plain and informed of our speedy arrival: our 4 Boats arrived at Noon – The Settlers behind expect them early tomorrow Morning, Charles Ross was made a Prisoner at the same time as Cameron & liberated

4th *Saturday* – at 10 AM all the Boats & Settlers arrived in excellent health & Spirits & are delighted with the Country – no corn is yet threshed to serve them up to Fort Daer & no other provisions at the House – Found Mr Jn^o Stitt⁷¹ here waiting the arrival of our Boats, Busily employed in opening & Drying Goods we had out of the Schooner that was wet

5th *Sunday*. all the Settlers now arrived assembled in the Largest room at the Settlement & had Prayers, They are all pleased to arrive so hearty & well, &

HBC for two years. In 1818 the McVicar family returned to Scotland. <http://www.lordselkirk.ca/project/john-mcvicar-19618/>

⁶⁹ Patrick McNalty (McNaulty, McNolty, McNulty) and his wife, Winifred, came to Red River with settlers in 1812 aboard the Robert Taylor from Ireland. He was engaged to the HBC for one year to pay for his passage, and thereafter became a settler. After the destruction of the Colony in June 1815, he, his wife and two children went to Jack River until resettled in Red River in fall of 1815. After the Battle of Seven Oaks, the family travelled north to the Winipic Settlement on Lake Winnipeg and then on to York Factory to return home. The ship (Prince of Wales), however, was late in arriving and never made it through the ice. The passengers were left at Moose Factory for the winter, and in spring of 1817, Pat McNulty and his wife and family went by boat further east to Canada on their way home. In the spring of 1818 they were in York, Upper Canada where Mrs Winnifred McNalty/McNolty testified in the Selkirk Trials. Lucille H. Campey, *The Silver Chief: Lord Selkirk and the Scottish Pioneers of Belfast, Baldoon and Red River* (Toronto: Natural Heritage Books, 2003), 96-99, 174; HBCA B.129/e/2, fo. 1; Report of the Proceedings Connected with the Disputes between the Earl of Selkirk and the North-West Company at the Assizes Held at York in Upper Canada, October 1818. (Montreal, 1819).

⁷⁰ This is Pierre Lemaire St. Germain, who was hired as a clerk for the HBC in Montreal, Canada, in 1815. He came out to Jack River in July of 1815, and accompanied Colin Robertson and the Settlers to Red River. He was then posted to Turtle River/Thieving River for the winter of 1815-16, and returned to Selkirk Settlement in May of 1816. He was at Fort Douglas on 19 June 1816, when the Battle of Seven Oaks took place. He made a deposition to W.B. Coltman, reporting that Cuthbert Grant had said that he carried out this attack on the express directions of the NWC, and that he was told to be cruel. St. Germain also noted that after the battle, several Metis were seen wearing the clothes and carrying they weapons of the slain Governor and Mr. MacLean. HBCA B.63/f/1, fo. 4d-5, Winnipeg Department List of Servants 1815-16. Deposition of Pierre Lemaire St. Germain to W.B. Coltman, 10 September 1817, Red River. LAC, Selkirk Papers, C-15, Vol. 61, pp. 16,419-16,427.

⁷¹ This is John Stitt. He came from Dumfriesshire, Scotland and worked for the XY Company in the early 19th century. When the XYC merged with the NWC, he worked for the new concern. By 1809, however, he was working as the post manager for HBC at Pembina. He would work as a trader at posts around the Forks (Pembina, and Netley Creek) for the rest of his career. In 1815-16, he was considered “A weak unactive character.” He was present at Red River during the Fur Trade Wars and was trusted by Chief Peguis. He represented the HBC at the Selkirk Treaty negotiations at Red River in 1817. He retired to the Red River Settlement in June of 1819. HBCA B.239/d/175-204; B.160/1-3; B.63/f/1, fos. 4d-5.

much pleased with the Country & particularly with the very fine Wheat, Barley & Potatoes, The Cattle & Sheep, and they express their

[Fo. 10]

surprise that the late Emigrants should have suffered themselves to be led astray by the NW Company

6th *Monday* Several Men employed thrashing Corn, even by Candle light, that they may have a sufficiency to serve them to Fort Dair – Mr Sutherland busily employed in sharing out the Goods now brot up amongst the Different Posts – Mr Jn^o McLeod went in September & settled at Thieving river,⁷² a small one that empties itself into the red river from the left. ½ way to the Red Lake – he went overland to it from Fort Dair; a short time since Mr Jn^o R^d McKay⁷³ who had gone up with several men to rebuild our Houses at Riviere Qu Appelle that the Canadians had recently burnt down after we left them in April; when he was beginning to build McDonell⁷⁴ the Canadian Master there sent word over as we very naturally might suppose – Mr Fraser⁷⁵ a ½ breed with orders to our people to immediately desist from building, but for them all to retire to Brandon

⁷² Thieving River, or Thief River as it is known today, is a river that flows into the Red Lake River in Minnesota about 100 km west of the Red River. There were fur trading posts there from at least the time of Alexander Henry.

⁷³ John Richards McKay (1792-1877) was born at Albany Factory to John McKay Sr. and Mary Favel. He was educated in England and joined the HBC in 1808 as a writer at Albany Factory. In 1809 he joined his father at Brandon House and was then posted first to Pembina, and then to Riviere Qu'Appelle where he supervised its reconstruction in the fall of 1815. In 1816 he married Harriet Ballenden at Brandon House (in 1858 he married Catherine Smith). 1816-17 he was a Trader at Fort Hibernia, from 1817-19 a Clerk at Beaver Creek, and from 1819-24 he was posted to the Upper Red River district as Trader and Clerk. At the time of the Coalition of the NWC and HBC in 1821, he was in charge of Brandon House. In 1821-22, George Simpson noted that he was sober and honest, a tolerable Clerk and Trader, but somewhat too extravagant with Indians. He noted that he would be discharged the next season if he did not improve. McKay retired to the Red River Settlement in 1824, but rejoined the HBC in 1831. Thereafter, he served as a Clerk and Postmaster at Portage and Fort Ellice. He was dismissed in 1844, but rejoined the Company in 1846 and worked as Postmaster at Partridge Crop, Riviere Poule d'Eau, Shoal River, Touchwood Hills, and various Cree camps. He retired for the final time in 1859, and died in 1877 at Fairford Mission. He was buried at St. Clements in Red River. HBCA BS; B.239/d/165-216a; B.239/f/12. T.R. McCloy, "McKay, John Richards," *DCB Online*. R. Harvey Fleming (ed.), *Minutes of Council Northern Department of Rupert Land, 1821-31* (London: The Hudson's Bay Record Society, 1940), 446-47.

⁷⁴ This is probably Alexander (Greenfield) Macdonell (1782-1835). He was the second cousin of Miles Macdonell and in the employ of the NWC. He was born in Greenfield, Scotland, and immigrated to Canada in 1792 with his family. He became a clerk in the NWC in 1803, and in 1809 he was posted to the Red River department. His initial relations with his cousin, Miles Macdonell, were cordial, but when he became a partner of the NWC in 1814, placed in charge of the Red River Department, these relations became bitter and violent. He played a prominent part in the fur trade wars there between 1814 and 1818, and he took the lead in organizing the Metis resistance to the Selkirk Colony in 1815, leading to the first dispersal of the colony. In 1816 he recruited a Metis force, led by Cuthbert Grant, to seize HBC forts at Qu'Appelle and Brandon, leading inexorably to the Battle of Seven Oaks. He was allowed to escape prosecution, and was never tried. When the NWC and HBC merged in 1821 he retired from the fur trade and moved to Upper Canada. Wallace (ed.) *Documents Relating to the North West Company*, 464-65. J.M. Bumsted, "Macdonell (Greenfield), Alexander," *DCB Online*.

⁷⁵ Alexander Fraser was a NWC clerk and a daring and violent leader of the Metis. Educated in Canada, he was a clerk for the NWC in the Qu'Appelle by 1815, and participated both the campaigns of 1815 and 1816 against the Selkirk Colony. He was at the Battle of Seven Oaks, but it was never proved that he had taken part in the killings. He did, however, participate in driving the colonists away after 19 June 1816. John Halkett, *Statement Respecting The Earl of Selkirk's Settlement upon the Red River in North America: Its Destruction in 1815 and 1816 . . .* (London: John Murray, 1817), 75, xlii, lli-lii.

House, or if they all did not leave the place in 24 Hours, the Canadians would blow them to pieces; the Canadians immediately after this message delivered to us, began cut out loop holes in their Pickets and made every demonstration of doing as they had said if our people remained – however our men were determined to stand from being urged to it by Many Indians who luckily were at the Houses at the Time, saying they would support them to the last & would not allow the NWC to drive us away. The Indians immediately sent away their Women & Children for safety – The NWC seeing the determination of the Indians to assist us desisted from their Intended purpose of driving us away all our people from Qu'Appelle – our having established the Athapascow Country on a large scale this Summer, & well knowing that we should require a considerable quantity of Pemmican to carry it on, they wished to distress us in this particular – when Mr Robertson heard the News, which Mr McKay sent express to him; just after he made Duncan Cameron & the others prisoners as before related, [th]at it was a part of the Condition of being liberated that on his promising to write immediately to McDonnell at Qu'Appelle not to molest or annoy us for the future, which Letter was sent away directly to that place

[Fo. 10d]

about a fortnight ago: but no news is yet received how matters stand there – so that Mess^{rs} Robertson, Bourke, Nolan,⁷⁶ Heydon⁷⁷ went away to that place – as it is the best Provision post in the Country

^{7th} *Tuesday* – Got away 2 Boats of Colonists for fort Dair, but as the weather is very cold and Ice driving in the river, the rest of the Settlers seemed averse to leaving this place – Mr McDonnell⁷⁸ & White⁷⁹ accomp^d them. also Mr St Germain in 1

⁷⁶ This is Louis Nolin, the son of the French fur trader Jean-Baptiste Nolin (1742-1826) who operated in the Sault Ste. Marie region. In 1815, Louis was a clerk in Colin Robertson's expedition to Athabasca, and he was with Robertson when he re-established the Selkirk Colony in 1815-16. He acted as an interpreter there for Robert Semple and the Colony, and he was at the Colony when the Battle of Seven Oaks occurred in 1816. He made a disposition about those events to Lord Selkirk at Fort William in August of 1816. In 1817, he went to Montreal and in 1818 he was tried and acquitted with Colin Robertson for their capture of Fort Gibraltar. He returned to the Red River Settlement and he and his brother (Augustin Nolin) and Father would eventually settle there. E.E. Rich (ed.), *Colin Robertson's Correspondence Book, September 1817 to September 1822* (London: The Hudson's Bay Record Society, 1939), 237-238. Donald Chaput, "Nolin, Jean-Baptiste," *DCB Online*.

⁷⁷ Michael Heydon (Hayden, Heden) had come to the Hudson's Bay in 1812 aboard the Robert Taylor, and was engaged by the HBCA as a blacksmith. In 1813 he was posted to the Selkirk Settlement to serve the colony. He stayed there until it was dispersed by the NWC/Metis in 1815. He returned to the settlement that fall, and in 1816 he accompanied Governor Semple to the Battle of Seven Oaks. He was one of the few survivors of the governor's party, escaping across the river. Expelled for the second time from the settlement, he was captured by the NWC and conveyed to Montreal where he appeared as a witness in the Selkirk Trial. There he testified that the Metis had fired first. Lucille H. Campey, *The Silver Chief: Lord Selkirk and the Scottish Pioneers of Belfast, Baldoon and Red River* (Toronto: Natural Heritage Books, 2003), 175. John Morgan Grey, *Lord Selkirk of Red River* (Toronto: The Macmillan Company, 1964), 295-300; *Report of the Proceedings Connected with the Disputes between the Earl of Selkirk and the North-West Company at the Assizes Held at York in Upper Canada, October 1818* (Montreal, 1819). Deposition of Michael Hayden, LAC, Selkirk Papers, C15, Vol. 61, pp. 16254-16262.

⁷⁸ Alexander McDonnell, Selkirk's agent. See previous citation.

⁷⁹ James White. See previous citation.

Boat & 5 Men Mr Sutherland fitted out to Join Mr McLeod at Thieving river – Mr Rogers the minerologist accompanied them.

8th *Wednesday*. Persuaded 2 More Boats of Colonists to Embark as the Corn is little & they cannot be supplied here all winter. Mr McLean & Holt accompanied them – There are still 24 Colonists left here of all ages & sexes who could not be persuaded to Embark, the weather being very cold – had the Corn been thrashed ready on our arrival about 10 Bushels every Settler might have reached Fort Daer with ease by water, now I am afraid they will not reach there by water – Mr Stitt went away to settle at Dead River with 4 Men & 2 left there as we came up fishing.

9th *Thursday*. The River froze over: – Mr Robertson & party returned having met 2 Canadians about 40 Miles off bringing down Letters from Riviere Qu'Appelle to himself & Mr D. Cameron saying all was peace & Quietness there – Mr Sutherland & 10 Men got every thing ready and went away for Brandon House, taking 4 Carts with a little Goods and their own necessaries – Late last night 2 Men came in from Fort Daer with some Provisions, They had great difficulty to reach this on account of the driving Ice – The Governor & myself went below to see if any part of the Settlers Houses set fire to last Spring by the NWC^o Banditti, could be easily put in order again for these Settlers here who would not hearken to go up to Fort Daer; as now living in Tents is very cold: we found two out of about 30 that can be made habitable with little repairs –

10th *Friday* – Michal Boyle Boat Builder married to Miss Kennedy⁸⁰ – Men here variously employed. There is many people here but they have nothing else but Wheat & Barley to eat. so that much work cannot be done – Indeed there is much too many people kept here – a little

[Fo. 11]

Provisions that might be got here with fish would support a few good able men, then some work could be expected from them

⁸⁰ This is Michael Boyle, from Enniskillin, who arrived aboard the *Robert Taylor* in 1812, from Sligo, Ireland. Boyle was a servant of the Selkirk Colony who remained loyal to the colony throughout the harassment of the NWC/Metis in 1815, retreating north to the Winipic Settlement on Lake Winnipeg in 1815. The colonists were led back to the Selkirk Colony that fall, but Michael stayed at the Winipic Settlement, with Donald Livingstone, to build a boat to convey new settlers that were coming later that fall. Boyle would marry Helen Kennedy who had come out in 1813. After the settlers were once again forced to flee the Selkirk Colony, after the Battle of Seven Oaks, the Boyles decided to return to Britain. Their ship, the *Prince of Wales*, however, was unable to clear the Hudson Strait, and they spent the winter at Moose Factory. The next spring, they went to New Brunswick House and in 1818 they continued on to Sault Ste. Marie There is no record that the couple ever went back to the Red River Settlement. <http://www.lordselkirk.ca/project/helen-ellen-kennedy-michael-boyle/>

- 11th *Saturday* all the remaining colonists moved down to the 2 Houses we found yesterday about 1½ mile off – sent an able Man to assist and direct them how to repair them. The Governor used every persuasive argument to induce these Colonists to go to Pambina, but they were too lazy to benefit by the good advice; they would seemingly remain here and half starve, than give themselves a little Trouble for 4 or 5 Days which would put them to the Land of Plenty all winter. There are here Mess^{rs} Semple, Robertson, Self, Bourke, Wilkenson, Nolan & at the Canadian House Mess^{rs} Cameron, Seraphin & Hesse.⁸¹
- 12th *Sunday*. The Packet arrived here from St. Maries falls by Land, that the Canadians at Fort William made to return by taking away Guide in August last, They came by Fon[d] du Lac & Red Lake; they remained at Thieving river & Mr Jn^o McLeod sent others on with the Letters to Fort Dair: They met Lagemonier & our Canadian who Mr Robertson sent away about the 20th Ult^o near Fon[d] du Lack, we also received some Letters from Cap^t McDonell⁸² – it is reported that Cottona Bellgards son⁸³ seized the Guide at Fort William, but this could not be realized to be done without the desire of the NWC^o – Mr McLean⁸⁴ returned who went away with the 2^d set of Colonists to Pambina, he says they were froze in at Stinking River⁸⁵ and the 3 other Boats that went away the Day before near Scratching river⁸⁶ – There are plenty of Buffalo near Fort Dair – got many Shoes made to send to the Colonists to be sent them immediately to enable them to walk to the Fort Dair – The Boats &c must remain where they are hawled high up till next Spring. Very fine weather these 2 Days
- 13th *Monday*. Mr Robertson intended going to Fort Daer, but found the Ice weak to cross the river at the Crossing place about 10 miles above and returned as also Mr McLean.

⁸¹ Charles Hesse was a clerk in the NWC and probably a Metis (he was called a “creole” by George Nelson). He was at Grand Portage in 1799, and working for Alexander Henry in the Pembina region in 1804. Peter Fidler lists him a “Free Canadian” in 1814, and he is listed in NWC account books for 1816-20, and due wages in 1816. He died in St, Louis, Missouri in 1837. Harry W. Duckworth (ed.), *Friends, Foes, and Furs: George Nelson's Lake Winnipeg Journals, 1804-1822* (Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2019), 406-407.

⁸² Miles McDonell. See previous citation.

⁸³ Counteneau-hoio or Cottena or Cotonohaye was a Metis, and employee of the NWC, who participated in the Battle of Seven Oaks. Donald McKay, in his deposition of 1818, identifies him as Joseph Bellegarde. According to the affidavit of Alexander Sutherland, Cotonohaye, a son of the Canadian freeman Bellegarde, was seen after the battle with Semple's pistols, sword, double-barreled gun, and white neck-handkerchief. A. Amos, *Report of Trials in the Courts of Canada relative to the Destruction of the Earl of Selkirk's Settlement* (London, 1920), postscript, iii. LAC Selkirk Papers, C-15, Vol. 60, p. 15,770.

⁸⁴ John McLean. See previous citation.

⁸⁵ Also known as la Rivière Sale, la Rivière Salle, Salle River, Stinking River flows into the Red River from the west at about present-day St. Norbert.

⁸⁶ Scratching River flows into the Red River from the west at about present-day Morris, Manitoba.

- 14th *Tuesday* Jourdan⁸⁷ & Adams⁸⁸ came here from where they were froze in at Stinking river about 12 Miles by Land in a direct line – Yest^y Duncan McNaughton went to Pambina by Land alone. [Fo. 11d]
- 15th *Wednesday*. Mr Robertson set off again for Fort Daer
- 16 *Thursday*. The Men daily employed putting up a temporary barn – An Indian came here with word to go to his Tent 2 Days Journey off to fetch 2 red Deer & a few Skins – gave him a Treat of Brandy – Men to accompany him Tomorrow to Fetch those things
- 17th *Friday* Sent away 2 Men with a Cart along with the Indian to fetch here as mentioned yesterday. Paid the Indian before he went away – Also another Indian arrived from below, and says that Mr Flett & party was froze in at the Limestone rocks & that the Men are hawling the property lower down to build. The Indian told us to fetch meat from his Tent.
- 18th *Saturday*. Sent away Charles Fidler & D. Livingston Jun^{r89} with 2 Horses and a Gun Carriage no cart now here to bring the Meat. The Charcoal Kiln finished that has been on Fire these 3 Weeks
- 19th *Sunday*. Mr Robertson returned from Fort Dair – Mr Pambrun coming from there down the River with 4 sledges of Dry Provisions and on the 26th they arrived here with it.
- 28th *Tuesday*. In the afternoon Thomas Fidler & John Flett came here, they were bringing down some dry Provisions from Brandon House to the Colony, but the Horses could not drag it here – it is laid securely up 40 Miles off They came

⁸⁷ Martin Jordan. See previous citation.

⁸⁸ Joseph Adams (b.ca. 1790) came from Lewisham, England (now southeast London), and was 25 years old when he crossed in 1815. In 1816-17, he was employed by the HBC as an Assistant Trader at Carlton and drowned in July of 1817. Lucille H. Campey, *The Silver Chief: Lord Selkirk and the Scottish Pioneers of Belfast, Baldoon and Red River* (Toronto: Natural Heritage Books, 2003), 102. HBCA B.239/d/188 & 195.

⁸⁹ Donald Livingston[e] and family had come to the RRS with Owen Keveny in 1812. He was born at Morven in the County of Argyll in Scotland in 1791. He was recruited as a servant to the Colony as a boat builder. On arrival at York Factory in 1812, he married another emigrant, Ann MacGilveray, who was on the same ship. Donald had been engaged as a boat builder and Keveny wanted to leave him at York in that capacity, but as a married man, he was sent to the settlement. He continued his trade at the colony. He remained loyal to Selkirk all through the problems with the NWC and for his troubles was appointed constable of the Colony when Selkirk arrived there in 1817. He moved from the Red River Settlement to Iowa in 1840 and died there in about 1876-78. Deposition of Donald Livingstone, 31 July 1817, Selkirk Papers, C-15, Vol. 60, p. 15,826. Lucille H. Campey, *The Silver Chief: Lord Selkirk and the Scottish Pioneers of Belfast, Baldoon and Red River* (Toronto: Natural Heritage Books, 2003), 96, 174. Ted Binnema and Gerhard Ens (eds.), *Edmonton House Journals, Correspondence & Reports 1806-1821* (Calgary: Historical Society of Alberta 2012), 323-324. <http://www.lordselkirk.ca/project/neil-livingstone-5179/>

here for some Trading Goods; They had 2 Horses away from the House, but one got hurt and unable to proceed further the 2^d Day, & then the whole Load of both was too much for the other one to bring the whole way here – The Governor appointed me to go and remain at Brandon House and shall start as soon as a Sledge can be made to take our Provisions, Bedding &c. rec'd a Letter from Mr Sutherland at Brandon Ho. saying he was 8 Days a going there & that in a few Days more (22nd) he will start for Riviere Qu'Appelle as he hears the business is not going on there so well as it ought.

December 1815

- 1st* *Friday.* The Above 2 Men, Self & Family with one Horse & Sledge went away from the Colony to Brandon House – we started at 9½ AM and put up at the 2nd point of Woods at 6¼ PM. Snow on the Ground a bout 3 Inches Deep. [Fo. 12]
- 2nd* *Saturday.* Snow till Noon then cleared up, at 7¾ AM we started & put up at a long narrow Lake at 6 PM, where the People left the Provisions & Sledges bringing down to the Colony; here we got a supply as we had no Provisions from the Settlement.
- 3rd* *Sunday.* Cold weather, Wind, Snow and Drift till 10 AM Mr Bourke with 1 Man, one Horse, 3 dogs & 1 Sledge came here from the Forks to take these the Provisions left here also brought me a letter from the Governor in Chief Mr Semple, desiring to send back with Mr Bourke one of my Sons to be Interpreter at the Settlement, as Mr Nolan the present one it was in contemplation to send to Montreal with Letters by Fon[d] du Lac; in consequence I sent back Charles and we proceeded on our Journey & went about 7 Miles and put up, we are under the necessity of every one of us carrying a small load about 30 lb each on our backs as the Horse is weak, the snow is pretty deep here which makes it bad walking without Snowshoes
- 4th* *Monday.* Started at 7 AM and rested at Portage des Prair[i]e point then proceeded & put up at Musherom river at 6¾ PM.
- 5th* *Tuesday.* Found a Dog Sledge here & put 80 lb on it which we hawled by turns to lighten the Horse, left the river at 10 AM & put up at the Stinking water at 4½ PM, very warm day.

- 6th *Wednesday*. Got off early and came to the Bad Woods⁹⁰ at 10½ & went till 2½ PM & put up where they left one of the Horses on going down he hurt himself by running a Stick into his Breast when he was drinking, we saw the Track of him, but it appears some days back we shall look for him tomorrow; a little Snow in the afternoon.
- 7th *Thursday*. Searched much for the Horse & found him nearly well & at Noon we got away he hawled part of our Things on the Dog sledge so that none of us had any thing to carry – Met a Little after we started Mr Fraser a Brulé & 2 Canadians going towards the Forks with Dogs & Sledges; we did not speak together: Fraser is the same person who carried over to Mr McKay⁹¹ at Qu'Appelle orders for all our people to leave that Post in the Fall in 24 Hours, or the NW would blow us to pieces, very cold day and Strong wind a head went about 12 miles & put up at the first Pines near dusk. [Fo. 12d]
- 8 *Friday*. Thermomer this morning only 1½° less than when Quicksilver freezes solid, went about 4 Miles beyond Root River & put up at dusk.
- 9th *Saturday* At 7½ AM we got away & arrived at Brandon House at 1½ PM & found all well but little Provisions in the House altho' 2 Hunters employed: The Buffalo are far away.
- 12th *Tuesday*. Thomas Favel⁹² & son went to Riviere Qu'Appelle, with Letters from Mr Semple for the Athapescow Gentlemen & Others.
- 23rd *Saturday*. Thomas Favel returned from the above Place, and took charge of this place according to Mr Sutherland directions – They have got fatt there for 400 Bags Pemmican of 80 lb each & Beat meat for 200 bags The Indians has there carried away 24 of our Horses – The evening before the Canadians took all theirs into their Yard with Hay, never before done by them, so our people supposed that the NW were privy to their being stolen – News lately from

⁹⁰ The Bad Woods was a long narrow strip of dense Spruce woods on the north side of the of the Assiniboine River west of Portage la Prairie. It is today known as the Spruce Woods Provincial Park. In earlier days, Nor'Westers Alexander Henry the younger and John Macdonell called it *La Grande Trembliere*.

⁹¹ This John Richards McKay. See previous citation.

⁹² Thomas Favel (1780-1848) was born at Fort Albany to John Favel and a Swampy Cree woman named Titameg. He entered HBC service at the age of 14 in 1793 as a Labourer at Fort Albany. He married a Cree woman by the name of Sarah Trout by the custom of the country in 1797. By that time, he was working Inland out of Fort Albany. In 1805 he was working in the Red River district and became a Steersman in 1812. By 1814, he was working out of Brandon House under Peter Fidler. He was dismissed from the HBC's service by Fidler in 1816 for refusing to accompany him to Jack River. While he would re-enter the service of the HBC in 1821 (Steersman at Beaver Creek), it is clear from this journal that he was also hired temporarily to accompany Fidler to Martins Fall in 1818. He became a freeman in 1822 and retired to the Red River Settlement settling in St. Andrews. He died in 1848. HBCA BS.

Charlton House,⁹³ they have there about 100 Bags Pemmican, where before they seldom could make Ten in the whole season. This is owing to the Great number of Indians both there & at Qu'Appelle who left the Saskatchewan river last Fall on account of Wars amongst the Slave Indians & they have fled this way for safety, so that the usual supply of Provisions cannot be expected from the Saskatchewan as usual

24 *Sunday* Last Night 2 Indians arrived here from the West end of the Turtle Mountain 5 Tents of Crees & 3 of Stone Indians. La Frane Chief.

26 *Tuesday.* Sent Thomas Favel, Thomas Fidler & James Moor⁹⁴ along with the Indians that came on Saturday Night for the few Skins they have Two Canadians went with them from their House here. Harry Gear⁹⁵ Daily cutting firewood in 3 Billet lengths – This will be his Constant winters work & one Man hawling it home – Got 4 Horses ready to send down to the Forks for Good left there in the Fall; as Mr Sutherland finds the greater part of the Goods he sent to Riviere Qu'Appelle expended & some Kinds intirely; The Company has no Horses here fit for the Journey, so I am obliged to make use of the best belonging to our Men – we have only 4 Dogs here which came from above, so that this House is destitute of Both Horses & Dogs to hawl meat

[In the margin] Men at Brandon House
Peter Fidler
Jas Inkster⁹⁶ - Cooper
Thos. Fidler - Writer
Thos. Favel - Interpreter
Jn^o Lyons⁹⁷ - Hunter
Rob^t Clouston⁹⁸ - Smith

⁹³ Fidler here probably means the location of Fort Hibernia. In 1795, Fidler built a Carlton House on the Assiniboine River above the Elbow of the Assiniboine. This closed in 1800 and the HBC built Fort Hibernia at the Indian Elbow about 14 miles below Fidler's initial post. In 1807, the HBC removed Fort Hibernia to Fidler's original location. At this date (December 1815) Fidler refers to this post on the Assiniboine River as Charlton House, probably to distinguish it from Carlton House on the Saskatchewan.

⁹⁴ James Moore Sr., came from the Orkney Islands, and was employed by the HBC as a Steersman at Brandon House. HBCA B.63/f/1, fos. 4d-5, Winnipeg Department List of Servants 1815-16.

⁹⁵ Harry/Henry Gear came from Stromness, Orkney Islands and was a Labourer at Brandon House and Fort Hibernia in 1815-16. From 1816 to 1818 he served as a Labourer at Pigeon River on Lake Winnipeg. In 1818 he returned home. HBCA B.63/f/1; B.239/d/175-204.

⁹⁶ James Inkster (1773-1854) was born in Orphir, Orkney Islands, and joined the HBC in 1796. He worked as a Cooper at Albany until he was transferred to Brandon House in 1805. Here he married a Cree wife. He worked at Brandon House until 1821 as a Cooper and Boatbuilder and retired in 1823 to settle at Red River. HBCA BS.

⁹⁷ John Lyons was born in Rupert's Land and entered the HBC service in 1797. He was a Labourer out of Albany District, but from 1813 to 1816 he worked as a Steersman, wintering at Brandon House. It was noted that he "an obstinate Servant but a good hunter." In 1816-17 he went "Free". HBCA BS; B.63/f/1; B.239/d/165-188.

⁹⁸ Robert Clouston (1793-1850) was born in Orphir, Orkney Islands, and joined the HBC in 1812 serving as a Blacksmith at York Factory. In 1813, he was transferred to Brandon House where he worked as a Blacksmith from 1813 to 1816.

James Anderson⁹⁹ - Taylor
Jas. Moore
Harry Gear
Jn^o Flett
R. Cunningham¹⁰⁰
D. Donovan¹⁰¹
Angus McIvor¹⁰²
Jn Kipling Sen^{r103}

[Fo. 13]

or go to Indian Tents: Sent word by our People this Morning to trade what Dogs they could: wrote to Mr Robertson requesting requesting [sic] him to spare us from the Colony store 4 Kegs of Spirits to send to Riviere Qu'Appelle, as they have very little left there & the greater part of the Trade is still expected except Fat. The other men here variously employed – Three Men constantly at the Hunting Tent. Yesterday two Canadians arrived from Mannetobaw Lake. says that Don^d Sutherland is bad with sore Eyes, since the fall. being Christmas day gave each man 1 pint rum each according to old Custom.

Thereafter he served at Swan River (1816-17), Fort Hibernia (1817-18), Fort Wedderburn (1818-22), and Fort Chipewyan (1822-28). In 1821-22, George Simpson noted that Clouston had been promoted to Clerk but that he was deficient in education, spoiled by opposition, and had forgotten his station. He believed he should be relieved of the rank of Clerk the next season (he wasn't). In 1828, it was noted that he had become a colonist at Red River, and the 1829 Census lists him as a married 36-year-old. In 1828, he married Nancy Sutherland (1804-1848) in the RRS and they had seven children. He died at Red River in 1850. HBCA B.22/d/4; B.39/d/4a-5; B.239/d/159-216a; B.239/f/12; B.239/g/1-8; E./3.

⁹⁹ James Anderson (1775-1856) came from Walls/Stenness, Orkney Islands and he joined the HBC in 1796. He worked as a Tailor in the Churchill until 1799, and thereafter at Brandon House until 1819. From 1819 to 1823, he was a Tailor in the York Factory district. He went Free to the Red River Settlement in 1823. He was married to May Demoran, a Saulteaux woman, and they had at least 12 children. He died at St. Andrews, Red River Settlement, in 1856. HBCA B5; B.3/d/112-133; B.239/d/204, 210, 216a.

¹⁰⁰ This is Richard Cunningham who came from Ireland around 1814 and served the winter of 1814-15 at Carlton House as a Labourer. In 1815-16 he was stationed at Brandon House and was 21 years of age at the time. Thereafter he served at Pigeon River and Swan River until 1819. He disappears from the HBC records at that time. HBCA B.63/f/1; B.239/165-204.

¹⁰¹ Daniel Donovan was an Irish Labourer who joined the HBC in 1814. He worked at Jack River in 1814-15 and Brandon House in 1815-16. He was one of the men taken prisoner by the NWC/Metis at Qu'Appelle River on 8 May 1816. He was released on May 21 and he then went to the forks. He died in the Battle of Seven Oaks on 19 June 1816. HBCA B.239/d/165 & 175; B.63/f/1; B.22/a/19.

¹⁰² Angus McIver/McEaver came from Scotland in 1815, and was posted to Brandon House as a Labourer/Boatman. He was one of the men taken prisoner by the NWC/Metis at Qu'Appelle River on 8 May 1816. He was released on May 21, 1816. He was considered an excellent/obedient servant, and served at Brandon until 1817. Thereafter, he was posted to the Manitoba District serving mostly at Fort Dauphin. He was 24 years old in 1820-21, and was considered as "very active with Indians" and a good servant. It was noted that he was returning to Europe. HBCA B.51/d/4; B.63/f/1; B.239/d/175-216a.

¹⁰³ John Kipling Senior, was the native-born son of John Kipling (*b.c.* 1743-1794) from Bishopton Durham, England, who had joined the HBC in 1766 and worked on the Albany River district (Henley House, Gloucester House) for most of his career. John Kipling Sr. was born about 1774 and entered the HBC service in 1794. In 1815-16, he was serving at Brandon House as a Labourer, and was described as "an invalid for some years back." In 1820-21, he was at Big Point and categorized as "Net man" who was "old, does very little – hunts occasionally." His last year of service for the HBC was in 1821-22 in Swan River. Thereafter, he went free to the RRS. He is presumed to have died around 1850. HBCA A.30/16, fo. 15; B.51/d/4; B.63/f/1; B. 239/d/216a; B.239/g/1-2.

- 27 *Wednesday* Sent James Anderson & 3 other Men with 4 Horses & sledges to the Forks to bring up Goods, each horse to bring up 300 lb. They have only 2 Kegs Spirits at Riviere Qu'Appelle, 1 roll Tob. & no Cloth or Blankets. James Inkster making a pair of Smiths Bellows larger than the old Pair, & the Smith making Nails for them. Only 3 Men home.
- 28 *Thursday* Made here 7 new Dog Slegs & 2 Horse ones, The French hunters came here with Cows meat, the first brought this winter but they are hunting above 40 miles off and our Men about 20.
- 29th *Friday*. Finished making the Bellows 6 Days work.
- 30th *Saturday*. Traded 155 rats & 1 fisher from Trotier a freeman.
- 31 *Sunday* we have at the Hunting Tent 5½ Bulls to fetch

January 1816

- 1 *Monday*. Gave each man 1 Pint rum on New Years day as customary.
- 2 *Tuesday*. Our Men returned from Indians at Turtle Mountain & brought a few furs – they seem to have hunted very little this Winter – they also Traded some dry provisions & 3 Dogs which is much required
- 3rd *Wednesday* Smith & 1 Man making Axes &c.
- 4 *Thursday*. Made some Candles; Cooper & Smith got ash willows for Keg hoops, others variously employed: a Stone Indian came here for us to fetch Provisions from 2 Tents about 40 Miles off.
- 5th *Friday*. Sent 3 Men to hunting Tent for meat others variously emp^d.
- 6 *Saturday*. Our Men came home with Meat & say that our hunter has lately seen the first Cows & killed two.
- 7th *Sunday*. Sent Thos Fidler & J. Moor along with the Stone Indian lately arrived here for meat & to trade Dogs, as we are very scarce of

[Fo. 13d]

Them, to do the necessary duty & the Snow is drifted deep in the Vallies for the Horses to go new roads.

- 8 *Monday* Men variously Employed
- 9th *Tuesday*. Men the same
- 10 *Wednesday*. T. Fidler & Moor came home from the Stone Indian Tent well loaded with Provisions & also a few Wolves; there is much Beavers there yet – which the Indians are to bring in themselves soon – Traded 1 Dog from them: one Man & boy came here from the Hunting Tent with 2 Sledges of meat
- 11 *Thursday* Sent back the same people to fetch more meat from the Hunting Tent, others variously Employed
- 12 *Friday*. at 2 PM Mr John Rogers with Reginald Green¹⁰⁴ & our 4 Men came here from the Forks with 12 pieces of Good. They left that place the 4th Inst. – one Hour after Governor Semple also arrived here from Fort Dair accompanied by Mr Pambrun & 10 Men. They were conducted here by a Canadian who was lost at times on the way. They left Fort Daer 4th Inst. Capt Grant an Indian¹⁰⁵ accompanied the Governor here 1 Days Journey off & brot 170 Rats & 1 Bear Skin – Charles Fidler also came here along with the Governor: Nolan still at the Forks as it was judged not very necessary to send Letters now to Montreal. Our Men returned from the Hunting Tent with Meat. The Smith made 2 Rat spears for the Indian who came here now.
- 13 *Saturday*. Two men came home from the Hunting Tent with Cows meat, the first we have had brought home this Season
- 14 *Sunday*. Nearly all the Governors Men went to the Hunting Tent to Fetch meat, as also 4 of our own people. Reginald Green also went there to remain to assist our Hunters &c
- 15 *Monday*. Richard Cunningham & Jn^o Flett were particularly desired to take 3 sledges of Dogs betwixt them which is very frequently the case for one Man to drive 2 sledges of Dogs on a well beaten open track but Cunningham absolutely refused to take more than one Sledge of Dogs with him – Charles Fidler

¹⁰⁴ Reginald Green was a 21-year-old miner, who arrived with the settlers from Thurso, Scotland in 1815. Lucille H. Campey, *The Silver Chief: Lord Selkirk and the Scottish Pioneers of Belfast, Baldoon and Red River* (Toronto: Natural Heritage Books, 2003), 100-102.

¹⁰⁵ According to Peter Fidler's Report of the Manitoba District in 1820, Captain Grant, or Oc ke now es cum, was an Indian formerly from Severn Factory who resided at the half way bank (on the Assiniboine River between Brandon House and Portage la Prairie), with 6 or 8 others, and had two houses built in the European manner. The rest lived in tents, and the whole was enclosed with Pickets. They had gardens like a little farm, where they remained during the Summer, but at the latter end of the Autumn they dispersed to hunt furs. HBCA B.51/e/1.

assisting the Cooper making small Kegs D. Donovan badly – he was so on his Journey up from the Forks. Smith & 1 Man making Axes & made a Main Spring for Mr Pambruns Gun –

[Fo. 14]

other men variously Employed.

- 16th *Tuesday* Mens employ as before. The 6 Dogs sledges came home with meat from the Hunting Tent: As Richard Cunningham absolutely refused to take care of more than one Sledge, by the Governors consent & advice I thought proper to fine him 10 shillings, for this disobedience of his Duty & Mr Sutherland will confirm it, this is absolutely necessary or some men would do nothing but what they choose.
- 17 *Wednesday.* Sent Thomas & Charles Fidler with 4 sledges to the Hunting Tent for meat, Smith & the others as usual.
- 18 *Thursday.* My Two sons came from the Hunting Tent with 4 sledges of Meat 1337 lbs & the 7 sledges that came here on Tuesday only brought 1401 lb, having the same Number of Dogs & better ones too in each of their sleds – Two men arrived here from Riviere Qu'Appelle for Goods – Mr Sutherland had gone to Swan River 4th Inst., to send men to Cumberland House for Goods, and also to get a supply from Charlton House, and had not returned when these Men came away. Smith repaired two steel traps & 1 Kettle for Vivier a Freeman.
- 19th *Friday.* at 9 AM The Governor in Chief 8 men, besides the 2 men that came here Yesterday went away for Riviere Qu'Appelle taking a good deal of Goods with them recently brought from the Forks, 4 of our men getting ready to go down to the Forks to bring up more Goods for Qu'appelle wrote up to that place to send us 6 good Dogs as ours is going down to the Forks, and we shall have few here either to fetch meat or go to the Indians Tents for Furs &c.
- 20 *Saturday* Sent away James Moor & 3 other men down to the Forks for Goods with 12 Dogs and 4 sledges, also sent some fat for the Colony. we have so very little dry provisions in the House that we are obliged to send fresh meat for the Dogs to serve them back which makes their sleds from this on that account very heavy. Two men sawying boards – Duncan McDonell¹⁰⁶ left here by the

¹⁰⁶ No HBC employment records have been found for Duncan Macdonell. Duncan was, however, working for the Selkirk Colony and was present at the battle between the Metis and colony on June 11, 1815, where he received a non-fatal wound. Peter Fidler identifies him there as Duncan McDonald, but Miles Macdonell refers to him as Duncan Macdonell. Duncan Macdonell/McDonald was taken prisoner at the Qu'Appelle river by the NWC/Metis on 8 May 1816. He was released on May 21 and traveled to the forks. Shortly after arriving in the colony in May of 1816, Duncan

Governor who is badly, also Cunningham – Cooper & Charles Fidler making small Kegs – very warm Day Therm° +40

- 21 *Sunday*. 2 Men came here from the Hunting Tent with meat
- 22 *Monday*. Sent Thomas Fidler & Smith to an Indian Tent 2 Days walk away to purchase Dogs as we have none here 3 Men badly – 2 Indians
[Fo. 14d]
arrived here yesterday, Traded with them and they returned. Men at home able, variously employed
- 23 *Tuesday* D. McDonell & Cunningham at work cutting firewood
- 24 *Wednesday* All hands now about necessary Duty, in the Evening the two Stone Indians came here our Men were lately at with 18 Dogs & 1 Horse sled loaded with dry provisions & Skins. Two Men arrived at the Canadian House from Riviere Qu'Appelle.
- 25 *Thursday* 2 Men came from the Hunting Tent with Meat, James Inkster, Thomas & Charles Fidler constantly employed Keg making
- 26 *Friday*. At 4¼ PM Jack Favel¹⁰⁷ & Tom Kipling¹⁰⁸ arrived here from Fort Dair, carrying their Bedding, ___? &c on their backs they was sent by Mr Jn^o McLeod, and have been 11 Days on their Journey not knowing the straight road, They brought Letters from Mess^{rs} McLeod, St Germain & Pritchard, relating a shocking Massacre of 31 Bungees out of 34 within 15 Miles of Turtle river by a large party of the Sioux Indians. Mr McLeod & 3 Men were at the Bungee Tents & in the afternoon of the Day previous to the horrid catastrophe they left the Tents notwithstanding the very pressing invitations of Bungees to remain with

accompanied Robert Semple to the Battle of Seven Oaks, and died in the Battle. Brandon House Journal, 1815-16, HBCA B.22/a/19, fo. 33.

¹⁰⁷ Fidler here surely means John Favel. No HBC records have been located for Jack Favel, and John was this year posted in the Fort Daer region. John Favil/Favel first comes into view when he shows up in the Brandon House accounts of 1811-12, as a Labourer making only 8£per annum. From 1813 to 1815 he is posted to Qu'Appelle House, and in 1815-16 he is a Labourer at Turtle River (near Fort Daer), where it is noted that he is a “tolerable Boatman but impudent.” From 1816 to 1818 he is a Labourer at Fort Hibernia, and from 1818 to 1823, he is Boatman at Beaver Creek and Brandon House. In 1823-24, it is noted that he goes free. At this point we lose sight of him, but the 1829 Red River Census lists John Favell’s wife. Presumably, he died before this. HBCA B.22/1-6; B.239/d/165-216a; B.236/g/3-4; E.5/3.

¹⁰⁸ Thomas Kipling was a son of John Kipling Senior, and was 13 years of age in 1815-16. He shows up first as a Labourer at Brandon House in 1814-15, earning 5£per annum. and the following year it is noted that he is “a good interpreter and smart boy”. Thereafter he is found in the Manitoba District, primarily at Big Point with his Father, as a Runner and Interpreter and was considered “active but fond of liquor”. His last year is 1820-20, and it is assumed that he quit the service with his father in 1821, and settled in the Red River Settlement. HBCA B.22/d/5; B.51/d/4; B.63/f/1; B.239/d/165-216a.

them all night & particularly as the weather was very boisterous & snowy. They however went away about 8 Miles & put up, it continued snowing the greater part of the Night & next day which obliged our people to remain in their encampment. The Snow providentially falling so much shut up the Tracks by which means in all probability our people escaped. The Bungees being killed early in the Morning of the 20th December last, Those 3 who escaped returned back two Days after to the Tents & found their Murdered & Scalped country people except 2 or 3 Women who it is supposed the Sioux had taken away alive many of their country people they found half roasted and several had their Limbs cut off, and some few with Knives still sticking in their throats; it was only 2 years ago that the Sioux killed several Bungees a little above this place, and also on the very same night 2 of our Men had left their Tents where they had been for furs; also 4 Months before this they killed 5 Free Canadians near there on a hunting Excursion after Buffalo. This affair of killing the Indians now will be the

[Fo. 15]

cause of a great diminution of Trade there, not only as there are few hunters, but their Countrymen will lament their Deaths and in consequence do little or nothing for the remainder of the Hunting Season. Mr McLeod has been very badly off for Provisions where he settled last fall – he has Canadian opponents from Leech Lake; All the ablest Settlers are now going from the House at Fort Dair to live where the Buffalo are Killed, as they have not means at the Fort to hawl all the fresh meat to it. This is what should have been done early in the Fall as by this Means the Horses & Dogs could have been enabled to lay up a Considerable quantity for consumption after the Snow melted & the river Ice cleared away: and besides it would have spared many Servants to have been employed in felling & collecting wood for Buildings & Stockades and rafted down in the Spring; whereas they have all been employed in one respect or another in getting & bringing vast quantities of meat a Distance up to the Fort to be eat up immediately by the Swarms of Settlers, and it would have been much more comfortable for the Settlers themselves had they gone early to where the Animals abounded; small log houses would have very soon been built to pass the winter in – Whereas at the Fort they have sometimes they say been 4 Days without meat. This I mentioned early in the Season but was not at that time paid attention to – Many of their Horses are killed in constant dragging meat to the Fort – in every other respect the Settlers are hearty & well and are much pleased with the Country, & behave themselves in a very becoming manner – not so with many of the Servants, who it appears will do nothing in a great measure but what they choose; This bad behaviour of the Servants makes matters worse: Thomas Fidler & Smith returned with 3 Dogs which will

be a great help to us. – Great numbers of Buffalo all the way from Fort Daer to within 40 miles of this Place. The Men here variously employed.

27th *Saturday.* Sent away Thomas Favel & R Cunningham to Mannetobaw Lake to fetch 2 Kegs of Spirits to send up to Riviere Qu'Appelle and for Pisk Kipling¹⁰⁹ to accompany our men back in case he is at the House as the Governor wants him, perhaps for a Guide to the Mandans at

[Fo. 15d]

the Missouri River to trade Horses &c from them; James Inkster badly, Murray a Canadian I heard went from their House here to the Forks, to fetch up Duncan Cameron the NW Proprietor to visit & plan some mischief no doubt with Alex^r McDonell at Riviere Qu'Appelle. Men at various jobs.

28th *Sunday*

29 *Monday.* Smith & 1 Man making small hatchets for Trade, but what with the Smiths wages, Burning Charcoal & the great waste of Iron, besides one Man to assist him, every hatchet made by him costs near double it does in London, but in making Nails from Bar Iron the loss to the Company every thing considered would be at least three times what they would originally cost in England. Four Men came home from the Hunting Tent with meat – The Buffalo are still very far away.

30 *Tuesday.* Green remained here & 3 others went back to the Hunting Tent for Meat, & 1 Man more to remain there in Greens place, Mens employ at the House as usual.

31 *Wednesday.* The Cooper is now able to work he, Thomas & Charles Fidler making small Kegs of Oak for the Indian Trade, and part of them to be carried down to the depot at Knee Lake, for the use of our Canadians who winter in the Athapescow Country at 2 PM Mr Jn^o Severight¹¹⁰ arrived from their House

¹⁰⁹ Thomas Pisk/Peask Kipling was born around 1792, at Albany House. He worked inland from Albany House and was at Brandon House by 1808 where he worked until 1812. From 1813 to 1815, he was a Labourer at the HBC post at Portage La Prairie, and in 1815-16 was stationed in the Manitoba District where he stayed until 1817 as a Runner and Interpreter. In 1817-18, he was temporarily in charge of Brandon House. In 1818-19, he was and Interpreter at the Forks, and from 1819 to 1822 he was an Interpreter at Isle a la Crosse. In 1822-23, he was again in the Lower Red River District where he stayed as a Steersman until 1825. In 1825 he left the HBC to settle at Red River. He rejoined the HBC in 1828 and shows up in the Columbia Department where he worked for the HBC until 1860. He was appointed to be in charge of Cape Disappointment in the Oregon from 1852-55, and thereafter was paid as a Labourer. He lived with his family (he had married Marguerite Plouffe Villebrun) at Cape Disappointment and took a 640 acre claim adjoining Peter Skene Ogden in 1846. HBCA B5; B.22/d/1-5; B.63/f/1; B.239/d/165-216a; B.239/g/1-32.

¹¹⁰ John Siveright (1779-1856) was born in Scotland and entered the service of XY Company in 1799, and the NWC in 1805. In 1815 he was at Portage La Prairie and was involved in the Selkirk/NWC dispute described here. The HBC considered him party to the NWC conspiracy to destroy the Red River settlement, and he was with Duncan Cameron at Fort Gibraltar when Cameron was taken prisoner by Colin Robertson. He was still in the colony in June 1816 when

at the Mannelobaw Lake to their House here the 3rd day having come fast on, he is come to accompany Duncan Cameron to Riviere Qu'Appelle

February 1816

1st *Thursday* Poitras & Severight came quite unexpectedly over here on a short visit, as there is no visiting here or above by either party. 3 People making Kegs – Smith constantly at his Duty & others emp^d

2nd *Friday*. Men variously Employed at the House as usual

3rd *Saturday* Men as before. – at 2 PM one Man arrived here from the Forks & left $\frac{2}{3}$ of what they brought from there, about 5 Miles off, The Dogs so very poor; quite Knocked up. They have had very little since they left the Forks, the Provisions they had laid up going there the Canadians had found and taken away. I immediately sent back other people, and they got the whole here before bed time – James Moor remains at the Forks he was unwell and could not return. – Peter Dahl¹¹¹ a Norwegian came up in his place: They saw great numbers of

[Fo. 16]

Cow Buffalo, within 18 Miles of the Forks, and when our Men came here from the same place 12th Jan. they saw great numbers near the same place, and there is no doubt but they have been there all the intermediate time notwithstanding the Buffalo being so plentiful & near the Settlement they have not got any Killed, we fetch ours from where it is killed near three times the distance, and they are living on Boiled Barley & Wheat without any meat. They get from their nets werewith to make a Breakfast for 10 people commonly of small Fish – no news from Fort Dair this Month past

4 *Sunday* Bad drifting weather.

Governor Semple and about 20 settlers were killed at Seven Oaks. As a result, he was charged as an accessory in the murder of Semple. The charges against him, however, were not upheld. After the union of the companies in 1821 he served the HBC at Sault Ste. Marie, Fort Coulonge on the Ottawa, and Lake Timiskaming. He was promoted to Chief Trader in 1828 and Chief Factor in 1846. He retired in 1849 and died in Scotland in 1856. Wallace (ed.) *Documents Relating to the North West Company*, 498. Elizabeth Arthur, "Siveright, John," *DCB Online*.

¹¹¹ Peter Dahl (b.c. 1788-1859) arrived at York Factory from Norway in 1814, as part of a group of servants hired to build a winter road between York Factory and Lake Winnipeg. After three years most of these servants were dissatisfied and went back home. Dahl remained, and when Colin Robertson brought the colonists back to the settlement in 1815 after they had been dispersed by the NWC he was among them. He would continue to work for the HBC in the Red River and Manitoba Districts (Halket's House) until 1818 when he returned to the Colony to work for William Laidlaw on Selkirk's model farm. Later that year (1818) he is listed among a group of settlers around Frog Plain. By the 1827 Census, he is listed as married with five children. He had married Catherine Murray, the daughter of Alexander and Isobel Murray (1815 Scottish Settlers) by at least 1820. By 1843, he was a very established farmer with 6 stables, 15 Oxen, 9 Horses, 16 Cows, 50 Sheep, and 35 cultivated acres. Catherine died in 1857 and Peter died in the RRS in 1859. According to his age given in the various censuses, Peter was born in 1788 or 1789. HBCA B.239/d/175-195; E.5/1-11; E.4/1a.

5 *Monday.* at 4 PM our 2 Men I sent to Mannetobaw with 2 of Mr Sutherlands men arrived here with 2 Kegs Spirits. In case he sent Pisk Kipling & had dogs I wished his Men to bring one Keg of Tar two bars of Iron & a few Axes that was left in the fall about 40 Miles off from this close to the Track, but altho they had an empty sledge & 3 dogs they would not bring it or any part giving for an excuse that they were not told by their Master. Men at the House variously employed

6th *Tuesday.* Charles Fidler badly. a very bad drifting day: The Men employed within doors. Also served out Provisions for Pisk and Donovan to fetch tomorrow the Tar, Iron &c. they would not bring but Pisk flatly refused to go back for it: Smith & 1 Man daily splitting bar Iron for Nails for the Batteaux to be built at Riviere Qu'Appelle & Charlton House & Here 1 Boat.

7th *Wednesday.* at 2 PM Henderson,¹¹² Kirkness¹¹³ & Menascon a Canadian came here from Riviere Qu'Appelle, saying that the Governor had given up the Idea of going to the Mandan villages, as there was not in this river a proper assortment of Goods to send there. – and I expect the Governor down here in a few days to pass the Spring here; The Governor arrived at R Q¹¹⁴ about the 24 Ult. & Mr Sutherland returned from Charlton House¹¹⁵ two days before, he was taken badly & could not go further, – he got there two Kegs Spirits & 1 Roll of Tobacco, which luckily arrived in time as there was in the House no Tobacco when returned: The Swan River boat in the fall was froze fast at the entrance of Shoal river,¹¹⁶ and the 2 Saskatchewan

[Fo. 16d]

Boats in the Cedar Lake; They have gone on very slowly to be froze in so low down. Told Pisk & Henderson to go tomorrow to Fort Dair to fetch 3 Kegs of Salt, to Salt Tongues &c and 1 Keg of Spirits. Also wrote to Mr McLeod to

¹¹² Peter Henderson (1795-1863) came from Thurso, Caithness, Scotland. He entered the service of the HBC in 1812 serving as a Labourer, Blacksmith and Bowsman. He was stationed at River Qu'Appelle in 1815, Fort Hibernia (1816-1818), and at Brandon House (1818-23). He became a Freeman in 1823 and retired to the Red River Settlement. He officially married Charlotte Yorstone, a Cree woman, in 1829. He died in 1863 and was buried at St. Andrews. HBCA BS; B.239/d/165-216a' B.239/g/1-3; B.63/f/1.

¹¹³ Thomas Kirkness was born around 1785 (35 years old in 1819-20) and came from Sandwick, Orkney Islands. He joined the HBC in 1804, serving as a Labourer at Carlton House and Cumberland House until 1810. In 1810 he was transferred to the Winnipeg District, but after 1811 no sign can be found of him until 1815. In that year (1815-16) he reappears as a Labourer at Qu'Appelle. He was one of the men taken prisoner by the NWC/Metis at Qu'Appelle River on 8 May 1816. He was released on May 21 and he then went to the forks. He subsequently served at Fort Hibernia (1816-17), and finally Pigeon River and Berens River as a Bowsman (1817-21). He returned to Scotland in 1821. HBCA B.63/f/1; B.239/d/129-216a.

¹¹⁴ Riviere Qu'Appelle

¹¹⁵ Fort Hibernia

¹¹⁶ The river connecting Swan Lake to Lake Winnipegosis.

return that quantity to Mr Pritchard if he supplied us: The Governor is waiting to see Alex McDonell who is gone to Swan River and is soon expected to return, about the Cannon that it is reported they have at Riviere Qu'Appelle belonging to the Colony, carried away from it last April. The Buffalo our people saw in great Numbers at the Big Tent about 30 Miles off as they came here: 3 Men cutting Ice to lay up our Meat in for the Spring & Summer, and the rest variously employed. 3 Coopering & 2 at Smiths work Mr Tho. Swain badly at Swan river House.

8th *Thursday.* Menascon a Canadian who accompanied the Governor from Pambina to Riviere Qu'Appelle with Pisk & Henderson went away for Fort dair for Salt &c also sent Donovan & Mr Green to fetch the Tar &c, they would not bring. The latter man, he was now very much against going for it – Sent 3 Men to cut Oak to make 12 Gallon Kegs to put fat into as Mr Sutherland says he will have a considerable surplus of Fat, more than he will have Beat Meat For; Smith & one Man constantly employed splitting bar Iron & drawing out into rods to make Batteaux Nails. 2 Sawying & the 3 Coopers making Kegs. The other men `variously employed, in the afternoon we were very agreeably surprised to see above 200 Buffalo not more than 3 Miles off where none has been seen so near here for many years. This is owing to the very severe Days with Great wind & Drift we have just had which has driven them near the river to the Woods for Shelter from the Storm; in the afternoon Duncan Cameron came to their House from the Forks, he is going to Riviere Qu'Appelle

9th *Friday* Sent 4 of our Men to Kill Buffalo, as we can see swarms of them from the Window, in the evening they returned having killed one each. 3 Men cutting wood to make Kegs for fat; Smith and one Man employed as usual about Nail making: John Favel came from our Hunting Tent for Ammunition; They have Killed 43 Cows there within this

[Fo. 17]
week; 17 in one day. The bad weather has made them plenty abt the Tent, they had even shot one from their Tent door. The last 3 Bad drifting days had drove them to the Woods for shelter in great numbers: The rest of the Men cutting & hawling home firewood as usual & otherwise variously employed.

10th *Saturday* Sent 3 Men to the Hunters Tent to assist bringing the Meat there from where it is killed: Mr Rogers accompanied our Men to the Tent to see the Buffalo. The Men brot home the Meat killed near here yesterday, others as Cooper & Smith at their respective Duties.

- 11th *Sunday*. Charles Fidler in hunting & killed 1 young Bull, at 10 AM Mess^{rs} Cameron, Siveright & 5 Canadians went away for Riviere Qu'Appelle.
- 12 *Monday* – Sent 2 Men for the Buffalo killed yesterday: The 2 Men ret^d with the Tar, Iron &c left in Sept. last at the Bad woods about 40 Miles off. In the afternoon three Cow Buffalo came very near the House, sent one Man after them & he killed the whole and returned back at bed time very bad weather: Two men got long willows for hoops for Big Kegs.
- 13th *Tuesday*. Brot home the meat killed yesterday: Sent away Thomas & Charles Fidler to hunt, they returned in the evening having killed two. Two men sawing boards to make heads for Fat Kegs. Smith & 1 Man at their respective duty, splitting & drawing out bar Iron & working it up into rods which is a very great waste of Stuff, Time & Labor.
- 14th *Wednesday*: Charles & Tom Favel Hunting & killed 3 Buffalo, brot home those killed yesterday.
- 15 *Thursday*. Two Canadians went to Mannetobaw & I sent with them Alexander McGruer,¹¹⁷ as Mr D. Sutherland has few Men there, sent by him 25 lb Beat Meat & 25 lb Fat with 1 Dog & one Sledge: Cooper, Thomas & Charles Fidler keg making, as I wish my Sons to learn every thing that is useful – 2 at Smiths work & 2 Sawing: The Tobacco Indian came here from the Turtle Mountain Six tents there; Yesterday sent word for our hunters to come here & hunt about the House as the meat will be much easier to get home: They both came here along with Mr Rogers: They brot home 3 Sledges of Meat: The Buffalo are very plentiful all the way to the Tent. They killed one Cow on the Track as they came here. The families are all left behind & only the 2 Hunters came here.
- 16th *Friday*. Sent Thomas Favell & 2 Men to the Turtle Mountain along with the Indian that came here the 14th Ins^t. to fetch what few Skins they have indeed when the rats are taken away indeed very little Trade can be expected in this river if the Wolves still continue of little Value: – Besides the Indians are almost

[Fo. 17d]

¹¹⁷ This is Alexander McGruer/McGruan/McGowan who shows up in the HBC accounts of the Northern Department only once prior to 1821. He was born about 1795 (43 years old in 1838-39) and came from Boleskine, Inverness-shire, Scotland. In 1815-16, he was a Labourer posted in the Manitoba District. Thereafter, he either went home or joined the NWC. He shows up again in 1820, having signed a three-year contract with the NWC to serve in Red River. With the merger of the HBC and NWC he joined the new company serving in the Winnipeg District as a Middleman in 1821. By 1829 he had become a Postmaster in the Winnipeg District (Fort Alexander region) and by 1832 had returned to Montreal. From 1834 to 1849 he worked out of the Montreal Department as a Postmaster, first at Riviere Desert (1834-45) and then at Lac des Sables (1845-49). He disappears from HBC accounts thereafter. HBCA B.63/f/1; B.134/g/9-22; B.239/d/175; B.239/g/1-11; F.4/40

all too lazy to hunt the few furs that are to be had. Sent away our 2 Hunters who came here yesterday and they returned in the Evening having Killed 7 Cows; brot home two Cows killed here yesterday; 3 Employed making 12 Gall. Kegs to put fat in: P. Dahl & Donovan badly this 2 Days. our Men who are gone to the Indians Tents to trade dogs. There is 68 Buffalo at the Hunting Tent to fetch

17th *Saturday*. Sent several Men, Horses & Dogs to fetch home the 7 Buffalo killed yesterday. The Hunters killed 2 More Buffalo.

18th *Sunday*. Bad weather in the Morning.

19 *Monday*. The 2 Hunters away and killed 7 more Cows – brot home all the meat killed on Saturday: The Men at home variously employed but the Smith is badly and not able to do any thing. This is a very bad job as we require so many Nails for Batteaux building and the season they should be sent away, before the snow goes off, is fast approaching. found many of our Potatoes frozen in the Cellar, which they never before was. The Cold came thro' a small hole that sand ran from in Summer, and was then forgot to be shut up, we shall loose by this Many Bushels.

20th *Tuesday*. Sent away the 2 Hunters & they returned in the evening having killed 5 Buffalo. Also sent the men and brought home the 7 killed yesterday, at 2 PM George Setter¹¹⁸ came here from Riviere Qu'Appelle, been 5 Days on the Journey, when he left that place the Governor & several others of our Men came away one Days Journey when soon after they had put up in the evening about 20 Miles from the House, Mr Sutherland sent Francois De Champs Jun^r¹¹⁹ after him with a Note informing that Duncan Cameron & several others

¹¹⁸ George Setter (b.c. 1788-1868) came from Westra, Orkney Islands, and was born about 1788 (52 years old in the 1840 RRS Census). He entered the HBC service at Albany Factory in 1806, and by 1808 was serving inland. He was serving in the Red River District by 1809, and he would serve most of his career at Brandon House and other Upper Red River posts such as Beaver Creek Fort Hibernia, and Qu'Appelle. In 1815-16 he was a Steersman wintering at Qu'Appelle, and by 1818-19 he was an Assistant Trader at Beaver Creek. He became a Postmaster in 1827-28 in the Upper Red River District, and in 1833-34 he was a Postmaster at the HBC Experimental Farm. He retired after the 1837-38 outfit while serving as a Postmaster at Swan River. He retired to the Red River Settlement and appeared in the 1840 Census with a wife and six children. He had married Margaret Setter (1813-1881) at Brandon House in 1826. He died in 1868. HBCA B.3/117-125; B.22/1-12; B.239/d/165-216a; B.239/g/1-17; E.5/10.

¹¹⁹ François Deschamps (Dechamps/De Champs) Junior, was at this time employed by the HBC as an Interpreter at River Qu'Appelle. He deserted, as noted in this journal, in the Spring of 1816. He was the son of François Deschamps (Dechamps), an old Canadian, and a well-known NWC “bully” during the Selkirk difficulties. According to his report of 1816, James Bird noted that Dechamp was the one who “blew out the brains” of Robert Semple during the Battle of Seven Oaks in 1816. Francois Deschamps Junior, was at the battle with his father. The Deschamps family later moved to the American territories near Fort Union where they were known as a particularly violent family. The whole family was murdered in 1835-36. HBCA B.63//f/1; B.239/d/175. See also Ted Binnema and Gerhard J. Ens (eds.), *Edmonton House Journals, Correspondence & Reports, 1806-1821*, 432-33.

had arrived that morning at the Canadian House there, in consequence of this the Governor next morning returned back there with 2 Men to see if Cameron would do any thing improper & to wait there till he went away – Mr

[Fo. 18]

Pambrun & 3 other men came here according to the Governors orders – but the 2^d day after the Governor returned he left Mr Pambrun & others.

21st *Wednesday* Sent & got home the Meat Killed Yesterday, we have now a sufficient quantity of Buffalo Killed, if we are able to get it home and store it in the Ice House that will serve us till August is out at least so told the Hunters to leave off killing & to return to their Tents. Men here variously employed; at 4 PM our 3 Men ret^d from the Indians at the Turtle Mountain with Furs & Provisions & 3 Dogs which will be a great acquisition to us in getting our Meat home and the season is so far advanced: also 2 Stone Indians came here for us to fetch Meat, but as we have so much of our own to fetch we cannot think of loosing what is already paid for, we told them to bring it here themselves & sent the Chief 1 fm Tobacco & a little ammⁿ as a present by them. at Sun Set 2 of Mr Pambruns men came here he is yet behind with 1 Man & the Letters from Qu'Appelle

22 *Thursday.* Sent 6 Men to the Hunting Tent each man having two sledges & Dogs, some with Horses and the 2 Men who are there will also come home with meat. John Lyons our servant has killed 69. Marsollois Son our engaged Hunter 63 & we have killed ourselves at the House 12 Buffalo. The average quantity of Ammunition allowed a hunter is 4 Balls & 4 Loads of Powder for each Animal he kills, if he uses more it is charged to his account; but this very seldom happens, and they in general are able to lay up a small stock for themselves. The Smith has been badly these several Days but this day he was he thought rather better & made a main spring for Geo. Setters Gun.

23rd *Friday* Smith again very badly. also Anderson the Taylor our wood hawler set Thomas Kirkness to cut firewood at the House, but as he was very long after the rest of the Men going to Work, I paid particular attention to him & after working exactly 1 hour & 50 Minutes he left off[f] work for the Day in the evening I reprimanded him for leaving off so very soon & very long before any of the rest of the Men here did, I told him I should pass it over this time but that for the future he should be fined for not doing his duty like the rest of the men. Two men returned from the Tent with 4 Sledges of Meat. Charles Fidler is left there badly

[Fo. 18d]

and unable to come home: Cooper & Tho^s Fidler daily hewing wood to make Fat Kegs & Salt Meat. Cunningham brot little meat home on his 2 sleds. what

he should at least have brought on one he had only 264 lb & the other man 435 lb with the same Dogs & Sledges: This Ric^d Cunningham is a very refractory fellow, and is enough to spoil a whole House of People. he has been in the Saskatchewan one year; but Mr Bird would not allow him to return there again on account of his very refractory conduct, and the People at Ship time were few to save every place, so he was brought up again, but home is the most fitting place for him.

24th *Saturday.* 4 Canadians went to their Hunting Tent 4 Horse & 2 Dogs Sleds. Their Tent is about 40 miles off; Smith & Taylor badly – picking out the frozen Potatoes, some men came home with meat & others went for more: John Favel was to take 2 sleds the same as the rest of the men but he would only take one tho' particularly told 'This is the same Person Mr McLeod sent here last Month as he could not get him to do any thing but what he chos[e] himself; Thomas Kirkness was told to go away with the other Men to the Hunting Tent for Meat with 2 Sleds but instead of this he went away to Riviere Qu'Appelle without saying any thing. I have wrote to the Governor & Mr Sutherland to fine him for this disobedience of orders which he so richly deserves, at Noon Mr Pambrun & McKay a Brulé came here, they had remained 3 Nights at one of the Freemans Tents on the road; received from him the Letters and busily employed in putting up an assortment of Goods Mr Sutherland immediately requires for the Trade at Riviere Qu'Appelle.

25th *Sunday.* at 4 AM sent away Geo: Setter with Goods to Riviere Qu'Appelle. he has 4 excellent dogs & would only take 204 lb, he refused to take a bag of Ball 56 lb which he very easily could have taken and it is required above; Indeed all the Men that comes from Qu'Appelle appears to be very much their own Master, they have been so very much indulged by Mr McKay who has spoilt them, and any other Person who wishes to bring matters round as they ought is hated by them, but this I dont mind as I am determ^d

[Fo. 19]

every man here shall do his duty, come from what house he will. Sent 2 people to the Hunting Tent for Meat, and to bring Charles Fidler home who is laying there badly.

26 *Monday* Charles Fidler was brot home on a slege and others came with meat. Letters came down from Rivere Qu'Appelle to send to Jack river for some Goods: appointed R^d Cunningham & John Favel, the latter very much objected going the Journey, but I was obliged to threaten him before he would consent. These half Breeds in general are very careless and dont mind fining them part of their wages. personal chastisement is the only thing with these kind of

People, but the Men from the old Country it has a great effect on, and was the best step the Co introduced here in or about 1793 at which time almost every man did as he chose particularly if he was a Steersman or Bowsman of a Canoe, no other Craft was then used. Smith yet very badly & 3 others.

27th *Tuesday*. Men variously employed as usual and busy in getting our Meat home before the Snow melts away.

28 *Wednesday*. at 9 AM Mr Pambrun & 4 Men went to the Forks with 5 Slegs of Dogs sent by them as much Dry & Fresh meat as they could take for the use of the Colony. They took 1190 lbs also sent in Company with them John Favel & R^d Cunningham with the Packet for Jack river. I expect them to return to the Forks about the 1st April They were to have gone by Mannetobaw Lake but I was doubtful they would not have found there a pilot, and then their Journey would have been lost. supplied them with 3 of our best dogs, The Men at the House variously employed.

29th *Thursday* Sent away 7 Horse & 5 Dogs Sleges to fetch meat from the Hunting Tent, and for our Hunter to come with his Family to remain at the House to do something – Cooper & Tho. Fidler daily employed making large rundlets: Taylor, Smith & Charles Badly. 2 Crees came here for us to fetch meat from their Tents, but we have got more of our own than I fear we shall be able to hawl home before the Snow goes away, told them to bring it themselves & gave them a Supply of Ammunition & Tobacco & a little Liquor as one brother is badly at the Tent.

[Fo. 19d]

March 1816

1 *Friday* – 2 Men came home with meat, others variously employed much water in a Creek on the road at 3 PM Mr Duncan Cameron Severight, Fraser, & the others arrived from Riviere Qu'Appelle. Salted a quantity of Meat to carry down in Pickle to the Depot at Knee Lake for the Athapescow Gentlemen. it is the prime parts of the best Animals & will I believe be little inferior to English Salted Beef – this will be a great saving as it can be carried down in 12 Gall Kegs & delivered at 6^d p[er] lb whereas meat from England would I should Imagine double the price to land it there.

2nd *Saturday*. 3 Men badly & others at home variously employed. at 5¼ PM the Governor in Chief from Riviere Qu'Appelle arrived here with 4 Men, two of which or others in their place are to return immediately with Trading Goods. They have been 5 Days on the road some of the people as well as the Governor snow blind. 12 Horse Sleges came home from the Hunting Tent, 5 of which

John Lyons required to bring home his things and Family; sent some away for more meat in the Morning.

3rd *Sunday*. In the evening 6 young Indians came here with a Considerable number of Furs, The Governor stopped one night at their Tents as he came down to secure the Skins from the Canadians, also a Canadian Freemans wife came here with Dry provisions.

4th *Monday*. Sent back to Riviere Qu'Appelle Francis de Champs & McKenzie with 2 sled load of Goods. Sent away 6 Horse & 1 Dog Sled to the Hunting Tent. Traded with the Indians and they all returned, made them small presents of Ammunition, Tobacco and Liquor, the freemans wife also returned. D. Cameron, Severight Fraser & the others went away towards the Forks, for this month past the Canadians has been busily employed hawling dry provisions down to the Forks, what they never did before, in the afternoon some of our people came in from the Hunting Tent with 4 slege & 2 Men

5th *Tuesday*. The Taylor well & now at his old job hawling wood – An Indian arrived here with some dry provisions, other men variously employed. at 4 PM Mr Kilkenny¹²⁰ arrived here from

[Fo. 20]

Riviere Qu'Appelle, two others came with him from Montagne La Bosse, where 2 bags of Ball was left last fall, and have returned with what they could find; The Bags being Leather the Wolves had eat holes in them and about ¼ of the ball could not be found.

6th *Wednesday*. Sent 2 More men down to the Forks to fetch up more goods, they have also taken a quantity of fat for the Colony, have wrote to Mr Robertson to send one of his 2 Blacksmiths up to make Nails for the Riviere Qu'Appelle Batteauxs as the time is fast approaching to send them up and our smith is still very weak and badly: Charles Fidler now better & working at Kegs, but in the evening worse than before, the same Kind of Complaint most all our Men has had, at first a swelled face, then a severe pain in the Breast which generally lasts about 15 Days

¹²⁰ Michael Kilkenny was born in Ireland in about 1791, and sailed to the Hudson's Bay in June of 1812. He was posted as a Labourer to Ile-a-la-Crosse until 1815, when he was transferred to Riviere Qu'Appelle. He was one of the HBC men taken prisoner at Qu'Appelle by "Bostonais" Pangman and other NWC men in May of 1816. He was released on May 21 and travelled to the Forks where he marched to Seven Oaks with Governor Robert Semple. He was one of the few men who survived the Battle of Seven Oaks, and did so by swimming across the Red River. In 1816-17, he was classified as a Steersman and was posted to the Swan River District. In 1817-18 he deserted. Apparently, he did not leave the district as in 1827, he and his wife are listed as settlers at Red River. By 1828, however, he can not be found in the settlement census. HBCA B.63/f/1; B.89/d/2; B.239/d/175-195; E.5/1-2.

- 7th *Thursday.* at 11 AM Pisk Kipling & Henderson returned from Pambina with 183 lb Salt, They had it to fetch from where it was made, they say only 10 Kegs are made, & that very little more will be made this Season. The whole of the Settlers they say except about 18 are out the Plains where the Buffalo are killed, but that very little work done on collecting wood to raft down in the Spring, received a Letter from Mr Jn^o McLeod he Mess^{rs} Robertson & Stitt are there on a visit. Some of our Men came home with Meat – Mr McLeod writes he has sent us one Keg of Spirits which we much wanted at R Q but that Mr Robertson or Pritchard it would appear has detained it, as none was brought here, and they only received the Salt there Jn^o Lyons assisting the Cooper since he has come home from the Hunting Tent.
- 8th *Friday.* Sent 3 Men to fetch meat with 6 Horses Charles, Dahl & the Smith are getting better. others variously employed.
- 9th *Saturday* The Men came home from the Tent with Meat
- 10 *Sunday.* Sent 3 Men to fetch Meat.
- 11th *Monday.* All our Men returned from the Hunters Tent, a Stone Indian came here for us to fetch Meat from his Tent, but we have more of our own I believe than we can get home Sent some more men away to fetch home our Meat from the Hunting Tent.
- 12th *Tuesday.* Some men came with Meat: Thomas Fidler badly same comp^t as the rest: The Smith began again to work, there is much to do in that way Nail making, sent Men away to the Tent for meat, and some cut Ice to store it by with in the deep Cellar to keep for the Summer. [Fo. 20d]
- 13th *Wednesday.* 3 Men came with meat from the Hunting Tent, Sent Pisk Kipling away to Mannetobaw, as he will be required there, he takes with him for Mr D. Sutherland use 126 lb Dry provisions – Some cutting Ice, & the others at their respective duty.
- 14th *Thursday.* Sent Men away to fetch Meat; some clearing out the Ice House and separating the different Joints, and the others as usual; none Ill. at 7 PM Wm Sinclair & Fraser¹²¹ arrived from Riviere Qu'Appelle with our Northern express

¹²¹ This is Hugh Fraser from Boleskine, Inverness-shire, Scotland. He was born about 1792 (age 27 in 1819-20). He joined the HBC about 1812, and spent the 1815-16 outfit at Qu'Appelle River. He was taken prisoner by the NWC/Metis, on May 8, 1816, at the junction of the Qu'Appelle and Assiniboine Rivers. He was released on May 21, 1816, and allowed to

from the Athabescow & Peace River; which gives I am sorry to hear very dismal accounts of our People in that Quarter; Mr McDougal¹²² was it seems obliged to make an agreement with Arch^d McGillivray¹²³ at the Vermillion Fort in Peace River 22^d Nov. last & deliver up to the NWCo all the Goods he had amounting to about 60 Large pieces and also all his Men about 18 for one year. Those Men to act for the NWCo during that time if required: Mr Clark went ahead from the Athabescow Lake to the Vermillion Fort, and remained there till the river was froze in; he then with a few others went down to meet his people & met them coming up in a miserable state by starvation but the Agreement was made which he sanctioned but would not deliver himself up to the NWCo, it is supposed that he & 2 Clerks have gone to live with some Beaver Indians till they are strong & able to walk well & procure a small supply of Provisions to put them down to the Athabescow Lake, where some of our people are at as well as at the greater & Lesser Slave Lakes, and the Isle a la Crosse Green Lake & the Pipe Stone 60 miles above Athabescow Lake in that River – The NWCo are sending our 18 Canadians who gave themselves up towards the Saskatchewan river that they may be quite out of our way in the Athabescow – It would appear that our people has been too long on the Journey in, and consumed their provisions which should have served them to their winters Quarters – As it is well Known that the NWCo would keep every Indian from the Track that

[Fo. 21]

they could who had any thing to dispose of. This is the most melancholy business I have ever known: it is well known that the NWC will stand at nothing to prevent our annoying them in that Northern Country where they bring the largest Part of their Beaver Skins from: Our People with Mr Logan at the Isle a la Crosse appears to be doing nothing – & the case is the same almost every where else: Decoygne at the Lesser Slave Lake appears to be doing the best. The Packet left Edmonton House 13 Feb. at 7 AM & arrived at Hudson House

return to the Selkirk Colony. He then served at Fort Hibernia and Swan River from 1816 to 1821. Thereafter, he spent the rest of his career in the Saskatchewan District. In 1822-23 he accompanied the Bow River expedition, and in 1833, he accompanied John Edward Harriott to the Bow Fort. He was paid as a Bowsman from 1817 to 1836, and thereafter he was demoted to a Labourer/Middleman. He continued in the Saskatchewan District until 1849 when he retired in the District. HBCA 63/f/1; B./239/d/165-216a; B.239/g/1-29.

¹²² This is George McDougald/McDougall, one of John Clarke's men on the Athabasca expedition of 1815-16. In 1816, he left the HBC and joined the NWC where his brother James was a clerk. He then served in New Caledonia and when the NWC and HBC merged in 1821, he rejoined the new concern and remained in New Caledonia until 1830. Thereafter he served at Great Slave Lake and Lesser Slave Lake. He was a Clerk at Fort Edmonton from 1843 to 1849 when he retired. See Ted Binnema and Gerhard J. Ens (eds.), *Edmonton House Journals, Correspondence & Reports 1806-1821* (Calgary: Historical Society of Alberta, 2012), 262.

¹²³ This is the son of William McGillivray who entered the service of the NWC in 1803 and went with Daniel Harmon to the Athabasca in 1808. He was at Fort Vermilion on the Peace in 1815-16 and forced George McDougald to sign the capitulation agreement in exchange for food. See Ted Binnema and Gerhard J. Ens (eds.), *Edmonton House Journals, Correspondence & Reports 1806-1821* (Calgary: Historical Society of Alberta, 2012), 263.

26th at 10 PM and left it next morn. at 7 AM Arrived at Charlton House 6th March at 11 PM & left it next morning at 8 AM: arrived at Riviere Qu'Appelle 11 Inst. & 1 PM & left it the same evening at 9 PM & arrived at this House 14th at 7 PM. This is the soonest in General people travel in Snow Shoes betwixt the different Houses – The news from the Saskatchewan is that the Indians there had been quarreling with each other & that the Fur & Provision Trade would not be equal to last year: That the Buffalo was plenty early in the Fall at Hudson House: we also learnt that all our Horses Stolen from Riviere Qu'Appelle about Christmas was taken by Stone Inds & are at the Touchwood hill about ½ way between Charlton & Hudsons House. The same tribe swept away with 65 of the Co & Mens Horses last fall from our Houses in the Saskatchewan river: A Packet also came from Cumberland House with 3 Kegs Spirits & some Cloth & saying the Trade there was much the same as last Year at the same time but that the Moose Lake House had quite failed – very few Rats to be had & I have no doubt that very soon it will be a general case thro all these parts – our people at Swan river are doing better than usual both in furs & Provisions: they have already got at Charlton House near 150 Bags Pemmican, when last year they were obliged to get a supply from Qu'Appelle to serve them on the Journey to Jack river – McDonald the Canadian Master at Swan river arrived 11th Inst. at Qu'Appelle: 400 Bags Pemmican expected to be made in the Saskatchewan by us – McKenzie who went from this beginning March with DeChamps was left by his companion Snow blind & the poor fellow had great difficulty in reaching the House. The Canadians at RQ has made a Buffalo pound and got about 30 Cows into it. – No news of ours from Big Slave Lake –

[Fo. 21d]

15th *Friday* Our Men came from the Hunting Tent with the last of the Cows Meat: Men here variously employed one constantly with the Smith & 2 with the Cooper making 12 Gallon Kegs for Fat & Salt Meat; a band of Indians came here with 9 Sleges mostly Provisions, the Governor busily employed writing Letters for the Saskatchewan to send away tomorrow.

16th *Saturday* Fraser & Henderson was directed to go down to the Forks to fetch up Goods for Mr Sutherland, but the Former absolutely refused to go there saying he was snow blind, but he went away on his own accord to Qu'Appelle as well as ever. Sent away Mr Sinclair with the Governors Letters to be forwarded to the Saskatchewan immediately as Fraser went empty to Qu'Appelle, I was obliged to send down with Henderson to the Forks Charles Fidler: Fraser very much deserves to be fined for his obstinacy in doing nothing but what he chooses & the Governor in Chief says he well merits it for his pretended Snow blindness & going away to Qu'Appelle when he heard he was to go down to the Forks to bring up some Goods immediately wanted for

Riviere Qu'Appelle he hung an old Handk^f over his Eyes and came into the room saying he was very bad, whereas the whole day he went about the Yard bareheaded & not the least sign of Snow blindness with him. Sent down some fat for the Colony use, by the 2 Men now going down there – They took with them our Northern Express to Mr Robertson and went away at 11½ AM, but our people has very bad Dogs & few – at 1 PM the Canadian Northern express arrived with 2 Men at their House across – 2 Sleges & 4 Excellent Dogs each

17 *Sunday.* Poitras the Canadian Master here told Tho^s Favel that they expected a Packet from Montreal in April – The French express went away in the Middle of the Night to the Forks to Duncan Cameron

18 *Monday.* All our men came home with the last of the Meat from the Hunting Tent – The Coopers finished making 50 Kegs of 12 Gallons each – Thomas Fidler very badly – 2 Constantly emp^d in splitting Iron and Nails. The Table in the Margin is the meat hawled home from the Hunting Tent & what is lately killed at the House so this will well serve us this Spring & the Summer Men till the return of the Boats from the Factory in September when well laid up in Ice.

[Marginal note]

Pounds of Meat brought in each Day from Feb. 15 to March 18]

Feb ^y 15	693	March 1	1095
16	370	3	2455
17	658	5	800
	1025	6	705
19	270	7	2643
	202	8	2254
20	663	11	1658
	1331	12	943
21	1350	13	1435
23	699	15	1325
24	1076	18	1280
	417		
26	878		
28	1351		
29	638		
TOTAL	28,820 lbs		

[Fo. 22]

19 *Tuesday* Our 2 Men we sent sometime ago returned from the Forks with some Goods, they left 102 lb Lead on the road & obliged to hawl here the Smith now sent from the Forks to make Nails, as ours was very badly, but since he is well

& working – Most of the Men are gone from the Forks to Fort Daer to live, they catch now generally from 4 to 6 Sturgeon every 2 Days. These met our 2 Last men near the Bad woods All hands cutting Ice to put in the Ice House to preserve the Meat.

20th *Wednesday.* The French Smith Papin¹²⁴ badly now come from the Forks Ours & 1 Man making Nails. Cooper at work making Boat Timbers – all the rest employed hawling up Ice from the river.

21st *Thursday.* Sent away Kilkenny & Tom Kipling with Goods to Riviere Qu'Appelle that was lately brought from the Forks. The rest as yesterday

22nd *Friday.* Sent 2 Men to fetch the Lead lately left on the road the other Men as before.

23rd *Saturday.* Finished laying up our meat in the Ice House, and there was never such a stock before at this House; it will serve our people here and what remains in Summer till Snow again covers the ground we have had a deal of difficulty & perseverance in getting it brought home – now every one is well pleased at the Great Stock, even those who were the most averse in hawling it home – we have put 29 Tons of Ice besides a quantity of snow mixed with the Meat, The Ice House is full and about 14 Buffalo over to use the first: at 1³/₄ PM our Men returned with the Lead lately left on the Road: at 3 ¹/₂ PM James Moor came here from the Forks in company with Mr Jn Severight & 1 Canadian of NWC with Letters for the Governor in Chief here, relating that Mr Robertson & 12 Men had on the 17th Ins^t. about 8 PM entered into the Canadian House at the Forks and made all Prisoners Viz. Duncan Cameron, Serephim la Mar & the Canadian Master who then happened to be there from Winnipeg river and that we shall keep possession of that place; and all the Colony Goods &c is to be immediately carried up there – There were about 14 Canadians at the Time at the NW House – a Letter was sent by Mr Robertson to Cameron & whilst the NW men unlocked the Gates & opened them, our Men rushed in with charged bayonets, and on Tuesday the 19th about Noon

[Fo. 22d]

the Canadian Northern Express arrived there, and Mr Robertson seized it & I believe opened many Letters it contained & read – some of them were full of the NWC intentions of Destroying the Colony this Spring, aided by the half breeds, that they are assembling from all Quarters, and that after they have

¹²⁴ There are a number of Papins in HBC accounts during these years. According to the journal here, he was a Blacksmith from Canada working at the Red River Colony.

driven them away in the Spring, they are to remain ab^t the Forks & not suffer either Colonists or HB Traders to again enter the River. – Mr Severight came over & asked Mr Semple permission to go to Riviere Qu'Appelle with the News of what has lately taken place at the Forks & he with 1 Man & 2 of ours will go tomorrow to that place – The Governor wrote to Alex McDonell there telling him if he offered any violence to any of the HB people he would severely retaliate at the Forks: The following is one of the Letters taken out of the Canadian Express which plainly points out the NWC intentions it is wrote from Riviere Qu'Appelle to Jn^o Dugald Cameron¹²⁵ at the Sault St. Maries. This Grant is a Clerk to the NWC. son by an Indian Woman to the late Cuthbert Grant and its said had left him near 5000 £.

Riviere Qu'Appelle
13th March 1816

My Dear Sir/

I received your Generous & kind Letter last fall, by the last Canoe; I should certainly be an ungrateful being should I not return you my sincerest thanks; although a very bad hand at writing Letters, but I trust to your generosity: I am as yet safe and sound thank God, for I believe its more than Robertson or any of his or any of his Suit dare to offer the least insult to any of the Bois Brules; altho Robertson made use of some expressions which I hope he shall swallow in the Spring – he shall see that it is neither 15, thirty nor fifty of his best Horsemen that can make the Bois Brules bow down to him – The half Breeds of Fort Dauphin, Des Prairies & English river are all to be here in the Spring, it is hoped we shall come off with flying colours and never see any of them again in the Colonizing way in Red River, in fact the Traders HBC shall pack off with Themselves also, for having disregarded our Orders last spring; according to our arrangements we are to remain at the Forks & pass the Summer for fear they should play us the same trick as last Summer of coming back, but they

[Fo. 23]

shall receive a warm reception – I am loth to enter into any particulars as I am well assured you will receive a more satisfactory information than I have had from your other correspondents – Therefore I shall not pretend to give you any; at the same time begging you will excuse my short Letter, I shall conclude wishing you health and happiness.

I shall ever remain

My Dear Sir

Your most obedient Humble Servant

¹²⁵ John Dugald Cameron (1777-1857) was born in 1777 and entered the service of the NWC in 1795. In 1811 he was in charge of the Lake Winnipeg district and in 1813 was made Partner of the NWC. He took part in the struggles between the NWC and HBC regarding the Selkirk Colony. After the Union of the two companies in 1821 he was made Chief Factor. He retired in 1844 near Cobourg, Upper Canada. Wallace (ed.) *Documents Relating to the North West Company*, 430.

Cuthbert Grant
To J.D. Cameron Esq.¹²⁶

- 24th *Sunday.* at 5 AM two of our Men with 2 Canadians went for riviere Qu'Appelle with Letters, also with one to be forwarded to Mr Bird¹²⁷ at Cumberland House – at 5½ AM the Governor in chief, Mr Rogers & 3 Men went away for the Forks, as Mr Robertson anxiously expects the Governor soon to arrive there – Last night a family of Indians came to our House with a boy dead about 14 Years of age for us to bury him. set all hands about it & in the evening completed the job.
- 25th *Monday* 2 Men badly – both Smiths at work nail making – 3 hawling home firewood – a Stone Indian came here for us to fetch Meat, but all our Dogs are gone to riviere Qu'Appelle and along with the Governor & Charles Fidler to the Forks.
- 26th *Tuesday.* Tom Kipling came here at 7 AM. he met our men from RQ coming down for Goods, he delivered it to them & returned about ½ way Mr Sutherland writes me that since the NW Northern Express arrived at Qu'Appelle – next morning the NW flag was hoisted on the flag staff and that another one was hoisted by Cuthbert Grant in the name of the half breeds on one of the bastions of their Fort and that he is appointed Captain General over all the half breeds that are collecting from all Quarters – Young Shaw¹²⁸ Son of Angus Shaw¹²⁹ is at the Isle a la Crosse & McGillivray¹³⁰ in the Saskatchewan collecting them, and report says that from 100 to 150 will be here in the Spring for the avowed purpose of the destruction of the Colony & to drive away the HBC Traders. As the NWC^o

[Fo.23d]

¹²⁶ Marginal note: My Sister & Betsy return their most respectful compliments to you.

¹²⁷ James Bird Senior. See previous citation.

¹²⁸ William Shaw, the Metis son of Angus Shaw, was at this time a clerk in the NWC. He was one of the “chiefs” of the Metis who organized the Metis and Freemen of the English River district to come to Red River. He along with Cuthbert Grant, Nicholas “Bonhomme” Montour, and Peter “Bostonais” Pangman signed the decree dispersing the Selkirk Settlement in 1815. They were taking their orders from Duncan Cameron.

¹²⁹ Angus Shaw (died 1832) was born in Scotland and entered the service of the NWC as a clerk about 1787. He played an important role in establishing the NWC posts on the North Saskatchewan River and became a partner in the NWC in 1792, but gave up his shares in 1808 becoming then an Agent of the NWC. Between 1802 and 1814 his activities were centered mostly around the Great Lakes but by 1814 was again prominent on the plains and took a leading role in the dispersal of the Selkirk Colony in 1815. He was arrested by the HBC in 1819 but was released. After the union of the two companies in 1821 he continued on as a Montreal Agent of the HBC until his firm (McTavish, McGillivrays, and Co.) failed in 1825. He died in 1832 in New Brunswick, New Jersey. Gratien Allaire, “Shaw, Angus; *DCB Online*.”

¹³⁰ This is probably Archibald McGillivray, the son of William McGillivray, who entered the service of the NWC in 1803 and went with Daniel Harmon to the Athabasca in 1808. He was at Fort Vermilion on the Peace in 1815-16 and forced George McDougald to sign the capitulation agreement in exchange for food. See Ted Binnema and Gerhard J. Ens (eds.), *Edmonton House Journals, Correspondence & Reports 1806-1821* (Calgary: Historical Society of Alberta, 2012), 263.

find they cannot prevail on the Indians to assist them, tho' they have used every means to get them to drive us away, They have told them not to go near the Forks in the Spring, as they tell them that there will be bloody work, Men variously employed who are well – Ground bare of Snow in places

27th *Wednesday* Put all our Potatoes out of Doors in the Sun to dry after separating the froze from the unfroze ones, as we shall supply the Colony in the Spring with all we have for seed, after keeping a few here for seed & our own use. The men got only one day in the week on that account, we shall also supply them with all the Wheat, Barley & Indian Corn – An Indian arrived here with a few Skins. Sent 6 Men to cut wood to make Charcoal, as what was made last fall is very near done & will not serve all the Nails making for Riviere Qu'Appelle Boats, besides the Boat that is to be built here; and many other necessary jobs; other men variously employed yesterday Charles Fidler & Henderson came from the Forks with nothing all the Snow is now off the Ground & no sled hawling; they arrived the evening before James Moor left the Forks to come here for the Passover Charles is much wanted to assist the Cooper to build a New Boat; Henderson will go to Qu'Appelle with the Nails when they are made. at 4 PM Anthony McDonald & an Indian arrived here from Fort Daer with Letters for the Governor in Chief relating that the 19th Inst. Mess^{rs} McDonell, Pritchard, White & McLeod had made Prisoners in the Canadian House there of Bostonais Pangman¹³¹ the Master, a very conspicuous character last Spring at the Colony and who for his Conduct in that business in driving the Settlers away, had his choice given him of being Master of any of the NWC^o posts in the Red River Department. Charles Hesse & Mr Fraser¹³² this last lately went there from Riviere Qu'Appelle, he was dragged from under the bed where he had concealed himself. This business was done after Dark near bed time – They all three were carried over to the Colony house & kept Prisoners & in a day or two it was intended to send the whole down to the Forks under a strong escort to be kept along with Cameron & the others, our people took all

[Fo. 24]

the arms and Ammunition they found both here and at the Forks Mr McLeods men are hawling Meat to Fort Daer, where he intended to pass the Spring, as

¹³¹ This is Peter “Bostonais” Pangman (1791-1850). Peter or Pierre Pangman was born in 1791 in the Saskatchewan River valley and was the son of the NWC trader Peter Pangman Sr. and a native woman. As noted here, he was an employee of the NWC, but in 1812 had begun his fur trade career in the employ of the HBC under John McLeod. He soon left the HBC and by 1815 was in the employ of the NWC as an interpreter and took a leading role in the dispersal of the Selkirk Colony in 1815. He, along with other Metis “Chiefs” Cuthbert Grant, William Shaw and Bonhomme Montour, signed the document that banished the Selkirk settlers and HBC from the forks of the Red and Assiniboine rivers. Bostonais was also prominent in the 1816 destruction of the Selkirk Colony and was later arrested in 1816, standing trial in Upper Canada. He was not convicted and was released. He died in 1850 at St. François Xavier in the Red River Settlement, the very settlement he tried to destroy.

¹³² Alex Fraser. See previous citation.

they have all left the Thieving river, they being doubtful of the Sioux intercepting them on their Journey down in the Spring – All the Settlers have again left the Plains & are at the Fort, having made a great Quantity of Provisions (dry) for every family to serve them till after the Ice drives away James Inkster the Cooper & Charles Fidler working at the Boat

28th *Thursday.* Mens Employ as Yesterday

29th *Friday.* Put Salt meat into 8 Kegs made here They each hold 105 lb on an average to be taken down to the Depot at Knee Lake The Taylor these 2 Days making a Jacket & Trowsers for one of the Men – 3 Freemen with their Families pitched to the House, put up a Keg of Suet – 6 Men at the Charcoal Kiln

30th *Saturday.* Sent 8 Men to the Charcoal Kiln & expected it would have been ready to set fire to this day; but find that it is not half covered, went to see it myself about 1½ miles off and spoke very sharply to Tom Favel & others when I returned about the slowness of their work & the coals are so much wanted – I should have expected 3 Men to have done what they have all done in the same time, but many of the Men dont consider any thing but living well & doing little, for want of Charcoal we cannot get the Nails made for the Batteaux & Boat and we have sent 3 times down to the Forks to be supplied where there are plenty but Mr Robertson would not send us a single Nail, tho' indeed the last time we requested them Mr Robertson said we might have 500. trifling as this number is our men could not get them from him or Mr Bourke¹³³ after frequently asking him for them. James & Charles¹³⁴ laid the Keel of the Boat & put on some floor Timbers, the few at the House employed at sundry jobs. The French Smith of ours again badly – very little snow now left on the Ground, only in low places & in the thickets.

31st *Sunday.* Sent Charles & Antony McDonald to tell Marsallios Son to deliver up to the Latter, the Horse they carried away last Spring

[Fo. 24d]

with many others, but he made frivalous excuses, saying he would deliver it up himself when he went to the Forks. – at 4½ PM our Men returned from Riviere Qu'Appelle along with Mr Severight and a Canadian. Mr Sutherland has kept one of our Men to assist him at his place, as the Canadians there have been assiduously spreading the most horrid reports, that they would destroy every one of us before we reached the forks, and taking every half breed that remain

¹³³ John Palmer Bourke. See previous citation.

¹³⁴ James Inkster and Charles Fidler. See previous citations.

with the Indians, they do not know for what purpose they are now retained at the Canadian House, not a word has now transpired there since the Forks business has reached them – our men after remaining there 2 Days returned back to this place.

April 1816

1

Monday. James Inkster & Charles Fidler daily employed in building a new Boat – 2 Constantly nail making for RQ. 2 Men badly – La Fran and band came in with Dry Provisions. gave them 4 Gallons mixt Liquor as he is a Leading man amongst the Indians Took our Coal Kiln down as it was badly built and employed Hamelin Freeman to put our Men in the right way. he is afraid to lay his hand to it for fear of the NWC^o as all the Freemen are in just terror of them. 4 Men sleep there to thaw the Ground to cover the Charcoal Kiln – Sent away Antony McDonald & an Indian to the Forks with Letters for the Governor in Chief – Severight & a Canadian went for Mannetobaw – Traded with the Indians that came here Yesterday – Another Indian came here with a quantity of Rats – The Freemen pitched away to make Sugar. The whole of the Cos & Mens Horses brought home to be kept in the Stables every night to keep them from being Stolen by the Indians, now the Snow is off the Ground some of the Men wanted to keep their Horses in the Stables & eat the Hay made by the Co^s Servants and at the same time not allow them to work any thing for the Co. but be kept merely for their own pleasure; This I would not allow and I told them all that no mans Horse should be admitted into the Co. Stables & eat their Hay, and one Man is constantly employed in the Day time to watch them from being stolen – when they found me determined, they then said their Horses should do an equal share

[Fo. 25]

of work with the others & the Companys, and on these terms I allowed them to be taken the same care off as the rest: The Coal Kiln built & nearly half covered.

3rd

Wednesday. Indians Trading & Drinking. Men as usual.

4th

Thursday. 2 Cut firewood – 2 Sawying – 2 at Nail making. got the Coal kiln built & put fire to it; Donovan & Henderson remains there to attend it. – at 2 PM 2 Stone Indian Men & one family came here with all their Hair cut short & their Legs & thighs Lacerated in many places & the Blood flowing down for Grief according to the Indian custom when any disaster befalls them. They had a great Quantity of Dry Provisions so they were obliged to put it by a short distance & make 2 or 3 Trips daily & on the 1st Inst. one of the Women & 2 Children not coming up at the time expected – The Husband then returned to see what had

become of his Wife & Children & shocking to relate found her scalped, a large stab in the Side & both her hands cut off & carried away – a Daughter about 12 Years old was also killed & both hands & feet cut off and carried away & scalped. and a boy about 2 Years old could not be found and it is supposed the Enemy have tied it about the Horses neck as they often do. The Mandans are the supposed Enemy, indeed the Stone Indians well merits any like evils they can have done to them as the Mandans sincerely wish to make Peace with the Stone Indians & be allowed to come to our Houses for the purpose of Trade; all the Crees or Southern Indians pitched away towards the Pine Fort to make Sugar from the Juice of the Maple tree & to kill Rats – we hear from the Indians that our Neighbor has no Goods except Liquor, he is keeping for some of his particular Indians expected soon at the House.

5th *Friday.* at 7 PM the two men who was taking care of the Coal Kiln came to the House in great haste & Terror, leaving every thing behind them, they had seen at Dusk across the river opposite to them about 23 or 24 Indians & 4 Horses which they supposed to be an Enemy the Mandans in search of the Stone Indians & those who had lately killed those mentioned yesterday – 2 Men Sawying – 2 nail making, 2 at Boat Building – our Men went across & told the NW about the Enemy being near – Several Tents of Freemen living in the Plains about ½ mile

[Fo. 25d]

Off, who all immediately came to this House with every thing they had. The other men variously employed.

6th *Saturday* I went myself early this Morning to the Coal Kiln as the rest were afraid to go & found it broke down & burnt almost useless away except about 4 Bushels we saved. sent the Men to it directly on my return. This is a very great loss to us as Coal is so pressingly wanted to make nails for Riviere Qu'Appelle. Men at home employed as usual.

7th *Sunday.* Last night an Indian arrived from Riviere Qu'Appelle with a Letter from Mr Sutherland, also several others for the Governor Semple that came from Cumberland House 10th March. Mr Sutherland writes that the Indians there seemed displeased at our Making Cameron Prisoner, & that Francois des Champs Jun^r a half breed & engaged last fall for us and a very conspicuous character in destroying the Colony last Spring, had left our House & that La Doux¹³⁵ wished to do the same & Mr Sutherland wishes the Governor to go up

¹³⁵ Baptiste LeDoux, from Montreal, was engaged one year (1815-16) as a Labourer at Riviere Qu'Appelle. It was noted that he was “engaged more through Policy than real use. A coward.” B.63/f/1; B.239/d/175.

to him from the Forks with a number of men, as the NWC are spreading horrid stories that they will not let a single one of us escape before we reach the Forks – In consequence of this pressing request I immediately hired a trusty Indian to go down to the Forks with the Letters to the Governor. The Indians about this place are very indifferent at what has been done lately at the Forks, and sagely observe that as the NW had carried away our Great Men last year it is nothing but fair that we should carry away theirs this year: wrote to Mr Sutherland & the Indian is to return there again tomorrow. also wrote to the Governor requesting 10 well armed Men to come up from the Forks – An Indian it seems had been persuaded to fire three shots at our House when Drunk at RQ, one of the balls struck one of the Window Posts & there lodged – and all our people there seem very much alarmed as the Canadian Master there is well known will not stand at any thing to annoy or ruin us. – The great Quantity of Provisions we have there & being an excellent supply to carry on the Athapescow business, we naturally imagine the NWC^o would wish to destroy to defeat that Expedition – besides it makes them pay much dearer as well as getting much less

[Fo. 26]

from the Natives than they would otherwise do if we were not there – as at present we are come up to the full half of whatever the Ind. at that Post (RQ) bring in to trade – we also learn that some Indians had gone into the Canadian House with Provisions just before the Messenger came with the Letters 4 Days ago: that they brot every thing out again and traded with us saying that the NW had got no Goods – To give the Indian 20 Skins for going down to the Forks with the Letters; the same as Mr Sutherland has now Given to the Indian now come from him – I asked several of the Freeman & half breeds if they would go with Letters to the Forks, they all made excuses they could not go there – nor had they agreed I should not have trusted the Letters with one of them – Smith & 1 Man making Nails for Riviere Qu'Appelle.

8th *Monday.* Early this morning sent back the Indian to Riviere Qu'Appelle & the other one to the Forks with Letters to the Governor – Sent away 7 Men to cut more wood for Charcoal: James Inkster & Charles Fidler Boat building, others at home at their respective duties – at 7 PM Cunningham¹³⁶ & Duncan¹³⁷ came here from the Forks, with the Jack river Packet; The former had only gone to Pigeon River, where he found the Packet just brought there, with which he

¹³⁶ Richard Cunningham. See previous citation.

¹³⁷ This was William Duncan who was born about 1792 and came from South Ronaldsha, Orkney Islands. He joined the HBC in 1815-16, and was posted to Brandon/Qu'Appelle. At the time he was described as a Labourer and “slow and almost useless.” He was taken prisoner by the NWC/Metis, on May 8, 1816, at the junction of the Qu'Appelle and Assiniboine Rivers. He was released on May 21, 1816, and allowed to return to the Selkirk Colony. Thereafter he worked in the Manitoba District as a Labourer/Boatman, primarily at Fort Dauphin. By 1820-21 he was described as “Good Slow Careful & Obedient.” His contract expired in 1821. HBCA B.51/d/4; B.63/f/1; B.239/d/175-216a.

returned here. Jack Favel¹³⁸ & 1 Man had gone on from thence to Jack river to get a supply of Goods – They are doing pretty well at Pigeon river – but Geo. Yarns and the Canad'n who went to the Jack Head last fall had made only 3 Martin skins and the Greater part of his Goods expended; one of his Men died 14th Feb. & another nearly his foot froze off also another one had been frost bit but likely to receive no material harm from it. Our Men left the Forks 4th Inst and brought nothing with them, they say Cameron, Bostonais, Hesse, Fraser are Prisoners at the Forks all the Colony Officers & Men at the NW House there & all the Colony Goods removed there – and the Governor & HBCo officers remain at the Colonial establishment – Mr Nolan received a Letter from Montreal 13th Sep^t last saying that the French Army was entirely defeated at that Bonaparte narrowly escaped in a Small Boat: They get very few [Fo. 26d] fish at the Depot in Knee Lake, the 600 fm net constantly down well attended

9th *Tuesday*. Several of the Indians here went away to fetch the Meat where the Woman & Children was lately killed: The Mens employ as Yesterday & nearly built & covered the Charcoal Kiln; it is made nearer the House than the other one was

10th *Wednesday* Thomas Favel badly these 4 Days. indeed this is too generally the case with this Man, when any particular thing is to be done – Put out all our Skins to dry; Swans, Ducks & Geese seen the first this Season; Our Women here making Bags to put Corn in, Pemmican &c to send down to the Colony as soon as the Ice clears away – got the Coal Kiln covered – other men variously employed.

11th *Thursday* Sent Papin¹³⁹ & Duncan McDonald¹⁴⁰ to set fire to the Charcoal kiln & remain there. 2 Sawying – 4 tying up Furs in the Inner press The Indians returned with the meat they lately went for where the Stone Indians were killed, about 800 lb dry provisions which they traded directly for Liquor, the bane of the Indians which always keeps them wretched in clothing and other necessaries.

¹³⁸ John Favel. See previous citation.

¹³⁹ There are a number of Papins in HBC accounts during these years. According to the journal here, he was a Blacksmith from Canada working at the Colony.

¹⁴⁰ There is some confusion over the identification of this Duncan McDonald. Duncan was, however, working for the Selkirk Colony and was present at the battle between the Metis and colony on June 11, 1815, where he received a non-fatal wound. Peter Fidler identifies him there as Duncan McDonald, but Miles Macdonell refers to him as Duncan Macdonell. Duncan McDonald/Macdonell was taken prisoner at the Qu'Appelle river by the NWC/Metis on 8 May 1816. He was released on May 21 and traveled to the forks. Shortly after arriving in the colony in May of 1816, Duncan Macdonell/McDonald accompanied Robert Semple to the Battle of Seven Oaks, and died in the Battle. Brandon House Journal, 1815-16, HBCA B.22/a/19, fo. 33; B.235/a/3, fo. 19d. Selkirk Papers C-3, Vol 7, p.2352; C-16, Vol. 63, p. 17028.

- 12th *Friday* Men as Yesterday.
- 13th *Saturday* – Finished Thank God all the Nails required for the Riviere Qu'Appelle Batteaux 4520 & tyed them up to send away tomorrow and the men is to take the best Horse the Co. has to carry them They weigh 106 lb which has been a very long job to get them made out of large bar Iron – Six Men getting ready to go with them as I wish to send Mr Sutherland every man we can possibly spare to carry on our necessary work here Nails now required to be made to finish the Boat building here – supplied every man with a Gun that had none of their own and ammunition, very bad Snowy weather – Men employed in doors.
- 14th *Sunday*. It thawed much. our men did not start with the Nails being Easter Sunday
- 15 *Monday*. Early this Morning our 6 Men went away with the Nails 2 Men cut seed potatoes & the others variously employed at 2 PM a Canadian came from Riviere Qu'Appelle to their house here & another
[Fo. 27]
from Mannetobaw – 2 Men Sawying a Large Elm log into Boards.
- 16 *Tuesday*. 2 Men working at the Boat and the few others left here variously employed about the House & Coal Kiln.
- 17 *Wednesday*. at 3 PM Mr Pambrun & 10 Men with the Indian came here from the Forks all well armed, They had a Horse & cart to carry their Provisions and bedding, also Mr Pambrun had another horse. they have come here in 5 Days; the day before they left the Forks a few men had arrived from Fort Daer, which enabled the Governor in Chief to send the above men here – Serephim la Mar is liberated on his parole not to interfere in any thing of the disputes & he came up here to the Canadian House to remain with his Family and Bostonais Wife & Children who is prisoner at the Forks Still: Fraser is also liberated on Parole & said to be gone to the entrance of Winnipeg river to pass the Spring: Only Cameron, Hess & Bostonais Prisoners – Mr McLeod & 5 Men had been sent to the Canadian House at the Winnipeg river to examine & find the Cannon taken away from the Colony last Spring & which was reported to be there by Cottona a half Breed, but they found nothing; every thing seems to have been put away as they scarce found anything – The Master who was Prisoner (Sonier) at the same time Cameron was, had been 3 days previously been liberated & gone home there, and perhaps expecting a visit might be made there by the Colony people had put every thing out of the way – Only one Canadian now

remains at the Forks to attend Cameron – Severight had lately been there and taken Inventory of all the NW had remaining there which was very little Goods, but they had upwards of 16,000 Rats & only 2 Beaver Skins – this Animal is now almost extinct – formerly their skins were valued to the Indians at 1 skin each now we always give 2 and sometimes 3 times the old price as our Neighbours do the same – Some Canadians beat a Bungee about Dead river & on the Canadians was fired at by those Indians – 2 men sawying, others as usual.

18th *Thursday* Mens employ the same. 8 Bungees came here from the Pine Creek below. Traded mostly Blankets, Cloth & other dry Goods and returned to their Families again

[Fo. 27d]

19th *Friday* River Ice moved a little, and broke our old Boat that was froze in all winter: got her out & up the Bank to repair. yesterday Morning John Favel returned here alone from the Forks, he had brot some goods from Jack river but all the Snow being off the Ground it was left at the Forks, 1 Keg Liquor 1 Roll Tobacco; all well at Jack River. Packed some furs in the Inner press. sent away John Lyons as Guide with 4 of the Colony Men down the river to Bonneaux¹⁴¹ Tent for a Horse he took from the Colony last Spring, & he refused to give it up to us the Tents being on the Contrary side the River our men was upon & the Ice being very weak they could not cross, but they saw an old woman who they told to tell Bonneaux that if he did not send the Horse they would come and take it, and insisted that he should send it up to our House directly – Our Men returned the same evening – Spoke to Marsollois Son who is here & has another Colony Horse. The Indians went away, gave them a present of a two Gallon Keg of Liquor.

20th *Saturday* at Noon old Bonneaux Horse belonging to the Colony was seen at the French House, where 4 of the Colony men & Mr Pambrun went & brought them both over – Charles Fidler repairing the Crossing Boat & James Inkster the other lately broke by the Ice, to send down to the Colony. The rest of our men Packing Furs – gave the Colony Men 44 pr Shoes for their Journey to Riviere Qu'Appelle now we have gotten the two Horses – All the Indians pitched away to Hunt on the North side the River.

21st *Sunday* The Tobacco Indian & band came here with some furs also paid them for 100 Skins value in Dry provisions they sent here in the Spring just before the Snow melted away.

¹⁴¹ Also known as “Old Bonneau”, this was Jean Baptiste Bonneau (1752-1842). He is listed as employed by the NWC in 1811, and is listed in the Red River censuses for White Horse Plain/St. François Xavier for the years 1827-38. HBCA BS.

- 22nd *Monday.* M Pambrun, 8 Men & Tom Kipling as Guide went for Riviere Qu'Appelle to join Mr Sutherland. They have away the same two Horses they brought – Traded with the Indians and they went away. Packed the Furs. Ice a good deal drove by.
- 23rd *Tuesday.* Old Kipling¹⁴² & Jack Favel¹⁴³ badly: got the old Boat repaired. Put by Corn, Potatoes &c to send down to the Colony, Sent 2 Men to the Forks with the two Horses lately got from the Freeman, and sent
[Fo. 28]
every Horse the Company had here for the use of the Colony as they are very badly off without them for Plowing &c The Men has Horses here which I shall get them to do all the Work in Plowing &c: we have 4 acres to plow & we have a great stock of meat that Horses will not be required this long time – gave the Men 8 Days provisions & told them to go slowly along, not to hurt the Horses, that they may be ready for use when they reach the Forks or Fort Douglas¹⁴⁴ – Much Ice drove by.
- 24th *Wednesday* Two men at work at the New Boat & all the rest loaded very heavily the Boat with Provisions, Barley, wheat, Indian Corn, Tents & Potatoes to send down to the Colony tomorrow if no more Ice drives she has the Weight of 128 Pieces of every thing.
- 25th *Thursday.* Sent away Early this Morning the Provision Boat to the Colony with three Men. Three Men brought home a little Charcoal for present use, 2 raking the Potatoe tops in the Garden ready to begin to Plow. Capt. Grant & Black Duck¹⁴⁵ came here with a quantity of Furs. Traded part with them & they took notes for 27 Skins to be paid them at the Forks where they are going to next Month. they went away gave them a 2 Gall Keg mixed Rum & a little wheat Barley & Potatoes for seed as they have Houses & Gardens half way to Portage des Prairies.

¹⁴² John Kipling Senior. See previous citation.

¹⁴³ John Favel. See previous citation.

¹⁴⁴ Fort Douglas was the fort built by Colin Robertson after he re-established the Red River Settlement in fall of 1815. It was built on the west bank of the Red River a few miles below the junction of the Red and Assiniboine Rivers.

¹⁴⁴ Halketts House was a short-lived post in the Manitoba district at St. Martins Lake in the Manitoba Interlake. It was built by Peter Fidler in 1816, and operated until at least 1820. See map that accompanies Fidler's Report of the Manitoba District for 1820. HBCA B.51/e/1.

¹⁴⁵ Black Duck, also known as Makadeshib and Canard Noir, was a Saulteaux Chief from the Portage and Turtle Mountain Region who Miles Macdonell met in 1812. He was killed by the Sioux in 1824.

- 26th *Friday* Smith & 1 Man making Nails for the Boat builder nothing could be done at her some time ago for want of Nails whilst the Riviere Qu'Appelle ones were making, besides since we have had no Charcoal to work with. Two Canadians came from Riviere Qu'Appelle.
- 27th *Saturday* 2 Men putting our Plow in readiness to begin on Monday others as before Indians Drinking at the French House. Tho' they have repeatedly some time ago refused giving any Liquor; perhaps they have got some from their Lower Settlements. Other at respective duties.
- 28th *Sunday.* James, Thomas & Charles & self went down to the Old House below; nettles springing up there fast
- 29th *Monday.* 2 Men working at the Boat 2 splitting out Iron & Nail Making – 2 Men Plowing Ground for Wheat.
- 30th *Tuesday* Plowed a little more, then sowed ½ Gallon Wheat & Harrowed it in. others as before – Traded a considerable quantity of Rats from a Canadian Freeman.

[Fo. 28d]

May 1816

- 1st *Wednesday.* Sent 4 Men to quench the Charcoal Kiln, gave the Indians Ammunition & they went away to hunt Buffalo which are very near on the North side of the river: The Indians say that they cannot get from the NW either Powder or Tobacco & that the English have taken all they had at the Forks – Mr Denat at Qu'Appelle & Poitras here
- 2nd *Thursday* Finished Packing all our Furs, others as before.
- 3rd *Friday* – 2 Men Plowing & sowed 1 Bushel of Barley: several Indians Pitched away, all except 2 Tents. The Men home variously employed:
- 4th *Saturday.* at 10 AM Bostonais & 2 Men on Horseback arrived at the French House, the former was lately a Prisoner at the Forks. I suppose he is liberated on Parole. This man has great influence with the half Breeds. At 7 PM Pisk Kipling came from our House at the Mannotobaw Lake for Potatoes, Barley &c for seed: he says Bostonais came by their House at the Mannotobaw & that Charles Hess another Prisoner lately at the Forks is expected here in a few days, he has also got his liberty I wish he make a proper use of it to keep quiet. Mr

D Sutherland¹⁴⁶ writes that all the half Breeds about him have gone away it is said for Swan river to to [sic] Riviere Qu'Appelle. The Canadians have been threatening all winter to do mischief to our People there. The Canadians are making larger buildings & erecting Stockades at the entrance of White river¹⁴⁷ the Southern extremity of the Mannetobaw Lake; Planted half of Potatoes; Smith making Nails for the Boat here; an Indian came in here with a few Beaver Skins & swans, as I expect Mr Sutherland very soon from Riviere Qu'Appelle I shall detain him here a few days, that he can write by him.

5th *Sunday*. Two of our 1/2 breeds went over & spoke to Bostonais, who told them he & Hesse had got their liberty from the Governor.

6th *Monday*. Early this Morning Bostonais, Moostoose, & boudrais Son went on Horseback to Riviere Qu'Appelle – 2 Making Stem & Stern plates for the New Boat, finished planting Potatoes 23 Bushels. Finished the Boat ready for Caulking.

7th *Tuesday*. Plowed part of the outer Garden & sowed Barley. it just contains one Acre the Larger Garden 3 1/12 acres.

8th *Wednesday* Finished Plowing, Sowing & Harrowing the outer Garden it took 16 Gallons Barley – Pitched the new Boat ready to launch – Plowed & sowed 2 small gardens belonging to the Men, containing about 1/2 an Acre with Barley

[Fo. 29]

9th *Thursday*. 2 Splitting & drawing out Bar Iron into nail rods – Water falling daily 1 3/4 Inch – Repaired the Selkirk Boat: Launched the New Boat Mink. Cold weather & strong wind these two Days. 2 Canadians arrived here from their House at Riviere Qu'Appelle The Indians stole both their Horses near their House above.

10th *Friday*. Jn^o Lyons, T. Kipling & T. Favel working at their Gardens now first breaking them up. others variously employed Serephim La Mar & two Canadians went towards the Forks, we understand with Letters brot Yesterday from Riviere Qu'Appelle for the Governor in Chief & Mr Robertson from Alex^r McDonell & they say that Mr Robertson is requested to come up here to meet Alex^r McDonell to make Peace, but I suppose they only wish to get hold of Mr Robertson & keep him Prisoner, but I hope he will not be thus tricked by them, as the Canadians must pass the Forks why not then & there settle the business

¹⁴⁶ Donald Sutherland. See previous citation.

¹⁴⁷ Whitemud River.

11th *Saturday*. At 5 AM a Batteaux of ours with 3 Men 51 Bags of Pemmican & 40 Packs Buffalo robes arrived from Charlton House, They left that place 29th April – wrote to the Governor in Chief and sent them away in 1½ hour after their arrival here – sent by them 450 lb fresh meat for the Colony use & 26½ lb fat – They say 9 half Breeds are arrived at Riviere Qu'Appelle & 4 from Mannotowbaw Lake & that many more from the Saskatchewan Ille a la Crosse & are daily Expected; They left Qu'Appelle 6th Inst. early in the Morning They say that Mr Sutherland & McDonell had the 4th Inst. a long conference & that he would start about the 6th with 6 Batteaux well loaded with Provisions – James Inkster & Charles Fidler repairing the crossing boat Burnt the Rubbish about the House. They have now only 100 bags of Pemmican at Charlton House altho they had 130 made soon after Christmas being obliged to eat it, not being able to get a sufficiency of Fresh Meat in the Spring.

[Fo. 29d]

12th *Sunday*. In the evening arrived here Tom Kipling & Tom Taylor¹⁴⁸ two boys from Riviere Qu'Appelle, on foot, having been obliged to leave two Horses about 20 Miles off from where they started, they brought the Following Letter from Mr James Sutherland

**Riviere Qu'Appelle about 8 miles from Red River¹⁴⁹
Thursday 12 PM May 9th 1816**

Sir/ On Monday we started from the House, and owing to the shallowness of the river, did not get here till yesterday about 8 OClock AM, when we were attacked by about 50 Canadians & half Breeds; This is the narrowest part of the River, the Batteaux touch both sides in passing and is also a shallow rapid and a very crooked reach, which obliged out Boats to be far apart, and out of sight of each other, Two Boats that was a head of mine, was disarmed & the men made prisoners, before I knew any thing of it; the others behind could render no assistance: when I landed there was upwards of 30 Guns pointed at me; & our Men disarmed as fast as they appeared, when I found resistance was useless; I left all the Men here and returned to the House in hopes to make some arrangement with Alex^r McDonell, but found it ineffectual; whilst I was absent the NW Servants deceived our people & told them I had sent for them, consequently they all went to the House, in the interim I returned here: Today I have learnt they are all made Prisoners except Harry Gear,

¹⁴⁸ Thomas Taylor (b.c. 1797-1879) was born to George Taylor and his Cree wife at Severn Factory. He joined the HBC as an Apprentice in 1815 and was posted to Riviere Qu'Appelle. It was noted that he was “a promising boy.” He continued to serve as an Apprentice at Qu'Appelle and Fort Hibernia until 1820, and in 1822 he became a Servant of George Simpson until 1830. From 1830 until 1841, he was a Postmaster at a succession of posts, primarily in the Lac La Pluie and Lake Superior Districts. He finished his career as a Clerk in the Montreal Department, retiring in 1855. He died in Pembroke, Ontario in 1879. He married Mary Keith, the daughter of James Keith, in the RRS in 1831. HBCA B5; B. 239/f/1.

¹⁴⁹ Assiniboine River.

M. Spense¹⁵⁰ & John Spense.¹⁵¹ I am here with a Guard of Canadians both over my Person & Property and write this in a very hidden manner, consequently cannot be explicit only wish to inform you that us & all the property are in Possession of the NWC. This has solely occurred through Mr Robertson having liberated Bostonais who arrived the night Previous to the Attack with horrid accounts from the Forks. had he not arrived we would have passed down the river without molestation: Five days ago I forwarded the Boat from the Elbow which I hope has passed your place before now; when we may arrive with you is uncertain, be on your Guard, as I have no doubt

[Fo.30]

but an attempt will be made on you – This Morning Cuthbert Grant searched McKays House and took 6 lb Tobacco, Two Musketoons & 1 Gun – forward the news to the Governor in Chief as fast as possible. I am writing by the light of a very bad fire, therefore must conclude wishing for better times & Remain

Yours Sincerely

James Sutherland

Enquire at T. Kipling for Particulars

About 1 PM two young half Breeds belonging the NWC^o came with 2 Horses from above; some of our Men went & spoke to them before they crossed the river; they said that Mr Sutherland & our Batteaux had left Riviere Qu'Appelle 7 Days ago, but not any thing more altho we soon after found that they both were present when the Canadians seized our Provisions – John Lyons & Tom Favel were across the River & heard the News from Poitras the Canadian Master here when He saw our two boys arrive – All the Canadians & half Breeds when they seized the Provisions were painted like Indians & they had collected about 6 or 7 Indians to join them; Those without any families, as no good steady family Indian would assist in such a bad business – The Canadians had holes made in the Ground where they lay, and the spot seemed to have been chosen

¹⁵⁰ Magnus Spence (Spense) (*b.ca.* 1764-1845) came from Birza (Birsay), Orkney Islands. He entered the HBC service in 1783 as a Labourer at York Factory. By 1784 he had been sent inland to Cumberland and Hudson House, and he would stay Inland for the rest of his career. By 1788 he was categorized as a Bowsman and Canoeman, and by 1791 he was classified as a Steersman and it was noted that he was a good linguist to the Blackfeet and Blood Indians. By 1809 he was considered an “old servant and steady man” and wintered in the Saskatchewan District. By 1815, however, he was listed as an old man at 54 years of age who had been in the service for 35 years. He was stationed at the Qu'Appelle Post and had been demoted to Labourer. It was in that year that that he was considered “unfit for service any longer” and had consequently went free. He would be one of the founding members of the Birsay Settlement on the Assiniboine River some 22 miles west of the Forks. This settlement however lasted less than two years and the residents moved to the Red River Settlement. Magnus married a Cree woman early in his career and had numerous children. He died at St. Andrews, Red River Settlement in 1845. HBCA B5; B.239/f/1; B.239/d/125-175; B.63/f/1; E.4/2.

¹⁵¹ John Spence/Spense was the son of Magnus Spence and was born about 1792 (age 23 in 1815 and age 35 in the Red River Census of 1827). He joined the HBC as an Apprentice in the Saskatchewan District in 1808. By 1810 he had become a Linguist, and by 1814, a Middleman. In 1815, he and his father, were transferred to Riviere Qu'Appelle. John would continue to work as a Middleman/Labourer/Steersman at Qu'Appelle, Fort Hibernia and Swan River until 1817, when he went free to settle with his father at the village of Birsay on the Assiniboine. When that settlement failed, he moved with his father to the RRS. HBCA B.63/f/1; B.239/d/142-204; E.5/1.

some time ago – one of our Men Duncan McDonell,¹⁵² went over to the Canadian House just before our men left Riviere Qu'Appelle House & spoke to McDonell the Canadian Master, who told Duncan that our people might sleep very quiet & safe, as not any of his People would molest them, and made him a Present of a pair of fine Shoes – Cuthbert Grant & Bostonais seem to be at the head of the Band & the former told our people that when their House at the Forks was given up to them – that all our property should be returned – The Rattle Snake & Several of our Indians were in Company & had a big Keg of Brandy, Ammunition & Tobacco on board our Batteaux which the NWC people took to themselves, which really exasperated the Indians against the NWCo., Stowed by underground almost

[Fo. 30d]

all of our Tobacco, Liquor & Ammunition, that the Canadians may not find it if they should search our Houses; we understand that McDonell has wrote to Poitras here to allow no Boats to embark from this place till he arrives or go any where else. The following are other extracts from letters found by Mr Robertson in the Canadian packet. the tendency of which cannot be but obvious, relating to the Destruction of the Colony. there are also many others not inserted here, but I have made many extracts in a Collection taken out of the Canadian Packet “A storm is gathering to the Northward ready to burst on the heads of the Rascals” HBC – “The New Nation is coming forwards to clear their native soil of Intruders & Assassins” – “Never had we such a set of villians to deal with, men & Gentlemen (viz. Mr Sutherland, Fidler, Robertson & Semple)” – “Wm Shaw is collecting all the half Breeds in the surrounding Departments” – “What took place last year will be a joke to it.”

13th *Monday* – As we could not tell when Mr Sutherland may reach this, I fitted out Pisk Kipling with Tobacco, Barley, Potatoes &c to send to Mannetobaw Lake who came here for those articles some time back – But that the Governor in Chief should have the news of the disasters from Riviere Qu'Appelle as quick as possible; last night I appointed John Lyons to carry it on horseback and to start before day light; but he was taken very ill in the night and not fit to go the Journey – I then appointed Thomas Favel who peremptorily said he would not; so then the only person we had here was Charles Fidler, I fitted him out & wrote to the Governor in Chief and also sent a Copy of Mr Sutherlands Letter just before inserted and he & Pisk were put across the River – but the Canadians surrounded them both & took from them their Guns & Ammunition by main force & drove them back again – They told our Men that Alex^r McDonell had written & received yesterday to allow no person whatever to leave this place to

¹⁵² At other times Fidler calls him Duncan McDonald.

carry any news below: Buskee a Canadian struck Pisk before he would part with his Gun: Charles Hess was a very busy person in this Business, when our 2 Men would not willingly deliver up their arms & return to Poitras & Hess

[Fo. 31]

the latter made a Signal & immediately out rushed from the NW House 10 or 12 Armed men – So that I don't know how I can convey the News to the Governor in Chief, as the NW House men now all round us to prevent our sending any where – At 1 PM Dauphine a Freeman came from the Forks sent up here by the Governor in Chief & Mr Robertson with 2 Letters he came on horseback, he left the Forks Saturday last in the Morning – he found 3 Canadians near the Pine House 20 Miles below this in the track to lay hold of any person that we might send to carry Letters or any news below; he was conducted into the NW House here & detained 2 Hours, they asked him to deliver up the Letters but would not, then they allowed him to come over here with them, but kept his Horse & Gun & they told him that if he returned with out any Letters he should have his property again & would be allowed to return back to the Forks, otherwise should a Letter be found on him he should be detained – All the Settlers are doing well at the Forks and settled on their respective Lots of Land, and have already sown a good deal of wheat – Mr McLeod soon expected from Pambina; Only one Canadian with Cameron at the French House except our People – Dauphine met Serephim la Mar & 2 Men 20 miles below Portage de Prairie who are going down to the Forks – This is also a bad job as we are prevented from sending seeds to Mannetobaw & Tobacco for the Trade. Men at the House employed about several small things.

14th

Tuesday – The Men finished railing round our outer Garden, Smith made a Chain to lock our crossing Boat to, to prevent Indians from using her, they frequently leave her across the river when we want her – Two Tents of Indians pitched to our House: James Inkster began to make Cart naves, There is 10 Carts required to be made this Summer – at 4 AM Dauphine returned to the Forks. told him every thing regarding the seizure of the Provisions, Furs &c at Riviere Qu'Appelle, as he was not allowed to carry any Letters by the NWCo or else should have written to the Governor in Chief every particular as I wished very much to inform him & Mr Robertson, but I thought it better that the man should return to the Forks without any Letter than he should be detained here by the NWCo as he could relate all the

[Fo. 31d]

particulars I told him – yesterday assineboin a half Breed¹⁵³ arrived at the Canadian House from the Forks & 2 Canadians went to Riviere Qu'Appelle on the North side the river to avoid Stone Inds &c on the other.

- 15th *Wednesday.* 5 Tents of Indians come into our House. Men variously Employed.
- 16 *Thursday.* Indians Drinking. got from them near one Pack of Furs besides Dry Provisions – 2 Men cut 120 pieces of Wood 8 feet long to put between our Stockades that are far apart to prevent Indians looking into the Yard – Dried the Furs & Provisions traded – got home the last of our Charcoal, by far the most Coal we have had in any other of the same quantity of Wood – James Inkster & Charles Fidler daily working at Cart naves – John Lyons still badly – & T. Favel according to custom doing very little – he does not earn his & Family exclusive of his Wages.
- 17th *Friday.* Smith repaired 2 Hoes & Horse Irons – at 9 PM a great huzzaying at the French House we Imagine they wish us to believe that Mr Robertson is come up & made a prisoner but I think he knows better than trust to any thing Alex^r McDonell can write him: Serephim is expected from the Forks.
- 18th *Saturday* – Early this morning saw Serephim walking before their Gates, who we suppose came from the Forks last night – sent an Indian across to learn the News, who spoke to Hess, he told him that Mr Robertson had written to McDonell that he would deliver the House up on his arrival at the Forks, and that were the NWCo intended to do us any harm at this place, they would have done it before now & that they had no intention to molest us in the least here – Early this Morning 2 Canadians was sent off with Mr Robertson & Semples Letters to McDonell – The very few Men here are always employed doing some necessary duty about the House.

The following is a Copy of the Agreement entered into between George McDougall Clerk to the Hudsons Bay Company on the one Part & Archibald McGillivray Clerk to the NWCo on the other Part Viz.

Article 1st The said George McDougall promise & bind himself and all his
[Fo. 32]
Colleagues to deliver up all the Property belonging to the said Hudsons Bay Company, both at Stony point & Loon river (both in Peace River) to the said NWCo, and remain in their possession, for the term & space of one year from the Date when they are received, which is to take place as soon as possible.

¹⁵³ Donald McKay, in his deposition of 1818, identifies him as Joseph Pelletier. LAC Selkirk Papers, C-15, Vol. 60, p. 15,770.

Art. 2nd The People in Peace river are to get all possible assistance from the NWCo, that is in the Article of Provisions which indeed their present wretched state loudly calls for, but all expenses are to be re-embursed by the Hudsons Bay Company

Art. 3rd The above mentioned Servants of the Hudsons Bay Company and now serving in Peace river, are to serve the said NWCo if required, if not, not to serve against them for the term & space of one year at the expiration of which Period, they shall be allowed to return.

Art. 4th Should the said HBC not fulfill all & every part of the Present articles it is in that case well understood, that all the Property in the possession of the said NWCo shall be by them retained for their use and benefit for the nonconformities of the said HBC – The Engagem^t of the above men in the said service of the HBC now in Peace river are to be delivered up to the NWCo

Signed George McDougall
Archibald McGillivray
Witnessed by 10 of the HBC Servants
Point de Roche 22nd Nov^r 1815

19th *Sunday.* At 8 AM Mr James Sutherland, Finlayson and five men with 2 Carts & Horses with Mr Sutherlands Baggage – They left the Riviere Qu'Appelle on Wednesday last – every thing is in Possession of the NWCo & our men were all obliged to sign the following Paper.

Conventions entered into between Alexander McDonell of the NWC on one part & the undersigned men of the Hudsons Bay Company on the other.

Whereas it is agreed and Stipulated between both parties that, the undersigned Servants of the Hudsons Bay Company, shall return from hence down to the Forks of Red River in a quiet & peaceable manner without giving the least Molestation to the Persons & Property of the Gentlemen

[Fo. 32d]

and all other Servants of the NWCo, but in all respects conduct themselves according to the Spirit of this Agreement & in no manner whatever to deviate from the true meaning of this Agreement. – It is further agreed and understood, between the aforesaid parties, that the undersigned Servants of the HBC^o, shall after their arrival at the Forks of Red River not act in any manner against the Persons & Property of the NWC^o, or make any attempt to seize or to possess any Property in the possession of the said NWCo. – It is further agreed that should unfortunately any of the Officers or Commanders of the HBC request the undersigned Servants of the HBC to take or bear Arms against the Persons or Property in the possession of the NWC^o, that they are by no means to obey such orders – And In consideration of all such conventions the said Alexander McDonell of the NWCo promises to the undersigned Servants of the HBC that after the expiration of their respective

Contracts, he the said Alex^r McDonell shall receive & Protect the said Servants of the Hudsons Bay Company, and further procure them a free passage & furnish them such Provisions as is customary with the NWCo Servants to receive on the passage to Canada, & the said Alex^r McDonell considering the said Servants of the HBC as free born British Subjects who may and have a right to better their Condition or Situation in any other part of his Majesties Dominions where they may be inclined to proceed to. – It is understood that the undersigned Servants of the HBC^o entered into this agreement of their own free will & Consent in confirmation of which both Parties have hereunto, subscribed their names & each party put their Seal at Riviere Qu'Appelle in the Year of our Lord 1816 the 10th May signed Brian Gilligan,¹⁵⁴ Thomas McDermid,¹⁵⁵ Patrick Maroney,¹⁵⁶ Michael Kilkenny,¹⁵⁷ John Forbes,¹⁵⁸ Hugh Fraser,¹⁵⁹ Donald McKay,¹⁶⁰ George McKenzie,¹⁶¹ James Brien,¹⁶² Thomas

¹⁵⁴ Bryen/Bryan Gilligan came from Ireland in 1812 as a 30-year-old Labourer aboard the *Robert Taylor* from Sligo, Ireland. He worked for the HBC as a Labourer at Isle a la Cross in 1814-15, and at the Qu'Appelle River post in 1815-16. He was one of the men taken prisoner by the NWC/Metis at Qu'Appelle River on 8 May 1816. He was released on May 21 and he then went to the forks. He was killed in the Battle of Seven Oaks on 19 June 1816. Lucille H. Campey, *The Silver Chief: Lord Selkirk and the Scottish Pioneers of Belfast, Baldoon and Red River* (Toronto: Natural Heritage Books, 2003), 174-175. HBCA B.239/d/165, fos. 6d-7; B.63/f/1, fos. 2d-3.

¹⁵⁵ Thomas McDermott/McDermott was born about 1789 (26 years old in 1815-16) and came from Inverness, Scotland. He joined the HBC around 1813 and was at Isle a la Crosse in 1814-15. In 1815-16, he was a Labourer at Riviere Qu'Appelle and was taken prisoner by the NWC/Metis, on May 8, 1816, at the junction of the Qu'Appelle and Assiniboine Rivers. He was released on May 21, 1816, and was allowed to return to the Selkirk Colony. Thereafter he was posted Cumberland, Carlton and finally Isle a la Crosse from 1816 to 1820. He returned to Scotland in 1820. HBCA B.63/f/1; B.239/d/165-216a.

¹⁵⁶ There is no Patrick Maroney/Maroony listed in ships passenger lists or in HBC labour records. This journal, however, lists a Patrick Maroney made prisoner by the NWC/Metis on 8 May 1816. He was released on May 21 and made his way back to the Colony. He was killed in the Battle of Seven Oaks on 19 June 1816. LAC Selkirk Papers, C-3, Vol. 7, p. 2352.

¹⁵⁷ See previous citation.

¹⁵⁸ John Forbes (b.ca. 1782-88) arrived aboard the *Robert Taylor* from Sligo in 1812. He came from Mayo, Ireland, and was 30 years old at the time. He shows up in HBC accounts first as a Labourer in 1814-5, stationed at Ile a la Crosse. Thereafter he was posted to the Selkirk Colony. He was one of the men taken prisoner at Qu'Appelle by "Bostonais" Pangman and other NWC men in May of 1816. He was released on May 21 and travelled to the Forks. He became a Bowsmen at Beaver Creek and Ile a la Crosse (1818-20). Servant's records note that he was to retire home in 1821, but thereafter he shows up as a settler in the Red River Settlement. He shows up in Red River Censuses until at least 1846 as married. Lucille H. Campey, *The Silver Chief: Lord Selkirk and the Scottish Pioneers of Belfast, Baldoon and Red River* (Toronto: Natural Heritage Books, 2003), 175. HBCA B.239/d/165-216a; B.239/g/1; E.5/1-11. AM, MG2 B3.

¹⁵⁹ See previous citation.

¹⁶⁰ Donald McKay came to Red River with the first group of settlers in 1811 from Uig, Ross-shire, Scotland. He was 17 years old at the time. According to his deposition, made in York, Canada, in 1818, he noted that he had returned to Scotland in 1814, but returned to the Selkirk Colony in Autumn of 1815. Thereafter he worked to transport provisions from Pembina and other locations to the RRS. In May 1816, on the orders of Robert Semple, he accompanied Pierre Pambrun to the Qu'Appelle to retrieve some pemmican. He was one of the men taken prisoner by the NWC/Metis at Qu'Appelle River on 8 May 1816. He was released on May 21 and he then went to the forks. He accompanied Governor Semple to Seven Oaks on 19 June 1816. He escaped death at the Battle of Seven Oaks by crossing the Red River in a boat. He was transported to Sault Ste. Marie by the NWC and released there. McKay continued on to Canada. Lucille H. Campey, *The Silver Chief: Lord Selkirk and the Scottish Pioneers of Belfast, Baldoon and Red River* (Toronto: Natural Heritage Books, 2003), 169. LAC, Selkirk Papers, C-15, Vol 60, 15,77 - 15,780.

¹⁶¹ George McKenzie came from Ross-shire, Sutherland, Scotland and joined the HBC in 1814 as a Labourer at Isle a la Crosse. The next year he was posted to Riviere Qu'Appelle (1815-16), and he was one of the men taken prisoner by the NWC/Metis at Qu'Appelle River on 8 May 1816. He was released on 21 May and he then went to the forks. He accompanied Governor Semple to the Battle of Seven Oaks and was killed there. HBCA B.63/f/1; B.239/d/165 & 175.

¹⁶² James Bruin/Brien, from Sligo, Ireland, was 20 years old when he accompanied Owen Keveny to the Hudson Bay in 1812. In 1814-15 he was employed by the HBC at Isle a la Crosse. In 1815-16, he was unlisted in HBC accounts, but he

Kirkness,¹⁶³ W^m Duncan,¹⁶⁴ Jⁿ° Flett,¹⁶⁵ Duncan McDonald,¹⁶⁶ Angus McIver,¹⁶⁷ Don^d Donovan,¹⁶⁸ Mich^l Kilbride,¹⁶⁹ and Andrew Sinclair,¹⁷⁰ Robert Sutherland,¹⁷¹ James Sandison,¹⁷² Martin Jourdan¹⁷³ and Alexander McDonell.

In consideration of my Oath to Miles McDonell J.P. my conditions with Mr A. McDonell of the NWCo are rather different but I pledge myself that I will give no further molestation to any of

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the Persons and Property of the NWCo, than such Oath actually binds me (being a Constable) to do or bear Arms in any other Manner, Riviere Qu'Appelle 13th May 1816

(Signed) Patrick Cocaran¹⁷⁴

Copy of a note given to a Stone Indian Chief hired by the NWC to assist to destroy the Colony. – but would not go with them.

The Plundering of the NWCo Property by the Hudsons Bay Company in Red River is the sole occasion of this Indian going off without a round of Ammunition or scarcely a Pipe of Tobacco – he is staunch & true.

was taken prisoner by the NWC/Metis at the Qu'Appelle River on 8 May 1816. He was released on May 21 and thereafter travelled to the Forks. He was killed in the Battle of Seven Oaks. Lucille H. Campey, *The Silver Chief: Lord Selkirk and the Scottish Pioneers of Belfast, Baldoon and Red River* (Toronto: Natural Heritage Books, 2003), 175. HBCA B.239/d/165; B.22/a/19 .LAC Selkirk Papers, C-1, Vol. 2, P. 561.

¹⁶³ See previous citation.

¹⁶⁴ See previous citation.

¹⁶⁵ See previous citation.

¹⁶⁶ See previous citation.

¹⁶⁷ See previous citation.

¹⁶⁸ This is Daniel Donovan. See previous citation.

¹⁶⁹ Michael Kilbride was a 24-year-old settler when he accompanied Owen Keveny to the Hudson Bay in 1812. He was from Sligo, Ireland. He appears to have worked for the Colony (no records in the HBC accounts), and was one of the men taken prisoner by the NWC/Metis at Qu'Appelle River on 8 May 1816. He was released on May 21, 1816. LAC Selkirk Papers, C-1, Vol, 1, p.560.

¹⁷⁰ Nothing known.

¹⁷¹ Robert Sutherland was born about 1792 and came from Clyne, Sutherland, Scotland. He joined the HBC in 1813, and in 1814-15 was posted to Isle a la Crosse as a Labourer. In 1815-16, he was working at Riviere Qu'Appelle when he was among the group of men taken prisoner at Qu'Appelle by the Metis/NWC in May of 1816. He was released on 21 May 1816, and travelled to the Forks. Thereafter he worked mostly as an Assistant Trader in the Winnipeg district at Pigeon River and Berens River. He died on the job in February of 1825. HBCA B.63/f/1; B.238/d/165-216a; B.239/g/1-4.

¹⁷² James Sandison Junior was born in Rupert's Land about 1784. He joined the HBC in 1801 working in the Saskatchewan District with his father (James Sandison Senior). In 1814, he was a Steersman at Carlton, but in 1815 he was transferred to Riviere Qu'Appelle. In 1816, he, along with the other men taking provisions to the RRS, were taken prisoner by the NWC/Metis at Qu'Appelle River on 8 May 1816. He was released on May 21, 1816. Thereafter, he served at Cumberland House until 1823: first as a Steersman (1816-18) and then as a Carpenter. He went free in 1823. HBCA B.63/f/1; B.239/d/165-216a; B.239g/1-2.

¹⁷³ Martin Jordan/Jourdan. See previous citation.

¹⁷⁴ This is Patt Corcoran, an Irish settler, who arrived in Red River in 1812 from Ireland. He was 24 years of age at the time. He was taken prisoner on May 8, 1816 by the Metis/NWC at the Qu'Appelle River, and released shortly thereafter. He returned to the Red River Settlement, but did not take part in the Battle of Seven Oaks. He travelled to York, Upper Canada in 1818 and testified at the Selkirk Trials. Lucille H. Campey, *The Silver Chief: Lord Selkirk and the Scottish Pioneers of Belfast, Baldoon and Red River* (Toronto: Natural Heritage Books, 2003), 169, 171; *Report of the Proceedings Connected with the Disputes between the Earl of Selkirk and the North-West Company at the Assizes Held at York in Upper Canada, October 1818* (Montreal, 1819).

R.Q 17th April 1816 (Signed) Alex^r McDonell.

Three Men would not sign the Agreement: Two Men came with Mr Sutherland to return to RQ with Ammunition & Tobacco Liquor &c. McDonell is to bring down all our Boats & Provisions; he at last consented to allow our Men to have 15 Bags Pemican & a few Packs of Buffalo robes with 1 Batteaux to carry them down to the Forks – All the Arms remain in possession of the NWCo except 2 Guns, they had down with them, Mr Pambrun & James Bird Jun^r the NW keep as a kind of Hostages – There is 8 of our men to pass the Summer at Qu'Appelle – The French Batteaux were to leave their House about 2 Days after Mr Sutherland came away. In the evening part of our Men came by land having left the Batteau & the rest at 10 O'clock this Morning.

20th *Monday* – at 6 AM the Batteaux arrived with the rest of the Men; those that came last night & this Morning paid a visit to the Canadian Ho: here. sent T. Favel to ask Poitras if they would allow us to send 2 Men to Mannetobaw Lake House; he said we might go there, but they said they would not allow any of us to go to the Forks belonging[?] to this House.

21st *Tuesday*. Mr Sutherland sent Mr Finlayson over to the French House to ask liberty to go down to the Forks, and after long hisetation they said those from Qu'Appelle might go, but to take no property from this belonging to this House – at 7 AM the Batteau from riviere Qu'Appelle & the men embarked for the Forks – at 10 AM a Canadian & 2 Inds arrived at the Canadian House from the Forks & we learn that Mr D. Cameron was sent away to Jack river, a Boat & 1 Canoe Accomp^d him – soon after Serephim sent over a Note to Mr Sutherland saying that

[Fo. 33d]

on the receipt of the late news he could not think of allowing him to embark notwithstanding his late Promise. – Mr Finlayson was again sent over & after long conversing, they were allowed to proceed, but no one else; and at Noon Mr Sutherland, Finlayson embarked with 5 Men & 3 Families – at the said time corossed [sic] the River Pisk Kipling & his Father¹⁷⁵ & family to go to Mannetobaw House according to their Promise Yesterday, but no sooner were they over than a number of NWCo Servants seized Pisk, took him by violence to their own House & detained him till bed Time, when they put him across the river to our House – would not allow him to proceed on his Journey – taken from him a Pistol – his Father & family were allowed to proceed with, Tobacco,

¹⁷⁵ This entry notes that Thomas Pisk Kipling (see previous citation) was the son of John Kipling Senior (1774-1850). This is significant as other sources claim that Pisk was the son of John Kipling (1743-94).

Barley, Potatoes, Pitch &c with a Cart & two Horses – also at the same time two Men from Riviere Qu'Appelle with Horses crossed the River & went down to the Forks, one was an European & had Signed McDonells paper before inserted & the other a half Breed John Spense, whom they do not insist on signing as being a Native of this Country. There was sent to Mannetobaw 2 Axes 2 Hoes & a New Cart for the use of Mr Thomas Thomas – Yesterday the smith repaired a Gun Lock to Mr Sutherland & this day Lock & Keys for him, he is appointed by Mr Sutherland to go down to the Bay but he told James Inkster that he would see both Mr Sutherland and Mr Semple dam'd if he worked any thing on his passage down. – Indians fencing in the River half a Mile above the House to kill Sturgeon. Two or 3 Canadians arrived at their House, our Men in Coming down the River saw 3 Tent Places where the Warparty of Mandans had been remaining about the time of the Melting of the Snow near Montagne La Bosse.

22nd *Wednesday* Self & 3 Men must wait here till Alex^r McDonell arrives as we are not allowed to proceed altho' we have had every thing ready to embark for the Forks nearly a Fortnight – Six Tents of Indians (Crees) partly our Traders arrived from the North side & wished to pitch their Tents at our House, where there are 12 already Pitched & none at the French House. but the Canadians would not allow them to come over, so they pitched their Tents on the North side. Sowed various kinds of Seeds in the Garden – Mr Sutherland brought with him last

[Fo. 34]

year from Montreal: The NW people was very near stopping Mr Sutherlands Boat after it went from this Yesterday. several of the Men for it others against it: The Men almost appear to do as they Choose.

23rd *Thursday.* at 8 AM 4 Canadians on Horseback arrived. one of them we knew to be the Person who took up to McDonell Mr Robertsons last Letter. Serephim, Poitras & another seemingly had a very animated discourse when after many more joined them on the Bank fronting our House – sent several Indians to endeavour to learn the News, but each brot a different Story from the different men they spoke to. – As we are in daily expectation of the Batteaux arriving from Riviere Qu'Appelle and as we want about 600 Nails making to leave here to make Carts with in the Summer, I particularly wished them to be done before they arrived, but ever since Clouston our former Smith knew he was to go down, he has not done half a Days work since Mr Sutherland went away, I desired him to make Nails but he refused to do it; and began to mend his own Clothing: I then set Papin the French Smith from the Colony to make them as

the other refused to do it: – Moostoose our Late Hunter came over & told our People that 3 Days ago that the NW Batteaux left mouth Riviere Qu'Appelle.

24th *Friday* – Told John Lyons, Pisk, Andre Spense, Henderson & Clouston to fetch wood home to make Carts. all went away & brought home a good Load, but Clouston the Smith absolutely refused to go; and Yesterday he would not work at Nail making so much wanted for Carts; so as he would do neither one thing or another I put him off duty & told him that as he would not work he should have no Wages – Papin the Canadian Smith & 1 Man splitting Iron & drawing out for nails for Carts; about 14 halfbreeds & Canadians barring up the River to prevent the Sturgeon from going down – They annually come up every spring in great numbers when the Ice goes away & they appear here about 10 or 12 Days after it clears away tho the distance to Lake Winnipeg is 400 Miles by the river, They also ascend as high as Shell River 500 Miles further & about the 12 June the last of them pass this o`n their way down to the Lake again – so that they must go with great Swiftness – a Bungee had got from us for part the Indian a Crooked

[Fo. 34d]

Knife, 1 Hoe & sent him one fathom of Tobacco gratis – The NW shut up about ¼ part of the River – I understood this day that McDonell lately wrote down here to engage the half Breeds not already engaged and some of the Canadians whose times are out, but that none would engage.

25th *Saturday* – Took the Selkirk boat out of the Creek as the water is now getting low, Papin the Smith Nail making & steeled an Ax for James Anderson – James Inkster & Charles Fidler making Cart Naves. Sent our Freeman away & they brought home a good Boat Load of Oak to Make Carts – A Canadian Boucher came over and asked us to assist to bar the River up or else they would neither allow us or any of the Indians to have any sturgeon out of the River – Trotier a Freeman got 3 Steel traps repaired here, at 1 Skin each, he paid half & the other half is still due.

26th *Sunday* Some of the Freeman brought home Buffalo killed about 12 Miles off. – a very hot Day.

27th *Monday*. All hands getting wood to bar up the river & shut in about ¼ The Canadians were to have assisted, but not one made his appearance. I believe they are gone to meet their Batteaux: 2193 square yards of Barley sown in our Inner Garden & 3463 Square yards of Wheat, also 324 Yards of Oats & English Barley two sided Grain: Smith nail making.

28th *Tuesday.* Papin the Smith as Yesterday. Clouston off Duty as he refused to work at his own work or others – About 6 PM a Freemans wife had been away collecting Jacksapuck to mix with Tobacco to smoke & return within 1 mile of the House, she saw 5 strange Indians (Mandans) driving away some Canadian Horses, she gave the alarm when she reached the House & several Canadians pursued them and they let go the Horses they were driving away & crossed the River at our old House 3 miles below – One of the Mandans spoke to the Woman and as she answered in the Cree Language they let her pass, The Man had she said an Arrow fixed in his Bow ready to shoot her before she spoke. – Those Indians are friends with the Crees & only mean to do mischief to the Stone Indians almost always their Constant Enemies.

29th *Wednesday:* a Bungee at 10 AM arrived from the Forks at the French Ho: & 4 hours after he came over here & delivered me two Letters from the

[Fo. 35]

Governor in Chief & Mr Robertson; he came away about 1 hour after our people by land reached there with Horses. The Boat & Batteaux was not reached there from this when he came away 25th Inst. Cameron was sent away 18th Inst for Jack River – water remarkably high in the red River & low in this or the Assiniboyne – one Boat & Canoe gone with Cameron & 5 Freemen, McLeod to return again – Humphrey Favel & Angus McDonald farming at the Point below the Colony. 10 Large Tents of Bungees at the Forks across the river – The Premier¹⁷⁶ & band returned to Red River to farm where they did last year – Many of the Horses stolen from the Colony lately supposed by the NWC people, as our men have seen several of them here – Charles Hess went away from here 2 Days ago to Mannelobaw Ho. – Fort Douglas at the Forks put in a good state of Defense and Mr Robertson & 20 Men remains in the Canadian House at the Forks – Mr Flett & people from near Dead River has been up at the Forks some time ago. Plenty of Sturgeon they are catching there; Dauphine the Canadian who came here some time ago with a Letter got down safe to the forks – in the forenoon several half-breeds and Canadians went in search of 5 Mandans who they drove across the River at the Old House, leaving behind them 3 pair of Stockings & 2 Buffalo robes – They returned when many others went in search of them again with some Indians here but came back, seeing no person – Hawled up all our Cart wood into the Yard and Sawyed some of it – we have now only 4 Kegs of Potatoes remaining – Planted 15 shoots of Potatoes as an experiment – James Inkster rather badly – The Indians at the Forks particularly desired to be nuture [neutral] in case any disputes

¹⁷⁶ The Premier was one of the Saulteaux chiefs who signed the Selkirk Treaty of 1817 and had authority of the land from the Forks to Pembina. While he had close ties to the NWC, he also developed them with Selkirk and the Colony.

should happen there between us & the NWCo. Tho' they very much wish to assist us if required – The Bearer says that Mr Fraser lately liberated and 2 men came from Winnipeg river and are now up here, stealing as they passed some of the Colony Horses – Papin making Awls for Trade having made a sufficient number of Nails for the Carts.

30th *Thursday.* Men cutting & hewing wood for Cart wheels – 7 Carts went away from the French House up to the Rapid above where the Batteaux are to be Lightened. Smith making Rivets & a Steel for an Indian.

31st *Friday.* At Noon some Canadian Carts arrived with Pemmican at [Fo. 35d]
5 PM Alexander McDonell & Bostonais arrived: The former with Serephim walked backwards & forwards till dusk before their fort – we expect the Batteaux will be here tomorrow – Men hewing wood for Carts – we are daily getting 2 or 3 Sturgeon from the Indians – Smith making Awl blades.

June 1816

1st *Saturday.* at ½ past Noon about 48 Half Breeds, Canadians, Freemen & Indians came all riding on Horseback with their Flag flying blue about 4 feet Square & a figure of 8 horizontally in the Middle one Beating an Indian Drum, and many of them singing Indian Songs, they all rode directly to the usual crossing place over the river where they all stopped about two Minutes and instead of going down the Bank & riding across the River, they all turned suddenly round and rode full speed into our Yard – some of them tyed their Horses, others loose & fixed their flag at our Door, which they soon afterwards hoisted over our East Gate next the Canadian House – Cuthbert Grant then came up to me in the Yard & demanded of me to deliver to him all the Keys of our Stores, Warehouses &c. I of course would not deliver them up – They then rushed into the House and broke open the Warehouse Door first, plundered the Warehouse of every article it contained, tore up part of the Cellar floor, & cut out the Parchment windows without saying for what this was done for, or by whose Authority – Alex^r McDonell, Serephim, Bostonais & Allan McDonell¹⁷⁷ were at

¹⁷⁷ This is Allan McDonell (b.c. 1776-1859). He was born in Scotland and came to BNA with his family thereafter. In 1799, Allan joined the fur-trading company of Forsyth, Richardson and Company as an apprentice clerk and came to the northwest for the XYC. When the XYC merged with the NWC in 1804, he served as a clerk in the new company at Fort Dauphin. During the years of conflict between the NWC and HBC, he remained in the Fort Dauphin and Red River departments becoming a NWC partner in 1816. He was one of the NWC partners at Brandon House when the Metis sacked the HBC post in 1816. He was later arrested by Lord Selkirk at Fort William in 1817 as an accessory to the murder of Robert Semple at Seven Oaks. In 1818, he, along with 13 others, was indicted by a grand jury at York, but he was never tried. With the merger of the NWC and HBC in 1821, McDonell was made a Chief Trader and placed in charge of the Swan River district at Fort Dauphin. He stayed here until 1826 when he was transferred to the Timiskaming district. He became Chief Factor there in 1828. In 1835 he was appointed to the Rainy Lake district where he stayed until 1841. He

their House looking on the whole time – They then broke open the Store Door & Barn Door & carried away almost every thing there except the Packs of Furs & some empty Kegs – They also plundered every person in the House of part of their private Property & took away every horse belonging to the Company & European Servants, Those Horses that Jn^o Lyons, T. Favell Half Breeds had they let alone: All these men were armed with a Gun each, a pike at the end of a pole, some bows & Arrows, Swords &c. There were only 3 European Servants here which could make no effectual resistance & our half breeds would not lift a Gun since last Spring when at the Forks, the NW in the name of their half breeds wrote them a Letter saying that if they lifted arms against them they would massacre the whole of them; Thomas McKay¹⁷⁸ was the principal in breaking open our Warehouse Door & Fraser the Barn Door: They

[Fo. 36]

also broke open the Smiths shop and took away most of the articles it contained, and searched Private rooms & bed place in the Houses & James Inkster has lost private property to above 40£ Sterling value in England & all the others considerable – myself was the next sufferer to a large amount. They carried on this plunder till 3 PM, when they all went across the River to the NW Ho. taking all the Property in our Boat, and when they got across they began again their Indian war Whoop & war songs to a Drum one of them beat, and fired off many of their Guns, the few Indians tenting at our House durst not offer any resistance to the NW Banditti, some of the Indians not only shed tears but cried bitterly aloud to see us plundered of our Property & otherwise ill treated by the NWCo people – during the time they were plundering the House, some of the NW Party forced over to their House Thomas Fidler & Papin the Smith, the latter they shut up alone in the Ice House & tyed his hands to make him tell where we had hidden our Ammunition, Tobacco &c as they were as Cuthbert Grant informed me told by Jn^o R^d McKay at Riviere Qu'Appelle that 2 Men had gone down with Mr Sutherland to fetch up to that place a Keg of rum a Roll of Tobacco & 1 Keg of Powder besides Ball; and finding little of these articles in their first Plunder they knew we must then have hidden it – which we did

was granted a furlough in 1841 and retired thereafter in 1843. He settled in Montreal with his wife, the daughter of Aeneas Cameron. He died in 1859. Elaine Allan Mitchell, “McDonell, Allan,” *DCB Online*.

¹⁷⁸ Thomas McKay was born in Rupert’s Land about 1798 (Age 28 in 1825). He was the son of Alexander McKay, a NWC partner, who was posted to Portage la Prairie in 1794-95 and was in charge of Lake Winnipeg from 1806 to 1808. Thomas entered the service of the Pacific Fur Co. in 1810, and the NWC service in 1813. Thomas McKay led a party of nine men from Cumberland House sent by NWC partner John Duncan Campbell, to reinforce the Metis force that was gathering at Fort Qu’Appelle under the leadership of Cuthbert Grant. As noted here, McKay was one of the leaders when the Metis sacked Peter Fidler’s Brandon House. Thomas was present at the Battle of Frog Plain on June 19, 1816, and is reported to have shot Captain John Rogers in cold blood. After the union of the fur trade companies in 1821, McKay became a Clerk in the Columbia by 1826. He clerked there until 1840, when he settled at Willamette. He is reputed to have died in 1848. W. Stewart Wallace (ed.), *Documents Relating to the North West Company* (Toronto: The Champlain Society, 1934), 473-74. HBCA B.239/g/6-19.

immediately on hearing from Riviere Qu'Appelle of the Provisions being all seized – Thomas Fidler they knocked about in McDonnell's room & in his presence, and told him that if he did not inform where the above things were hidden they would Murder him, at last he was obliged to tell them to save his life where one roll Tobacco was hid – and the same large band came over again, with the most horrid threats many of them being now almost quite drunk to render them desperate & told us that if we did not immediately discover where the Goods were hid they would Murder us & Burn down all the Houses – James Inkster was also very badly used by them, till he was at last obliged to tell them where the Things were hidden to save his Life – They also used me very ill & threatened to tie me to the Gates & keep me there tied days if I would not tell, but they could not induce me to inform

[Fo. 36d]

them – In their search for the Roll of Tobacco, they found the other one which happened to be laid up near it, so that they got every thing we had laid up & now we are without a single Load of ammunition or pipe of Tobacco or any thing else either to procure provisions or trade any thing from the Natives – This 2nd visit they also carried away a deal more private property, and some of them was for setting fire to the Houses, particularly Primo, so that we all put out the little we had left & remained on the Plains without amongst the Crees & Stone Indians who very much felt for our distress & afterwards erected Shelter to keep us from the Weather & to remain out in the Plains till the NW hired Banditti go away, as we feared they might burn us in the House in the Night – They took away the Selkirk Boat & Oars we had remaining to carry down our Furs & Provisions; they also took away our small crossing Boat & scarcely left us an Ax to cut wood with – They found several Indian Tents in our Store which they cut to pieces. They came over the 2nd time at 6½ PM & left it again at 7½ PM carrying away with them the Keys of our East Gates. They forced Thomas Fidler over to the NW Ho. & made him sign a paper not to bear Arms against the NWC – when they left us the first time the Banditti forced over to their house every person except myself, saying McDonnell wanted them – they remained at the NW Ho. about 1 hour & no one speaking to them they all returned here – Bostonais told that it was Mr Robertsons fault they had plundered our House – for taking their Fort at the Forks – 3 Canadian Batteaux arrived from Riviere Qu'Appelle water shoal & they are all deeply laden that much of the Property will be damaged. the Batteaux almost always touching the Ground & making them leaky.

2nd

Sunday – Yesterday morning 6 or 8 halfbreeds crossed the river on Horse back & rode up the River we imagined to meet their Batteaux but we found afterward they had been sent away to Join the others – Several of the Canadians & half

Breeds visited our House twice this day – & carried away my Thermometer (Assineboyne) tho' Thomas Fidler asked the man for it when he was taking it but would not return it – we keep the Gates Shut & fast to keep out the Indian
[Fo. 37]

Children; The Banditti most part of last night was drumming and singing: There were only 5 Indians along with the Canadian Servants when they plundered our House, but they behaved much better than the rest of the Band taking nothing but merely lookers on. They have not left us a scrap of Dry provisions or Fat here. every thing is carried off. This day they broke one of the Glass windows – Mr Pambrun arrived last night at dusk & marched him into the French House, between two rows of armed men, & some of them, he said, kicked him as he passed them: This Day he was allowed to come over to see us guarded by Thomas McKay. he says that James Bird Jun. got his liberty to return back to our House above after keeping him some time: Mr Pambrun has a very bad leg a deep foul Ulcer & increasing fast & we have no Medicine; he says that a great deal of Pemmican is spoilt & some thrown away by being constantly wet coming down. dressed his leg the best we could.

3rd

Monday. Yesterday wrote a Letter to the Governor in Chief relating what had happened here & the probable intentions of the NW with respect to the Forks. & gave to the Indian who lately brought me Letters from the Forks – & he concealed it, and will remain at the NW house some days, to avoid suspicion & then carry it down Mr Fraser and a large party of NWCo men came over he told me to carry away all our Furs & insisted on my giving him a Copy of the Contents of the several Packages by McDonells orders, which I gave him and they took them all away & broke many 10 Gallon Kegs from England & took away all the Iron hoops. & in the afternoon Old Dechamps¹⁷⁹ broke open our Hay yard door & carried away our hay. several others followed his example. he & his 2 Sons are the most violent of the whole – They hoisted our Flag at the Canadian House & the halfbreed one over it, singing Indian Songs drumming & Dancing, which is enough to vex any one to see Such things but we cannot help ourselves. – I believe & what I learn from Mr Pambrun that the ½ breeds are nearly the master of McDonell – or at least he is obliged to wink at their proceedings not to make them leave him till his intended plans are put in execution or done but the person who assembles them is surely accountable for their

¹⁷⁹ François Deschamps (Dechamps), an old Canadian, was a well-known NWC “bully” during the Selkirk difficulties described here. According to his report of 1816, James Bird noted that Dechamp was the one who “blew out the brains” of Robert Semple during the Battle of Seven Oaks in 1816. The Deschamps family later moved to the American territories near Fort Union where they were known as a particularly violent family. The whole family was murdered in 1835-36. See Ted Binnema and Gerhard J. Ens (eds.), *Edmonton House Journals, Correspondence & Reports, 1806-1821*, 432-33.

[Fo. 37d]

conduct. Heavy Thunder, Lightning & rain on Saturday Night: we are all living out in the Plain along with the Indians; Furnished the Indian with 3 pair of Shoes who carries my Letter to the Governor. The NW pulled down one Stockade of our Garden.

4th *Tuesday.* Canadians carried away more Hay and leave the Garden Gates always open – The half Breeds dancing in 2 Tents made into one on our side the river close to our House. The old Cooper Alard from Fort Dauphin is also a very conspicuous character & does Much Mischief as well as the DeChamps & Cottona Bellgards' son. Serephim & 7 Men crossed the river & went up it in search of a Man they sent for a Horse 7 miles off 3 days ago which was left then & they could not find him – we afterwards learnt that our Indians tenting at our House had killed him – Several more of the Banditti within our Houses this day.

5th *Wednesday.* The tube of my large 3½ feet Achromatic Telescope was taken away by the Banditti 1st Inst. & this day I got it from a Stone Indian. Mr Pambrun came over on a visit guarded as usual, his leg is in a very bad state – Wrote a few Lines to Mr Robertson open, for Medicines to be fetched up by a Canadian as Alex McDonell will not allow him to go down to the Surgeon – he says the NW has sent to Mannotobaw for a Keg of Rum to treat the ½ breeds with. They were obliged to employ these Ignorant people to do their dirty work as the Canadian Servants very few would do what they wished them The High Spirits taken from us was 2 Gallons belonging the Co. & 2 full ones to John Lyons. They soon finished it on Saturday night – McDonell told Mr Pambrun that he has seen nothing belonging to us as yet but that all was put secur[e]ly by & would be returned when matters were made up at the Forks – he desired Mr Pambrun yesterday to take a walk with Fraser, but he soon returned & found McDonell giving away our Tobacco by fathoms to his people, tho' just before he told Mr Pambrun every thing would be returned, but I am certain that the greater part of the smaller articles will never be returned as those who took them will keep them – Several more Canadians & halfbreeds in our House climbing over the Stockades & always doing some Injury to the Buildings every time they come – The Canadians are Pitching &

[Fo. 38]

repairing the Batteaux & Canoes – 16 Batteaux, 4 Canoes & the Selkirk Boat, our small one we have not seen these 2 Days we suppose they have put her adrift – Capt of the Enemy Indians said to be seen several went there but saw no one. – Several ½ breeds over here, Singing, Dancing & Drumming all day & till late last Night – a very disagreeable sight – a very sharp frost at Night &

killed all the Barley, Wheat, Oats & Garden stuff above ground except Lettuce & Onions – The Oak Leaves just coming out are as if they are singed by fire & dead: The Canadians pulled down about 30 yards of our Garden fence & carried away & put into the Bottom of their Batteaux and loaded them ready to start.

6th *Thursday.* They carried away more hay.

7th *Friday.* at 2½ PM 16 Batteaux 4 Canoes & Selkirk Boat went away down the river, each having only two Men: There are 38 half Breeds in All going by Land. 28 with Grant on the North side the river all on Horseback & 10 on the South side with Antoine Hoole¹⁸⁰ – Alex McDonell sent for all the Indians tenting at our House & gave them about ½ Yard of Tobacco each & nothing more and a very severe Speech all against the English delivered by Bostonais & at 4½ PM he went away by Land. Grant & Bostonais – several Carts goes down with Women & bedding &c &c. Old Peltier with them, Mr Pambrun informed me that there were 106 Men in all, of all descriptions – he embarked in with Papin our Smith in a Batteaux – The Indians Enemies said again to be seen, but our worst enemies are our fellow subjects

8th *Saturday.* In the Afternoon we all moved into the House again most of the Windows broken or cut to pieces and nothing left to repair them again – every thing being carried off by the NWC. – Indians here went in search of the Enemy but saw none – All the Canadian Batteaux at the Sourie river – a few half breeds came here & sang & danced till Midnight.

9th *Sunday.* Drumming at the French House all night. Their Batteaux all still at the Sourie – water shoal in the Assineboyne river –

10th *Monday.* An Indian came in with 4 Swans, but we have not a

[Fo. 38d]

pipe of Tobacco to give him; nor a load of Ammunition; Pisk Kipling asked liberty of Poitras the Canadian Master here to go to Mannetobaw Lake, but could get no satisfactory answer; so he is afraid to proceed. Sent away Henderson & Spense to Riviere Qu'Appelle, they are to come down here again in about 3 Weeks for Ammunition & Tobacco we may expect up here then from the Forks, also to bring down some fat. Almost all the Sturgeon now come down from above. Anderson put up the Garden fence the NW carried away.

¹⁸⁰ This is Antoine Hoole (Houle) born around 1781 in Rupert's Land and died in the Red River Settlement in 1867. Hoole, a Metis, was employed by the NWC as an interpreter and commanded a brigade of Metis in the struggle against the Selkirk Colony. He was designated a "captain" by Cuthbert Grant during these struggles and participated in the Battle of Seven Oaks in 1816. He retired to White Horse Plains/St. François Xavier in the Red River Settlement where he died in 1867.

- 11th *Tuesday*. Made out a fair copy of every thing the NWCo has plundered from us. Ja^s Inkster, Tho^s & Charles Fidler hewing wood for Carts, others went to fetch up our small Boat from the Sourie that the NW put adrift
- 12 *Wednesday* at 5 AM Clouston our Late Smith went away for the Forks he got lent of Murrays Horse to the Portage; could not persuade Pisk to go away – an Indian came here yesterday with Swans & Ducks. An other Ind. arrived from below says the Batteaux is not yet at the Pine House 20 Miles off.
- 13th *Thursday* Rain – Men hewing Cart wood, James Inkster & the late W^m Yorstons¹⁸¹ family got 1½ Bags of Pemmican at the Canadian House, they are all going away with their Father to remain some time. 5 Mandans seen near the House by the Indians at dusk
- 14th *Friday* Gave Tom Favel a half Breed a very indifferent working hand his liberty to be free according to Mr Sutherlands order as he would not work on the Passage down. Made a parchment Canoe to go down to the Forks to be there by the time the Batteaux reach there, as nothing can be settled till then. Men as before.
- 15th *Saturday* Men as before. Clouston our late Smith returned at 2 PM from the Bad woods 40 Miles off. McDonell would not allow him to go to the Forks – Told Pisk & Lyons to hew cart wood but neither would do it – since the NW half Breeds have been liberally promised great payment & no work done by them ours above imagine they have no right to work & are become very saucy on that account. Ja^s & Charles unwell – The 4 Days following they were variously emp^d & on the 21st I embarked for the Forks & arrived there 2 hours after the Canadian Batteaux.
P. Fidler

[Fo. 39]

Fort Douglas Jan^y 2nd 1816

My Dear Sir/

I embrace this opportunity of wishing you all the Good returns of the New Year, and success to all Good Intentions, knowing your good will toward this Settlement, I make bold to desire you to procure for me two Good Laboring Horses for next Spring fit for Carts

¹⁸¹ William Yorston joined the HBC out of Firth, Orkney Islands, in 1795, serving as a Labourer at Albany House for £6 per annum. By 1797, he was sent into the interior from Albany. From 1797 to 1812 he would work in the Red River District, mostly at Brandon House where he was often left in charge over the summer. By 1809, he was earning £35 per annum, but was sent home in 1812 for his role in the Brandon House mutinies of 1811 and 1812. He left his wife and family behind when he returned home. His daughter Charlotte, married Peter Henderson. HBCA B.3/d/98-125; B.22/d/1-2.

& Plows. I shall not grudge the price. Mrs McLean is well and begs to be remembered to you.

I am Dr. Sir

Yours most truly

A. McLean.¹⁸²

To Mr P Fidler.

Fort Douglas 10 April 1816

Dear Sir/

What can I say to you except that we are all well & remain quiet here! – Cameron is much blamed by his Colleagues and truly he has brought himself & the whole of them into an unpleasant situation. I trust we have now such a mass of Evidence that the Laws of our Country cannot fail to do us ample Justice and that they will have to make good even the Coat Tails which they have cut off. Mr Sutherland wished to have my old Red Coat (for an Indian Chief) but I am afraid it is now too late, should an opportunity offer pray send it up to him. I am afraid this cold weather will retard the opening of the river, but it is rising fast & the Pambina & Scratching rivers we hear are both running. The Colonists however are all well stocked with Provisions. The Poetical Capt. desires to be remembered to you. I remain Dear Sir

Yours Truly Robt. Semple

To Mr Peter Fidler

Fort Douglas 12 April 1816

Dear Sir

I am really grieved to see that Mr Sutherland continues under such anxiety – He seems totally to forget that our Adversaries

[Fo. 39d]

are at least Men of some common sense and will not it is to be presumed, be carried so far by Malice as to do us an Injury which they know can and will be retaliated ten fold upon themselves. To talk of Indians appears to me strange – And as to Half Breeds I have told McDonell I cannot separate their actions from the NWCo. I really cannot believe, he will be rash enough to permit any violence to be offered – Should he however he shall find that what I told him will prove true and that the consequences will be Terrible to themselves – I shall hold 10 or 12 Men perhaps twenty in readiness and as soon as the Settlers arrive send these Men to Brandon House. My foot is at Present so sore that I cannot walk, therefor[e] it is out of my power to say whether I shall be able to accompany them myself. – I hope however to be able – If this comes to hand before the Nails are sent off you can let Mr Sutherland know this. It is needless for me to write him as I really can say no more than what I have already stated to him.

Francis Dechamps is a Scoundrel I attached no importance to his being with us & therefore none to his desertion. – we are this day reduced to our Old Beverage of Barley

¹⁸² This is Alexander McLean/MacLean (c.a. 1780-1816) who was born in Argyll, Scotland, about 1780. He died in the Battle of Seven Oaks. See previous citation.

Soup – The Meat is done and the Nets are up, but the Ducks are flying about and Mr or Capt Rogers is waiting with great impatience to see one brought upon the Table.

I am Dear Sir

Yours truly Robert Semple

To Peter Fidler.

Fort Douglas 25 May 1816

Sir/

I have heard with equal surprize & indignaton that forty Men have been taken at Qu'Appelle without any loss as it would appear on either side. an event which is clearly to be attributed solely to their Officers. – Knowing as You Know the total want of faith or honor among the NWCo I must confess myself in the present state of our Intelligence wholly unable to account for this event: a few Days must decide that uncertainty which however as it relates not to the final result I consider is of little moment.

[Fo. 40]

In whatever situation you may be, remember your Honour as an officer of the Hudsons Bay Company, and avoid every act which might tarnish it. Make no Compromise. Enter into no Engagements with a set of lawless Banditti. We have now proofs sufficient to bring them before the Tribunals of our Country and the Question, at least as to their Traders will very shortly be determined – In the mean time remember that we are strong here. One Spirit Animates us, one will direct the whole, you Know the Grounds on which we proceed. Do your utmost to further our great designs. Indians & Robbers act upon the principle of seizing a few Individuals or a little property, but be assured that our Enemies are only plunging themselves farther into their own mire.

I am Sir

Yours Sincerely Robt. Semple

To Mr J. Sutherland & P. Fidler

The rest of the Journal consists of Astronomical, Thermometer and Weather Observations made at Brandon House by Charles and Thomas Fidler.

[Fo. 40d]