

NARRATIVES

OF

*John Pritchard, Pierre Chrysologue Pambrun,
and Frederick Damien Heurter,*

RESPECTING

The Aggressions

OF

THE NORTH-WEST COMPANY,

AGAINST THE

EARL OF SELKIRK'S SETTLEMENT

UPON

RED RIVER.

LONDON:

JOHN MURRAY, ALBEMARLE STREET.

1819.

THE following Narratives,—the originals of which are in the possession of the Hudson's Bay Company,—were drawn up by persons who were eye-witnesses of the transactions they have described, and who came recently to this country for the purpose of giving information on the subject of the extraordinary occurrences connected with the Red River Settlement.—Copies of these Narratives were submitted to His Majesty's Secretary of State for the Colonial Department.

JUNE, 1819.

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**NARRATIVE of Mr. JOHN PRITCHARD, of
the Red River Settlement.**

IN the spring of 1801 I engaged as a clerk in the service of what was termed the X. Y. or, "New North-West Company" of Montreal, then carrying on the Fur Trade in the interior of North America, in competition with the "Old North-West Company."

From Montreal I proceeded to Red River, in the neighbourhood of Lake Winipic, where I remained until the year 1805, when the two Companies joined their stock together in partnership, and since that time their united force has been directed against the traders of the Hudson's Bay Company. The latter Company, during the contest of the Canadian Companies, received no opposition from either of them; on the contrary, both were very desirous of cultivating the friendship of the clerks who represented that Company, in order to induce them to join in opposing their rivals from Canada; and I know of many presents that were given, both by the Old and New North-West Companies, to the servants of the Hudson's Bay Company, with the view of bringing them over to their purpose.

When the Canadian Companies were united, I mentioned this subject to Mr. John Haldane, a partner, who was then at Fort William. He said that now, our interests being united, we must direct all our opposition against the Hudson's Bay Company, and not allow them to get a footing in the beaver countries. He then said, he had been so far candid with his former friend of the Hudson's Bay Company in Athabasca, as to tell him, that such would be the case, and that, great as his former friendship had been, so now would be his enmity. Indeed, the Hudson's Bay servants, by having been perfectly neutral during our contest, had incurred the displeasure of both parties, for, had they supported either of them, the other party would have been unable to continue the competition.

After the junction of the Old and New North-West Companies, I was sent into the Nipigon country, to the north of Lake Superior, where I remained four years. The place where I was stationed, was successively under the direction of Mr. John Dougald Cameron, a clerk, Mr. Duncan Cameron, and Mr. Ronald Cameron, partners of the Company. Another part of the same country was under the management of Mr. John Haldane, the partner, where, assisted by his clerks, Messrs. Angus M'Donell, Alexander M'Donell, and Aulay M'Aulay, he committed a variety of criminal violences. Sometimes armed parties boarded the Hudson's Bay boats, and forced them to return to the sea coast: at other times they plundered and burnt the trading houses of that Company, wounding, and otherwise ill-treating the

servants who rose in defence of their master's property. These outrages were continued in that quarter until 1809; after which, the Hudson's Bay Company discontinued to send traders to that part of the country. Being in the vicinity, a knowledge of these transactions was communicated to me by the perpetrators themselves; who boasted of these violent acts, as meritorious services to the North-West Company.

During my residence in the Indian country I have often known Indians, for very slight offences, such as trading with, or hunting for a rival Company, to be severely beaten by partners and servants of the North-West Company, so as to have their limbs broken; and they have even been frequently put to death by them. In Lake Winipic, Mr. Baptiste Cadotte, a partner, thus killed an Indian, called the Forgeron. In the Nipigon, Mr. John Dougald Cameron, then a clerk, but now a partner, shot an Indian, called the Canard in his own house. On Lake Superior, Mr. M'Rae, a clerk, killed a man and his wife. Mr. John M'Donell, the Borgne, a partner, killed an Indian at Fort des Prairies. The servants of Mr. Alexander Henry killed another at the same place. Mr. Farries, a clerk, shot an Indian, called the Lodge, at Cumberland House: these were all deliberate acts, not done under any necessity of self-defence. I have heard of other Indians having been killed by the traders, before I came into the country, and some others since, the particulars of which I cannot now recal to my memory.

At the time the Old and New North-West Companies were contesting for the trade, one John

Severight, a clerk of the X. Y., now in the service of the North-West Company, shot a Canadian, called La Pointe, at Fort des Prairies, as he was drifting down the river in a canoe. He did this in consequence of a previous quarrel, as Severight himself informed me. In Athabasca, another clerk of the X. Y., shot a clerk of the North-West Company, and beat one of his own men to death, for having made too free with a bottle of rum. These particulars I was informed of by Mr. Charles Chaboillez, of the Old Company, who had received the intelligence by letter, from his partner Mr. John M'Donell, who was then in charge of the Athabasca department.

In the summer of 1809, I visited Fort William, and from thence was sent to Red River, where I remained till the year 1814. Red River not being a fur country, we had no disputes with the Hudson's Bay traders. Indeed the North-West Company rather wished to encourage the Hudson's Bay people to come to that river, as it had the effect of drawing their force from the fur countries, and at the same time, took from that place the superabundance of provisions, there collected by the Indians; which was more than the North-West Company could afford to bring in goods to trade.

In the winter of 1811, it was rumoured that the Earl of Selkirk had an intention of sending persons to form a colony on Red River, but little credit was then given to the Report.—In 1812, when it was ascertained that the settlers had actually arrived in Hudson's Bay, it occasioned great alarm among the

partners throughout the country, as they considered it extremely injurious to their interest to have any settlement formed in the interior, which would throw open the trade of the country to the public in general, and thereby destroy that species of monopoly which the North-West Company had so long exercised.

In the autumn of the year 1812 I received a letter from Mr. Archibald Norman M'Leod, an agent of the North-West Company, who was then almost a stranger to me. His letter was full of the most flattering expressions, and requesting I would favour him with my correspondence, and tell him what I thought of Lord Selkirk's colony, which he believed would not succeed; indeed he was confident it could not succeed, if we (meaning the clerks in Red River) all did our duty, of which he did not entertain the smallest doubt.

During the first two years after Captain Miles Macdonell's arrival with the settlers, I continually resided at Rivière Qu'Appelle; therefore have no other knowledge of what took place at the Settlement, than from my correspondence with Mr. Alexander M'Donell of the North-West Company. From his letters I learned that he first gained the confidence of his brother-in-law Captain Miles Macdonell, whose honourable principles set him above suspecting the treachery of his relation, who, with superior art, set him (Captain Macdonell) and all his officers at variance. He next contrived to get into his hands all the provisions he possibly could; by which means the settlers were often in

great want, and then he would sometimes send meat to them, in order to gain their affections. By such conduct the servants and settlers became dissatisfied with the management of their governor, and were, many of them, in the spring of 1813, on the point of going with Alexander M'Donell to Fort William, where he promised they were to be well rewarded for having deserted the service of their employers. This was prevented by timely information having been given to Captain Macdonell.

In regard to myself, I considered it my duty, as a faithful servant of the North-West Company, to oppose the Settlement by every fair means in my power, and having (in the winter of 1813-14) received orders from Mr. John Wills to buy up all the provisions I possibly could; I did so, giving an advanced price; by which means I procured one-third more than the quantity usually required for the use of the North-West Company.

In the spring of the same year I brought these provisions to Rivière à la Souris, about one hundred and twenty miles above the Settlement, at which place I learnt that Captain Miles Macdonell, as Governor of the district, had issued a proclamation prohibiting the export of more provisions than the different traders required for the use of the men employed to transport their merchandise to the respective places of their destination.—This prohibition the North-West Company set at defiance, and determined to carry out their provisions by force;—to effect which, letters were sent to all their trading posts, calling upon all their people to assemble in

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Red River.—I was ordered to remain at Rivière à la Souris with the provisions, waiting further orders. In the interim Mr. John Spencer arrived as sheriff, bearing with him Governor Macdonell's warrant for the seizure of the provisions, which I thought it my duty to oppose as far as I could without the effusion of blood; therefore Mr. Spencer was of necessity obliged to make a forcible entry into the fort, and to break the door of the store in which the provisions were; all which his warrant authorised him to do.—

When I arrived at the Forks, I found a number of the partners and servants of the North-West Company assembled there, with as many Indians as they had been able to collect, but learnt that an amicable arrangement, between them and Captain Macdonell, had taken place, which was brought about by Mr. John M'Donald, (commonly called Bras Croche) a partner of the North-West Company, who had come from the Rocky Mountains very opportunely, at the moment that other partners and servants were going to make an attack upon Captain Macdonell and his party, then posted on the river side, for the purpose of protecting Mr. Spencer.

I do not recollect the particulars of the agreement entered into by the North-West Company, and Captain Miles Macdonell, but all parties, with the exception of Alexander M'Donell, then seemed satisfied, and the Company had as much provisions given them back as they asked for. Some papers of a conciliatory nature were written by me under the direction of the partners present, particularly Mr. John M'Donald (Bras Croche), and Messrs. Duncan Cameron, and

John Dougald Cameron, which were signed by the parties. Alexander M'Donell was much dissatisfied with the conduct of his associates, and said that if John M'Donald had not arrived, that day would have put an end to the colony, as their plan of attack was so well arranged, that Captain Miles Macdonell's party could not have escaped, and he himself would have first fallen, and by his, Alexander M'Donell's, ball.—With the exception of Alexander M'Donell, I believe the North-West Gentlemen were sincere in the agreement they had made, and believed it to be advantageous to the concern in general.

In consequence Governor Macdonell and his friends were invited to a ball given by the North-West Gentlemen at their house, and the next day they partook of an entertainment given by the governor at his place.—They likewise spontaneously, sent me with two leather tents, for the service of the colony, accompanied with an obliging message, that there were others at Rivière à la Souris which he might have, if required.—Nor did these partners express any displeasure when I informed them of my intentions of quitting the service of the North-West Company, and settling in the colony. On the contrary, John Dougald Cameron said, when he had amassed money enough to retire, he would join me there. In fact, I believe at that time those gentlemen considered the colony as permanently established,—that further opposition would be useless,—and that it would be their interest to live in terms of amity with the persons conducting it.—But it appeared that when they came to Fort William, Mr. William M'Gillivray taught

them a different opinion.—When I saw him at Fort William, he seemed exceedingly angry with his partners on account of the arrangement they had made with Captain Macdonell. When I observed, that a different conduct would have led to bloodshed, he replied, with a sneer, that he knew better, and that Miles Macdonell would not have burnt a prining :—adding that it was not the value of the provisions he regretted, but the insult offered to the concern.

Aulay M'Aulay, a clerk, having refused to serve out ammunition to the Indians, for the purpose of attacking Governor Macdonell's party during the recent dispute, he was not allowed to come to the general mess-table at Fort William, and the other clerks were ordered not to associate with him. He was afterwards sent to Montreal on a loaded canoe, as a mark of disgrace.

Alexander M'Donell, though a junior clerk, was this year, (1814) made a partner, and I believe was indebted for this early promotion, to his having distinguished himself in various acts of great atrocity, which I have always observed to be a general rule with the Company,—the most violent characters being the most patronised.

While at Fort William I made an offer, through Mr. John Haldane, to the agents of the Company, that if they would give me a passage to Red River, I would buy goods from them to the amount of the money due to me, the savings of thirteen years service,—and that I would bind myself in the penalty of a thousand pounds, never to oppose the interest of the Company, in the capacity of an Indian trader. Mr.

Haldane brought for answer, that after what had taken place, Mr. M'Gillivray, as agent of the Company, could not countenance any person settling in Red River ; but if I was determined upon quitting the Indian trade, he would give me a piece of land at York, in Upper Canada, and I should have the full support of the Company. At the same time, a Mr. Blair, then a clerk in the house of M'Tavish, M'Gillivray, and Co. advised me not to attempt returning to Red River contrary to the wishes of the Company, or they would get me murdered on the road.

In September of the same year I arrived at Montreal, when Mr. Thomas Thain, another agent of the Company, made me an offer of goods to trade at Michillimakanac on my own account, which, at that time, was a very lucrative employment, and we continued in treaty to that effect until I resolved to go to London. Mr. Thain then exacted a promise that I would neither see Lord Selkirk, or the gentlemen of the Hudson's Bay Company, at London, until his friends and mine had met.

Soon after this, Mr. Donald M'Kenzie, (whose two brothers were then partners in the house of M'Tavish, M'Gillivray, and Co. and who is now himself a confidential agent of the Company on the River Columbia,) informed me that the North-West Company were determined upon the ruin of the colony at Red River ; that they intended to make Governor Macdonell a prisoner, in order to degrade the authority under which he acted ; and that every specious offer would be made to the settlers to induce them to

come to Canada. He also informed me that Daniel M'Kenzie had received orders to send the Indians of Fond du Lac, and Leech Lake, to assist in the destruction of the Settlement. Mr. Donald M'Kenzie had been at Red River the preceeding spring, and seemed to feel most sensibly for the deplorable state of those poor people, who were thus doomed to fall a sacrifice. This information gave me great concern. I communicated the same to Mr. Colin Robertson, an agent of the Hudson's Bay Company, who was then in Montreal, and we both waited upon Mr. M'Kenzie, who persisted in the correctness of his statement.—Mr. John M'Donald (Bras Croche), the brother-in-law of Mr. William M'Gillivray, also advised me, in a friendly manner, to relinquish the idea of settling in Red River, for that the colony would be broken up,—that the North-West Company would bring all the settlers away,—and that Mr. M'Lean's family were already secured, who would induce the others to follow them.

In the hope of preventing the evil by warning Governor Macdonell of the danger which menaced the Settlement, I undertook a journey to Red River by the circuitous route of Hudson's Bay, a distance of near four thousand miles, the greatest part of which I performed on snow-shoes, hawling after me, upon a sledge, provisions and every other requisite to serve me for twenty and thirty days at a time.—I set out from Montreal on the 28th October 1814, and arrived at Red River on the 15th April ensuing, where I had the mortification to find that the prediction of Mr.

M^cKenzie was in part accomplished. Mr. Spencer the sheriff had been made a prisoner and sent away by the North-West Company: a large portion of the settlers and servants seduced by the promises, or intimidated by the threats, of Mr. Duncan Cameron, one of the partners, had joined his people. Some of these Cameron had sent to the North-West Company's post at Bas de la Rivière Winipic, and others to Leech Lake, but the greatest number, and the most vicious characters, were retained by him at his fort called Gibraltar, about a mile above the Settlement. In the absence of the Governor those deluded men had been sent with a written order from Cameron, to rob the Government House of the artillery, which had been sent from England for the protection of the Settlement, and which they carried away to his fort, escorted by himself along with Mr. John Dougald Cameron, another partner, and a number of the clerks and servants of the Company; thus depriving the settlers, and servants that remained faithful to their engagements, of the means of repelling the hostile attacks which Cameron led them to expect from the Indians.

The day after my arrival Governor Miles Macdonell was arrested by the warrant of Archibald Norman M^cLeod, Esq. magistrate for the Indian territories, and an agent of the North-West Company, for an alleged breach of the peace, but the constable did not attempt to enforce his warrant to the extent of carrying away his captive.

About eight days after I arrived at the Settlement

I received from Governor Macdonell a lot of land, which I immediately began to cultivate on my own account as a settler.

About the end of May, Mr. Alexander M'Donell of the North-West Company, came with a number of boats and men from the river Qu'Appelle. He likewise brought with him some Indians of the Cree nation, who inhabit the plains in the neighbourhood of that river. These Indians were kept in a state of intoxication for some time, in the North-West fort, and then allowed to visit the governor of the Settlement, of whom they inquired what his intentions were; and, when he had explained to them his views, they expressed great satisfaction, and wished him success, adding, that the Settlement had nothing to fear from them, though they had been brought for the purpose of making war upon him. Some rum was offered to them which they declined to taste, until we had taken some ourselves. On being asked if they thought the liquor was poisoned, they said they believed it was not; but they had been cautioned not to drink of it, as we put poison in our liquor. The governor then offered them a keg of liquor, with some tobacco, ammunition, and clothing for their families, which they refused to accept, fearing, as they said, the displeasure of the North-West Gentlemen, and thereby to lose the reward which had been promised them.

The morning on which the Indians left the place, almost all our plough horses were shot with arrows, which was done by the half-breed servants of the North-West Company, (as they themselves afterwards

informed me) in order to intimidate the settlers, and impress them with the idea of the hostile disposition of the Indians, who (Cameron was continually saying) would soon drive them away from the country.

After the attempt to arrest Governor Macdonell, Cameron began to issue orders to the servants and settlers, threatening them with vengeance if they did not deliver up the governor. He stated himself to be the commanding officer in Red River; he wore the uniform of a field-officer, and was generally accompanied by his subalterns, lieutenant Alexander M'Donell, and ensign Seraphim Lamarre. These men were constantly parading in military array at the head of a tumultuous rabble of half-breed servants, and others, to the great terror of the peaceable settlers. Our horses were taken from us by these people, they drove our cattle away, and slaughtered the bull in the presence of Alexander M'Donell himself, who gave orders to his people to fire at Duncan M'Naughton, who had come to their encampment in search of the cows, and it was by the fleetness of his horse alone that he made his escape.

At this period, for the first time, the half-breed servants of the North-West Company, assumed a new character, calling themselves the "Bois-brulés," and the "New Nation." They likewise thought proper to issue their orders, menacing us with death if the governor was not delivered up to their masters.

Under the direction of Alexander M'Donell, many of the settlers were forcibly taken from their homes to his camp, and there, if they made the least objection to the proposal of going to Canada, he threatened to

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have them tied up and flogged by his half-breeds. Parties from the North-West Company's fort, often sallied out and made attacks with fire-arms, upon the dwelling-houses of the Settlement, by which Mr. Warren, a clerk belonging to the colony, lost his life, and many others were wounded. A breast-work was thrown up opposite to the governor's house, and one of the pieces of ordnance, which had been stolen from the Settlement, was placed thereon, and was supplied with bar-shot, which had been forged in the North-West Company's fort, for the avowed purpose of battering down the governor's house, if the governor did not surrender, saying, they must have him dead or alive.

At Frog Plain, a few miles below the Settlement, another battery was raised, and mounted with cannon, for the purpose of preventing any canoes or boats leaving the river without the permission of lieutenant Alexander M'Donell being first obtained, of which he gave public notice in writing to the officers of the Hudson's Bay Company. Towards the end of these outrageous proceedings, the farm-yard of the Government House was occupied by this banditti of incendiaries and robbers, and my own house was taken for the head-quarters of their leader, M'Donell. Mr. M'Lean (then confined to his bed by a wound), and others residing upon their farms, were ordered out of their houses or threatened to be burnt in them, and as soon as the houses were vacated they were burnt to the ground.—As the partners of the North-West Company pretended that they had no share in these outrages, and that the half-breeds were acting

entirely independent of their control, the gentlemen in charge of the Settlement attempted to negotiate with the half-breeds. On one occasion, when terms of conciliation had been proposed to them, the answer, though in their name, was in the hand-writing of Mr. Alexander M'Donell, and the purport of it was that they, (the half-breeds) would not allow the colonists to remain in the country, but that a limited number of boats and servants of the Hudson's Bay Company should be allowed to come into the river as traders. I cannot recollect the number; but I remember it was so insignificant, that they would have been entirely at the mercy of the North-West Company.

Such was the state of things when Mr. Alexander M'Kenzie, an agent of the North-West Company arrived from Montreal, and with him his partner Mr. Simon Fraser. It was then thought advisable to negotiate with those gentlemen for the purpose of re-establishing the peace of the country, but they would listen to no other terms, than the surrender of Governor Macdonell which, with much regret, the settlers submitted to.—But this peace-offering availed us nothing, and we soon found that to enforce his surrender was a mere pretext for the atrocious conduct of our enemies. The day on which the governor was carried off, the firing upon our houses was renewed with unabated fury.—Thus, deprived of our chief magistrate, our servants inveigled away, abandoned by many of our brother settlers, assailed by a lawless banditti bent on our destruction, our cattle destroyed, and our fields laid waste, we were compelled to quit the country.

The Indians of the neighbouring country, always friendly, after fruitless attempts to assuage the inveterate malice of our enemies, embarked in our boats, and conducted us out of the river; otherwise it is very probable, the property we carried with us would have become the spoil of the assailants. We parted from these friendly natives on the border of Lake Winipic; they took leave of us with a speech expressive of their affection, and told us to recruit our force and return in strength, and that they also would collect their children, and when the young duck rose from the waters (*viz.* about the middle of August) they would meet us on the lake, and bring with them all the provisions they could procure.

Having crossed the lake, we arrived in the beginning of July at Jack River House, a trading post belonging to the Hudson's Bay Company, and distant from Red River about three hundred miles.—Soon afterwards Mr. Colin Robertson arrived from Canada, having with him a number of servants, belonging to the Company, and we were made truly happy by his offer of conducting us back to our lands, with the promise of his protection.—After a pleasant passage over the lake, we had the satisfaction once more to behold our fields, which, notwithstanding the devastation our enemies had made, still promised a tolerable harvest. Our true friends and late protectors,—the native Indians,—greeted our return with every mark of sincere affection and unfeigned joy.

As a number of settlers were expected to arrive in the autumn from Europe, Mr. Robertson requested me to go to Fort Daer, or Pambina, in the plains, in

order to procure a sufficiency of provisions for their maintenance; and, in consequence, I engaged the hunters necessary for the object in view. In the month of November, Mr. Sheriff M'Donell arrived there, accompanied by families amounting in the whole to one hundred and sixty persons, who found every necessary accommodation, in regard to their lodging, and a store amply supplied, both with fresh and preserved beef.

A few days previous to the arrival of the settlers, I was much surprised to find that the North-West Company had appointed, to their trading post at Pambina, seven of those half-breed servants from whom we had received such cruel treatment the preceding spring, and had chosen, as the clerk to take charge of the post, one Peter Pangman, who had been a leading man in these outrages, and was one of the pretended chiefs of the half-breeds or *new nation*. Soon after Pangman's arrival he began to take down one of the late settler's houses, and to rebuild the same alongside of his own. I immediately sent Joseph Bellegard and Colish Ducharme to advertise him that the house he was demolishing was the property of Earl Selkirk, and desired he would desist.—He returned for answer that the settlers had left the house, and therefore he had a right to it.—As I wished to avoid any thing that might lead to contention, I took no further notice of the affair, always carrying in my mind that those young men had been misled; and considering their want of education and little knowledge of civilization, I made it my study to conciliate and impress on their minds, the great good

that would result to them, from participating in the benefits of those religious and moral institutions which are the natural consequence of colonization. When they were in want, I lent them provisions, gave them thread to make nets, and on many occasions made them presents, both of Lord Selkirk's and my own private property. We purchased from them, at an exorbitant price, several of the horses of which they had robbed us the preceding spring, and those they were not disposed to sell remained with them.— Such at this period was their good disposition, that they requested me to draw up a petition for them to the Catholic Bishop of Quebec, which was to be transmitted through the hands of the Governor, praying that a pastor might be sent to teach them the truths of Christianity.

In the month of November I was surprised to learn that Mr. Robertson had taken possession of the North-West Company's fort at the Forks, but on opening a letter from him, and on other inquiries I found an elucidation of the affair, *viz.* that Alexander Fraser, a clerk of the North-West Company at Rivi re Qu'Appelle, had ordered Mr. John M'Kay of the Hudson's Bay Company to quit that post, and had pointed at his fort one of those pieces of artillery they had taken from us the preceding spring, with a threat that unless he consented to leave the place in twenty-four hours, he would "blow him and the fort to hell." At the same time Mr. Fraser swore that as long as he had a heart in his body, a colony never should be established in Red River; but these violent threats I believe the Indians prevented from

being put into execution. In consequence of Fraser's threats, and a speech of Mr. Duncan Cameron's to the Indians, (the tendency of which was nothing less than advising them to drive away the settlers, threatening them at the same time with the power of his *medicine*, viz. witchcraft, if they did not comply,) Mr. Robertson took possession of the fort, in which was found two pieces of artillery, a number of muskets, and many other articles which had been purloined from the Settlement. I believe Mr. Robertson kept possession of the fort only twenty-four hours, and then reinstated Mr. Cameron under a promise that he would for the future so conduct himself as not to endanger either the lives of the settlers, or inveigle away the servants of the establishment.

In the course of the winter, we were much alarmed by reports, that the half-breeds were assembling in all parts of the north, for the purpose of driving us away; and that they were expected to arrive at the Settlement early in the spring. The nearer the spring approached, the more prevalent these reports grew, and they were confirmed by letters from different parts. Our hunters, and those free Canadians who had supplied us with provisions, were in great dread of the resentment of the North-West Company for the support they had given us. The half-breeds stationed at the North-West fort at Pambina, began to shew a disposition to violence, and threatened to shoot our hunter Bottenau's horse, and himself too, if he did not desist from running the buffalo.

In the month of March, Messrs. Fraser and Hesse arrived at the North-West Company's house, which gave us great uneasiness, as Fraser was represented to be the leader of the half-breeds, and a daring and violent man. On his arrival he sent a threatening message to one of my hunters; and whenever an opportunity offered, he was very assiduous in his endeavours to seduce from us both our servants and settlers. A report was also very current that a party of half-breeds and Cree Indians were expected to arrive from Fort des Prairies on the Saskatchewan River, as soon as the melting of the snow would admit of their travelling; and the free Canadians, who were in general anxious for our safety, were continually warning us to be on our guard.—At the same time we were informed that the half-breed servants of the North-West Company, who were then in the plains, were ordered home to their houses. This assemblage of those men gave us the most serious apprehension for the safety of the settlers, and of the servants who were employed to bring provisions to us from the plains.

About the 19th March, Hugh M'Lean arrived from the Forks with a letter from Mr. Robertson to Mr. Sheriff M'Donell, informing him that in consequence of having discovered the plans of Mr. Cameron of the North-West Company, for the destruction of the Settlement, he had taken him prisoner, and possession of his fort.—A few hours after the receipt of Mr. Robertson's letter, Mr. M'Donell as Sheriff ordered his constables, Duncan M'Naughton and Patrick Corcoran, to call into his room such

of the servants as he named to them, to whom he gave arms, and immediately proceeded to the North-West Company's house. Messrs. White, M'Leod, and myself accompanied him. After the sheriff had made prisoners of Pangman, Fraser, and Hesse, he desired Pangman to deliver to him the key of the store, upon which he requested one of the North-West Company's servants to open the door, and deliver to him all the arms and ammunition, which were conveyed with the prisoners to our fort. An inventory was taken of these stores in presence of the prisoners, and signed by the gentlemen of our party; a copy of which was offered to Pangman, but he refused to receive it.—The key of the store was likewise presented to him by Mr. M'Donell, who said that self-defence, and the security of the people's lives, obliged him to take the steps he had done; that he (Pangman) might appoint any person in whom he had confidence to transact the business of the North-West Company, and that, far from wishing to molest their trade, he would be ready at all times to give them any protection in his power. This offer was repeatedly made, and as often rejected, by Pangman. On the second day the prisoners were sent to the Forks; and Mr. James White was ordered to take an inventory of the North-West Company's property, among which was found a gun, claimed upon the oath of George Sutherland as being his property, of which he had been forcibly deprived the preceding spring by Mr. Alexander M'Donell of the North-West Company.—The provisions found in the North-West Company's store-house, were in part

served out as rations to their servants, and the remainder sent down to the North-West Company's partner, Mr. Cameron, at the Forks.

When all the North-West Company's servants were about to abandon the House, they requested that we would take charge of the property, which was accordingly brought over to our fort, and afterwards taken down in the boats to Fort Douglas by a written order from Governor Semple to me, stating, that in consequence of the North-West Company having seized our property in Peace River, it would be necessary to hold something as a pledge for its restoration.

It may be necessary to state that Pangman was the person who headed the half-breed servants of the North-West Company, when they burnt our houses the preceding spring. Hesse has always been connected with the half-breeds in those cruelties they have inflicted upon the settlers, and was of Pangman's party in the winter 1815, when an ambuscade was prepared in the plains, for the assassination of Governor Macdonell, and his party. Fraser is the clerk already mentioned as having so violently threatened Mr. John M'Kay, of the Hudson's Bay Company at Rivière Qu'Appelle.

Soon after the taking of Pangman, I learnt that Mr. Robertson had possessed himself of the North-West Company's winter express. His motive for so doing was, as I was informed, to discover the force of the half-breeds, and the manner in which we were to be attacked. I believe the only letters that were at that time opened, were those

addressed to, or from, the Agents of the North-West Company residing in Red River, and from these (which I have seen) it appeared that the half-breeds were acting entirely under their direction. About the 30th of April, I left Pambina, and arrived with the settlers, at Fort Douglas, and in the course of two or three days they were placed on their respective lots of land, from the fort downwards. I here learnt that in consequence of the sorrow which the prisoners Pangman, Hesse, and Fraser, expressed for their past conduct, Governor Semple had liberated them, under a promise of future good behaviour, and after having bound them over to keep the peace.

Towards the latter end of May, the Governor, feeling great anxiety for the safety of the provisions which were expected from Qu'Appelle, sent a freeman to Brandon House, in order to obtain intelligence.—The man was five or six days absent, and returned saying he had been intercepted on the road by the North-West Company's servants, and conducted to their establishment at Rivière à la Souris, which is opposite Brandon House. When in the North-West Company's Fort, the Governor's letter was taken from him, and he was then allowed to visit Mr. Peter Fidler, of the Hudson's Bay Company, upon condition of his bringing back no letter. By a verbal message from Mr. Fidler, we learnt that the half-breeds had seized our boats on their leaving Qu'Appelle, and that all the Company's officers and servants were prisoners in the custody of Mr. Alexander M'Donell of the North-West Company. Some time afterwards this was confirmed, by the arrival of the servants

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who had been liberated, after having signed a paper promising to M'Donell not to take up arms against the North-West Company. These men informed us that the half-breeds were continually vowing the destruction of the settlers, and threatening the servants of the Hudson's Bay Company with death if they should interfere in our behalf. Such was the impression made upon the minds of the free Canadians by this intelligence, that they departed from our neighbourhood, and went to the plains. To some of them we were indebted for their winter's hunt, and they, fearing we should be driven away, requested of the governor to secure them the payment of what was due, which he did by giving notes payable either in Red River, at York Factory, or at Montreal.

The intentions of the half-breed, and other servants of the North-West Company, being now clearly ascertained, and our number being too weak to protect both posts, Governor Semple ordered the fort of the North-West Company at the Forks to be demolished, in order that it should not serve (as it had done the year before) as an asylum to an armed banditti of incendiaries and robbers coming a second time for the avowed purpose of attacking the Settlement.—The pickets, and other serviceable wood, was rafted down to the Settlement, for the purpose of strengthening Fort Douglas.

About the 16th of June, an Indian named Moustouche, (who had been brought up amongst white people) arrived and told us, he had made his escape from the half-breeds, who were then encamped at Portage de la Prairie, (two day's journey above Fort

Douglas) and would assuredly attack us in a day or two. As soon as the Indians heard of this, two of their chiefs came and held a council with the governor, saying they were come to take their father's advice, and wished to know from him how they were to act;—that they were certain he would be attacked, and if he wanted their assistance, they and their young men were ready to defend him. He desired them not to interfere. Next morning the Indian chiefs came again and said, they were fearful he (the governor) would be driven away, and that they therefore begged of him, to give them a little ammunition to support their families in case such an event should take place.—He replied that he did not fear these people at all; but as there was nothing certain in this life, he should order them a sufficiency of ammunition to support their families during the summer. Some of the free Canadians had likewise offered the governor to take a part with us, but he declined their services, not wishing that they should fight against their countrymen.

On the evening of the 19th of June, a man in the watch-house called out that the half-breeds were coming. The governor with some other gentlemen and myself looked through spy-glasses, and I distinctly saw some armed people on horseback passing along the plains. A man then called out "they" (meaning the half-breeds) "are making for the settlements;" on which the governor said "we must go and meet these people, let twenty men follow me." Twenty-eight persons (including myself) immediately joined the governor. We proceeded by the road

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leading down the Settlement, and as we were going along, we met many of the settlers running to the fort, crying out, in great consternation and terror, "the half-breeds, the half-breeds." When we were advanced about three-quarters of a mile along the Settlement, we saw some people on horseback behind a point of woods. On our nearer approach the party seemed more numerous, on which the governor made a halt and sent for a piece of cannon, which, delaying to arrive, he ordered us to advance. We had not proceeded far before the half-breeds on horseback, with their faces painted in the most hideous manner, and in the dresses of Indian warriors, came forward and surrounded us in the form of a half-moon, completely cutting off our retreat to the fort. As they advanced, we receded, walking backwards, being in a great measure panic-struck at the sight of an enemy so far superior in numbers, and mounted on horseback. At the time the half-breeds were surrounding us, a man of the name of Bruin offering to fire exclaimed "we shall be surrounded, let us keep them off." Upon this Governor Semple reprimanded the man severely, and said with a loud voice "let no man fire unless I order him."

As soon as the half-breeds had formed their crescent, a man of the name of Bouché rode from the midst of them, and calling out, "What do you want?" Governor Semple replied, "What do *you* want?" to which Bouché answered, "We want our fort." The governor rejoined, "Go to your fort." They were by this time near each other, and consequently spoke too low for me to hear, as I was

at a short distance from them. They seemed to speak with much warmth to each other, and I saw the governor take hold of Bouché's gun. At this moment I turned to observe the half-breeds, in another part of the circle, more immediately opposite to me; but in a few moments I heard the discharge of a gun, and on looking to the spot, I there saw Mr. Holte, one of our party, struggling on the ground, apparently mortally wounded. A general volley followed immediately after.

From my own observation I cannot say on which side the first shot was fired, my attention being, at that moment, fixed on a different quarter. But from the knowledge I have of Governor Semple's disposition, and after hearing his check to Bruin, I cannot believe that the firing began with him. Indeed, placed as we then were, it would have been an act of insanity to have begun a conflict with those people. They were more than double our number, mounted on horseback, and no retreat left for us. They, on the other hand, could at any time have rode off, and declined the combat. Altogether it cannot be credited, that twenty-eight persons on foot would have pursued, and attacked in an open plain, sixty-two horsemen.

In a few minutes almost all our people were either killed or wounded.—Captain Rogers, having fallen, rose up again and came towards me, when, not seeing one of our party who was not either killed, or disabled, I called out to him “for God's sake give yourself up.” He ran towards the North-West people for that purpose, myself following him.—He

was without arms, and raised up his hands, imploring them in broken French, and in English, to be merciful, and spare his life :—but Thomas M'Kay (son of Alexander M'Kay a retired partner of the North-West Company) shot him through the head, exclaiming that he (Rogers) was an officer of the colony and a dog.—Another man, who I believe was Henry Poitras, cut open his belly with a knife, with the most horrid imprecations.—Fortunately for me, a Canadian, named Lavigne, joining his entreaties to mine, saved me though with the greatest difficulty, from sharing the fate of my friend at that moment ;—after which I was rescued from death, in the most providential manner, no less than six different times, on my road to, and at, the Frog Plain.

When the attack was made, our party consisted of twenty-six persons, Mr. Bourke and another having been sent back for the piece of cannon.—We had twenty-one persons killed, among whom were Governor Semple, Captains Rogers, Mr. James White, Surgeon, Mr. Alexander M'Lean, settler, Mr. I. P. Wilkinson, secretary to the Governor, Mr. Holte, formerly a Lieutenant in the Danish or Swedish Navy, and fifteen servants.—Mr. Bourke the store-keeper was wounded on his return with the cannon, but was carried off on the carriage. A few others escaped by running, but with the exception of myself, no quarter was given to any of us. The knife, axe, or ball, put a period to the existence of the wounded, and on the bodies of the dead were practised all those horrible barbarities that characterise the inhuman heart of the savage. From what I saw, and from what I have

been told, I do not suppose that more than one-fourth of our party were mortally wounded when they fell, but were most inhumanly butchered afterwards.

I was told by Cuthbert Grant that he had found Mr. Semple lying on his side (his thigh having been broken) and supporting his head on his hand; that on being told Grant's name, Mr. Semple had said, "I am not mortally wounded, and if you could get me conveyed to the fort, I think I should live."—Grant promised him he would do so, and immediately left him in the care of a Canadian, who afterwards reported that an Indian, the only one in their party, came up and shot Mr. Semple in the breast.—Grant told me that it was himself who gave Mr. Semple his first wound, which he supposed must have been the one in the thigh, as he immediately fell.

The North-West party, I was told, consisted of sixty-two persons, the greatest part of whom were clerks, and contracted servants of that Company.—They had one man killed and one wounded. The leaders who headed the party were Cuthbert Grant and Fraser (the liberated prisoner) Antoine Hoole, and Michael Bourrassa; the two former were clerks, and the two latter interpreters in the service of the North-West Company.—On the field I saw six of the North-West Company's Canadian servants, namely, Bouché, Morrin, Deschamps the elder, Joseph Hupé, Majeaux, and Lavigne.

Being brought prisoner to the Frog Plain (about four miles below the Settlement) I there saw Alexander Sutherland, Alexander Murray, and his wife, and two of William Bannerman's children, settlers, and

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Anthony M'Donell a servant, who were likewise prisoners. These settlers had been taken prisoners before the appearance of Governor Semple's party.

When I was at the Frog Plain in custody, Grant told me, that an attack would that night be made upon Fort Douglas, and if our people fired a single shot, a general massacre would ensue. "You see," observed he, "how little quarter we have shewn you; and now, if any further resistance is made, neither man, woman, nor child shall be spared."—Fraser added in French "Mr. Robertson has called us *blacks*, and he shall see that our hearts will not belie the colour of our bodies."—Being fully convinced of the inevitable destruction of the settlers, I asked Grant if there were any means by which the lives of the women and children could be saved, and entreated him to take pity and spare them.—He then said, if we would give up all public property, *viz.* that of Lord Selkirk, and the Hudson's Bay Company, we should be allowed to depart, and that he would give us a safe escort until we had passed the North-West Company's track in Lake Winipic. This he said was necessary to protect us from two other parties of half-breeds, that were every moment expected to come up the River, one of which he said was commanded by Mr. William Shaw, and the other by Simon, son of the Honourable William M'Gillivray. This proposition I wished to carry to Mr. Alexander M'Donell, the chief of the Settlement: some of Grant's men however, objected to my return, but, on his assuring them that he could answer for my return, they consented.—Several of them told me to take great care

how I acted, that I well knew it was impossible to make my escape, and that if I forfeited my word, I should be tortured to death in the most cruel manner. These people were greatly disappointed in not meeting with Mr. Robertson, who (as they told me) they would have endeavoured to take alive, and after flaying him, they would have cut his body into small bits, and boiled it afterwards for the dogs.

On my arrival at the fort, the scene of distress I there witnessed was the most painful that can be imagined. The women and children, and relatives of the slain in the horrors of despair, were lamenting the dead, and trembling for their own safety. I must here observe, that when I left the Frog Plain, it was late at night, and that Grant accompanied me, as my protector, almost to the spot on which I had seen my dearest friends fall. The shade of night hid from my view what the dawn of the following day too clearly exposed,—their mangled and disfigured bodies bearing the marks of daggers, knives, and axes, by which many had been dispatched after being wounded by fire-arms from a distance; and most of the bodies were stripped of their clothing.

After having gone three times to and from the Frog Plain, Mr. M'Donell and the half-breed chiefs came to an agreement in substance as before related. An inventory of the property being taken, the whole was then delivered up to Cuthbert Grant for the use of the North-West Company, each sheet of the inventory was signed by him, as acting for the North-West Company.

On the 22nd the settlers were much alarmed by a

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report that the half-breeds intended to offer violence to the women of the Settlement, in consequence of which, at their request, I waited on Grant and Fraser, to claim their protection. They answered that the intention of the half-breeds only related to the wife of Michael Haden, and promised me that either they themselves would stay at the fort, or send some persons, in whom we could trust.

The first time I returned from the fort to the Frog Plain, I was accompanied part of the way by the Indian Chiefs, who were going with a cart to collect the bodies of the dead, some of which they brought home, and buried in a corner of my garden. Had Governor Semple really been, (as they always called him,) their father, and his friends who had fallen, their brothers, the Indians could not have expressed greater sorrow than they did on this occasion.

On the 23rd we were ready to embark, when Grant came to us, and said, he could not allow us to proceed, as Mr. Alexander M'Donell, of the North-West Company, had sent an order for our detention, until his arrival. This was dreadful news: we were without arms, standing upon the beach, surrounded by the murderers of our friends, and in momentary fear of our wives and daughters being violated.—I reproached, entreated, and did all in my power to induce Grant to let us depart. At last, on Mr. Sheriff M'Donell's observing that he plainly perceived that Mr. Alexander M'Donell wished to defraud Grant of the honour of the day, and take all the praise to himself, Grant's pride was hurt, and he, in an intemperate manner, said, he would keep his word in spite

of M'Donell, and desired us to depart immediately without waiting for the escort, which he would send after us in a light canoe. Upon this we scrambled into the boats and pushed off.

Previous to the embarkation I received a protection from Grant, as follows:—

“ This is to certify that Mr. John Pritchard has behaved himself honourably to the North-West Company.”—

(Signed) “ CUTHBERT GRANT,
“ Clerk to the North-West Company.”

Mr. Sheriff M'Donell had also a protection, which I believe was addressed to Mr. William Shaw.

In all the conversations I had with Grant on the subject, he always avowed, that he and his party came for the express purpose of driving the settlers, and also the Hudson's Bay Company, away from the Red River. He told me his intention was to have placed a party opposite the fort, on the other side the river, and likewise a party above, and one below the fort, under the bank of the river, within gun-shot, by which means no person could go out of the fort without being shot at, and of course famine would in a short time have obliged the settlers to surrender.

The meeting on the 19th of June was accidental,—otherwise, Grant said, if they had expected us, they would have hid themselves and their horses in the woods, until we had passed, and then they would have run us in the plains like so many buffaloe, and not a man would have escaped.

In every transaction I had with Grant, he always acted as an agent of the North-West Company, whose cause he was espousing. He never pretended that his motive for taking up arms was on account of any grievance of the half-breeds, but that he was retaliating and revenging the injury done to his employers, the North-West Company,—particularly in having made Mr. Cameron a prisoner, and taking possession of Fort Gibraltar.

On the second day after we left Fort Douglas we were intercepted by Mr. Archibald Norman M'Leod of the North-West Company, accompanied by a number of his partners, and two officers of the British army, all conveyed in ten light canoes. I heard Mr. James Hughes of the North-West Company call out "Where is that fellow Semple," to which Mr. M'Donell answered, "He is dead, Sir." Other names were called, and then my own, to which I answered, and was ordered to come on shore. I handed my protection to some gentlemen of Mr. M'Leod's party. Being led to understand that the officers had been sent out by Government, I claimed the protection of one of them, and was informed by him, that he was there merely as a visitor, but, at the same time, he assured me no one should harm me. From thence I was conveyed in a canoe along with one of the North-West Company's clerks to the Rivière aux Morts, at which place the settlers were detained by Mr. M'Leod. While there, some of the partners of the North-West Company having made some unjust remarks upon my conduct, I was urged to express my feelings with some degree of warmth, at

which Mr. M'Leod called out, that if I said another word about the affairs of the Hudson's Bay and North-West Companies, he would put me in irons. I was put into a tent, and guarded by Serjeant Reinhard, late of the De Meuron regiment, now under sentence of death for having murdered his prisoner the late Owen Keveny. Next day I was called before Mr. M'Leod, and examined by him in the presence of his partners, Messrs. Leith, M'Lellan, and M'Murray.

Mr. M'Leod said, I had been active in taking the North-West Company's clerks at Pambina, and that there were very heavy charges against me. I replied, that I had a justifiable reason for all I had done, and being supported by my conscience I did not fear any responsibility to which the laws of my country would subject me. I also told him, that I was ready to give him every information relating to my conduct, and that I would scorn to deny any action in which I had borne a part. Mr. Leigh put into my hands a written note, saying, that if I gave information I should not be prosecuted, as principals could not be admitted as evidence. I told Mr. M'Leod the idea of criminating others to save myself was repugnant to my feelings, but, without claiming any indulgence, I would truly answer any question he might put to me. Mr. M'Leod then desired I would relate the circumstance of taking Pangman and the others at Pambina, which I accordingly did, in substance the same as I have already stated. During my examination, Mr. M'Leod finding me to persevere in some truths, said, he would pull down that

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spirit of mine. He likewise sent for all my papers, which were perused by himself and partners: they kept of them what they thought proper, and returned to me the rest. He then gave me a subpoena from the Court of King's Bench, Montreal, requiring my attendance for the 1st of September, in a cause the *King v. John Spencer*. I was then ordered back to a tent, and soon after Mr. Sheriff M'Donell was brought in as a prisoner, after which he was bailed to appear the 1st of September, 1817, at Montreal, if required. The settlers were detained a few days at this place, and as soon as they were gone, Mr. Bourke, myself, Patrick Corcoran, Michael Haden, and Donald M'Key, were placed together in a tent, and a guard of armed men put over us. We remained here five or six days—treated with the greatest indignity. We were frequently removed from one tent to another, apparently with a view of exposing us to the contempt of the surrounding spectators, consisting of Indians, Half-breeds, and Canadians. When Mrs. Pritchard, who was in a very precarious state of health, and who came to take what she considered a last adieu, under the idea of my going to prison in Canada, and herself thrown on the wide world without a protector, I was not allowed to speak to her but in the presence of Serjeant Reinhard.

During our stay at this place, the Indians, unperceived by the North-West gentlemen, stole into our tent, and shewed us every token of affection, and commiseration for our situation. They brought medicine to dress Mr. Bourke's wound.

As soon as Mr. M'Leod returned from Red River,

I was conveyed to Bas de la Rivière Winipic, on board a canoe, in which was Mr. Crebassa a clerk, and the before-mentioned Serjeant Reinhard. The other prisoners were in a batteau, and guarded by Primeau, an interpreter in the service of the North-West Company, and one of the most violent of the half-breeds, and who had made two different attempts to murder me when I was a prisoner at the Frog Plain.

At Bas de la Rivière we were confined in a house guarded by a centinel on the outside, and Serjeant Reinhard within. It very frequently happened that some of the half-breeds were admitted into the house, and paraded about us, and, among others, the Indian who was said to have killed Governor Semple, and who seemed particularly fond of exhibiting Mr. Semple's sword, which hung to his side.

Soon after we were brought to Bas de la Rivière, it was reported that Captain Miles Macdonell was in the neighbourhood, on his way to Red River. Immediately Mr. Archibald M'Lellan and Serjeant Reinhard began to mount cannon on different parts of the fort, and were very often practising them at firing upon the river. At this place I saw some cannon and ammunition, which had been taken by Grant's party from the Settlement on the 19th of June. Reinhard told me, that Captain Macdonnell would not be allowed to pass. I observed, that we prisoners were extremely unfortunate, as in case of a conflict with Captain Macdonell, the half-breeds would very probably murder us. Reinhard replied, that Mr. Alexander M'Donell, who was then in the fort, had said the same thing.

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10th of July. Mr. M'Leod had arrived from the Grand Rapid a few days before. He was much dissatisfied at a written statement I gave to him of the massacre of the 19th of June, in Red River. He pretended to carry on further proceedings as a magistrate,—some of us he summoned as witnesses; others he charged with criminal offences; but we were all treated as prisoners.—A party of half-breeds came into our room and put irons upon the hands of Mr. Bourke, saying, they did that of their own accord, as a punishment for his treatment to Mr. Cameron; but Mr. M'Leod, the magistrate, and several of his partners were then in the fort, and, of course, must have sanctioned this act of the half-breeds, which was much aggravated by Mr. Bourke's being thereby disabled from dressing his wound, which was still in a bad state.

Mr. Bourke and the other prisoners were embarked on board different canoes, destined to Fort William, and, two days after, I was embarked, with Messrs. Simon Fraser, Charles Grant, and Fraser the half-breed chief, who always sat between the other two gentlemen, and messed with them as long as he remained in our company.—The second or third day from Bas de la Rivière, we met Mr. Daniel M'Kenzie, who said he was going to Red River, and Fraser, the half-breed chief, embarked with him.—At Lac la Pluie I was at first admitted into the fort, but almost instantly was ordered out again, and put under a tent, at the bottom of the hill, amongst the dirt and filth of the animals of the fort.

The 22nd July I arrived at Fort William, where

I was shewn into a room, to which I was told to confine myself until further orders, with the exception of going into a back yard. Being told that Mr. M'Gillivray had said, that he did not consider me as a prisoner, I inquired of Mr. Tate (the person who had confined me) if the order for my imprisonment had been withdrawn ;—he said, it had not.

On the 13th day of August, Lord Selkirk arrived, and encamped near to Fort William. Soon after Captain D'Orsonnens came into my room, and said, Lord Selkirk desired to see me : at the same time he informed me, that Mr. M'Gillivray disavowed my being a prisoner, and said I was free to go where I pleased.

Lord Selkirk, in his capacity of magistrate, questioned me as to my knowledge of the events that had taken place at Red River during the two preceding years. I then gave to him in substance, the same information that I have narrated in the foregoing pages.—Messrs. Pambrun and Nolin of the Hudson's Bay Company, Louis Blondeau one of the North-West Company's guides, and other persons, were likewise examined by his Lordship.

The next day I saw Messrs. M'Nab and M'Pherson, go to Fort William and return with Mr. William M'Gillivray in their custody, having arrested him by virtue of Lord Selkirk's warrant. Soon after, I saw other partners of the North-West Company, who had been arrested in like manner, brought to Lord Selkirk's encampment. The latter persons, as I was informed by Messrs. M'Nab and M'Pherson, having refused to yield obedience to their warrants, they

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were obliged to call in the assistance of Lord Selkirk's servants to enforce the execution of them.

Soon after this I was sent by Lord Selkirk to obtain intelligence respecting the fate of the settlers who had been driven away from Red River, and also to carry into the interior a proclamation of His Excellency the Governor in Chief, commanding all persons to keep the peace. Wishing to avoid as much as possible all collision with the North-West Company, I was passing over the carrying place at Lac la Pluie in the night, when ten armed men rushed out of the bushes, and took me a prisoner to the North-West Company's Fort, where I found Mr. John Dease in charge of that post. He said that what his men had done was in obedience to his order. After some altercation, and a detention of about twelve hours, Mr. Dease allowed me the choice of proceeding, or returning, at the same time telling me that if I persevered I should repent it. Knowing of the preparations at Bas de la Rivière, I determined to return, and when I informed Mr. Dease of my intention, he observed I did well, and that I owed my life to his having arrested my progress.

J. PRITCHARD.

London, 4th May, 1819.

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**NARRATIVE of PIERRE CHRYSOLOGUE
PAMBRUN of Montreal, formerly Lieute-
nant in the Voltigeur Corps of Lower
Canada.**

Engaged in April 1815 as Clerk to the Hudson's Bay Company, and accompanied Mr. Colin Robertson, an agent of that Company, into the Indian Territories in the ensuing month. At the Lake of the Woods, we received information that the Colony at Red River had been broken up, and saw several of the Settlers going towards Canada in the North-West canoes, and understood from the canoe-men, that the remainder had been driven away by the Half-breeds. In consequence we proceeded towards Jack River, at the North end of Lake Winnipeg, supposing that the colonists had gone thither, and, on our way, we met Mr. John Pritchard, on the east side of the Lake, who confirmed the intelligence we had received, and stated the whole to have been done at the instigation of the North-West Company, and especially of Mr. Duncan Cameron, one of their partners. We proceeded on to Jack River, and arrived there about the latter end of July, and found about twenty families of the Settlers from the Red River, who farther confirmed the intelligence before received with fuller details.

Mr. Robertson encouraged the Settlers to return to the Red River, and succeeded with the whole of them. After waiting at Jack River, about eight or nine days, making arrangements for their return, we proceeded to the Settlement, and arrived at the Forks, about the twentieth of August, where we found Mr. John M'Leod, a clerk of the Hudson's Bay Company, who had been allowed to remain as a trader, with three or four servants, and who had taken care of the crops sown by the colonists.— These were afterwards secured by them on their arrival, and proved very abundant for the quantity of seed sown, which, as I understood, had been about fifteen or sixteen bushels of wheat, about ten bushels of barley and peas, and other grain, to the extent of thirty bushels in all. Exclusive of the above quantity, which had been sown by the servants of the Colony, several of the Settlers had sown grain in their own lots, but the crops of these latter were destroyed by the horses of the half-breeds and others running loose therein.

I afterwards went up the River to Pambina, and continued there till about the beginning of January, when Governor Semple, who had arrived at the Colony about the close of the navigation, came up to that place, and I accompanied him on a tour to the different posts on the Assiniboine and Red Rivers; after which I returned again to Pambina, and continued in that neighbourhood till about the twenty-second of March. At this period the North West post at Pambina was entered by Mr. M'Donell, the Sheriff of the Colony. I was absent, purchasing

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provisions in the Plains, but was sent for about the 20th March, and was requested by him to convey down to Fort Douglas, Peter Pangman (dit Bostonnais) Hesse, Alexander Fraser, and Cotonohaye, four half-breeds whom he had deemed it necessary to detain as prisoners, in consequence of his being informed that the said half-breeds were appearing to assemble in a hostile manner, and had used threats to prevent their hunters continuing to provide food for the Settlement. In consequence I conveyed the said four persons as prisoners to Fort Douglas, where I delivered them to Mr. Colin Robertson; and, a few days afterwards, Cotonohaye and Alexander Fraser were set at liberty, on promising, in my presence, that they would not join any party assembling to injure the Colony, and the other two were in like manner discharged, some time afterwards, as I understood, after entering into a similar engagement. On the 12th day of April 1816, I was sent by Governor Semple to the Hudson's Bay trading post at Qu'Appelle, being furnished with a letter of instructions of which the following is a copy:—

Fort Douglas, 12th April, 1816.

“ Mr. PAMBRUN,

“ SIR,

“ Having received intelligence from various quarters that the agents of the North-West Company intend attempting to intercept our boats in their passage from Qu'Appelle hither, you will proceed as soon as possible with the men whom Mr. Robertson will place under your orders to Brandon House. When there, you will concert

" with Mr. Peter Fidler how far it may be advisable
 " to proceed to Qu'Appelle, or remain at Brandon.
 " In either case, however, the power of deciding will
 " rest entirely with yourself. It is my wish that
 " you carefully avoid every act of hostility, until
 " fully justified by the conduct of our enemies. The
 " half-breeds having been ordered to assemble at the
 " French Fort at Qu'Appelle, any act of hostility
 " committed by them must be considered as com-
 " mitted by immediate and authorised agents of
 " the North-West Company, and repelled or retali-
 " ated accordingly. I trust, however, that your
 " moderation, and the cooler reflection of our op-
 " ponents, will prevent any serious disturbance
 " taking place. Should I however, be unfortu-
 " nately mistaken, you will remember that the
 " quarrels in which you have before taken part
 " may have been greatly more important, but could
 " not be more just.

" I am, Sir,

" Your's sincerely,

(Signed)

" ROBERT SEMPLE."

When I arrived at Qu'Appelle, I found at the
 trading post of the North-West Company, near the
 post of the Hudson's Bay Company, a great num-
 ber of Metifs, or half-breeds, assembled, who had
 been collected from a great distance, some of them
 having come from Cumberland House, and others
 from the Upper Saskatchewan, or Fort des Prairies,
 as they themselves stated. They uttered violent
 threats against the Colony on Red River, and were

furnished with ammunition and other supplies by Alexander M'Donell, a partner of the North-West Company, then in charge of the said Company's post at Qu'Appelle. In the beginning of May, Mr. James Sutherland, commanding at the Hudson's Bay post, embarked, with myself and twenty-two men, in five boats loaded with twenty-two packs of furs, and about six hundred bags of pemmican, and a quantity of dried and salt provisions, and twenty-three stand of arms.

As we were going down the river, about the 12th of May, and had entered a rapid where we were embarrassed with the difficulties of the navigation, we were attacked by a party of about forty-nine servants of the North-West Company, partly Canadians, and partly half-breeds, who were lying in wait for us ashore, under the command of Cuthbert Grant, Thomas M'Kay, Roderick M'Kenzie, and Peter Pangman Bostonois, clerks or interpreters of the North-West Company, and Brisbois, a guide. They took us prisoners, and brought us to the fort of the North-West Company, where I saw Mr. Alexander M'Donell, who avowed that it was by his order that Grant and the others had taken, and forcibly seized us, and our property. The said M'Donell also declared, that it was his intention to starve the colonists and servants of the Hudson's Bay Company, till he should make them surrender, and that it was with a view to starve them that he had taken the pemmican or provisions, which Sutherland was conveying to the Colony. When the servants of the Hudson's Bay Company had

been kept prisoners at M'Donell's post for five days, the said Alexander M'Donell liberated them all, except myself, after having made them promise not to take up arms against the North-West Company.

During the time I remained prisoner at Qu'Appelle, a party of half-breeds, under the command of Michael Bourassa, arrived from the Saskatchewan. Alexander M'Donell's party received them with a salute of small arms, and the flags were hoisted. I saw a blacksmith, by the name of Gardepie, a servant in the employ of the North-West Company, at that time employed in their fort, making lances and daggers; also repairing guns and pistols for the different half-breeds then going upon the expedition for the destruction of the colony. At the latter end of the month of May the party left Qu'Appelle, under Alexander M'Donell's command. They were armed each with a gun, pistol, bow and arrows, lance, and dagger. They also took with them two brass swivels, which I was told by Alexander M'Donell and others, were taken from the Colony the year before. During their stay at Qu'Appelle, their whole amusement was in shooting at the mark, singing war songs, practising with their lances, and telling each other how they would kill the English—meaning the settlers—and they also often told me they were going to kill them like rabbits.

Towards the end of May, Alexander M'Donell embarked and proceeded down the river in the boats previously taken, and other boats, which were escorted by a party of half-breeds on horseback, who followed by land, carrying with him the provisions

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and furs which his people had taken on the 12th. I was made to embark in one of the boats, and as they were coming down the river I heard Alexander M'Donell say, that the business of last year at the Colony was but a trifle in comparison with that which would take place this year; and that the North-West Company, and half-breeds, were now one and the same. At the Forks of the Assiniboine River we encamped waiting the arrival of Allan M'Donell, who was expected to join us with a party from Swan River. The day after his arrival an Indian chief, who was encamped a short distance from us, was sent for, and Mr. Alexander M'Donell, in presence of many of his people, addressed the Indian and some of his men in French, and it was interpreted in the Indian language by Joseph Primeau. I heard the whole speech, and the purport of it was as follows:—"My Friends and Relations, "I address you with bashfulness, for not having "more tobacco to present you. It is the English "people who are the cause of it. They have "stopped the supplies that were coming for you: "You know who I mean—those that make you "believe that they are cultivating the lands for the "good of the Indians—but don't you believe them. "They are spoiling the lands that belong to you "and to your relations the Metifs only. They are "driving among the buffaloe, and will render the "Indians poor and miserable, but the North-West "Company will drive them away, since the Indians "did not choose to do it. If the settlers resist, the "ground shall be drenched with their blood. None

"should be spared;—we do not need the assistance of the Indians, but nevertheless we would be glad if some of their young men would join us."

When the party came within a few miles of the Hudson's Bay Company's post at Brandon House, *viz.* to a rapid called La Barriere, Alexander M'Donell sent forward Fraser, Cuthbert Grant, Louis Lacerte, Bonhomme Montour, Thomas M'Kay, Ant. Hoole, and about thirty others. I was left under the charge of Rodrick M'Kenzie, a clerk of the North-West Company, and a party of Canadians. Towards the evening, Alexander Fraser and a Canadian by the name of Topie, arrived at the rapid, who escorted me as prisoner to the North-West fort. On the way they informed me that the Hudson's Bay post at Brandon House had been taken by the half-breeds, the men made prisoners, and the property taken.

After I was brought to the Hudson's Bay post, I saw the Hudson's Bay Company's property carried to the North-West fort, consisting of furs, goods, provisions, and also the private property belonging to the servants of the Hudson's Bay Company. Part of that property was divided among the North-West servants.

After this M'Donell divided his force into brigades. Cuthbert Grant, La Certe, Fraser, and Hoole were appointed to command different brigades, and Seraphim Lamarre acted as lieutenant under M'Donell. The whole force amounted to one hundred and twenty men, (amongst whom were

six common Indians, who were related to some of the half-breeds,) who were with Alexander M'Donell. Mr. M'Donell then proceeded in his expedition as far as Portage des Prairies, within about sixty miles of the colony, and, on arriving there, the provisions and furs were brought ashore, and the bags of pemmican arranged in a square form so as to form a rampart, or small fort, guarded by two brass swivels, which, as I was informed by M'Donell himself, as well as others, had been taken from the colony the year before.

About the 18th of June, two days after their arrival at Portage des Prairies, Alexander M'Donell sent Cuthbert Grant, Alexander Fraser, Antoine Hoole, and Thomas M'Kay, with between sixty and seventy men, to attack the Colony (as I was told by several of themselves before they set out) and amongst others—whose names I cannot recollect—by Alexander Fraser, Thomas M'Kay, and one Hesse. M'Donell, with about forty of his men, remained to guard the provisions. Even previous to our arriving at Portage des Prairies, while at Brandon House, I had heard Alexander Fraser and several others describe various modes in which, according to circumstances, they intended to attack the Colony; to wit, that they would make prisoners of all they found out of the fort, and if it should be found that the fort at the Colony was strong enough to make it unsafe to attack it openly during the day, and the people in the fort had plenty of provisions, they would, in the night, bring bundles of hay to the pickets, and set fire to them in order

that the buildings might take fire, and that they would catch the people as they ran out ; or if there should be only a small stock of provisions in the fort they would put themselves in ambush and shoot, if they could not take, those who went out for fish, food, or water, till the fort should be compelled to surrender.

In the evening of the 20th of June a messenger arrived from Cuthbert Grant, who reported that they had killed Governor Semple with five of his officers and sixteen men, on which Alexander M'Donell, and all the gentlemen with him (particularly Seraphim Lemarre, Allan M'Donell, and John Sive-wright) shouted with joy. Alexander M'Donell then went to announce the news to the rest of his people, crying out "*sacré nom de Dieu, bonnes nouvelles, vingt-deux des Anglois de tués.*" Peter Pangman then inquired whether any of the half-breeds had been killed ; and on being told of one, he said the deceased was his cousin, and that his death must be revenged ; that the affair must not end there ; that the settlers must all be killed ; and not one be allowed to leave the river ; for that as long as one of these dogs was alive, they would be coming back. On this Alexander M'Donell sent two messengers with orders to Grant, to detain the settlers till his arrival.

On my arrival with M'Donell at Fort Douglas, all the settlers were away, and the place in possession of the half-breeds, servants of the North-West Company, under Cuthbert Grant. A short time afterwards, Archibald Norman M'Leod, and Alex-

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under M'Kenzie, arrived as agents for the North West Company (as the engagés told me) and also James Leith, John M'Donald, Hugh M'Gillis, John M'Laughlin, Simon Fraser, Archibald M'Lehman, John Duncan Campbell, and John Haldane, all partners of the North-West Company, together with Thomas M'Murray, a partner or clerk, and Allen M'Donell, then a clerk, but now a partner, of the Company, as I have been informed. All these gentlemen treated the half-breeds with great distinction, after their arrival. On or about the 26th of June, 1816, a council was held by them with the half-breeds who were assembled at the distance of about an arpent (64 yards) from the fort. This council was held just after dinner; and I saw every one of the partners, whose names I have before-mentioned, go from the fort to the assembled half-breeds, to whom Archibald Norman M'Leod made a speech and gave presents. I was also going to the assembly to hear the speech, but was met by one of the clerks of the North-West Company, who desired me to walk back, with a view, I supposed, of preventing my hearing what was said.

When at table where the partners were assembled, I heard, at different times, several of the half-breeds mention their having killed, and assisted in killing, the colonists, and the partners always expressed themselves pleased with what had been done; and I have heard, at different times, every one of the partners before-mentioned express his approbation of the conduct of the half-breeds towards the colonists, and their own satisfaction at being in posses-

sion of the fort. Several of the Merino sheep belonging to the Colony were killed, while the above-mentioned partners remained at Fort Douglas, and served up at their table. A schooner belonging to the Colony, which was in the river in front of the fort, at a few rods distance, was drawn ashore, broken up, and the iron work and plank of the same brought into the fort. Hugh M'Gillis superintended the work of destroying the schooner, and I saw other partners looking on occasionally, and expressing approbation while this was doing. A few days after the above-mentioned council, and speech to the half-breeds, and while they yet remained in front of the fort, the greater part of the hull of the said schooner, as I understood from several freemen and others, was subsequently burnt.

Instead of being allowed to go to Jack River, after the colonists had been driven away to that place, I was taken to Fort William as a prisoner, but without any warrant having been issued against me. At Fort William I saw several of the half-breed and Canadian servants of the North-West Company, who had acknowledged in my presence that they were concerned in the attack upon the Colony, and in killing Governor Semple and the colonists. I also saw at Fort William many of the packs of furs taken from Mr. Sutherland (at Qu'Appelle, and also at the pillage of Brandon House) received into one of the stores of the North West Company, where I also saw other furs. Some of the half-breed and Canadian servants of the North-West Company, who had been engaged in the at-

tack against the Colony, (and who had not got presents at Red River) received at Fort William presents of clothing of the same description as those given at Red River, and they informed me that the same was an extraordinary allowance given for their good conduct at that place, and bestowed only upon those present upon that occasion. About eleven or twelve days after my arrival, and whilst detained at Fort William, the Earl of Selkirk (about the 10th August, 1816) arrived in the River Kaminstiquia, and, on his demand, I was sent over to him, and made my deposition on oath before his Lordship as a magistrate, the day after joining him, of the principal facts herein-before mentioned.

Landon, the 16th March, 1819.

(Signed) P. C. PAMBRUN.

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**NARRATIVE of FREDERICK DAMIEN
HEURTER, late Acting Serjeant-Major, and
Clerk in the Regiment of De Meuron.**

A SHORT time before the regiment was reduced, I obtained my discharge, by order of Lieutenant-General Sir Gordon Drummond, after my enlisted period of seven years was expired ; and engaged myself at Montreal in April 1816, for three years, as a clerk in the service of the North-West Company, at the yearly salary of £. 100.—Before I left that place I was told by Mr. Archibald Norman M'Leod, a partner of the said Company, that I must by all means take with me to the Indian country, the regimentals that I had, saying, " We shall have occasion " to shew a little military practice in the interior." I embarked at La Chine the 2d of May, with Alexander M'Kenzie, commonly called the Emperor, Daniel M'Kenzie, and Robert Henry, partners, and Donald M'Kenzie, Thomas M'Murray, John Dease, Charles Grant, and John Ferris, clerks of the North-West Company, and also Charles Reinhard, late a Serjeant in De Meuron's regiment, who likewise obtained his discharge, before the regiment was reduced, and also

engaged himself as a clerk at the yearly salary of £80.

We embarked in three large canoes navigated by fourteen men each. At Coteau du Lac, Archibald Norman M'Leod embarked in the canoes with Lieutenants Missani and Brumby of De Meuron's regiment, and their servants, who were privates of the same regiment.

On the 31st of May I arrived at Fort William, where I remained three days, and was desired, together with Charles Reinhard, to go into a store to choose arms for ourselves, which we accordingly did. At Fort William, the large canoes were changed for five North canoes, and I set out before the rest in a loaded canoe, and was overtaken by the brigade next day, when I joined them.—At a portage about three days journey from Fort William, we came up with a loaded canoe navigated by two Iroquois, and two Canadians, one of whom, named Laverdure, was a man between sixty and seventy years of age, who was too weak to work as hard as the others and to carry over the portages. Archibald Norman M'Leod, asked him why he did not carry over the portages? and when the man complained of being too old and infirm, M'Leod knocked him down, and kicked him severely, calling him at the same time abusive names. Lieutenant Missani, at last, took M'Leod by the arm and spoke to him.—At the portage near the fort at Lac la Pluie, the gentlemen stopped a little while to dress, when Lieutenant Missani came to me and told me, that it was M'Leod's desire, that Charles Reinhard and I should put on our regimentals, which we

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accordingly did.—After we were dressed, M'Leod said to me, "The fort at Lac la Pluie is a great place of resort for Indians, and it is necessary that you all appear in regimentals to shew them that you belong to the king." At the fort, M'Leod made a speech to a great assembly of Indians, which I did not hear, happening to be out of the way, but as I returned, Charles Reinhard told me, that M'Leod had desired all the gentlemen to be present, meaning Lieutenants Missani, Brumby, their two servants, Reinhard, and myself, in our regimentals. I then asked Reinhard if he knew the reason of M'Leod desiring me to be present at the council. He stated, that M'Leod had presented the two officers, their two servants, and himself, to the Indians, as people belonging to the king, and at the same time, ordered the Indians to follow him to Red River.—I saw two large kegs of liquor, and some tobacco, which were given to the Indians on the occasion.

When the brigade left Lac la Pluie, an Indian chief and his son embarked with M'Leod in his canoe, and about twenty other Indians accompanied the brigade in their own canoes. At Lac la Pluie, James Leith, a partner of the North-West Company, joined the brigade with a sixth canoe, and we arrived at the post called Fort Alexander at Bas de la Rivière Winipic, on the 18th of June, where Reinhard and I, with a person named Wilbrenner, were ordered by M'Leod and Alexander M'Kenzie, to make ball cartridges, which we accordingly did.

When I arrived at Bas de la Rivière I was in plain clothes, and Lieutenant Missani asked me, why I was

not in uniform, and when I said I did not like to wear my uniform, Missani, replied that it was Mr. M'Leod's desire, and that I ought to put them on, which I accordingly did. At Bas de la Rivière there were two pieces of brass artillery, three-pounders, which are now in Fort Douglas, the property of the Earl of Selkirk, and twelve military musquets and bayonets, with pouches and accoutrements complete, which, as well as two cases of trading guns brought with the brigade from Fort William, Reinhard and I were ordered by Alexander M'Kenzie, to distribute to such of the men as had no arms, which we accordingly did. We were also ordered to instruct them in the manual and platoon exercise, which, however, the men refused to submit to. With the assistance of Reinhard, I also helped to mount the field pieces on field carriages. A Canadian, named Forcier, positively refused to take a gun, and most of the men took them with great reluctance, observing to me, that they were not engaged to take up arms and to make war like soldiers,—that they were only engaged as voyageurs, and wished to do their duty as such,—to navigate the canoes, and carry the goods over the carrying-places.

The brigade left Bas de la Rivière, and set out for Red River on the 19th of June, being joined by John Haldane, and James Hughes, partners, and by John Crebassa, and one Roan, clerks, and by William Shaw a half-breed, and also a clerk of the North-West Company, with three more canoes and a batteau, in which were conveyed the two pieces of artillery and their carriages. Some of the Indians from

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Lac la Pluie remained behind at Bas de la Rivière, but most of them accompanied the brigade in their own canoes. Being delayed by the wind a day and a half at Portage des François, the brigade did not arrive at Rivière aux Morts, (called by the English, Netley Creek, about forty miles from Red River Settlement,) till the 21st of June, at three P. M. when the brigade stopped and encamped in the evening. After we arrived at Netley Creek, Charles Reinhard and I were ordered by M'Leod, and Alexander M'Kenzie, to take charge of the two field pieces, and prepare cartridges for them; and Alexander M'Kenzie told me that this was the place where the necessary arrangements were to be made for the attack upon the Colony. When I remarked that their force was too weak to make an attack, M'Kenzie replied, that they were not weak,—that they then expected all the brigades from the North,—that Mr. John M'Donald was to come from Swan River with about forty men, to form the rear guard,—and that there was another partner of the name of Alexander M'Donell to come down from the Qu'Appelle River with at least eighty half-breeds, who were to make the first attack on the colony.

The brigade waited, as far as I could judge, for the arrival of the expected canoes, till the morning of the 23rd of June, and then set out without them for the Colony. They had gone but a short distance when they were met by seven or eight boats conveying a number of men, women and children, who, as I soon heard, were the settlers and others driven from the Colony, under the charge of Mr. Alexander

M'Donell the Sheriff. As soon as they came in sight, Archibald Norman M'Leod ordered his brigade to lower their sails and to put ashore, and the men at the same time were ordered to load their guns, and prepare for action, which they did in great haste. The colonists were also ordered by M'Leod to stop. I then heard that a rencontre had taken place between the colonists and the half-breeds, in which Governor Semple and twenty of his people had lost their lives. After remaining on shore a few minutes, Mr. M'Leod ordered the whole of the canoes and boats to pass to the other side of the river, where a tent was pitched, into which was immediately committed, as a prisoner, a Mr. Pritchard, one of the settlers, with two sentries over him. M'Leod then ordered me and others to make a strict search for papers among the baggage belonging to the colonists, to open all trunks, boxes, and packages, and to take possession of all letters, papers, or account-books whatever; which search was made by myself, Reinhard, and other clerks, under the superintendence and direction of M'Leod himself, and of Alexander M'Kenzie, but without any search warrant. No key being found for the trunks of the late Governor Semple, M'Leod ordered them to be broken open, which was accordingly done by Mr. Thomas M'Murray, with an axe.

Soon afterwards, Alexander M'Kenzie, in a canoe accompanied by Lieutenants Missani and Brumby, set out for Fort Douglas at the Colony, and M'Leod ordered the rest of the brigade, with the boats conveying the settlers, to go to Netley Creek, where the

tents were again pitched. Mr. Alexander M'Donell the Sheriff, who had charge of the settlers, a Mr. Bourke, and three other men, viz. Michael Haden, Donald M'Kay, and Patrick Corcoran, were made prisoners by orders of M'Leod. Next day Lieutenants Missani and Brumby, with Alexander M'Kenzie, returned from Fort Douglas. Having ordered some of the men to bale the water out of the boat in which were the two field pieces, Lieutenant Missani said to me, in the German language, "Dont uncover the artillery. We do not wish these people (meaning the settlers) to see the guns that we have with us," and I accordingly stopt the men from uncovering the guns at that time. In preparing for action on our first meeting the settlers, I was putting a flint in my gun, upon which Lieutenant Missani told me, that I ought not to allow myself to be seen by the settlers with a musquet in my hand, while I was dressed in my uniform, and, at the same time, the said Lieutenant Missani, as well as Lieutenant Brumby, took their swords and landed. At Netley Creek Mrs. M'Lean, the widow of a Mr. Alexander M'Lean, who had been killed in the affair of the 19th, was in a tent with her family, where I saw and heard her and them crying aloud. In the afternoon John Thomson, and Hugh M'Gillis, partners of the North-West Company, arrived from their wintering stations, (as I was informed,) at English River, and Lesser Slave Lake, and about ten o'clock at night, John M'Laughlin, and Archibald M'Lellan, partners of the North-West Company, also arrived; the former, as was stated, from Fort William, and the

latter from Athabasca. Next day, the 24th, John M'Donald partner of the Company, with three canoes, arrived, as was stated, from Swan River, and John Duncan Campbell, also a partner, arrived, as it was stated, from Fort Cumberland. The same, or next day, Mr. Alexander M'Donell was liberated and went away with the settlers and boats under his charge. The same day Lieutenants Missani and Brumby set out with James Hughes for Fort William. Next morning Charles Grant was sent with a canoe to see whether the settlers and boats had actually set off for Jack River, and when he returned, reported that they had.

On the 25th, or 26th, I went to Fort Douglas with M'Leod, Alexander M'Kenzie, Leith, Haldane, M'Gillis, M'Lellan, M'Laughlin, M'Donald, Campbell, Henry, and John Thompson, together with Simon Fraser, who had also joined the brigade at the rendezvous at Netley Creek, all partners of the North-West Company. At Fort Douglas the brigade was received with discharges of artillery and small arms, the place being in possession of Alexander M'Donell, a partner, having under his command, Cuthbert Grant, Alexander Fraser, Roderick M'Kenzie, Thomas M'Kay, Bastonois Pangman, Louis La Certe, Antoine Hoole, Michael Bourassa, and Robert Montour, half-breeds, clerks, or interpreters, and a great number of other half-breeds and servants of the North-West Company.

On my arrival at the fort, I saw Archibald Norman M'Leod, and his partners take the same management and direction of the fort, and make the same

use of the property it contained, as I had observed them to do at any of the posts belonging to the North-West Company, and as they had done with any property which lawfully belonged to them. The half-breeds on their part were entirely under the orders and control of M'Leod, and his partners, and as subservient to their commands as I had observed any other clerks or servants of the North-West Company to be, and on the present occasion they were received and treated by M'Leod and his partners, as faithful servants who had rendered a most important service to the Company, by which they were employed. On my arrival, I went into the principal house at the place, where I found Archibald Norman M'Leod, and most of his partners, in the apartments which had been lately occupied by Governor Semple, in which still remained a quantity of books and some other articles which, I was informed, and believe, to have been chiefly the property of that gentleman. All the half-breeds were then assembled in a large outer room, which had served as a mess-room for the officers of the Colony, when such of the half-breeds, and others as were not actually at table with the partners, were called into the Governor's apartment, where I saw Archibald Norman M'Leod, (in presence of Alexander M'Kenzie, John M'Laughlin, and most of their party,) shake them heartily by the hand, give them each a dram, express the happiness he felt at seeing them, and thank them for what they had done, and for their attachment to the North-West Company.

Next day the half-breeds, and other servants of the North-West Company, were assembled behind the principal house at Fort Douglas, when Archibald Norman M'Leod, in presence of Alexander M'Kenzie, John M'Laughlin, and most of his partners above-named, made a speech, in which he told the half-breeds, and others who had been engaged in the affair of the 19th of June, that he was very happy to see them assembled there,—that they had defended themselves and their lands well,—that the English had no right whatever to build upon their lands without their permission,—that he had brought with him clothing for forty of them,—that he did not expect to meet so many of them there, but that the rest should receive the like articles on the arrival of the canoes in the fall. He then exhorted them to continue to defend their lands, and to prevent the English from coming into the River any more, and, after this speech, M'Leod said to me, “What do you think of these fellows, Mr. Heurter,—do you think his Lordship will ever get the better of them?” M'Leod went, accompanied by Alexander M'Kenzie, and all his partners, and the half-breeds and others on horseback, to the Forks, where he made a speech, through an interpreter named Joseph Primaux, to two Sautoux chiefs, named Peguisse, and L'Homme Noir, or the Black Man, and their bands, in which I heard him reproach them for having refused to take up arms against the Colony when called upon to do so, and for having allowed the English to take Duncan Cameron and send him away a prisoner. He called

them a band of dogs, and threatened to punish them very severely if they ever dared to befriend the English again.

I rode the same day to the field, where Governor Semple and many people had lately lost their lives, in company with Archibald Norman M'Leod, Alexander M'Kenzie, John M'Donald, John M'Laughlin, Leith, Campbell, and M'Lellan, with the half-breeds and other servants of the Company, who had been, as I was informed, employed on that occasion,—all on horseback. At this period, scarcely a week after the 19th of June, I saw a number of human bodies scattered about the plain, and nearly reduced to skeletons, there being very little flesh then adhering to the bones, and I was informed, on the spot, that many of the bodies had been partly devoured by dogs or wolves.—This spectacle, at which I was greatly shocked, was viewed with every mark of satisfaction, and even of exultation, by the persons by whom I was accompanied on this occasion. All were laughing heartily at the jests which each strove to pass. The half-breeds were eagerly contending to point out to the approbation of their masters their particular feats on the 19th of June, which were listened to with pleasure, but I particularly remarked that the approbation of Archibald Norman M'Leod, Alexander M'Kenzie, and John M'Donald, seemed to be the principal object of the desire of the half-breeds and others, and was lavishly bestowed on such as pointed out to them the deeds of cruelty by which they claimed distinction.—There was one grave, said to be that of Duncan M'Naughton, a servant of the Hudson's Bay

Company, close to the path on which I rode towards the place where Governor Semple and the rest of his followers were killed, and, in passing that grave, John M'Donald, partner of the North-West Company, said to me, "There lies a great rascal, who well "deserved the fate he met with,—I knew him in his "own country."—But I have since been informed, that this M'Naughton did not exceed twenty-six years of age, and that John M'Donald has been thirty years in America. In passing the same grave, on the way back to the fort, John M'Laughlin, partner of the North-West Company, pointed out to me a spot, at a considerable distance, from which Michael Bourassa had shot Duncan M'Naughton while running along the path towards the fort, and asked, with much apparent satisfaction, if I did not think it was an excellent shot.—Alexander M'Donell, partner of the North-West Company, praised to M'Leod and his other partners, an old Canadian, named François Deschamps, as a person who had distinguished himself by his zeal in their service. This Deschamps is generally reputed and believed to have committed acts of cruelty in murdering the wounded when calling for quarter; and, in recounting the deeds of this man to his partners, Alexander M'Donell remarked, "what a fine vigorous old man "he is."

There was a scene of rejoicing the same evening at the fort, the half-breeds being painted and dancing naked, in the manner of savages, to the great amusement of their masters. I had not seen the half-breeds painted on any other occasion, and from my own

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knowledge I can state that it is not their usual custom. The day after visiting the field, orders were given for destroying a schooner belonging to the Colony. Hugh M'Gillis, a partner of the North-West Company, superintended the unrigging and stripping the schooner of cordage, blocks, iron-work, and other articles, which could be turned to any use. This was done at the water side, just below and in front of Fort Douglas, and all the last-mentioned partners, namely, Archibald Norman M'Leod, M'Kenzie, M'Donald, M'Laughlin, Leith, Haldane, Campbell, M'Lellan, Henry, and Fraser, were present at the fort while this work was performing, and looking on with approbation. These articles were lodged by the direction of M'Gillis, in the stores of the fort, and the planks of the deck were also torn up, and conveyed to the fort, and one of the masts was erected as a flag-staff at Fort Douglas, where it now stands. Orders were at last given to set fire to the hull when the wind should favour, which was accordingly done by the half-breeds, a few days afterwards, by immediate direction from Alexander M'Donell, when the wind blew from the northward.

During the time that Archibald Norman M'Leod, Alexander M'Kenzie, and their partners, were at Fort Douglas, Cuthbert Grant, Alexander Fraser, Antoine Hoole, Peter Paugman Bastonois, Louis Lacerte, Michael Bourassa, Robert Montour, William Shaw, Antoine Hoole, Francis Deschamps, Rodrick M'Kenzie, and Thomas M'Kay, half-breeds and clerks, or interpreters in the service of the North-West Company, as well as old François Deschamps

above-mentioned, all of whom, as was stated to me as the time, (except Peter Pangman, William Shaw, Rodrick M'Kenzie, and Robert Montour) had been engaged in the affair of the 19th of June, daily sat down at the same table with the partners above-named, of the North-West Company, at which Archibald Norman M'Leod was president; and they usually messed at the same table with the partners of the Company whenever they were together, the same as other clerks and interpreters in the Company's employment.

On the 28th or 29th of June, Archibald Norman M'Leod, Alexander M'Kenzie, and all the partners of the North-West Company above-mentioned, (except Archibald M'Lellan, and Alexander M'Donell) set off for the Grand Rapids of the Saskatchewan, with a brigade of seven or eight canoes, and a boat. John M'Laughlin, and Alexander Fraser the half-breed, embarked in the boat, taking with them the two brass field-pieces which had been brought from Bas de la Rivère, with a stock of ammunition, round and grape shot, which I delivered to them from the stores of the colony. The departure of the grand brigade (of which Archibald Norman M'Leod seemed to take the chief command) was saluted with discharges of artillery from Fort Douglas. The same day, John George M'Tavish, and John Stewart, partners of the North-West Company, arrived, and after remaining about an hour with M'Donell and M'Lellan, went away again, with every appearance of being highly pleased at seeing the fort, and property it contained, in their possession. A few days afterwards, Alexander

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M'Donell and Archibald M'Lellan set out, leaving Seraphim Lamare in charge of Fort Douglas, where Cuthbert Grant and other half-breeds, to the number of about forty, also remained, with orders to prevent the English from returning, and (besides keeping a guard at the fort) to keep a piquet guard at the Image Plain, about twelve miles lower down on the bank of the river, of which I took the command myself, for the first four days, by order of Alexander M'Donell. In the month of July, a cow and bull belonging to the Colony, were killed by Cuthbert Grant, for the use of the clerks and servants of the North-West Company, at Fort Douglas.—I have often heard Francis Deschamps (the son) boast that he had put to death Mr. Wilkinson, the Secretary of Governor Semple. I once asked him, in what manner he had put Mr. Wilkinson to death. He told me that he shot him betwixt the two shoulders. A half-breed named Holms, who had stripped Mr. Wilkinson of his clothes, when laying dead on the ground, and who wore Mr. Wilkinson's coat, at that time was then standing before us. Deschamp pointed out to me with his fingers in the coat, saying, "Voici l'endroit où ma balle est entrée." I then asked him again, if it was a considerable distance from which he shot him. He said it was quite a short distance; that Mr. Wilkinson was running before him towards the fort, but as he, Deschamps, was a better runner than Mr. Wilkinson, he soon overtook him, and then he took a good aim at him, and killed him. I have also heard Michael Bourassa say, that he (Bourassa) had killed Duncan M'Naughton. Antoine Hoole has also

described to me, and to others in my hearing, the manner in which he killed one of the English, named (as I believe) William Moore. Hoole informed me that he had placed himself under cover of some pickets, which were round a grave near the place where Governor Semple was killed, and that he then saw the said person, William Moore, as (I believe) attempting to save himself by flight, and in so doing descend into a gully which crosses the path, and which is about fifty yards distant from the grave ;— that during the time the said person was passing the gully, he was concealed from the sight of Hoole, who, waiting till he saw him running up the opposite bank of the gully, then took deliberate aim from behind the picket, and killed him on the spot. It is usual with the half-breeds and others aforesaid, to speak with execration against the English as persons whom they would glory in putting to death, and I have many times observed Cuthbert Grant, and others of them, levelling their guns at any object, and saying if that were an Englishman, how soon I should do for him.

On the 19th or 20th of July, I had gone to the Frog Plain, in company with Cuthbert Grant, by land,—a canoe with five half-breeds at the same time going down by water, in which it was intended that I should proceed to Bas de la Rivière Winipic.—As I was about to embark, a light canoe came in sight, upon which Grant ordered the men to take to arms, saying he thought it was a canoe of the English, he himself taking his station at the edge of the river, with a pistol in each hand, which he held behind his back,

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When the canoe came near, it was found to be Daniel M'Kenzie a partner, and Alexander Fraser above-mentioned, a half-breed and clerk, of the North-West Company, from Bas de la Rivière, who were joyfully received by Grant and the other half-breeds, and shook hands with them all. I heard Grant tell M'Kenzie that if the canoe had belonged to the English, he was prepared to fire upon it. M'Kenzie told me that he was soon to go back to Bas de la Rivière, and that I might take a passage in his canoe. The canoe intended for me, was ordered to proceed without me, and I returned to Fort Douglas by land, in company with Daniel M'Kenzie, Grant, and Fraser.—On the way, Cuthbert Grant and Alexander Fraser pointed out to Daniel M'Kenzie the place where the colonists had been killed on the 19th of June, and the remains of the slain which were still unburied. No orders had been given for that purpose by any of the sixteen or eighteen North-West partners above-named, who had been at the place, and I know that the bones remained unburied the whole summer and winter, till the following spring, when, after the snow was melted, they were interred by some of the settlers who had returned from Jack River. Daniel M'Kenzie seemed to me to be somewhat affected by the sight of the remains of the dead, and doubtful of the consequences that might result from their destruction. On approaching Fort Douglas the half-breeds came out to meet Daniel M'Kenzie, and saluted his arrival with fire-arms, and were received by him, as they had been by all the partners, with every mark of approbation and satisfaction at their conduct.

After two days Daniel M'Kenzie prepared to go away, and being informed that a freeman named Beautineau, who had hunted for the Colony the preceding winter, was at a place eight or nine miles off, he sent me with orders to bring him before him as a magistrate for the Indian Territories, giving me a printed copy of the opinions of three English lawyers, to wit, Henry Brougham and others, concerning the Charter of the Hudson's Bay Company, which Daniel M'Kenzie told me would convince the said Beautineau that I had a right to take him prisoner, for that he would not know the difference between it and a warrant, not knowing how to read or to write. I accordingly arrested the said Beautineau, *au Nom de la Loi*, thinking it would not be right, as I carried only the opinion of lawyers, to arrest him in the King's name, and brought him before the said magistrate, who, in the presence of the half-breeds and other servants of the North-West Company, and the freemen at the place, abused him for having assisted the English, the enemies of the North-West Company. Daniel M'Kenzie then made me read and translate to the assembled half-breeds, and other servants of the North-West Company, and the freemen about the place, his commission from Sir Gordon Drummond as a magistrate for the Indian Territories. He then made Beautineau bring his baggage to the side of the river, the canoe being already in the water, and threatened to carry him off from his family a prisoner to Montreal, for his desertion of the interests of the North-West Company, and for hunting for the Colony; but at last he was discharged on

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finding security for his good behaviour, which was given by Antoine Heale, who, as above-mentioned, had confessed the murder of the person named W. Moore, as I believe, and took upon himself to be responsible for the good conduct of Beautineau, who was charged with no offence whatever.

After this, and before parting with Beautineau his prisoner, the magistrate went with him into the apartment of the late Governor Semple, when they both got drunk together, and he was afterwards supported to enable him to reach his canoe.

The half-breeds, Roderick M'Kenzie, and Alexander Fraser, and myself, accompanied Daniel M'Kenzie to the Bas de la Rivière Winipic, where we found the above-mentioned Archibald M'Lellan, partner, Lacerte the half-breed, and Charles Reinhard clerk, of the North-West Company, and about six or eight other half-breeds. A ball was given to the half-breeds in the evening by M'Kenzie and M'Lellan, and their drinking and singing was kept up nearly the whole night. During the ball I was for some time in an adjoining room, with Daniel M'Kenzie, and Archibald M'Lellan, and they frequently went with a glass full of wine into the room where the half-breeds were dancing, and drank "à la santé de tous les Bois-brulés." Towards morning, Alexander Fraser stabbed with a knife one of the half-breeds in a quarrel, but not mortally; and Fraser went away the next day with Daniel M'Kenzie for Lac la Pluie.—I left Bas de la Rivière, the 28th of July, and returned to Red River.

Alexander M'Donell, partner of the North-West Company, arrived at Fort Douglas the 3rd of September, when he was received with discharges of artillery, and treated the half-breeds with a ball and plenty to drink, the same evening. Next day news arrived, that Peter Fidler, a trader in the service of the Hudson's Bay Company had arrived, with an assortment of goods at Lake Manitoba, having sent word to the freemen to go and receive some payments due to them; when this was reported to Alexander M'Donell, he said "*Que Diable qu'est-ce qu'il a à faire là, il faut aller le piller.*" The same day he told me to hold myself in readiness to go next morning with a party of half-breeds to pillage the said Peter Fidler, to which I made no answer. He had also spoken to Francis Deschamps (father and son), for the same purpose. An hour or two afterwards, Joseph Primaux, the half-breed and interpreter, arrived with another man from Bas de la Rivière, with a letter from John Stuart, partner of the North-West Company, informing Alexander M'Donell that the Earl of Selkirk had arrested Mr. M'Gillivray and several of their partners, and taken possession of Fort William. Next day the free Canadians, about twelve in number, were assembled together with some of the half-breeds and other servants of the North-West Company, when M'Donell told the freemen that they must promise to take arms to defend the country, and to prevent the English, or the Earl of Selkirk, from entering the river, and told those that were unwilling to make this promise to pack up their baggage and quit the country directly. Most

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of the freemen, rather than quit the country and leave their families, promised to hold themselves at the disposal of the North-West Company, and to take up arms when required by Alexander M'Donell. Accordingly M'Donell sent some of them, the same or next day, with a party of half-breeds under the command of Seraphim Lamare, clerk of the North-West Company, with orders, which were given in my hearing, to pillage Mr. Fidler:—

I then set out for Bas de la Rivière with Alexander M'Donell, and with from twenty to twenty-five half-breeds, clerks and servants of the North-West Company, and from twenty to twenty-five Indians, of whom Magicabo was the chief. At Bas de la Rivière a council was held by Archibald M'Lellan and Alexander M'Donell, at which I was present; also Cuthbert Grant, Cadotte, Reinhard, William Shaw, Bastonois Pangman, and several other half-breeds, about twenty in all, and in which M'Donell and Bastonois proposed to the half-breeds to proceed to Fort William, for the purpose of taking it, and in case they should meet the Earl of Selkirk or any of his people in the way, Alexander M'Donell proposed to them to place themselves in ambush near the river, and fire upon, and sink them while engaged in passing the rapids; and I remember that the Chûte de Bonnet was particularly mentioned as a place where they might all be easily destroyed. A half-breed named La Plante, from the Saskatchewan, spoke in reply, saying, that he understood Lord Selkirk was guarded by a party of the King's troops; that for his part he would never fight against them;

and that rather than be guilty of such things, he would take a buffaloe robe about him and live like an Indian in the plains. The rest followed the example of La Plante, and most of them refused to advance farther than Bas de la Rivière. At last Archibald M'Lellan and Charles Reinhard, and Cuthbert Grant and Joseph Cadotte, two half-breeds and clerks of the North-West Company, got a few half-breeds and other servants of that Company to go with them as far as Lac la Pluie in a light canoe, for the purpose, as I understood, of obtaining intelligence. After the canoe was gone, Alexander M'Donell told me that it was a great pity that the half-breeds had refused to go, for that he had intended to send me to the vicinity of Fort William, to speak secretly to the men of De Meuron's regiment in Lord Selkirk's service, and to endeavour to seduce them to desert and join the North West Company; and that it was his plan to have offered them a reward of £500 collectively, and double wages individually, if they would consent to abandon the Earl of Selkirk; and that he would then have retaken Fort William, and brought the De Meurons to winter at Red River if they chose.

While I was at Bas de la Rivière, a letter was brought by Thomas M'Kay, half-breed and clerk in the service of the North-West Company, from Seraphim Lamare, informing Alexander M'Donell that his party was not strong enough to pillage Peter Fidler, the Indians having shewn a disposition to protect him; and that he had in consequence returned with his party to Fort Douglas without accomplish-

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ing the object of his orders, after advancing as far as the North-West Company's post at River Blanche on Lake Manitoba. Upon receipt of this information, Alexander M'Donell sent twelve or fifteen half-breeds to reinforce Lamare's party, with orders to proceed a-new and pillage Mr. Fidler. While at Bas de la Rivière the table was sometimes furnished with veal, which, I was informed, was part of some calves which had been taken from Mr. Keveney, of the Hudson's Bay Company in the River Winipic, on his way from Albany Factory to Red River Settlement, where these calves were sent for a breed.

Some time after the departure of Mr. M'Lellan and the others from Bas de la Rivière, an Indian, named Joseph, who, as I was informed, had been sent towards Lac la Pluie with Mr. Keveney in custody, arrived in a small canoe with a letter from John Dease, clerk of the North-West Company at that place, which letter had been opened, as I understood, by Archibald M'Lellan on the way, and in which I saw written with pencil, in the hand-writing of Archibald M'Lellan, "Mr. Keveney has disappeared, don't be anxious about him." In the same canoe a Canadian, Jean B. Wells, arrived with a trunk and writing desk, sent by Charles Reinhard with a message that I should take care of them for him. The trunk was open and contained a fine blue coat, four fine linen shirts, and some other gentleman's clothing, and the writing desk was locked and in a canvas cover, on which I observed the name of Mr. Keveney. I then suspected that something had befallen Mr. Keveney. Shortly after

wards, on entering my room I found Alexander Fraser the half-breed, taking the things out, and rummaging the trunk, under pretence that he was looking for papers. Next morning I sent the trunk and writing desk to the room of Alexander M'Donell, not wishing to take any charge of them, because the trunk was delivered to me open. Soon after they were sent back to me with orders from Mr. M'Donell, to send them to Red River in a boat going thither. At the same time two boats, one of them Mr. Keveney's, and five canoes, were sent to Red River.

A day or two before I left Bas de la Rivière, I was called aside by one Lorin, an interpreter in the service of the North-West Company, who told me as a secret, which he said he had learnt from the Indian last-mentioned, and which he charged me not to mention, that Mr. Keveney had been murdered by Charles Reinhard, and Mainville, one of the half-breeds, who had gone in the canoe with Archibald M'Lellan.

I arrived with Alexander M'Donell at Fort Douglas about the 20th of September. A few days afterwards, Seraphim Lamare returned from his plundering expedition, and I heard him tell to Alexander M'Donell that he had distributed part of the plunder to the men employed on that service, and delivered the rest in charge, on account of the North-West Company to Toussaint Vandrie, an interpreter and trader in their service, and in charge of their post in River Blanche, Lake Manitoba. On or about the 26th of September, Archibald M'Lellan arrived at Fort Douglas with Cuthbert Grant, Joseph Cadotte, Mainville, Montour, Versaille, and

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one Rochon a Canadian. I asked Archibald M'Lellan what had become of Charles Reinhard, and was told in reply that he had been left at Lac la Pluie with two men and a small canoe, with orders to be on the look-out, and to come off with intelligence on the approach of Lord Selkirk or any of his people. About the same time, a Canadian freeman, named J. B. Davis, who has a family at Red River, arrived from Jack River, whither he had made a voyage in the service of the Hudson's Bay Company. Alexander M'Donell sent for him, and I know that Davis passed the night in irons, in one of the bastions of the fort, and he went with me a few days afterwards to Rivière à la Souris, when M'Donell engaged him in the service of the North-West Company against his will. Davis wintered with me at La Souris aforesaid, and frequently complained to me of the manner in which he had been used by Alexander M'Donell, and expressed his wishes to obtain redress.

A few days after their return from Bas de la Rivière to Fort Douglas, Alexander M'Donell and Archibald M'Lellan, assembled about twenty or thirty Indians, among whom was the old Soutaux Chief called the Premier, or Grandes Oreilles, when Alexander M'Donell made a speech, of which Joseph Cadotte was interpreter, in which he exhorted the Indians to take courage, to place confidence in the North-West Company, who would always befriend them, and supply their wants, and told them, that if they allowed the English to return to the river, they would bring soldiers with them, who would destroy them, their women, and children; but not to be afraid because

the North-West Company would protect them, and would never allow the English to return. About the same time, whilst at Fort Douglas, Lorin, interpreter in the service of the North-West Company, came to me and told me that Alexander M'Donell wanted the blue coat that was in Mr. Keveney's trunk. The trunk being in the store, I told Lorin to take the coat out of it, and I went with him to M'Donell's tent, when I saw the coat delivered in M'Donell's presence to his mistress, who is the daughter of the said Lorin, and who immediately put the coat into one of M'Donell's trunks, among his clothes. M'Donell then told me that the clothes remaining in Mr. Keveney's trunk were to be kept for Charles Reinhard. The clothes remained in the store till I was ordered by Archibald M'Lellan to give them to a half-breed for a horse which he was purchasing for Reinhard, in compliance with a request from him for that purpose.

On the 1st of October I set out with Alexander M'Donell, Cuthbert Grant, and others, for Rivière à la Souris, of which post I took charge. Previous to our arrival there, we remained two days at Portage de Prairie, from which place I was ordered by Alexander M'Donell, accompanied by six half-breeds, to proceed to the mouth of River Blanche (Lake Manitoba) where there was a trading post of the North-West Company in charge of Toussaint Vaudrie, an interpreter and trader in the Company's service, to take an inventory of the goods of which Mr. Peter Fidler, of the Hudson's Bay Company, had lately been plundered, and to order Vaudrie to abandon

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the trading post at River Blanche, and proceed to Fort Douglas with the stolen goods. M'Donell and Cuthbert Grant proceeded to Qu'Appelle River, taking with them from Fort Douglas one brass field piece, three-pounder, belonging to Government, a small brass swivel belonging to the Colony, about twelve or fifteen military muskets and bayonets, and a quantity of round and grape shot, with ammunition for the artillery.—Ten or twelve days afterwards, news arrived that Captain D'Orsennens had taken possession of Lac la Pluie, and that Charles Reinhard had been apprehended.

M'Lellan having invited me to visit him at fort Douglas on Christmas, I did so, and while there, I observed a trunk of clothes, belonging to, and left by Charles Reinhard on his leaving Bas de la Rivière, out of which Joseph Cadotte, who had the keys, had taken several articles belonging to Reinhard, for which reason, I resolved to take the trunk with me, to take care of it for Reinhard.—When I was about to take it, Archibald M'Lellan desired me to put the clothes into a cassette which he had in the store, and which had belonged to Mr. Keveney, and contained the articles heretofore-mentioned, as given for a horse, and to give him the trunk in exchange for the said cassette, for fear, as he said, that the English should come and recognise the cassette in his possession, but that at La Souris it would be out of their way. Archibald M'Lellan, for the same reason also, told me to take away Mr. Keveney's writing desk. By Assiniboine, a half-breed servant of the North-West Company, M'Lellan wrote a letter to Alexander

M'Donell to send ten or twelve half-breeds for the defence of Fort Douglas, and to send a few to Pambina to be on the look-out, and to give warning of the approach of any of Lord Selkirk's people.—The said Assiniboine returned to La Souris from Qu'Appelle River on the 13th, and told me, that Cuthbert Grant was coming with about twenty half-breeds to reinforce Fort Douglas.

Three days afterwards, one La Pointe and three other men arrived at La Souris, as they stated, from Sault Sainte Marie, by way of Fond du Lac, and brought news that the English from Lac la Pluie had passed Pambina, and it was believed had taken Fort Douglas. Cuthbert Grant and his party arrived at La Souris the 22nd of January, and having heard La Pointe's news, determined to proceed and see whether Fort Douglas had been really taken or not. Cuthbert Grant asked me to accompany him, saying, I would be a good ambassador to send to the fort if the Meurons were there. I accordingly left La Souris with Cuthbert Grant, Thomas M'Kay, and about sixteen other half-breeds and Canadians, in the service of the North-West Company.

The second day of the journey, Assiniboine (whose proper name is Joseph Peltier) and his brother Pierre Peltier, François Deschamps the son, and his brother Joseph Deschamps, one La Pointe, and one Henry Poitras, left the party, refusing to go any further, saying, that they were not engaged to go on war expeditions. Grant then told them they might go to the devil, and that they should never get any ammunition or other supplies from the North-West Com-

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pany. Assiniboine then replied, "You always promise a great deal, but never pay." Grant then sent orders to La Souris, to prevent them from being supplied with provisions or ammunition.

On the 28th of January, at a place called Marrais Ducageux, the party met Joseph Cadotte and Versailles coming from Fort Douglas, which they said was taken by the English. Cadotte delivered a letter to Cuthbert Grant from Governor Macdonell of the Settlement, in which was inclosed a copy of the Proclamation of the Governor-General, of the 16th July, 1816, on seeing which, Grant immediately threw it into the fire, saying, "Voilà encore une de ces sacres proclamations." Most of the party were then for turning back, but Cadotte urged them on, saying that he knew the road by which the people from the fort usually went for meat, and that they could easily be taken prisoners. Cadotte left his wife and returned with the party, but Versailles absolutely refused to return.

On the 30th of January, at the house of one Lagimoniere, fifteen miles from Fort Douglas, the party took four men, with their dogs and trains, who had come from the fort, and were going to the Indians for meat; and the same evening, Cadotte, Montour, and La Pointe went, as Cadotte informed me, to the house of a freeman, named Bellanger, and brought a keg of powder, and two kegs of spirits, which had been concealed there in the fall.

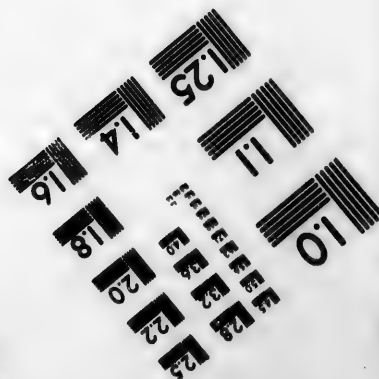
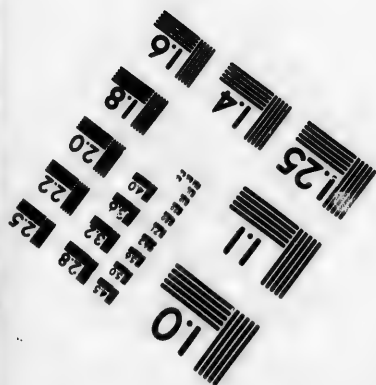
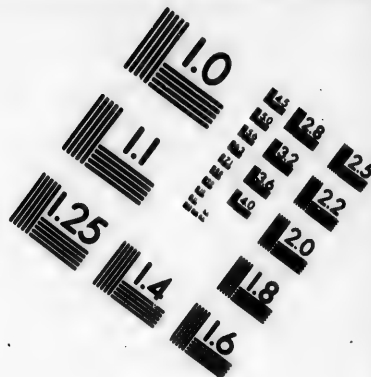
Next day I set out with the party to return to La Souris with the four prisoners. Joseph Cadotte and Cuthbert Grant went to Qu'Appelle River with

the party, and returned again to La Souris on the 19th of February, with twenty-six half-breeds, with the design of going to Fort Douglas, and demanding the liberation of Archibald M'Lellan, Seraphim Lamar, and Mainville (who were there detained as prisoners for the murder of Keveney, and other crimes) and, if possible, to recapture the fort. Cuthbert Grant ordered the Canadian servants of the North-West Company at La Souris, to take arms and join the party, but they all refused, though he threatened to send them to Montreal, and to have them punished for disobeying the orders of their Burgeois. A free Canadian, named Marsolet, wished to keep his son a half-breed from going on the expedition, remarking that he did not think it right to make war on subjects of the same Crown ; Cuthbert Grant in consequence threatened to take Marsolet himself along, as well as his son, and to tie him on a sledge, punish him, and even to blow out his brains.—Joseph Cadotte, who had once held a lieutenant's commission in the Indian Department (the same for whose apprehension on account of the murder of Keveney, a reward has been offered by proclamation) proposed to hold a Court-Martial on Marsolet, which was accordingly done without delay. Cuthbert Grant was president, Louis Lacerte, Antoine Hoole, Peter Pangman Bastonois, Robert Montour, François Deschamps the son, and I, were members of the said court. Joseph Cadotte (who, as well as several of the members, was intoxicated) appointed himself judge advocate, saying, he was best qualified for that office, by having a good tongue.—Marsolet being brought before the Court,

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and required to state his reasons for refusing to allow his son to do his duty, and to proceed with the party under Mr. Grant's command, said that he thought it wrong to make war against the subjects of the same Crown; and that he had heard the Proclamation of the Governor-General read, which was to put an end to all disturbances in the country, and to bring the disorderly to justice; that matters were now in the hands of the law, and that they would do well to remain quiet and to let the law decide.—Lacerte then accused Marsolet of the crime of preventing his son doing his duty to his Burgeois, called him abusive names, threatened to tie him on a sledge, and drag him along, and even to blow out his brains. Cadotte, who was much in liquor, addressed Marsolet and told him that his son was engaged in a good cause; that he ought to take an example by the gentlemen present; that they would not be engaged in a bad cause; that they would be applauded and rewarded by Government for their services; that he himself had been in the service of Government, and that he possessed sufficient influence to procure them ample rewards. To this, Marsolet replied, that though he was then alone, he would never consent to his son going on such a service, but that if they took him by force, he could not help it, and then withdrew, remarking that “*Contre la force il n'y a pas de*” “*resistance.*” On the same occasion, Antoine Hoole said, in presence of Marsolet, “*Il faut en tuer*” “*quelques-unes, pour montrer un exemple à ceux*” “*qui ne veulent pas nous joindre, pour faire marcher*” “*les autres,*” and likewise heard Francis Deschamps





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the son say, that he had already killed some of the English, and he hoped to kill still more of them. Another free Canadian, named Ammelip, who had two sons half-breeds, likewise refused to allow them to go with the party, saying, that he would rather have his head taken off his shoulders, than that they should go. When this was reported to Cuthbert Grant, he said it did not signify, that he would take them along.

Having received a letter from Alexander M'Donell, ordering me to go with Grant if required, I accordingly set out with the party on the 22nd of ~~January~~, and, on passing certain freemen's tents near the post of La Souris, Cuthbert Grant forced Ammelin's two sons to join the party. The lad having at first said he must have his father's consent, was asked by Joseph Cadotte how old he was, and having replied, that he was twenty, the said Cadotte told him, that he was old enough to act for himself, and should not mind his father, and accordingly took him on; but his younger brother was allowed by Cuthbert Grant to remain in case his father, who was in bad health, might require his services. At Portage des Prairies, the party met one Desloges coming from Fort Douglas, who informed some of the party that there were many people at the fort, that it was well guarded and so strong that they could not expect to take it. Upon this, many of the party wanted to return, but Joseph Cadotte would not allow it, and upbraided them with cowardice.

In the afternoon (2nd March), the party encamped on the Assiniboine River, at a place called Pointe

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aux Chênes, a little above the Forks. When the encampment was made, Cuthbert Grant, and Joseph Cadotte, ordered the men to take their arms and follow them to the freemen's houses near the Forks, to see if they could take prisoners any of the people from Fort Douglas. None were found except some Canadian servants of the North-West Company, (who had been in the fort, when it was taken by Lord Selkirk's people,) a freeman, and some women and children,—all of whom were conveyed to the encampment. Cuthbert Grant sent a freeman named Saussice to the fort with a letter, and after receiving the answer, Grant told the half-breeds that the Governor had refused to deliver up the prisoners, and that he had challenged the people in the fort to come out and fight them at eight o'clock next morning. The same evening, a cow and a heifer belonging to the Colony, were brought to the camp, which Cadotte immediately killed with an axe with great exultation.

Next day, (3rd of March,) Cadotte proposed to go to the Frog Plain, and there to watch for an opportunity of attacking the settlers expected from Jack River, and likewise to send a party to take Bas de la Rivière. This plan was opposed by Cuthbert Grant and by me, on the score of want of provisions, and then Cadotte sent out parties to bring in all the cattle and horses they could find belonging to the Colony, saying that if he could find plenty of provisions, he would lie about the fort, and shoot every person that should venture out. The parties in quest of the cattle only found one cow, which Cadotte immediately dispatched, as he had done the others. On the 4th

of March, the provisions being nearly out, it became necessary for the party to return. Cadotte then proposed to go to Pambina, and to kill a party of Lord Selkirk's people who were there, saying that they must not return home without striking a blow to maintain their warlike reputation, and he accordingly made a selection of men for that purpose. About nine o'clock, A. M. the party set out, and, at the separation of the roads for La Souris and Pambina, happening to be in front I took the track to the former place, and was followed by Cuthbert Grant, who came next to me, but Joseph Cadotte struck into the path for Pambina, and called to the men to follow him, but observing Grant and me go towards La Souris, they all refused, and the plan was therefore given up.

I was present when the proclamation of the Governor-General of the 16th of July was read by Cuthbert Grant, Joseph Cadotte, and others, to the illiterate half-breeds, and other servants of the North-West Company, and the proclamation, and other papers, were read so as to produce an impression suitable to their own views. When I read the said proclamation as it was printed, the half-breeds and others remarked a great difference from what they had understood its meaning to be before, and this circumstance gave rise to suspicion among the leaders of the half-breeds, that I was not zealous in their cause. This suspicion was increased by some letters in the German language having passed between me and Jacob Witschy, late sergeant of De Meuron's regiment, and now in the service of the Earl of Selkirk. It soon came to my

knowledge that some of the half-breeds had remarked I was very reserved, and had not done any thing to distinguish myself in the service,—that there must be something secret in my correspondence with Witschy, —and that they had resolved to report their suspicions to the aforesaid Alexander M'Donell, the partner in charge of the department. I had long perceived that it was impossible for me to continue in the service of the North-West Company without being forced by my superiors into the commission of crimes, or being exposed to their vengeance if I refused obedience. I likewise suffered uneasiness for the necessity I was under of associating with persons who boasted of having murdered their fellow-subjects, and pillaged and burnt their property. If there had been any independent magistrate in the country, I would have made application to him, but there was none except those who belonged to the North-West Company, and I had not, for months, the means of effecting my escape. The first moment I thought I could escape in safety, I quitted Rivière à la Souris, and came to Fort Douglas at Red River, on the 23rd of March last, when I stated to Miles Macdonell, Esquire, the Governor of the Settlement, all the before-mentioned facts which I had witnessed in the service of the North-West Company, and I also took an early opportunity of desiring the same information to be laid before His Majesty's Commissioners on their arrival at Red River.

(Signed) F. D. HEURTER.

London, 8th March, 1819.