
The Battle of Seven Oaks:

A Metis Perspective

Second Edition

Lawrence J. Barkwell



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Louis Riel Institute
103-150 Henry Ave.
Winnipeg, MB
R3B 0J7

www.louisrielinstitute.com

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Cover illustration

Battle of Seven Oaks, 1816

Charles W. Jefferys, HBCA, PAM P-378 (N87-8)

HBC's 1914 calendar illustration

Hudson's Bay Company Archives

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The Battle of Seven Oaks: A Metis Perspective

Lawrence J. Barkwell

The Battle of Seven Oaks took place on June 19, 1816. It was a culmination of the Pemmican Wars and the escalating fur trade disputes between the Hudson's Bay Company (HBC) and the North West Company (NWC).

In 1814, Miles MacDonell, Governor of the Red River Colony issued the Pemmican Proclamation, which prohibited the export of pemmican from the colony for the next year. It was meant to guarantee adequate supplies for the Hudson's Bay Colony, but it was viewed by the North West Company as a ploy by employees of the Earl of Selkirk (majority shareholder of the Hudson's Bay Company) to monopolize the foodstuff, which was used by the voyageur boat brigades travelling between posts in the Old Northwest.

The confrontations escalate:

- In May of 1814 the HBC blockades Red River and seizes 2 NWC canoes and disarms their men. On June 10, 1814 John Spencer and an armed HBC force seize the NWC post at the Souris and Assiniboine. They seize 479 bags of pemmican, 94 kegs of fat, and 865 pounds of bundled dried meat. They take the captured supplies to Brandon House and then to the forks. Shortly thereafter, Duncan Cameron captures Mr. House of HBC. John Macdonell (NWC) then negotiates a settlement and 200 bags of pemmican are returned to NWC and he releases Mr. House.
- On July 21, 1814, Governor Miles Macdonell publishes the second Pemmican Proclamation prohibiting the Metis from hunting on horseback.
- On September 15, 1814, Duncan Cameron (NWC) arrests John Spencer (HBC) for pemmican thefts from the NWC.
- Late in 1814, disgruntled Selkirk settlers and HBC Irish paramilitary were writing to Duncan Cameron (NWC) asking for transport to Montreal.
- On March 23, 1815, Colin Robertson seizes the NWC post at Pembina to complete their blockade of the rivers. Metis leaders Fraser, Hess and Bostonais Pangman are captured.
- The HBC fits out the schooner *Cuchillon* with cannon and it is sent to the mouth of the Red River to blockade the NWC canoes from Fort William who are coming with supplies for the Athabasca region. Lieutenant Holte commands the *Cuchillon*.
- April 18, 1815, the settlers, unhappy with their conditions broke into the HBC stores and took the cannons over to the NWC post at Fort Gibraltar, later when Miles Macdonell appealed to the settlers for help in fending off the Metis of the NWC he was ignored.
- On June 7, 1815, Cuthbert Grant established a Metis camp on the west bank of the Red River, four miles downstream from Point Douglas, the colony's headquarters, to cover the departure in NWC canoes for Canada of disaffected colonists (about 42 men). Grant's men began to harry the settlement, stealing horses and ploughs, and there were exchanges of fire between the Métis and the remaining settlers. In such an encounter at HBC's Fort

Douglas on 10 June, one of Governor Macdonell's men was killed when a cannon exploded. Many of Selkirk's people went over to the Metis side. The Irish hired to prepare the way for the settlement had contracts that had expired on June 1, 1815, these men along with many from the Kildonan party went over to the Metis side and took the NWC offer of transportation to Montreal.

- On June 15, 1815, the Metis escalated their demands that the settlers leave the forks, under order from Grant, Shaw, Montour and Pangman, the four chiefs of the Metis. Peter Fidler, negotiated with the Metis chiefs at their camp at Frog Plain. On June 20, 1815 Peter Pangman instructed Fidler that no colonists were to remain, but that a limited number of HBC servants might stay, as it was to the advantage of the Metis to have competing trading companies in the area

As noted previously, this series of events were actually a struggle for control of the pemmican food supplies. These provisions were primarily needed for the fur traders working in the north for the two fur companies in the Athabasca Territory, a secondary use was for the Selkirk Settlers food supply.

The late 1700s and early 1800s were marked by unstable weather on the plains, and war and disease was prevalent between all groups. This all served to exacerbate the competition for food supplies. After the Mount Tambora volcano in Indonesia exploded in 1815, sunlight was blocked out and North America had what is called a "Volcanic Winter"; and 1916 was known as the "Year without a Summer". In the winter of 1815-16 the HBC had lost 68 men to famine in the Athabasca Territory – one-fifth of their staff. Between 1810 and 1811 there were nine documented cases of famine cannibalism in the HBC Nelson River district.

Late in 1815, after several conflicts and suffering from "severe emotional instability", Miles MacDonnell resigned as governor of the Red River Colony. He was replaced by Robert Semple, an American businessman with no previous experience in the fur trade.

In 1816 a band NWC employees, mostly Métis but which included French-Canadiens, Scotts, and Chippewa employees, led by Cuthbert Grant, seized a supply of pemmican from the Hudson's Bay Company on the Qu'appelle River. These supplies had previously been stolen from the Métis. They then travelled east along the Assiniboine River to meet traders of the North West Company out of Fort William at a place north of the Red River Settlement on the Red River.

They encountered Semple and a group of HBC men and settlers north of Fort Douglas along the Red River at a location known to the English as Seven Oaks, and called *la Grenouillère* (Frog Plain) by the Métis. The North West Company sent a French-Canadian, François-Firmin Boucher, to speak to Semple's men. He and Semple argued, and a gunfight ensued when the English tried to arrest Boucher and seize his horse. Although early reports from the HBC said that the Métis fired the first shot and began the fray, the Royal Commissioner W.B. Coltman determined with "next to certainty" that one of Semple's men fired first. The Métis were skilled sharpshooters and outnumbered Semple's forces. They repulsed the attack, killing 21 men, including Governor Semple, while suffering only one fatality. Pierre Falcon, a Métis poet, later celebrated the victory of the Métis in his song *La Chanson de la Grenouillère*.

Most of Governor Semple's men who were killed in the confrontation at Seven Oaks were part of an Irish paramilitary force hired by Selkirk to cut off the NWC trade. Governor Semple, age 39, had previously been employed as a travel writer had no management or military experience whereas Cuthbert Grant is thought to have been trained by his uncle, Nor'Wester Alexander

Grant of the Glengarry Regiment while he was taking his schooling in Quebec. French Canadian Francois Boucher who was with Grant at Seven Oaks had been an Ensign in the Glengarry Regiment. During the War of 1812, the NWC vigorously participated in the defense of Canada and had provided 400 Metis and French Canadian men under the command of NWC partner William McGillivray. McGillivray's twin Metis sons, Joseph and William served with the *Canadian Chasseurs* during the War of 1812. Also with the NWC at this time was Seraphin Lamarre. Lamarre was a NWC clerk and interpreter. He was first stationed at Duluth then was an Ensign in the regiment of voyageurs during the War of 1812. He was then named Major of the Indian tribes and conquered lands, after the U.S. surrender of Michilimachinac. At the time of the Battle of Seven Oaks he was working out of Fort Gibraltar.

Up until recent years, historical writings have focused on the Selkirk Settlers who were killed (only three) whereas there is barely a mention of the seven Irish HBC labourers who were killed in the battle. No one has commented previously on the relative youth of Cuthbert Grant (age 23) and his men: Francois Deschamps Jr. was 12 or 13 years-of-age; Joseph Letendre dit Batoche, the only Metis killed in the battle was 16, and Baptiste Lafontaine was sixteen.

Most accounts of this encounter are one-sided and do not list the men from both sides who were involved in this battle. This article will correct these omissions. The widely held beliefs that the battle was against the Selkirk Settlers and that Cuthbert Grant attacked Governor Semple are shown to be false. Clearly the event was one of the first times the Metis asserted themselves as "the New Nation" with rights to trade as they wished and travel on their own land with impunity. The Battle of Seven Oaks inflamed what was already a "propaganda war" in which each side published memorial after memorial to get their case before the public and to influence the actions of the politicians of the day.

In March of 1816, the HBC under Governor Robert Semple seized and then destroyed the NWC's Fort Gibraltar at the forks of the Assiniboine and Red Rivers. The goal of this maneuver was to prevent the NWC from trans-shipping pemmican from the forks to their brigades coming in from Fort William on Lake Superior. These supplies were then used by the boat brigades heading northwest to the Athabasca region.

It should be noted that Fort Gibraltar was built in 1809 by Cuthbert Grant's brother-in-law John Wills.¹ On June 19, 1816 a party of Metis freighters led by Cuthbert Grant, a NWC clerk and trader was heading overland, west of the forks, to deliver pemmican to the Nor'Wester canoe brigades on Lake Winnipeg. They hoped to avoid the HBC Fort Douglas located at the forks of the Red and Assiniboine rivers. As noted, in the weeks previous Semple and the HBC staff had captured the nearby NWC post, Fort Gibraltar, torn it down and burnt all the buildings.

Grant was leading two groups of men well to the east of Fort Douglas heading for *La Grenouillère*. The employees of the HBC spotted Grant's second group and Governor Semple along with a number of HBC mercenaries, staff and a few Selkirk Settlers moved out to meet Grant's party. They intercepted them at Seven Oaks, located just south of *La Grenouillère* also known as "Frog Plain." Grant and the rest of his men from the lead group came back to reinforce the group

¹Mr. Wills married Cuthbert Grant's sister, Josephine Grant (b. circa 1785). He died at Fort Gibraltar on Friday, January 6, 1815.

that Semple was confronting. A verbal confrontation between governor Semple and François Fermin Boucher led to shots being fired at Boucher and one of the Indians in Grant's party.²

François Boucher describes the battle:³

Comme je parlois Anglois; les metifs m'envoyèrent a cet effet vers Mr. Semple que l'on apercevoit a la tête de ces gens. M'étant approche de lui, je lui demandai à haute voix ce qu'il vouloit? Sans me répondre, il me demanda ce que je voulois moi-même? Quelques paroles s'ensuivirent de part et d'autre, après quoi Mr. Semple, sans m'avoir donna aucune explication, donna l'ordre as ses gens de s'emparer de moi. Je leur observai que je ne répondrois pas de leur vie s'ils me touchoient; que je n'étais pas venus pour me battre, mais pour m'entendre avec eux, et j'ajoutai; «N'ayez-pas le malheur de me toucher.» Mr. Semple ordonna alors à ses gens de faire feu; sur quoi j'entendis quelques uns d'eux dire ces paroles : « Mon Dieu, « mon Dieu, si nous faisons feu, nous allons être « tous tués. » Mr. Semple répliqua : « faites feu, « poltrons : il n'est plus temps de songer à cela. » Aussitôt quelques coups de fusil furent tires par les gens du dit Semple, et les balles passèrent assez près de moi.

As I spoke English; the Métis sent me to Mr. Semple who we spied at the head of these people. Being near him, I asked aloud what he meant? Without answering, he asked me what I wished myself? Some words ensued from both sides, after which Mr. Semple, without any explanation, ordered his men to seize me. I told them I could not be aware for their life if they touched me.; I had not come to fight, but to talk with them, and I added; "Do not take on the misfortune to touch me." Mr. Semple then ordered his men to fire; whereupon I heard some of them say: "My God, God, if we fire, we will all be killed." Mr. Semple replied, "fire cowards: it is not time to think about that." Immediately a few shots were fired by the men of the said Semple, and bullets flew close enough to me.

Au bruit de l'explosion, mon cheval se démenant, je m'esquivai comme je pus du cote des métifs. Ceux-ci, irrités d'une pareille provocation, firent un feu général de leur cote pour répondre à celui des gens du Gouverneur Semple qui continuoit toujours : cependant la fusillade commençoit a cesser, lorsque nous aperçûmes que les agresseurs traînoient une pièce de canon qui, jusqu'alors, étoit restée cachée derrière quelques buissons. Les métifs voyant qu'on allait mettre le feu cette pièce et parmi lesquels j'ai reconnu John P. Bourke, l'un des gens du dit Semple. – Ce fut alors que le combat devint plus acharné. — Le nommé Letendre, métif, fut tué par la première décharge des gens de Mr. Semple, et Joseph Troquille [sic. Trottier], autre métif, fut grièvement blessé. Le résultat de cet engagement, provoqué par le Gouverneur Semple, fut la mort de cet officier et d'environ une vingtaine d'autres de son parti. Les autres parvinrent à se sauver. Ce qui fit que les agresseurs perdirent tant le monde, et les métifs si peu, comparativement, c'est que ces dernière se mettoient ventre a terre pour charger et décharger leurs fusils, et s'abritoient

² Years later, the trials held at York, established that Semple's men fired first. "Report of the Proceedings Connected with the Disputes between the Earl of Selkirk and the North-West Company at the Assizes Held at York in Upper Canada, October 1818."

³ Boucher, François Firmin. *Relation donnée par lui-même des événemens [sic] qui ont eu lieu sur le territoire des sauvages depuis le mois d'octobre, 1815, jusqu'au 9 juin 1816 : époque de la mort de Mr. Semple avec les détails de son long emprisonnement, jusqu'à son jugement.* Montreal : s.n, 1819: 15-16. Translated by Shirley Delorme Russell, Louis Riel Institute.

derrière leurs chevaux, d'où ils visioient en sûreté leurs adversaires. – Il y eut beaucoup de chevaux de tués et de blessés du cote des métifs.

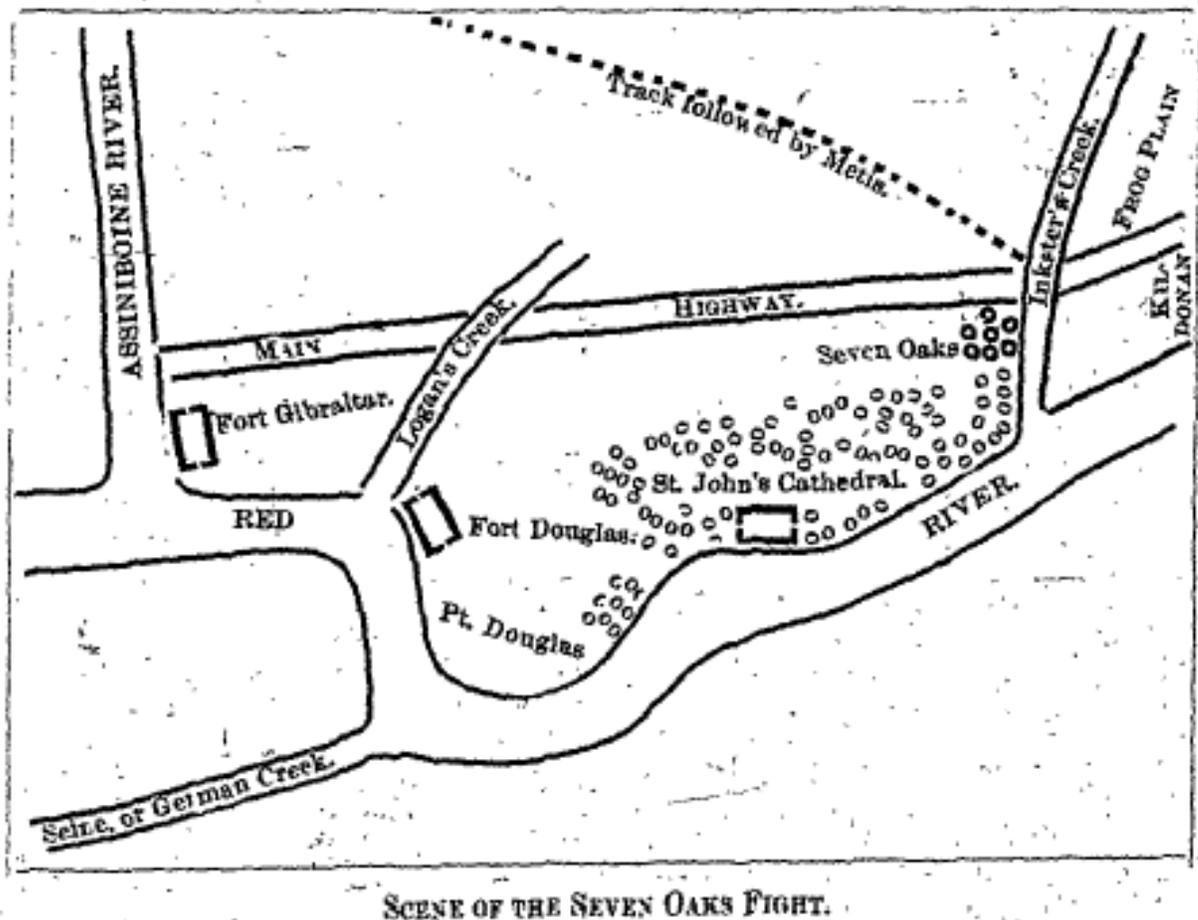
At the sound of the explosion, my horse was struggling, I slipped away to the métif side. They, irritated by such a provocation, made a general fire from their side to meet the people of Governor Semple who still continued[to fire]: However, the shooting was beginning to cease when we perceived that the aggressors were moving a cannon that until then had remained hidden behind some bushes. The métifs saw that they were going to use this piece, I recognized John P. Bourke, one of Semple's people. — It was then that the battle became fierce. — The appointed Letendre, métif, was killed by the first discharge from Mr. Semple's people and Joseph Troquille [sic. Trottier], métif another was seriously injured. The result of this engagement, led by Governor Semple, was the death of this officer and about twenty others of his party. The others managed to escape. What made the attackers lost to this world, and métifs so little, comparatively, is that these latter lay their bellies on the land to load and unload their rifles, and sheltered behind their horses, where they could securely see their opponents. - There were many horses killed and wounded on the side of métifs.

The consequent exchange of gunfire and hand-to-hand combat left Semple and twenty of the HBC party dead, with one dead and one wounded on the Metis side. Cuthbert Grant said (Deposition, No. 216 to Coltman) that the Metis were successful in defeating Semple because “After the first round, the Half-Breeds in general threw themselves on their backs whilst loading; whereupon the colonists, conceiving that many were killed, took off their hats and huzzaed.”⁴ Semple's men were then taken by surprise when the Metis, having reloaded, rose from the grass and resumed firing. The fact that they threw themselves down to reload is mentioned in several other Depositions (Nos. 215, 217 and 317) as the reason for many fewer men being killed on their side. Cuthbert Grant then seized Fort Douglas and the Selkirk Settlers and HBC staff left for York Factory. Five years later the two competing companies merged.

Subsequently, the British government called for a Special Inquiry and Lieutenant Colonel William Bachelor Coltman was appointed as principle commissioner to conduct the enquiry. In May of 1817, Coltman traveled to Red River to conduct the enquiry. His report was delivered to the House of Commons on June 24, 1819.

⁴ Coltman 1819: 191.

The Battleground



This is an 1887 map produced by Charles Bell. The battle likely took place between what is shown as Inkster Creek and Seven Oaks Creek to the north (right). The present day monument is close to the site of Seven Oaks Creek.⁵

From:

Charles Napier Bell. *The Selkirk Settlement and Settlers.* Winnipeg: *The Commercial*, 1887: 21.

Simple Orders His Men to Open Fire on the Metis

With regard to the fact of Governor Simple's having ordered his men to fire or not:

Boucher, both on his examination (No. 214) and in his deposition (No. 215) states positively, that he [Simple] did give such orders; and that such was the belief of the North-

⁵ From: Charles Napier Bell. *The Selkirk Settlement and Settlers.* Winnipeg: *The Commercial*, 1887: 21.

West party, appears nearly certain from the intercepted letter of Robert Henry, filed on behalf of the Earl of Selkirk (Deposition No. 218) and by the statements of Jean-Baptiste Desmarrais (Deposition No. 307).⁶

Coltman goes on to state that with regard to evidence that the first shot was fired by the colonists, this stands supported by six men who were present, the Indian Machicabaou, Cuthbert Grant, Michael Bourassa, Joseph Pelletier dit Assiniboine, Jean Baptiste Marsellois and François Boucher.⁷ He gives credibility to their statements even though they might be biased:

From the deep interest of these last parties in the event, their evidence can have little direct weight; yet the general conformity of many dispositions collected from different persons at various times and places, with the previous statements made by Boucher, gives them some importance as moral testimony; as the clearness and apparent frankness of Grant's deposition tends to produce confidence in it.⁸

At trial in 1818, another NWC employee, Michael Martin gave the following testimony:

I was in the battle of the 19th June with the Hudson's Bay people. The Hudson's Bay people fired first; they fired two shots before we fired any, for I saw them... I heard and saw a gun fired, and I know it was by the Hudson's Bay party, because I saw the smoke."⁹

Only one person, HBC employee Michael Haydon, told Coltman that the Metis fired first. Coltman did not believe him.

Not one [witness], except Haydon, states the contrary, even on belief; and all others who have spoken on the question concur in stating that such [the colonists fired first] was the general report; whilst the opposite statement of Haydon remains unsupported by a single evidence, either direct or indirect. Other collateral circumstances have also combined, with this weight of evidence, to convince me, that the declaration made by him is, in this respect, unfounded.¹⁰

Michael Haydon's testimony was refuted soundly at trial by Hugh Bannerman¹¹ and Winifred McNulty¹²:

Mr Sherwood: Do you know Michael Haydon who has been examined as a witness in this case?

Bannerman: Yes, I know him very well.

⁶ Coltman, 1819: 190.

⁷ Coltman, 1819: 187-188.

⁸ Op. cit.

⁹ "Report of the Proceedings Connected with the Disputes between the Earl of Selkirk and the North-West Company at the Assizes Held at York in Upper Canada, October 1818." Trial of John Severight et al, Province of Upper Canada: Session of Oyer and Terminer and General Gaol Delivery held at York October 19, 1818 to October 30, 1818: pp. 170-171.

¹⁰ Op. cit.

¹¹ Hugh Bannerman was one of the Selkirk Settlers who arrived at Churchill in August 1813 and came to Red River in the spring of 1814. He was 18 when he arrived and was from Dackalury in Kildonan Parish. He moved east after 1816.

¹² Mrs. Winifred McNulty and her husband Pat McNulty from Foxford had been with the group of the Selkirk Settlers that arrived at Red River in 1812, they then moved east after 1816.

Mr Sherwood: Did you ever have any conversation with him on the subject of the battle of the 19th June, and what did he tell you, and where and when was it?

Bennerman: I saw him in this town of York last summer, and he told me that Mr. Semple's party fired first.

Attorney General: Where did this conversation take place?

Bennerman: It took place at Ashley's, and we then went to Hamilton's, and he said he would go to Mr. Mackenzie, and tell him the whole truth of the business.¹³

Mrs. McNolty (sic): He [Haydon] told me these words, "we can not blame the Half-Breeds, for our side fired first, and if we had gained the day, we should have done the same, or as bad, to them."¹⁴

Mrs. McNolty: I saw Governor Semple go out of the fort armed with guns. I guess there were fifteen or twenty of them. The guns had bayonets. I had occasion to speak with Holte before they came and after with Heydon. Mr. Holte said if the Half-Breeds came, who were hourly expected, that they would have their pemmican or their lives. He said that if they did not give up their pemmican they would take their lives. The party went out as if they were going to battle. Michael Haydon and Michael Kilkenny said on their return from the field of battle, that they could not blame the Half-Breeds. They said, 'we can not blame the Half-Breeds, we fired first, and if we had got the better, we would have served the Half-Breeds the same.' They both said so.¹⁵

Conclusions of the Special Enquiry

- The first shot was fired at François Boucher from Semple's side. This shot passed so close as to stun him and cause him to fall off his horse, a second was fired at an Indian in Grant's party. After this point, both sides liberally shot at one another. After three discharges the colonists began to give way. The battle then continued between individuals. The fighting did not exceed fifteen minutes.
- Before the battle it was not the intention of either party to engage in a fight.
- Persons of known talents and general information such as the Earl of Selkirk and Governor Semple should have known that their enforcement of the hunting and trading edicts showed "*a blameable carelessness as to consequences, on a subject likely to endanger both the peace of the country and the lives of individuals.*"
- On the killing of the wounded in Semple's party—Coltman noted that it was the custom of the Indians and Metis living on the plains to "refuse quarter to their conquered enemy." He found fault with the men he considered to be "civilized Half-Breeds" and said an equal degree of moral criminality must attach to those who collected together such a savage force for hostile purposes, meaning the NWC.

¹³ "Report of the Proceedings Connected with the Disputes between the Earl of Selkirk and the North-West Company at the Assizes Held at York in Upper Canada, October 1818." Trial of John Severight et al, Province of Upper Canada: Session of Oyer and Terminer and General Gaol Delivery held at York October 19, 1818 to October 30, 1818: pp. 191-192.

¹⁴ Op. cit. pp. 192-193.

¹⁵ Op. cit., pp. 260-261.

Upon completion of his investigation, Coltman wrote to Cuthbert Grant, advising him to surrender:

... as for the battle itself, it is always understood that the Colony people pursued you, or came forward to meet you and fired the first shot while Boucher was speaking to them. I consider this affair, as well as other violent deeds which took place, although as serious offences against the law, yet such may be pardoned...

... I expect that I shall leave here on the 5th of next month and I will take with me all the prisoners and shall properly return for a few more days at the end of the month if such time agrees with you better for your surrender.¹⁶

Cuthbert Grant and a number of North West Company employees were charged with murder and larceny. The trials were held at York in Upper Canada in October 1818—all those sent to trial were acquitted, and charges were dropped on the remainder.¹⁷

The Participants in the Battle of Seven Oaks

Prelude

June 18 to 19, 1816: Cuthbert Grant's party was mounted and traveling east along the Assiniboine River, they had two carts and canoes with 15 bags (1,150 lbs.) of pemmican. In order to avoid the HBC gunboats blockading the Assiniboine River near the forks, Grant brought the canoes ashore at Sturgeon Creek where it enters the Assiniboine River from the north and they proceeded east, overland to Catfish Creek (now Omand's Creek), then headed north to Frog Plain. He reached Catfish Creek on the late afternoon of the nineteenth; a location three miles west of the forks. His plan was to bypass Governor Semple at Fort Douglas and meet the NWC partners downstream of the fort on the Red River. A week previous (June 10th) Semple had torn down NWC Fort Gibraltar and burnt the remaining buildings.

Because of the large swamp drained by the creek, Grant's horses were up to their bellies in water and had to travel further east than they had planned. They had to veer east to within one and a half miles of Fort Douglas.

Grant's men captured William Bannerman¹⁸, Alexander Murray¹⁹ and Alexander Sutherland²⁰, three settlers who were working south of the fort and held them so that they could not warn Semple that the Metis were bypassing the fort.

With the aid of a spyglass Semple saw the men on the plains and left the fort to confront them with only 15 or so men, all HBC staff. As Semple proceeded north through John McLean's farm McLean²¹ joins them. They then meet Alex McBeath, William²² and James Sutherland and their

¹⁶ Cited in J.G. MacGregor, *Peter Fidler: Canada's Forgotten Explorer 1769-1822*. Calgary: Fifth House Ltd. 1998: p. 221.

¹⁷ "Report of the Proceedings connected with the Disputes between the Earl of Selkirk and the North-West Company at the Assizes Held at York in Upper Canada, October 1818." Montreal: James Lane and Nahum Mower, 1819.

¹⁸ Bannerman came to Red River in 1812, at age 18, with his father.

¹⁹ Murray, from Sligo, Ireland, came to Red River in 1812 at age 19.

²⁰ Sutherland came to Red River in 1812 at age 24.

²¹ John McLean and his wife came to Red River from Kengharan when he was 28.

families fleeing south to the fort. McBeath tells Semple he will need at least two cannons to confront Grant but Semple refuses to listen.

Semple met the second half of Grant's party at Seven Oaks, two miles south of Frog Plain. Meanwhile Grant and his advance party have ridden back to join the latter part of his group.

Lieutenant William Coltman's investigative report states that the orders given by Alexander McDonnell to Grant's men were to pass in the plains as far distant as possible from Fort Douglas, to avoid making any attack, or causing alarm, and to wait at the *Grenouilliere* for the arrival of the canoes from Montreal for whose use the provisions were sent, but that in the case of being attacked, they might defend themselves.²³

Pierre Soucisse told Coltman that upon learning of the destruction of Fort Gibraltar the NWC men determined to besiege the colony, relying chiefly on cutting off their supply of provisions, and intended to take a position at *Grenouilliere*, which would at the same time enable them to cut off the communications of the colony, and secure their own; that they did not avow their intention of driving off the colonists, although he believed they might have entertained it even before the battle.²⁴

Alexander McKenzie, was present at a meeting with Alexander McDonnell, his partner, when the later told him "that his general plan, and that, which he had recommended to the half-breeds, was to blockade the fort of the colony, and cut off their provisions and water, by placing themselves on both sides of the river, so as to oblige them to surrender, from famine."²⁵

Cuthbert Grant's men

Grant's group consisted of four Saulteaux, two Cree, six Canadiens, and fifty-two Half Breeds.

Cuthbert James Grant (1793-1854)

On June 19, 1816 the Battle of Seven Oaks occurred with Governor Semple and twenty of his men killed on Frog Plain. Cuthbert and the Metis then took Fort Douglas. Cuthbert offered settlers who wanted to leave the Red River Settlement protection. He was later to face charges in Montreal arising from the fight but never actually went to trial. While Cuthbert was away his wife Elizabeth McKay and their son disappeared and were never heard from again.

Grant was charged for his part in the confrontation at Seven Oaks and taken to court, but the charges were dismissed. Coltman later stated that "Grant's conduct ... only seemed to him to underline the dangerous policy the NWC had been pursuing in using the Metis for its own ends" This statement not only reflects the close alliance between the Metis and the NWC, but also suggests that the company viewed the Metis as a group which, if properly controlled, would provide services which would benefit the company.

Also known as "Wapeston" (White Ermine), Cuthbert Grant Jr. was born in 1793, at Fort de la Rivière Tremblante. Cuthbert's father, Cuthbert Sr. was a NWC partner and trader, his mother

²² William Sutherland from Borobal, came to Red River in 1812 at age 22.

²³ Coltman, 1819: 183

²⁴ Ibid.

²⁵ Op. Cit. 184.

was a Metis Assiniboine-Cree woman. He had one brother, (James) and three sisters, (Josephte, Mary and Marie Marguerite). Cuthbert was married to Marie McGillis, the Metis daughter of Angus McGillis.



When Cuthbert's father died in 1799, in accordance with his father's will, William McGillvary, a NWC Director, became Cuthbert's guardian. Cuthbert was baptized October 12, 1801, at age eight in the Scottish Church on St. Gabriel Street in Montreal, a church his father donated money to help build. His father's will also stated that he wished his sons to be educated in Scotland. Several historians are of the opinion that despite conjecture that Cuthbert followed his brother to Scotland for his schooling, he would appear to have been educated in Montreal under McGillivray's supervision. Cuthbert Grant is thought to have been given medical training with the military by his uncle, Nor'Wester Alexander Grant, leader of the Glengarry Regiment, while he was taking his schooling in Quebec. Two of Grant's medicine chests are still extant, one is a country-made chest that he used to take with him on the buffalo hunt the other, likely acquired later is a fine brass-bound case.

Grant entered the company's service, probably about 1810 to work in the Montreal offices, and in 1812 he travelled to Fort William (Thunder Bay, Ont.) with the annual brigade. At the meeting of Montreal and wintering partners that summer, at age 19, he was assigned as clerk to the Upper Red River department. He was posted to the North West Company's Fort Espérance on the Qu'Appelle River under John Prtichard, where he was put in charge of a small outpost.

In 1812, there was a growing conflict between the two major companies, the HBC and the NWC. This year also marked the arrival of the first colonists. The Nor' Westers saw the colonists as a threat to the fur trade and supply of pemmican. The conflict grew. In 1814, Governor Miles Macdonald made a proclamation prohibiting the sale of pemmican from the Assiniboine, out of fear that the colony would starve. The NWC needed pemmican as food supply for the voyageurs. The Metis depended on the sale of pemmican to the Nor' Wester's to support their families. A second proclamation ordered a stop mounted men from the running of buffalo at the Red River Settlement. This was the Metis' customary mode of hunting, whereas the settlers hunted on foot. The Metis felt that they were the true owners of the Northwest and need not obey these laws. The Nor' Westers were, after all the "New Nation."

Cuthbert Grant, Peter Pangman, William Shaw and Robert Montour were appointed Captains of the Metis. In March 1816, the Metis appointed Cuthbert Grant as Captain-General of all the Half-Breeds (Metis). In May, Cuthbert and his men set out to Brandon House with the intention of destroying it. Peter Fidler of Brandon House recorded the first sighting of the Metis Flag. At half past noon about 48 Half-Breeds, Canadiens, Freeman and Indians came riding on horseback with their flag flying. It was blue, about four feet square and had a white figure eight placed horizontally in the middle.

George Simpson was concerned about the conflict between the Sioux and the Metis living at Pembina and, knowing that Pembina would be south of the 49th parallel and thus in the U.S.A., he asked Grant for his help to establish a new community 29 kilometers west of Fort Garry. In 1824, he gave Cuthbert a large grant of HBC land for this purpose. This was in the district of White Horse Plains. They formed the community of Grantown with 80 Metis families who were displaced from Pembina. The people of Grantown (now St. François Xavier) supplied fur traders with pemmican, and being some of the best fighters, they acted as a buffer between the Sioux and the Red River Settlement.

In 1823, Cuthbert married Marie McGillis and established a permanent home in Grantown. Cuthbert built a flour mill along the banks of Sturgeon Creek, now known as "Grant's Old Mill." He was also a private freighter. In 1824, Grant transported goods by York Boats to and from Norway House and the Red River Settlement along with the voyageurs of Grantown.

The American Fur Trade Companies entering the Northwest were an ever-increasing problem. In July 1828, the HBC passed a resolution appointing Cuthbert Grant "Warden of the Plains," to stop the illicit trade of furs in the Northwest. This position also included organizing buffalo hunts and protecting the settlement. In 1835, he was appointed to the Council of Assiniboia as the Metis representative. Grant was also responsible for negotiating treaties with the Dakota people.

In 1837, General James Dickson, a self-styled liberator of the Indian nations, proposed to raise an army of the Metis to march south to free the American Indian and establish an Indian kingdom in California. Grant provided him with guides to lead him into the U.S. and the General gave him his epaulets and sword.

Grantown's religious ceremonies were held in Grant's home until the first church was built in 1829. A larger church was built in 1833, right beside the humble one. Father Harper also used Grant's home as a school, when instructing the children.

While in Scotland, Cuthbert was said to have received training in European medicine. He was called upon to help the sick and wounded. Grant travelled far and wide to help families deal with epidemics of small pox and measles. He travelled with his medicine chest strapped behind him as he rescued people caught on the plains without food or medical help. His medicine chest along with his sword can now be seen at the Manitoba Museum.

In his latter years, Cuthbert Grant served as counselor and magistrate. At age 59, he served once more as Governor of the buffalo hunt. In 1854, Grant was injured in a fall from his horse. On July 15, 1854, he died much to the sorrow of the Metis of Grantown. The people of Grantown honoured him by burying him under the altar of the church. Later the church burnt down and it is said that Highway #26 now covers Cuthbert Grant, the first leader of the Metis Nation.

Grant's Captains

Michel François Bourassa. (d. 1846)

Michel married Marguerite Beaulieu sometime before 1806. Michel was a NWC interpreter. Michel was one of the principal Metis to take part in the Seven Oaks battle. Pru'homme refers to him as "Captain Bourrasa." On the night of March 17, 1816, the NWC Fort Gibraltar was attacked and seized by Colin Robertson of the HBC. On March 30, Selkirk had written to Robertson instructing him to expel the rival company from the HBC domain—if necessary resorting to force to do this. On June 10, 1816, the NWC Fort Gibraltar was destroyed, some of the logs were sent to Fort Douglas and the rest burned.

It was in this context that Michel Bourassa and Antoine Houle were leading a party of armed men to transport 20 bags of pemmican below Fort Douglas to the NWC brigade coming from Montreal. The group consisted of 6 Canadiens, 6 Indians and 52 Metis. Their orders were to avoid the fort. This they did by riding as far west as they could get without being in the swamp. Even then they reported their horses were up to their bellies in water. They were ordered by Cuthbert Grant not to attack Fort Douglas, but to defend themselves if attacked. Governor Semple spotted them and went out with 27 of his men. After a confrontation with Boucher over Semple's destruction of Fort Gibraltar the HBC men fired on the Metis, after which Holt and Semple were shot in return. An Indian named Machicabaou finished off Semple. Twenty HBC were killed as opposed to one Metis and one Indian from Grant's party. The wounded HBC men were apparently finished off by a Canadien, François Deschamps and his Metis sons.

Antoine Houle. (born circa 1781-1787)

Antoine was one of the principal Metis who took part in the battle of Seven Oaks. He and Michel Bourassa were the two Captains of Grant's party. Antoine was born between 1781 and 1787, the son of Antoine Houle Sr. and Elise an Indian. Antoine was a NWC interpreter. Antoine married Josephite Lauzon, they lived at Grantown. He died on March 27, 1867 at St. François Xavier. He is reputed to have killed Mr. James Moore during the battle.

Coltman reported:

*Antoine Houle had said more positively, that if the colonists did not immediately surrender their arms, they must fire upon them; and that he would give a shout, as a signal, when to begin; for they must not be allowed to escape.*²⁶

Grant's other Men:

Allard:

Allard was alleged to have looted the bodies of the dead:

*Pierre St. Germain who gives the fullest evidence on this point (plunder), states that he saw Lacerte wearing a watch and silk sash, which he believed to have been the Governor's; that one Allard had on Mr. McLean's sword and cap; that one Cotonohaye had the governor's double-barreled gun; that another, whose name he does not recollect, had his pistols; and that he recognized several articles of the clothes of the gentlemen killed, worn by other Half-Breeds.*²⁷

Battosh, Joseph Letendre dit Batoche. (c.1800-1816)

²⁶ Coltman, 1819: 184.

²⁷ Op. Cit. 193.

Joseph Letendre, a Metis, was the only member of Cuthbert Grant's party to have been killed at the Battle of Seven Oaks on June 19, 1816. Joseph was the youngest son of Jean Baptiste Letendre also known as Okimawaskawikinam and "Batoche" and Joseph (Cree). The NWC agreed to pay Mme. Joseph Letendre compensation for the unfortunate accident that led to her son's death because of the "good character her husband always bore."

James Bird was on his way to Carlton House when he stopped at "Upper Nippoe" now known as Nipawin on the Saskatchewan River, and visited the Jean Baptiste Letendre dit Batoche, the father of the NWC man that was killed at the Battle of Seven Oaks. He records in his journal:

Dec.14 1816: "The Canadian Master of this place, Battoche, is father of the young Halfbreed who was killed in Red River.²⁸ Having heard that the old Gentleman always disapproved of his Sons' joining in that affair and that he had reproved Mr. Hughes, even in the hearing of our people with all the bitterness of parental grief, for having occasioned the death of his Son, I sent for him with a view of ascertaining his real sentiments regarding that event and of the cause in which his son had fallen. He did not sit long before he adverted to the subject in Question loading Masers Hughes and Halden with the severest reproaches. It was THEM said the old Man with great warmth who deprived me of my Son; By flattering promises and artful insinuations they induced him for the first time in his life to disregard my advice and to act in direct opposition to my wishes; I never, continued he, would consent to his going to Red River because I believe the business he was to be engaged in to be both cruel and unjust, a sufficient proof of which was, the Northwest Proprietors themselves refraining from taking a part in it. Who was it, he exclaimed, that sent for my Son? Mr. Alexander McDonnell and Mr. Duncan Cameron I answered. It is on one of those if I ever see them, said he, that I will be revenged.

I praised the old Gentleman's discernment and liberality and assured him that the day is not far distant when he will have reason to congratulate himself for having acted with such regard to the duties of a civilized being and for having scorned to be made a wretched tool of the Northwest Company."²⁹

François Firmin Boucher (b. 1799):

²⁸ Jean Baptiste Letendre (also known as Okimawaskawikinam and "Batoche"), born August 30, 1762 in Sorel (Que.), he married *circa*. 1785 à la façon du pays Joseph (Cree) "Crise," a member of the Cree nation, in the Northwest. He died in or after 1827, probably in St Boniface.

Jean-Baptiste Letendre, *dit* Batoche, came to the northwest in the 1780s. In 1785–86 he was employed by the North West Company in the Athabasca department as a "devant" or bowsman. He is listed as an interpreter in the region of Fort des Prairies (Fort-à-la-Corne, Sask.) in 1804. Marie-Anne Gaboury and Jean-Baptiste Lagimodiere, who spent some time in the area in 1808, are reported to have met the Canadian Batoche and his Cree family. In 1810 Letendre or his son, who was also called Jean-Baptiste, was with the explorer David Thompson. In his diary Thompson mentions that Letendre and his family arrived from the region near Beaverhill Lake (Alberta), bringing a hundred or so beaver pelts. That year Letendre or his son went with Thompson to explore the Athabasca River as far as the Rockies but quit the expedition in January 1811 at the camp on the Canoe River (B.C.), a tributary of the Columbia.

In the 1810s and 1820s Letendre engaged in the fur trade on his own account as a "freeman." Along with his family he owned a trading post called Batoche at Muskootao Point, west of Fort-à-la-Corne on the north bank of the Saskatchewan. The Letendres also stayed for a time in the Red River Settlement during this period. On 19 June 1816 one of their sons was killed [likely Joseph Letendre dit Batoche born ca. 1800] in the engagement at Seven Oaks, known in historical writings by the Métis and French of the west as La Grenouillère. The NWC agreed to pay Mme Letendre compensation for this unfortunate accident because of the "good character her husband always bore."

²⁹ 1M19 B.27/a/6 HBCA microfilm numbers: Reel 1M257 B.239/b/69

French Canadian Francois Boucher who was with Grant at Seven Oaks had been an Ensign in the Glengarry Regiment, serving under Grant's uncle Alexander Grant, during the War of 1812. Boucher was a French Canadian who was employed as a NWC clerk. Pelletier says that he heard Cuthbert Grant, on sending Boucher to the government party, say to him; "Go to them, and tell them to ground their arms, and to surrender, or we will fire upon them."³⁰

Boucher who could speak English then moved forward to negotiate with Semple.

"What do you want?" he asked Semple. "What do you want yourself?" Semple answered. "We want our Fort (Gibraltar)," said Boucher. "Well then! Go to your fort," replied the governor. "You damned rascal, you destroyed it!" cursed Boucher. Semple then berated him for speaking to him in that way seized the bridle of Boucher's horse and reached for his rifle to disarm him. He called for his men to take Boucher prisoner. Boucher jumped to the ground to escape and a shot immediately rang out, killing one of the governor's lieutenants.

In the NWC report it is said that the bullet grazed Boucher's ear.

Boucher was taken as a prisoner to Montreal and while there gave a declaration to a justice of the peace on August 29, 1816. He stated that: "He advanced alone to the Hudson's Bay party to speak to them, and came so near Governor Semple, that the latter took hold of the butt end of the deponent's gun, and ordered his people to advance; that they, not obeying him, and the deponent saying that if they fired they were all dead men. Governor Semple said that they must not be afraid, that this was not the time for it, and that they must fire. Immediately the deponent heard the reports of two muskets fired by the Hudson's Bay people. That at this moment the deponent threw himself from his horse, still holding the mane, and that the horse being afraid, dragged him in this manner about the distance of a gun shot, where he remained. That, from the moment he was thus carried away by his horse, the firing became general between the people of the Northwest and the Hudson's Bay. That the fire was begun by those of Hudson's Bay."³¹

As a result of his participation Boucher and Nor'Wester Paul Brown were put on trial at the end of October 1818 for Semple's murder at York (Toronto). They were both acquitted.

Peter J. Gagné in his book *French Canadians of the West*, based on a translation of *Dictionnaire Historique des Canadiens et des Métis Français de L'Quest* By Reverend A.G. Morice, O.M.I., states:

Francois Fermin Boucher:

:

The Member of Parliament who was at the Battle of Seven Oaks. He was a pureblood French-Canadian who was employed as a clerk by the North West Company.

On 19 June 1816, Boucher was part of a group of Métis that was transporting PEMMICAN to the Montréal canoe brigade under the command of Michel Bourassa and Antoine Houle. When the group arrived at the fork of the Red

³⁰ Coltman, 1819: 187.

³¹ Charles Napier Bell, *The Selkirk Settlement and Settlers.* Winnipeg: *The Commercial*, 1887: 18.

and Assiniboine Rivers near Fort Douglas, they noticed Governor Semple of the Hudson's Bay Company and his entourage moving towards them, though they were trying to pass unnoticed. Boucher's group made an about-face, formed their ranks into a crescent so as to keep the English between both points and went to meet them. Boucher, who could speak English, then detached himself from the Métis and set off towards the governor, indicating that he wanted to speak. "What do you want?" he asked Semple. "What do you want, yourself?" Semple answered. "We want our fort," [Gibraltar] said Boucher. "Well then! Go to your fort," replied the governor. "You damned rascal, you destroyed it!" cursed the French-Canadian.

At that, Semple berated the French-Canadian for speaking to him like that, seized the bridle of Boucher's horse and reached for his rifle to disarm him, calling for his men to take Boucher prisoner. Boucher then jumped to the ground to escape and a shot rang out almost immediately, killing one of the governor's lieutenants. In the official North West Company report, it is said that a bullet grazed Boucher's ear.

As a result of the part that he played in this "battle" and Semple's death, Boucher was put on trial in York (Toronto) at the end of October 1818. He and fellow Nor'wester Paul Brown were charged with the murder of Governor Semple. The two were defended by Levis Peters Sherwood, who called none other than William McGillivray, one of the partners of the North West Company, to serve as a character witness for both men. Boucher and Brown were acquitted of the charges. At that time, Boucher was young and his father was a respected landowner in Montréal.

Paul Brown:

Brown was tried for Semple's murder at York (Toronto) October 1818 and acquitted. Nicholas Ducharme in his deposition states having seen Brown at the *Grenouilliere* at a period, which renders it, in his opinion, impossible that he should have been in the battle of Seven Oaks.

Cha-ne-cas-tan:

Chanecastan appears on lists of participants but nothing further is known.

Coutonahais:

Coutonahais or Coutonaha, described as a "Half Breed", was one of the NWC men previously captured by the HBC Sheriff at Pembina and imprisoned at Fort Douglas. Pierre St. Germain later testifies that at the Battle of Seven Oaks that "one Cotonohaye had the governor's double-barreled gun; that another, whose name he does not recollect, had his pistols; and that he recognized several articles of the clothes of the gentlemen killed, worn by other Half-Breeds".³² Coton-nah-hais was the Chippewa name for Langé or Langer. This man is likely Francois Langer born in 1794. He was married to Marguerite George (Sioux) born in 1796.

Charles Deschamps:

Charles Deschamps was the third son of François Deschamps Sr.

François Deschamps Jr.:

³² Ibid.

François, although barely into his teens, was with his father and Cuthbert Grant at the Battle of Seven Oaks in 1816 on Frog Plain. The family moved to the upper Missouri River in 1827. In 1832, he was employed with Prince Maximilian of Weid's expedition to the Old Northwest. The Prince noted that François was brave in combat and an excellent marksman. In 1833, Deschamps was an interpreter at Fort William on the upper Missouri and in 1835 was working in the same capacity at Fort Union. By all reports the family was involved in robberies and other violent activities.

The Deschamps family had an ongoing feud with Jean-Baptiste Gardiepy, his father's killer. In revenge for this, they killed Jack Rem whose son they had killed earlier in a drunken brawl. As a result in 1836, the residents of Fort Union resolved to rid themselves of this problem family. The Deschamps were holed up in the Fort, Mrs. Deschamps came out with a peace pipe to negotiate and was immediately shot through the heart. The populace then killed her eight children, one of whom was only ten years old.³³

François Eno *dit* Delorme³⁴ (Aneeb) stated that Bourassa and Primeau, two of the Half-breeds present at the battle, told him that it was Old Deschamps and younger son who dispatched the wounded, having, as Bourassa said, remained behind by the advice of the two Houles and others; that he understood it was they also who had the largest share of the pillage, and that many of the Half-Breeds had told him, that old Deschamps had even taken off the bloody shirts, and was washing them till they themselves cried out shame on him; that he had also seen the hats of Governor Semple and Mr. Wilkinson in the possession of the two elder sons of old Deschamps, of whom François stated in his presence that he had himself killed six, and his younger brother four persons.³⁵

Soucisse stated in his testimony to Coltman that it was universally reported that the cruelties committed after the battle were the acts of Deschamps and his sons; and that the reports were apparently so well founded that he has no doubt of the truth thereof, and in consequence when he met the said Deschamps, he refused him his hand before a large party, and publicly assigned the reason; and that no one else has ever been named to him as having taken part in the said cruelties.³⁶

François Deschamps Sr.:

François was a well-known NWC enforcer during the Pemmican Wars. He was involved in the capture of John McLeod and his interpreter Jack Rem Kipling at Turtle River (in what is now North Dakota) on February 9 and 10, 1815. In March 1815 François and his son Joseph robbed HBC employee Pat Quinn of his musket and ammunition. On May 14, 1815, Deschamps and others captured and robbed James Bird and James Sutherland in the Qu'Appelle Valley. In the summer of 1815 on June 28, Deschamps was with the group of 60 Norwester's who burned the Red River Colony. His sons, Joseph and François Jr. were also there.

François Sr. is first listed by the NWC working at Rocky Mountain House and Fort des Prairies in 1799. His brother Quonet Deschamps was also well known in the fur trade. In 1804, he is listed

³³ Robert W. Thomson. "This Wicked Family." *Montana: The Magazine of Western History*, Winter 2004: 2-15.

³⁴ Francois Delorme *dit* Henault was born 1767 in Berthier, Quebec. Employed by the NWC he was stationed on the Lower Red River where he married Madeleine Saulteaux. Delorme is found on the 1829 St. Francois Xavier Census.

³⁵ Coltman, p. 192-3.

³⁶ *Ibid.*

as an interpreter at Fort des Prairies. Amongst the persons particularly mentioned in the depositions, as having participated in the more lurid deaths, is François Deschamps, a Canadien, who had three sons, (Half-Breeds) present with him in the battle, François, Joseph commonly called Grossetête, and the youngest whose name is not mentioned; but is likely Charles Deschamps. He was accused of finishing off Semple. Charles Bellegrade stated that he saw some of Governor Semple's clothes in the possession of François Deschamps, the son.³⁷ A Canadien employed near the Rocky Mountains in the late 1800s; by 1804 he had taken an Indian wife and was the interpreter at Fort des Prairies. The family finally moved to Pembina then to the Upper Missouri River at Fort Union.

*Joseph Pelletier dit Assiniboine stated positively, that during the Battle of Seven Oaks he saw the father kill one of the wounded, and plunder the body of Governor Semple; he also mentions having seen the clothes of the others in the possession of the sons.*³⁸

In 1834 at Fort Union, Deschamps sons got drunk and smashed in the head of Jack Rem's 19 year-old son, killing him. In revenge Rem's family and Jean Baptiste Gardiepy decided to kill Francois and his son of the same name. They killed the father and gravely wounded his son on July 23, 1835.³⁹

Joseph "La Grossetête" Deschamps:

This was the son of François Deschamps Sr. and brother of François Deschamps Jr. Marsellois mentions the circumstance of Mr. Rogers being killed when asking quarter; but says it was done by one of the Deschamps, called "Grossetête", a fact which Desmarais also attests to have been the general report; and he was urged on by his father, a Canadien, who cried out "No pardon!"⁴⁰

Jean-Baptiste Desmarais:

Desmarais was a long-time resident of the area having served under NWC leader Alexander Henry the Younger. Jean-Baptiste was at Pembina in 1793, at the NWC Souris River Post in 1796 and was part of the Red River Brigade of 1800-1801 as an interpreter traveling with his wife, Josephte "Sauteuse" and two children. Their son Francois was born about 1804. Jean-Baptiste is listed as a Voyageur Foreman in 1804 with the NWC. In March of 1814, in the Dakota Territory, he was robbed of his provisions at gunpoint by 15 men sent by Miles McDonnell the governor of Selkirk's colony. He served until 1820 at Lower Red River, Fort Des Prairies, Red River, Fort William, Montreal and Red River. His NWC service record is shown below.

³⁷ Ibid.

³⁸ Ibid.

³⁹ Robert W. Thomson. "This Wicked Family." *Montana: The Magazine of Western History*, Winter 2004: 2-15.

⁴⁰ Coltman, 1919: 187.

NAME: DESMARAIS (Desmarrais), Jean Baptiste [A] PARISH: ENTERED SERVICE: DATES:

Appointments & Service Outfit Year*	Position	Post	District	HBCA Reference
<i>*An Outfit year ran from 1 June to 31 May</i>				
North West Company:				
ca. 1804	Voyageur, Foreman		Lower Red River	Masson, L.R.
1811 - 1814		Fort des Prairies		F.4/32a, p. 284
1814 - 1817			Red River	F.4/32a, p. 284
1817 - 1818		Fort William		F.4/32a, p. 284
1818 - 1819			Montreal	F.4/32a, p.284
1820			Red River	F.4/32a, p. 284



Ref: Masson, L.R., Les Bourgeois de la Compagnie du Nord-Ouest

This may or may not be the same Jean Baptiste Desmarais who was part of the Red River Brigade, 1800-1801, as an Interpreter travelling with his wife and two children. (E. Coues, *New Light on the History of the Greater Northwest*, 1897, p. 51). See also DESMARAIS (Desmarrais), Jean Baptiste [B].

Nicholas Ducharme dit Charon:

Nicholas-Antoine Ducharme was the son of Charles Ducharme from Berthier, Quebec. In 1804 he was employed by the NWC as a guide at Fort Dauphin. Sometime before 1812, he married Genevieve Cree. They had a son called Charles. Before 1818 he took another country wife, Charlotte Saulteaux Abinoche, they had six children between 1818 and 1834. By his deposition Ducharme states that he had seen Brown at the Grenouillière plain during a period which rendered it impossible that he should have been in the battle.

Duplicis:

Duplicis appears on lists of participants but nothing further is known.

Pierre Falcon: (1783-1876)

Pierre Falcon was born on June 4, 1783 at Elbow Fort in the Swan River Valley. His father, Jean-Baptiste was a fur trader and clerk with the North West Company in the Red River district and his mother was a Cree Indian, the daughter of Pas au Traverse. In 1799, Falcon traveled east with his father and received his education in La Prairie, Lower Canada. He returned to the west at about fifteen years of age and he became a clerk with the North West Company.

Pierre is known to have worked in a variety of areas: the Fort William-Rainy Lake district, the northern regions of Lake of the Woods and Montagne la Bosse into the Qu' Appelle Valley, where he resided at Fort Pelly for some time. The duties he performed ranged from a clerk to traveling fur buyer. In 1812, Falcon married Cuthbert Grant's sister Marie, and in 1825 they settled west of Winnipeg in the newly established Grantown (St. François Xavier). They had three sons and four daughters whom Falcon supported as a successful rancher.

In July of 1816, Falcon was en route from Fort Qu' Appelle, where he and his men had seized HBC provisions, He met up with Cuthbert Grant in the Souris River area. Grant requested that Falcon leave his canoe brigade to help escort the NWC pemmican past the HBC's Fort Douglas. Three kilometers north of the forks of the Red and Assiniboine rivers, Grant led two groups of his men across Frog Plain. Falcon apparently arrived in the middle of the battle and told others that he did witness the death of Governor Semple. During the victory celebrations on the evening of

the battle, Pierre Falcon is the composer of “La Chanson de la Grenouillère” or the “Ballad of Frog Plain”, which became the “Michif National Anthem” or “Chanson des bois Brûles” a song that immortalized the Battle of Seven Oaks and added to his own notoriety.

Alexander Fraser:

Fraser, had received his education in Canada and was once a clerk in the custom house at Quebec. Afterwards he was appointed as a NWC clerk by Alexander Macdonnell. Fraser was charged but proved to be not present at the battle.

François Gariepy Sr.: (1797-1851)

François was married in 1824 to Louise Gladu at Pembina (b. 1800, the daughter of Charles Gladu Sr. and Marguerite Ross. One of their sons, Pierre, was married to Cuthbert Grant’s daughter Marie Rose Grant. This family lived at both Pembina and St. François Xavier.

Joseph Hess(e):

On March 19, 1816, Alexander McDonnell (HBC Sheriff), John Pritchard, John McLeod and others take possession of the NWC fort at Pembina. Bostonais Pangman, Fraser, Hesse and Cotonaha were all made prisoners. After being held at Fort Daer, they were all sent to Red river and held at Fort Douglas.

He was at Fort Gibraltar with a number of men who attacked Fort Douglas on June 11, 1815. He and others then burnt down the abandoned houses of the Selkirk Settlers. After the battle of Seven Oaks, he was informed that wild animals were disturbing the poorly buried bodies of the HBC men and he sent two men to properly bury the remains.

Then in October 1815, Alexander MacLean, Michael Hayden, and John Bourke arrested NWC men, Duncan Cameron, Seraphim Lamar and Charles Hess and imprisoned them at Fort Douglas. MacLean and Bourke then led an armed group with fixed bayonets to capture Fort Gibraltar where they looted the fort. They were in the process of sending Cameron, Lamar and Hess to Hudson’s Bay for transport to England when Colin Robertson intervened and released them.⁴¹

Joseph Huppé:

Joseph Huppé , born March 6, 1788, at Charlesbourg, Quebec, the son of Thomas La Croix dit Huppé and Marie Joseph Jobin. Huppé was employed with the NWC as a “Boute” (end position in canoe) from 1811-1821 on the Lower Red River. He married Marguerite Marcellais in 1815 at St. Boniface. After 1821 he is listed as a Freeman living at the Red River Settlement with his wife Marguerite Marcellais (b. 1793) and their children Joseph and Isidore. His NWC service record is shown below.

⁴¹ Alexander McDonnell, 1819: 46-47.

NAME: HUPPÉ, Joseph

PARISH: CANADA [Québec]

ENTERED SERVICE: 13 April 1811

DATES: b. ca. 1788

(Bancroft Library, University of California, Berkeley)

Appointments and Service

Outfit Year*	Position	Post	District	HBCA Reference
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*An Outfit year ran from 1 June to 31 May

North West Company:

1811-1821	Boute (end position in canoe)		Lower Red River	F.4/32a p. 458; F.5/3 fo. 35
1821	Freeman, to Red River Settlement			B.239/g/61

Wife: Marguerite Marcellais (b. 1793) (Sprague & Frye, *Genealogy of the First Metis Nation*, Winnipeg: Pemmican Publications, 1983, Table 1 #2267)

Children: Joseph (b. 1818, Red River Settlement)(Sprague & Frye, Table 1 #1002)
[Isadore (b. 1845, Red River Settlement)(Sprague & Frye, Table 1 #2264) Probably Jean-Baptiste's son from the dates]



Ka-tee-tea-goose:

Kateeteagoose was accused of firing the first shot, but the evidence did not support this.

Louis Lacerte Jr.:

Louis Lacerte Jr. was born Dec. 27, 1782, the son of Louis Lacerte and Françoise an Indian. Louis Lacerte married Marie Josephte Martin (b. 1797) of the Athabasca District in 1827 at Drummond Island. Both he and his father were voyageurs. He is shown in the NWC records in 1811-1816 at Lake Winnipeg/Cumberland House, 1817-1818 at Red River, 1818-1821 at Fort des Prairies, he then transferred to the HBC at the time of union. He and his family later lived at St. François Xavier. They were enumerated in the Red River Census in 1835 at Grantown, at the time the couple had three sons and three daughters, and were farming one acre.

Lacerte was accused of thefts from the dead at Seven Oaks. Pierre St. Germain, states that he saw Lacerte wearing a watch and silk sash, which he believed to have been the Governor's.⁴² Lacerte's NWC service record is shown below.

⁴² Coltman, p. 193.

NAME: LACERTE, Louis

PARISH:

ENTERED SERVICE: fl. 1811-1822

DATES:

Appointments & Service Outfit Year*	Position	Post	District	HBCA Reference
<i>*An Outfit year ran from 1 June to 31 May</i>				
<u>North West Company</u>				
1811-1816		Lac Ouinipeg/Cumberland House		F.4/32, p. 584
1817-1818		Red River		F.4/32, p. 584
1818-1821		Fort des Prairies		F.4/32, p. 584
1821	Transferred to Hudson's Bay Company at time of union			F.4/46, p. 12
<u>Hudson's Bay Company</u>				
1822, 1 June	Listed under "Bills Unpaid"			B.239/g/1, fo. 97



Baptiste Lafontaine:

Baptiste Lafontaine was born in 1799 in the NWT, the son of Jean Baptiste Lafontaine and a Sioux woman. He married Marie Larocque dit Rocheblave on June 6, 1825 at St. Boniface, she died in August of the same year. He then married Madeleine Morin. They were enumerated in the Red River Census of 1828 at which point they and their three sons were living with Cuthbert Grant at Grantown. They are shown as living on their own, farming six acres in the 1829 census.

Children:

- Francois Shamnais dit Fontaine dit Lafontaine, born before 1825. He married Madeleine Parisien.
- Jean "Baptiste" Lafontaine Jr., born about 1826; married Francoise Martin then Matilde Gariepy.
- Calixte Lafontaine born in the "spring" 1826.

As a teenager Baptiste was part of Cuthbert Grant's group at the Battle of Seven Oaks on June 19, 1816. Baptiste Lafontaine and François Bono were part of Grant's group that were in advance of the main party and returned to the battle scene from Frog Plain. At trial a copy of their oral evidence was placed on record. Lafontaine testified that the causes of the greater number of the English colonists killed, were, that they kept together in a body, whilst the Half-Breeds kept jumping about, throwing themselves down whilst loading, or the enemy aiming at them and were scattered over the ground to a greater extent than Semple's men. François Bono stated that he had fallen from his horse and was not present during the battle.⁴³

Later he was a renowned buffalo hunter. While at Fort Union on the Missouri River Rudolf Kurz writes:

Baptiste Lafontaine, the father of our new trader was the best buffalo hunter ever known in the region. "He covered one English mile in 6 minutes and shot, in flight,

⁴³ "Report of the Proceedings Connected with the Disputes between the Earl of Selkirk and the North-West Company at the Assizes Held at York in Upper Canada, October 1818." Brown and Boucher trial transcript at pp. 249-250.

12 cows—that is, two every minute— notwithstanding that cows run much faster than bulls. Lafontaine weighed 230 pounds, but sat his horse so lightly and comfortably that the beast was not sensible of his weight.”⁴⁴

Seraphin Lamarre:

Seraphin Lamarre was a NWC clerk and interpreter. He was first stationed at Duluth then was an ensign in the regiment of voyageurs during the War of 1812, then was named Major of the Indian tribes and conquered lands, after the surrender of Michilimachinac. From there he was assigned to Red River.

He was at Fort Gibraltar with a number of men who attacked Fort Douglas on June 11, 1815. He and others then burnt down the abandoned houses of the Selkirk Settlers. After the battle of Seven Oaks, he was informed that wild animals were disturbing the poorly buried bodies of the HBC men and he sent two men to properly bury the remains.

On October 1818 he was brought to York to stand trial for aiding the Metis after the battle of Seven Oaks. He died before the trial took place.

Jean-Baptiste Latour dit Latourelle:

Latour appears on lists of participants. This could be one of the Jerome *dit* Latour family and a relative of Pierre Jerome *dit* Latour who was an employee of the NWC near the Rocky Mountains in 1799 and later an interpreter at Fort des Prairies (Edmonton). Jean Baptiste was born in 1797. He appears on the Red River Census at Grantown between 1827 and 1833. In 1827 he is shown as married with a son under 16 and one daughter under 15. On the 1835 census the couple is shown with three sons under 16, and three daughters under 15.

Augustin Lavigne:

Augustin was from Lachine near Montreal. He was credited with saving the life of John Pritchard during the Battle of Seven Oaks. Augustin handed Pritchard over to Morin known as Perrault, and Mague who took him to Grant’s camp.

Machicabou actually “Maug-e-gaw-bow”:

Maug-e-gaw-bow (“Stepping Ahead” or “Starts to Stand”) was a signatory to the Fond du Lac Treaty of 1826.⁴⁵ He has been described as a Chief long associated with the Northwest Company and resident at Leech Lake. He is also described as a Midewewin Medicine man. Maug-e-gaw-bow was accused of finishing off Semple.

Archibald McLeod reported to Coleman: “*The governor begged for his life after he was wounded severely, which the half breeds granted and one of them stood by to protect him, but an Indian whose child had died in the winter and to whom the governor told on the plenitude of his confidence that he lost his child for his attachment to the NWC, told the governor today ‘you must follow my child as you boasted it was medicine killed him,’ so saying he shot him.*”

⁴⁴ Rudolph Freiderich Kurz. Journal: *An Account of His Experiences Among fur Traders and American Indians 1846-1852*. Washington: Smithsonian Institution, Bureau of American Ethnology Bulletin 115, 1937: 194.

⁴⁵ Stepping Ahead was a delegate of on of the Pillager Bands at Crow Wing River. The first treaty of Fond du Lac in 1826 was signed by Lewis Cass and Thomas L. McKenny for the United States and representatives of the Ojibwe of Lake Superior and the Mississippi on August 5, 1826 and proclaimed on February 7, 1827.

Louis Vasseur said “an Indian who recognized Semple and blamed him for the death of his child, shot Semple in the chest and killed him.” Coltman says: “Now the Indians in their council stated to me, that of the three present on the occasion, one ran away as soon as the battle began; and Machicabaou said, that he hid himself in a hole in the ground immediately after the first shots, and continued there till the battle was nearly over.” At trial Michael Martin said that he saw an Indian by the name of “Fils de la Corneille” (son of the Crow) kill Governor Semple.⁴⁶

Louis Mageau or Majeau:

Louis enlisted with the NWC Athabasca district in 1811 he was at Rainey Lake in 1813. From 1814 to 1817, he was assigned to Cumberland House. From 1818 to 1821, he was at English River. He is the Mageau who took part in the battle of Seven Oaks and took John Pritchard as a prisoner to the Metis camp after Augustin Lavigne saved Pritchard’s life. He was still a NWC employee when he and Pierre Boucher were taken prisoner by the HBC in 1819 along with John Duncan Campbell and Benjamin Frobisher and charged as a “Principal in the Murder of the late Governor Semple.” He was acquitted and went on to have a long career with the HBC. From 1821 to 1824 he was a servant with the HBC and 1824 to 1826 he is listed as an HBC Interpreter. Majeau’s service record is shown below.

NAME: MAJEAU, Louis 'A'		PARISH: L'assomption	ENTERED SERVICE: [ca.1804]*	DATES: b.[ca.1789]	
Appointments & Service	Outfit Year*:	Position:	Post:	District:	HBCA Reference:
<i>*An Outfit year ran from 1 June to 31 May</i>					
<u>North West Company</u>					
	1811-1813		Athabasca		F.4/32, fo. 683
	1814-1817		Cumberland House		F.4/32, fo. 683
	1818-1821		English River		F.4/32, fo. 683
<u>Hudson's Bay Company</u>					
	1821-1824	Canadian Servant		Isle a la Crosse	B.239/g/61-63
	1824-1826	Interpreter		English River	B.239/g/64-65

* in 1825-1826, he was listed as having served 21 years (B.239/g/65).

Likely the same Louis Majeau who was arrested in 1819, together with Pierre Boucher, John Duncan Campbell and Benjamin Frobisher, and charged as the “Principal in the Murder of the late Governor Semple.” (E. E. Rich, ed., *Colin Robertson's Correspondence Book, September 1817 to September 1822*, HBRS II, pp. 285-286).



Jean-Baptiste Marseillais:

Baptiste was born circa 1767. He is listed in the Red River Census for years, 1827, 1830, 1831-33, 1835, 1838, 1840 and 1843. In 1827 he is living with his wife, two sons over 16 and two daughters under 15. They have a house and are farming three acres. By 1933 they are farming 13 acres.

Coltman’s report states:

⁴⁶ Op. cit., at p. 256.

The depositions of Joseph Pelletier dit Assiniboine and Jean Baptiste Marseillais Half-Breeds, who were present at the battle, but who have since made their submission to the Earl of Selkirk, and are either in the service or living under the protection of the colony, and were examined at his Lordship's instance, agree generally in the foregoing (Haydon's) account of the affray, except only as to Hayden's statement of the first shot being fired on the side of the Half-Breeds, which they positively deny; and both state, that before any shot was fired on the side of the Half-Breeds, one had been fired at Boucher, which passed him so close as to stun, and cause him to fall off his horse; and Pelletier that a second was fired at an Indian, after which the action became general on each side; that after about three discharges the colonists began to give way, but the battle continued between individuals.⁴⁷

Michel Martin:

Michel took part in the Battle of Seven Oaks and was a witness for the NWC at the 1818 trial of Boucher and Brown. At trial he stated: "I was in the battle of the 19th June with the Hudson's Bay people. The Hudson's Bay people fired first; they fired two shots before we fired any, for I saw them... I heard and saw a gun fired, and I know it was by the Hudson's Bay party, because I saw the smoke."⁴⁸ No one was convicted at these trials.

Archibald Norman McLeod:

McLeod was born on March 17, 1772, in Scotland, the son of Neil McLeod and Margaret McLain. Archibald Norman McLeod was a Montreal merchant and fur trader who started as a clerk with the Scottish trading conglomerate, North West Company, in 1791. By 1799, he was an associate with the firm, and he became associated with McTavish, McGillivray & Co. in 1808. Three years earlier, McLeod had supervised the building of Fort Dunvegan (1805-1806) for the North West Company on the Peace River and his name was given to another of the company's outposts, Fort McLeod, on McLeod Lake in British Columbia. He was reportedly married to a "Rapid River woman" and they had a son, Alexander. By 1809 he had retired as a wintering partner but did play a significant role in the NWC and HBC disputes of 1815 to 1818. After the two companies merged he retired to Scotland. McLeod gives a version of the killing of Governor Semple that blames Machicabou: He told Coltman:

The Governor begged for his life after he was wounded severely, which the Half-Breeds granted and one of them stood by to protect him, but an Indian whose child had died in the winter and to whom the governor told on the plenitude of his confidence that he lost his child for his attachment to the NWC, told the governor today, 'you must follow my child as you boasted it was medicine killed him,' so saying he shot him.⁴⁹

Ignace McKay:

McKay appears on lists of participants. He was apparently married to Catherine (Saulteaux). Their son Alexis born 1781 at St. Francois Xavier married Marguerite (Saulteaux). Alexis' son, Ignace Jr. was born in 1808 at St. Francois Xavier. He married Josephite Bercier. They are found on the 1835 Red River Census living at white Horse Plain (Grantown).

⁴⁷ Coltman, p. 187

⁴⁸ "Report of the Proceedings Connected with the Disputes between the Earl of Selkirk and the North-West Company at the Assizes Held at York in Upper Canada, October 1818." Trial of John Severight et al, Province of Upper Canada: Session of Oyer and Terminer and General Gaol Delivery held at York October 19, 1818 to October 30, 1818: pp. 170-171.

⁴⁹ HBCA: F.3/2, A.N. McLeod, Fort William to Justice Reed, July 29, 1816.

Thomas McKay (b. 1798):

Thomas McKay was the Half Breed son of Alexander McKay a NWC partner who had accompanied McKenzie to the Pacific in 1793 and was posted at Portage la Prairie 1794-95 and was in charge of Lake Winnipeg in 1806-08, when he retired. Thomas was baptized at age 6 in the Scotch Presbyterian Church at Williamstown, Glengarry (Upper Canada) and entered the service of the Pacific fur Co. in 1810. He entered NWC service in 1813 after the capture of Astoria. Thomas McKay led a party of nine men sent from Cumberland House by NWC partner John Duncan Campbell, in charge of Cumberland House. Campbell had sent McKay and his men to reinforce the Metis force that was gathering at Fort Qu'Appelle under the leadership of Cuthbert Grant. McKay was one of the leaders when the Metis sacked Peter Fidler's Brandon House.

McKay was often described as one of the best shots in the country and very cool and resolute among the Indians. John Pritchard reported to Coltman that:

Captain Rogers, who had fallen, rose up and came towards Pritchard who advised him to give himself up; for which purpose he ran towards the enemy, raising up his hands, and calling out in English and broken French for mercy, when a Half-Breed by the name of Thomas McKay a clerk of the NWC, shot him through the head.⁵⁰

After 1821, Thomas worked for the HBC for 25 years. He settled on a farm in Oregon and apparently took part in the Cayuse War of 1848.

Louis Morin dit Perrault:

Louis was a French-Canadian who was one of the men who seized Fort Douglas from the HBC on June 21, 1816 after participating in the Battle of Seven Oaks. He was the one who originally took John Pritchard prisoner during the battle. His surname was sometimes spelled "Morain."

Baptiste Morralle:

Morralle appears on lists of participants but nothing further is known.

Ne-de-goose-ojeb-wan:

Appears on lists of participants but nothing further is known.

Oke-ma-tan:

Appears on lists of participants but nothing further is known.

Jean-Baptiste Parisien:

Jean-Baptiste was born April 14, 1784 at Vaudruiel, Quebec, the son of Jean Baptiste Léger dit Parisien and Marie Anne Prejean. In 1825 he married Lisette Bercier a Metisse. This family with three sons and six daughters was enumerated in the Red river Census of 1835 living on five acres. Jean Baptiste was one of the participants in the battle of Seven Oaks. He died later, shot by an unknown man while hunting buffalo near Pembina.

Joseph Pierre Pelletier dit Assiniboine, (1791-1851)

Joseph was born in Rupert's Land in 1791. He was the son of Antoine Pelletier and a Saulteaux Indian woman named Marguerite. He was also the half-brother of Peter "Bostonais" Pangman, Marguerite's son with Peter Pangman Senior. Joseph married Genevieve Hallett (born 1795) at

⁵⁰ Coltman, 1819: 187.

Fort Pelly. They had eleven children together. Between 1829 and 1843 the family was enumerated at Grantown for the Red River Census.

Joseph was involved in the battle of Seven Oaks in 1816. Joseph fought on behalf of the North West Company, in an effort to drive the Selkirk Settlers out of the Canadian west. Joseph is noted as one of the leading Bois-Brules, therefore it is likely that he was part of the small force led by Cuthbert Grant that attacked the force of Settlers and took over Assiniboia.

Lieutenant Coltman's investigative report on the Battle of Seven Oaks states:

The depositions of Joseph Pelletier dit Assiniboine and Jean Baptiste Marseillais Half-Breeds, who were present at the battle, but who have since made their submission to the Earl of Selkirk, and are either in the service or living under the protection of the colony, and were examined at his Lordship's instance, agree generally in the foregoing (Haydon's) account of the affray, except only as to Hayden's statement of the first shot being fired on the side of the Half-Breeds, which they positively deny; and both state, that before any shot was fired on the side of the Half-Breeds, one had been fired at Boucher, which passed him so close as to stun, and cause him to fall off his horse; and Pelletier that a second was fired at an Indian, after which the action became general on each side; that after about three discharges the colonists began to give way, but the battle continued between individuals.⁵¹

Joseph and Genevieve lived in St. Boniface for a number of years, and are noted in the Red River Census starting in 1829. They had settled in Grantown by 1835, and were enumerated again in the Red River Census in 1840. Joseph and Genevieve later moved to Pembina, Dakota Territory where he died in 1851.

Pe-me-can-toss:

Appears on lists of participants but nothing further is known.

Xavier Primeau:

Xavier was an employee of the NWC who featured prominently in the Battle of Seven Oaks.

Sacastan:

At the Indian Council it was stated, that one Sacastan, a Half-Breed from Fort des Prairies (Edmonton), on the Saskatchewan River, wore the coat of Dr. White, one of those killed; and it seemed to be the general opinion of the Indians, that it was the Half-Breeds from a distance who carried away most of the articles so plundered. Pritchard also stated that these were the parties who generally appeared to him the most violent.⁵²

André Trottier:

André Trottier was born in 1784 in the NWT, the son of André Trottier and Louise (Chippewa). He married Marguerite Paquette, the daughter of André Paquette and Lizette (Cree) in 1811 at Red River. This family was enumerated in the Pembina Census of 1850 as Family # 84. They list Andre age 66, a hunter, Marguerite age 50, Joseph age 22, a hunter, Michel age 19, a hunter, An-

⁵¹ Coltman, W. B. "Report of the Special Commissioner Relative to the Disturbances in Indian Territories of British North America." Quebec: June 30, 1818: 152-250. In *Papers Relating to the Red River Settlement*. Ottawa: House of Commons, July 12, 1819: 187.

⁵² Op Cit. 193.

toine age 14, and Charles age 10. Andre and his brother Joseph were participants in the Battle of Seven Oaks as part of Cuthbert Grant's party. From the Coltman Report:

André Trottier, "Half-Breed," stated the following to Commissioner William Coltman as despotion (sic) into the investigation of the fur trade war: That on his arrival near the encampment he was met by Mr. Alexander MacDonnell, who had with him Seraphim Lamar and Bostonais Pangman, and asked him, "What news?" to which he answered, "we fought yesterday"; and being further questioned, he answered, "that there were 22 of the English killed, that on their side, his brother [Joseph Trottier] was wounded, and a half-breed of the name Batoche, killed." Bostonais Pangman was quoted as saying that Batoche was his cousin and he must be revenged.⁵³

NAME: TROTTIER, André Jr.	PARISH: [Red River]	ENTERED SERVICE: 1813	DATES: b. ca. 1791 d. 24 April 1874†
Appointments & Service			
Outfit Year*:	Position:	Post:	HBCA Reference:
<i>*An Outfit year ran from 1 June to 31 May</i>			
North West Company:			
1813-1818		Red River	F.4/32 fo. 869
1833-1843	Appears in Red River Census (aged 42-52), Lot 164 St Francois Xavier		Sprague & Frye
Father:	André (b. ca. 1757, appears in Red River Census 1833-1838, aged 76-81) (Gail Morin, <i>Red River Censuses</i>)		
Wife:	Marguerite Pacquet [Paquette dit St. Denis] (b. 1787), daughter of Antoine Pacquet (Sprague & Frye, <i>First Metis Nation</i>)		
Child:	André (b. 1816) m. Isabel Falcon (b. 1819), daughter of Pierre Falcon (Sprague & Frye)		
+	buried at Lebret SK (Gail Morin, <i>Métis Families...</i>)		

Filename: Trottier, André Jr. (b. ca. 1791) (fl. NWC 1813-1818); JHB 2002/08



André Trottier died on April 24, 1874 at Lebret in the Qu'Appelle Valley.

Joseph Trottier:

Joseph Trottier was wounded with a broken leg during the Battle of Seven Oaks. His brother André reported to Alexandre Greenfield Macdonell that he was going from the forks to get his parents from the Souris River to come and care for his brother.⁵⁴ Joseph was born circa 1790, the son of André Trottier and Louise (Chippewa); his brother André (above) was also in the battle. He married Marie (Saulteaux) before 1824 by custom marriage and they were formally married on June 14, 1841 at St. Francois Xavier. The family was enumerated at Grantown in the Red River Census of 1840. The family was enumerated in the 1850 Pembina Census as Family # 20. They list Joseph as age 60, a hunter, Marie also age 60, Baptiste age 26, a hunter, Marguerite age 22, and Catherine age 20. Joseph died in January of 1852 and was buried at Pembina

Louison Vallée:

In 1804, Louison entered the service of the NWC as a guide and was resident at Red Lake. In 1816, he took part in the Battle of Seven Oaks. Several years later he was killed by a Sioux war party near Pembina.

⁵³ State Historical Society of North Dakota, Vol. 4, p. 534

⁵⁴ Macdonell, Alexander Greenfield, "A narrative of transactions in the Red River country: From the commencement of the operations of the Earl of Selkirk, till the summer of the year 1816." London: B. McMillan, 1820: 78.

Louis Vasseur:

Louis Vasseur was born circa 1793, he was married to Marguerite Pelletier, the sister of “Bos-tonaise” Pelletier. In the Red River Census of 1833 they are listed as living at Grantown. Louis was one of the men from Fort Cumberland who went south to join Cuthbert Grant in mid-April of 1816. François Boucher in his examination states, that Vasseur, in whose care Governor Semple was, after the battle brought away his sash, watch and pistols. Joseph Huppé states, that he saw Michel Bourassa strip the breeches off one body, and endeavoured in vain to prevent it. While guarding Semple an Indian who recognized Semple and blamed him for the death of his child, shot Semple in the chest and killed him.

Toussaint Vaudry:

Vaudry was a French Canadian who was in charge of the NWC post at Rivière aux Morts in 1803, then Turtle River. Vaudry accompanied Thompson when he went to see the Mandans in 1797-98 and he again visited the Mandans with Alexander Henry in 1806. Toussaint was a witness for the NWC during the 1818 trial at York. At the trial he testified that he had lived at Red River for over thirty years and had witnessed the ruin of the former French-Canadian forts in the region by the HBC. Vaudry’s son, Toussaint Jr. was born ca. 1799, he married Marie Anne Crebassa the daughter of John Crebassa and Suzanne Saulteaux. Their oldest daughter Marie was married to Romain Lagimodiere the son of Jean Baptiste Lagimodiere and Marie Anne Gaboury. They are shown in the Red River census of 1829.

Wa-ge-tan-ne:

Appears on lists of participants but nothing further is known.

HBC Soldiers, Staff and Colonists killed:⁵⁵**Prelude:**

Contrary to what is generally believed, only three Selkirk Settlers were killed at the Battle of Seven Oaks. The vast majority of the men who participated were HBC fur trade employees or Irish and Scottish labourers who had been hired by Selkirk to oppose the NWC traders and to build the colony. In fact, all of the male Selkirk Settlers had been enrolled as HBC employees so that Selkirk could exercise greater control over them through the HBC Governor. Of the men killed in battle, seven were labourers from Ireland, three from the Orkneys, and five were from the north of Scotland. Historian John C. Jackson has pointed out that the Earl of Selkirk was interditing the NWC trade route from Montreal plus placing imported staff against the NWC posts in the Qu’Appelle Valley:

These pretensions had taken a forceful bent in 1812 when the earl and his associates recruited and sent out what amounted to a gang of imported Irish toughs. Those brawlers were fully capable of answering the bully tactics of the Nor’westers in kind. Competition was escalating toward outright violence.⁵⁶

⁵⁵ PAM, S.P. Alexander Macdonell (Sheriff) Journal, v. 67: p. 18067

⁵⁶ John C. Jackson, 2003: 22. The men from Glasgow came with Selkirk’s first party of 1811. The second group from Sligo, Ireland arrived on June 24, 1812, with Irish servants hired from western Ireland and led by Owen Keveny. Selkirk had been in Sligo in May of that year to see them depart.

The 1812 party was under the control of Owen Keveny. The trip over had been memorable, the original leader had a nervous breakdown, the Irish and Scottish were fighting on shipboard and the steerage passengers attempted a mutiny at sea. Keveny is portrayed as particularly cruel:

(Owen Kaveney) has been represented as uncommonly severe and cruel in his treatment of those under his authority. It has been currently reported, and not doubted, that for the most trivial offence he would order the offending party to be put in arms; in other cases the unfortunate culprit was made to run between two lines of men drawn up fronting each other, and each man prepared with a cudgel to commence the strange, and to one party concerned, unpleasant operation of belaboring the object of their chief's resentment as soon as he entered between their ranks.⁵⁷

No wonder most of Keveny's paramilitary staff and the settlers asked the North West Company for passage out of Red River after Cuthbert Grant forced the HBC employees and settlers out of the forks in 1815.

As proof that the Metis did not intend to harm the Selkirk Settlers, Lieutenant Coltman notes that they took some settlers prisoner so that they would not warn Semple that they were trying to sneak past Fort Douglas unobserved:

With regard to the prisoners taken before the action, it appears by the depositions of three of them, William Bannerman (No. 198), Alexander Murray (No. 199) and Alexander Sutherland (No. 200) that they were all at work upon their lands the evening the Half-Breeds arrived; Alexander and William Bannerman on their father's lot, No. 21, and Alexander Murray on his lot No. 23, and that these three, with Murray's wife, were made prisoners by the Half-Breeds as they went towards the Frog Plain, and Alexander Sutherland as they passed his lot, No. 12, on returning to meet the Governor's party; ...and said that they did not intend to kill the settlers, but wanted to get hold of the officers of the colony."⁵⁸

Most of the combatants had previous altercations. On March 19, 1816, the HBC led by McDonnell, Pritchard, White and McLeod had attacked the NWC post at Pembina and taken Bostonais Pangman prisoner and transported him to Fort Douglas. Pangman, Moostoose and Boudrais were released on May 4, and headed west on horseback. They then gathered a group of 50 men and proceeded to attack James Sutherland's HBC brigade moving stolen NWC pemmican from Qu'Appelle to Fort Douglas. From the junction of the Assiniboine and Qu'Appelle rivers James Sutherland wrote:

8 o'clock AM, when we were attacked by about 50 Canadians and Half Breeds; this is the narrowest part of the river... two boats that was ahead of mine was disarmed & the men made prisoners... when I landed there was upwards of 30 guns pointed at me... this has solely occurred through Mr Robertson having liberated Bostonais, who arrived the night previous to the attack, with horrid accounts from the Forks; had he not arrived we should have passed down the river without molestation.⁵⁹

⁵⁷ Donald Gunn cited in J. Bumstead, 2008: 217-218.

⁵⁸ Coltman, op. cit., p. 187. William Bannerman was 18 when he arrived in Canada, Alexander Sutherland from Parish of Kildonan was 24 and Alexander Murray from Siragill was 19. They all sailed for Churchill in 1813 and went to Red River in the spring of 1814.

⁵⁹ HBCA, B.22/1/19, letter from James Sutherland, Rivière Qu'Appelle (n.d.).

William Coltman records that:

On May 8, 1816, James Sutherland, P.C. Pambrun, and twenty-two men, in the service of the Hudson's Bay company, in charge of five boats, containing twenty-two packs of furs and about six hundred bags of pemmican, whilst embarrassed in the rapids of the river Qui Appelle, were attacked by a party of about forty-nine persons under the command of Cuthbert Grant, Thomas McKay, Roderick McKenzie, and Bostonois, clerks or interpreters, and Brisebois, a guide in the service of the North-West company; the property seized, and themselves made prisoners, and taken to the North-West company's post, where Alexander McDonnell avowed what had been done to be by his orders.⁶⁰

The HBC men taken prisoner were Bryan Gilligan*, Thomas McDermid, Patrick Maroney*, Mickael Kilkenny*, Donald McCoy*, George McKenzie*, John Forbes, Hugh Fraser, Donald McKay*, James Bruin*, Thomas Kirkness, William Duncan, John Flett, Duncan McDonald*, Angus McIver, Dan Donovan*, Nick Kilbride, Andrew Sinclair, James Sandison, Martin Jourdan, Alexander McDonnell and James Sutherland. On May 21, 1816, they asked to be released to go down to the Forks. They were told that all of the Qu'Appelle brigade might go but were not to take any property belonging to the NWC post.⁶¹ Many of these men from the Qu'Appelle brigade were to die later at Seven Oaks.

François Eno dit Delorme, an interpreter in the service of the colony stated that previous to the arrival of the Half-Breeds *"he had been consulted by the Governor as to the conduct he ought to pursue, and had warned him he would have little chance on the plains, although he was strong whilst he remained at home, and in opposition to Mr. Pritchard, who asserted that fifty English were equal to two hundred half-breeds, had said, that on the contrary, fifty half-breeds in the plains would kill two hundred English."*⁶²

Two Saulteaux Chiefs, with about ten other Indians, came to offer their services to Governor Semple in case the colonists should be attacked; adding, that they believed all the other Indians entertained similar sentiments; to this offer Nolin stated, the Governor Semple had replied with thanks, but expressed his hopes that things would not come to such an extremity; and declared that in any event he could not accept their services.⁶³

Governor Semple's party consisting of twenty-eight persons, was completely surrounded, and of that number twenty-one were killed⁶⁴: namely, Mr. Semple, the Governor; Captain Rogers, mineralogist; Mr. White, the surgeon; Mr. McLean, the principal settler; Lieutenant Holt, of the Swedish navy; Mr. Wilkinson, the Governor's secretary, and fifteen men; besides which, Mr. J.P. Bourke, the HBC storekeeper was wounded. Although these men are often referred to as Selkirk

⁶⁰ Coltman, p. 181.

* All of these men later fought at Seven Oaks and all but McCoy, Kilkenny and McKay were killed. Michael Kilkenny (b. 1791 in Ireland), his wife and two daughters were enumerated in the Red River Census of 1827.

⁶¹ When they came to Red River, Gilligan was 30, Kilkenny 23, Bruin 30 and Martin Jourdan was 16. Jourdan came in 1811 from Killalla on a three year HBC contract.

⁶² Coltman, p. 182.

⁶³ Op cit. p. 183.

⁶⁴ Martin Jordan, one of the settlers told Coltman (Deposition No. 147) that he was informed and believed the number killed was twenty, exclusive of one man, who having been drowned the day before, has been generally reckoned amongst those slain. This corresponds to the testimony of the Indian "Fils Kenis" that he saw twenty bodies the next day. (Coltman, p. 192.)

Settlers and colonists, in fact, most of them were HBC fur trade employees and officers of the HBC.

HBC Officers:

Governor Robert Semple (b. 1877):

Robert Semple was a Scottish Loyalist born in New England. Semple worked as a merchant and traveled extensively to Europe, Africa, the Asia, and South America. Subsequently he wrote a number of travel books based on his journeys (1803-1814). He seemed to have little relevant experience when Selkirk hired him to the post of Governor on April 12, 1815 at a salary of £1,500 per year. Semple arrived at York Factory in August of 1815 with a party of settlers, mostly from Sutherland.

After the battle, Cuthbert Grant informed Pritchard that Governor Semple was wounded by a shot from himself, and that lying on the ground, his thigh bone being broken, he asked him if he was Mr. Grant, and being answered yes, he said, "I am not mortally wounded, and if you could get me conveyed to the fort, I think I should live." Grant promised to do so, and left him in the care of a Canadien, but that the governor was afterwards shot through the breast by an Indian.⁶⁵

Archibald Norman McLeod, in a letter to Justice Reed at Fort William on July 29, 1816 says: "*The governor begged for his life after he was wounded severely, which the half breeds granted and one of them stood by to protect him, but an Indian whose child had died in the winter and to whom the governor told on the plenitude of his confidence that he lost his child for his attachment to the NWC, told the governor today 'you must follow my child as you boasted it was medicine killed him,' so saying he shot him. Lord Selkirk has lost a great many men in the course of last winter and spring, no fewer than 58 have paid a great debt, 30 of whom starved to death, 19 of that number in a department where the NWC never experienced hunger...*" (HBCA F.3/2)

These particulars agree nearly with what Grant stated in his deposition and he further added that the name of the Indian was Machicabaou, and that Machicabaou had told Grant that he had killed the Governor. Nolin, in his deposition states that he was told at the time that it was Deschamps, a Canadien who killed him; but this report probably arose from people having seen Deschamps plundering the Governor's body.⁶⁶

Captain John Rogers:

Pritchard stated to Coltman that he could not determine which side commenced firing, but in a few minutes almost all the Governor's party were either killed or wounded; that Captain Rogers, who had fallen, rose up and came towards him, when he advised him to give himself up; for which purpose he ran towards the enemy, raising up his hands, and calling out in English and broken French for mercy, when a Half-Breed by the name of Thomas McKay, a NWC clerk, shot him through the head, and another cut open his body with a knife; that his own life was saved with the greatest difficulty by Livigne; that he was then sent under guard of two Canadiens, Morin dit Perrault and Mageau, to the headquarters of the Half-Breeds at Frog Plain.⁶⁷

Pritchard is mistaken as to who killed Rogers: Marseillais mentions the circumstance of Mr. Rogers being killed when asking quarter; but says it was done by one of the Deschamps, called

⁶⁵ Op. Cit p. 186

⁶⁶ Ibid.

⁶⁷ Coltman, pp. 185-186.

“Grossetête”, a fact which Desmarais also attests to have been the general report; and he was urged on by his father, a Canadien, who cried out “No pardon!”⁶⁸

Dr. Wilkenson:

Governor Semple, led the fifth party of Selkirk Settlers who reached the Forks in November, 1815. With Semple was a Dr. Wilkinson, apparently acting only as surgeon on the voyage, as he is mentioned as private secretary to Semple in the colony. Both Dr. White and Dr. Wilkinson fell with Captain Rogers, then Governor Semple, and eighteen others in the clash at Seven Oaks on June 19, 1816.

Dr. James White (surgeon):

Dr. James White, an Edinburgh graduate who had been Assistant Surgeon on H.M.S. *Beagle*, 1809-1811, came with the fourth Selkirk party in 1814. He was then 25 years of age. His remuneration was fixed at £50 per annum, with lodging and subsistence for the first two years, and at the end of his term he was to receive five hundred acres of land in the colony. He was appointed a member of Miles Macdonell's Council in July, 1814, and, when Macdonell surrendered himself as prisoner to the NWC in 1815, Dr. White became the leader. The coming of the settlers fanned the strife between the HBC and the NWC to fever height, and on June 11, 1815, as Dr. White was pacing in the governor's house, a shot whizzed by him. He headed the settlers who removed to Jack River (Norway House) in the same month. He returned in time to build a new Fort Douglas before Captain Semple, who led the fifth party, reached the Forks in November, 1815.

In the Seven Oaks Battle, first Holte was killed then both Dr. White and Dr. Wilkinson fell in the early fighting, then Governor Semple, and eighteen others were killed in the clash at Seven Oaks on June 19, 1816.

Lieutenant Einer Holte:

Holte was apparently a Lieutenant in the Swedish Navy when recruited to come to Red River. He embarked at Gravesend May 29, 1814 and disembarked at York Factory September 3, 1814. He was the leader of a small band of Norwegians and overseer for the eight Norwegians who built Norway House in 1814.

Prior to the Battle of Seven Oaks Holte told Winifred McNolty that they intended to take the NWC pemmican or kill all the Half-Breeds.

I had occasion to speak with Holte before they came and after with Heydon. Mr. Holte said if the Half-Breeds came, who were hourly expected, that they would have their pemmican or their lives. He said that if they did not give up their pemmican they would take their lives.⁶⁹

Holte was the first man killed on the fateful June 19, 1816, and he was buried in an unmarked grave somewhere at the forks of the Red River. No other Norwegian is mentioned in connection with the Seven Oaks episode. Dahl, Isaacson, and Muller may have been at Fort Douglas or they might have been at another post. Most of the men who had crossed the Atlantic with Holte two years earlier disappear from view. Two members of the band, however, Peter Dahl and Peter

⁶⁸ Coltman, p. 187.

⁶⁹ “Report of the Proceedings Connected with the Disputes between the Earl of Selkirk and the North-West Company at the Assizes Held at York in Upper Canada, October 1818.” Trial of John Severight et al, Province of Upper Canada: Session of Oyer and Terminer and General Gaol Delivery held at York October 19, 1818 to October 30, 1818: pp. 260-261.

Isaacson, remained at the Red River, and fragments of the history of their later life may be gleaned from the census reports of the colony.

HBC staff, contract labourers and settlers killed:

- **James Bruin.** At twenty years of age, James Bruin, an Irish labourer, came with Owen Keveny's party of settlers that arrived in Red River in 1812. He was one of the HBC men under James Sutherland taken prisoner at the junction of the Qu'Appelle and Assiniboine rivers by Bostonais Pangman and his men on May 5, 1816. They were released on May 21 and all the HBC men traveled to the forks. He was then killed at the Battle of Seven Oaks.
- **Daniel Donovan.** Daniel was one of the HBC men under James Sutherland taken prisoner at the junction of the Qu'Appelle and Assiniboine rivers by Bostonais Pangman and his men on May 5, 1816. They were released on May 21 and all the HBC men traveled to the forks. He appears on the HBCo. "Winnipeg Department Servant List 1815 & 1816": Daniel Donovan - Ireland - Labourer - Age ? - "Killed at Red River Settlement 19th June 1816."
- **James Gardiner.** Gardiner was not a Selkirk Settler. He came to Red River as a Hudson's Bay Company worker with Owen Keveny's party in 1812; he was 17 years of age at that time. He appears on the HBCo. "Winnipeg Department Servant List 1815 & 1816": James Gardner - Ireland - Labourer – Winter Residence: Fort William - "Killed at Red River Settlement 19th June 1816."
- **Bryan Gilligan.** Gilligan or Gilgan was not a Selkirk Settler. He came to Red River as a Hudson's Bay Company worker with Owen Keveny's party in 1812; he was 30 years of age at that time. Gilligan was one of the HBC men under James Sutherland taken prisoner at the junction of the Qu'Appelle and Assiniboine rivers by Bostonais Pangman and his men on May 5, 1816. They were released on May 21 and all the HBC men traveled to the forks. He was then killed at the Battle of Seven Oaks.
- **Reginald Green.** At 21 years of age, Green came to Red River in the party of settlers that arrived in 1815. He was a sergeant of passengers on the ship over.
- **Alexander MacLean of Kengharair:**
MacLean was a former tacksman contracted as a chief settler when he arrived at Red River with the first party of settlers in 1812. He was 24 years old at that time. His family was accompanied by a number of indentured servants. Subsequently, he became a successful farmer living just north of Fort Douglas. In October 1815, the HBC led by Alexander MacLean, Michael Hayden, and John Bourke and arrested Duncan Cameron, Seraphim Lamar and Charles Hess of the NWC and imprisoned them at Fort Douglas. McLean and Bourke then led an armed group with fixed bayonets to capture Fort Gibraltar where they looted the fort. They were in the process of sending Cameron, Lamar and Hess to Hudson's Bay for transport to England for trial when Colin Robertson intervened and released them.⁷⁰

Alexander MacLean joined Semple when Semple's group traveled through his farm toward Seven Oaks. MacLean was killed in the ensuing battle.

⁷⁰ Alexander McDonnell, 1819: 46-47.

- **Duncan Macdonell.**
Duncan was one of the HBC men under James Sutherland taken prisoner at the junction of the Qu'Appelle and Assiniboine rivers by Bostonais Pangman and his men on May 5, 1816. They were released on May 21 and all the HBC men traveled to the forks. He was then killed at the Battle of Seven Oaks.
- **George MacKenzie.**
MacKenzie was one of the HBC men under James Sutherland taken prisoner at the junction of the Qu'Appelle and Assiniboine rivers by Bostonais Pangman and his men on May 5, 1816. They were released on May 21 and all the HBC men traveled to the forks. He was then killed at the Battle of Seven Oaks.
- **Duncan MacNaughton.**
MacNaughton was a Hudson's Bay Company worker, not a settler.
- **Patrick Marooney.** Mic Rooney (19 years) and Philip Rooney (22 years) came to Red River as Hudson's Bay Company workers with Owen Keveny's party in 1812. Patrick was one of the HBC men under James Sutherland taken prisoner at the junction of the Qu'Appelle and Assiniboine rivers by Bostonais Pangman and his men on May 5, 1816. They were released on May 21 and all the HBC men traveled to the forks. He was then killed at the Battle of Seven Oaks.
- **John Mehn.** Mehn was a Hudson's Bay Company employee, not a Selkirk Settler.
- **James or John Moore Sr.** Moore was a Hudson's Bay Company employee, not a Selkirk Settler. Cuthbert Grant specified that it was John Moore who fired the first shot of the battle. Antoine Houle confessed to the killing of a Mr. Moore. He appears on the HBCo. "Winnipeg Department Servant List 1815 & 1816": James Moore 1st - Orkney - Steersman – winter Residence: Brandon House - "Killed at Red River Settlement 19th June 1816."
- **James Moore Jr.** Moore was a Hudson's Bay Company employee, not a Selkirk Settler. He appears on the HBCo. "Winnipeg Department Servant List 1815 & 1816": James Moore 2nd - Firth - Labourer – winter Residence: Fort William - "Killed at Red River Settlement 19th June 1816."
- **Henry Sinclair.** Also a Hudson's Bay Company employee. He appears on the HBCo. "Winnipeg Department Servant List 1815 & 1816": Henry Sinclair - Birsay - Labourer – Winter Residence: Qu'Appelle - "Killed at Red River Settlement 19th June 1816."
- **Donald Sutherland.** Also a Hudson's Bay Company employee. He appears on the HBCo. "Winnipeg Department Servant List 1815 & 1816": Donald Sutherland - Clune? - Labourer – Winter Residence; Fort Hibernia - "Killed at Red River Settlement 19th June 1816."
- **Adam Sutherland.**
At age 16, Adam came to Red River with the second party of settlers from Kildonan in 1813. His brother George Sutherland, was with the same group. The brothers were part of the group who fled to Jackhead after the HBC treaty with the Metis in 1815 in which they agreed to move from the forks. Adam was killed in the Battle of Seven Oaks.

Survived the battle:

John Bourke. Bourke was wounded in the battle. Bourke (b. ca 1791) came to York Factory from Sligo Ireland in 1812. After wintering at York Factory they came south to Red River. After the Battle of Seven Oaks he was taken as a prisoner to Montreal and in 1818 stood trial with Colin Robertson and was acquitted. He returned to Red River in 1817. He was an HBC employee (clerk) from 1812 to 1846. He served at Lake Traverse and Pembina, retired briefly then became Principal Clerk to the Governor of Assiniboia. In 1832-1833, he led an expedition to Kentucky to buy sheep for the colony's experimental farm in St. James. Bourke's service record is shown below.

NAME: **BOURKE, John Palmer** PARISH: **Sligo, IRELAND** ENTERED SERVICE: **1812** DATES: **b. ca. 1791**
 [also **BURKE**] (10 years service in 1822) d. ca. 1851+

Appointments & Service Outfit Year*	Position	Post	District	HBCA Reference
<i>*An Outfit Year ran from 1 June to 31 May</i>				
1812-1813	came with Red River Settlers, wintered at York Factory			B.239/a/120
1813-1816	settled in Red River Settlement			+
1816	taken as prisoner to Montreal			+
1818	stood trial with Colin Robertson and was acquitted			+
1819	returned to Red River Settlement			+
1819-1821	clerk in charge	Lac Travers	Upper Red River	A.16/53, fo. 215; B.239/a/126, 14Jul. 1819; B.239/a/27, 26 July 1820; List of HBC & NWC posts, fo. 13.
1821-1822	Clerk		Lower Red River	B.239/f/12, fo. 6; A.16/37, fo. 37; A.16/40, fo. 39
1822-1823	Clerk in charge	Pembina	Upper Red River	B.239/k/l, pp. 39-40; A.34/l, fo. 33
1823	Retired from HBC service			B.239/k/l, p. 94
1824-ca. 1829	Principal Clerk to Governor of Assiniboia, later at Pembina for Colony			D.4/3, fo. 48d; B.235/a/7, fo. 25; B.235/d/12, 15; A.16/42, fo. 136
1832-1833	led an expedition to Kentucky to purchase sheep			A.16/44, fo. 33, Colony 1831 p
1835	purchased HBC Experimental farm in St. James			+
1845, 1 Sept.-1846	in charge	Pembina		D.5/15, fo. 96d; D.5/15, fo. 626d, D.5/17, fo. 188d; D.4/68, fo. 147d
1846, Nov.	when recovered from illness to be employed "on the outlook after Indians or others who may be inclined to interfere with the trade"			D.5/15, fos. 334, 335
1851	died			



Parents: Ailsha and William Bourke of Lightfoot near Castlebar, co. Mayo, Ireland
 Wife: Nancy Campbell of St. Mary's Falls (m.11 June 1821 by John West, d. 8 July 1887) PAM, St.James Burials; E.4/lb, entry #24
 Son John (1823-1887) married Elizabeth Fidler (1830-)
 Children: Ann (bapt. 1856); Ellen (bapt. 1858); Harriet (bapt. 1861); Edwin (bapt. 1863); William (bapt. 1864); Victoria (bapt. 1885); Isabella (bapt. 1868); Maria (bapt. 1870) PAM, St. James Registers. E.4/2, fo.108,113.
 Witnesses at marriages at the Upper Church, Red River Settlement, 1847, 1849
 REFERENCES: Biography in Robertson's Letters 1817-22, E.E.Rich ed., London: Hudson's Bay Record Society, 1939, p. 206-207
 +Robert E. Emmett, *John Palmer Bourke*, Proceedings of the Grand Lodge of Manitoba, A.F. & A.M, 1965
 Rhoda Gillman, et. al., *The Red River Trails, Oxcart Routes between St. Paul and the...Selkirk Settlement 1820-1870*, St. Paul: Minnesota Historical Society, 1979 (references) Journals written: B.108/a/1,2 Search file: 'BOURKE, JOHN PALMER'

Bourke, John Palmer (ca. 1791-1851) (fl. 1812-1846) JHB/ck Sept/86; revised: June 1988 JHB/ck ; May/99/mhd ; Reformatted LC Dec.2001

Michael Haydon (Heyden): Haydon was a HBC recruit who came over with Owen Keveny's party. They arrived at Red River in 1812. He was a blacksmith. Michael Haydon was involved in an attempt to kill Duncan Cameron on the road to Fort Gibraltar.⁷¹ In October 1815, Hayden, Bourke and Alexander McLean arrested NWC staff members Duncan Cameron, Seraphim Lamar and Charles Hess and imprisoned them at Fort Douglas.

Michael Kilkenny: Kilkenny, 23 years, was an Irish labourer who came to Red River as a Hudson's Bay employee with the Keveny party of 1812. Kilkenny was one of the HBC men under James Sutherland taken prisoner at the junction of the Qu'Appelle and Assiniboine rivers by Bostonais Pangman and his men on May 5, 1816. They were released on May 21 and all the HBC men then travelled to the forks. He appears on the HBCo. "Winnipeg Department Servant List 1815 & 1816": Micheal Kilkenny - Sligo - Middleman - winter Residence: River Qu'Appelle - 25 - "Sober Honest & of such demeanour as would to act as a subordinate Officer."

⁷¹ Alexander McDonnell, 1819: 33.

Donald McCoy. McCoy was part of the HBC group captured by Cuthbert Grant on the Qu'Appelle River in May of 1816. He was held at Fort Qu'Appelle for four days then released. He was present at Seven Oaks but managed to escape. He ran as soon as Governor Semple was shot.⁷²

Anthony McDonnell: Anthony McDonnell of Killalla, age 23, was part of the working party that arrived with the settlers at York Factory in 1811. At the battle he was captured by Alexander Fraser.

Donald McKay: Donald McKay of Rosshire, age 17, was also part of the working party that arrived with the settlers at York Factory in 1811. McKay was one of the HBC men under James Sutherland taken prisoner at the junction of the Qu'Appelle and Assiniboine rivers by Bostonais Pangman and his men on May 5, 1816. They were released on May 21 and all the HBC men traveled to the forks.

John Pritchard (1777-1856): Pritchard was an Englishman who came to Canada in 1800 and entered the fur trade soon after. He served the XY Company until 1804 and the NWC until 1814. In an earlier confrontation he gave up the NWC supplies at Brandon House to the HBC without a fight. Pritchard then joined the HBC and Lord Selkirk at Red River and was appointed acting Counselor in 1815. At the battle he was captured by Grant and released to be a mediator. He was a witness at the trials of the NWC men in 1818. his service record is shown below.

NAME: PRITCHARD, John Sr.		PARISH: Shropshire, ENGLAND	ENTERED SERVICE: DATES: b. 01 Jan. 1777 d. 14 Oct. 1855
Appointments & Service			
Outfit Year*	Position	Post	HBCA Reference
<i>*An Outfit year ran from 1 June to 31 May</i>			
<u>XY Company:</u>			
1801-1804		Red River	HBRS. Vol. II
<u>North West Company:</u>			
1804-1805	Clerk	Souris River	DCB VIII (E.Coues, <i>NewLight...</i> says he was in Nipigon)
1805-1809	Clerk	Nipigon	HBRS. Vol. II
1807-1808	Clerk	Souris River	Search File
1809-1811	Clerk	Pine Fort	B.22/a/17,18
1812-1814	Clerk	Rivere Qu'Appelle	HBRS Vol. II
1814-1815	Clerk in charge	La Souris, travelled Montreal-Moose-YF-RR	SF; HBRS Vol. II
1815	left the Company, appointed Councillor of Assiniboia		SF, HBRS Vol. II
1816	prisoner at Seven Oaks Incident		HBRS Vol. II
1817	witness in Colin Robertson's trial in Montreal		HBRS II; E.8/11
1819	arrived in England to testify at trial		A.1/52 fo.14d,34d,65; E.8/5
1820, 25 May	organized Buffalo Wool Co.		A.1/52 fo.74
1820	returned to Settlement by <i>Eddystone</i> via York Factory		C.1/312 fo.3; B.239/a/127
1827-1843	on Lot 753, Red River Settlement in Census		E.5/1-11.
1855	buried at St. John's Churchyard, Winnipeg		HBRS II
Wife (1):	Native woman (DCB VIII, E.10/1 vol. 1 fo. 24-24d) - poss. Metis woman Marie Sauvagesse - see Out From Hudson's Bay		
Child:	William b 14 June 1813 d 1890 - see Out From Hudson's Bay -The Pritchard family		
Wife (2):	m. 11 May 1815 Catherine McGilvray b Mull, widow of Hector McLean (DCB VIII) - Vol. 68 pp18327-28 Selkirk Papers - Arch McDonald Journal		
Children:	John b. ca. 1816/17, married Janet Matheson/Jenney (E.5/5-11; E.4/1 fo.169; E.4/2)		
	Catherine bapt. 01 Aug. 1821, married John "Bushy" Matheson, 17 Dec. 1840 (E.4/1 fo.34d;E.4/1 fo.267)		
	Anne bapt. 19 Jan. 1823, married Donald Polson, 22 Jan. 1846 (E.4/1 fo.41d;E.4/2 fo.98)		
	Archibald bapt. 07 May 1824 (E.4/1 fo.48) d 1910 m Emily Else		
	Laetitia bapt. 06 Jan. 1826, married I. Hugh Matheson, 9 Dec. 1847 (E.4/1 fo.58d, 108) m 2. James Cunningham		
	Samuel bapt. 17 June 1827 (E.4/1 fo.64) m Joanna Bannerman		
	Elizabeth bapt.02 Mar. 1829, Diocese of Rupert's Land Archives Reg. #3 entry #66		
	Hugh bapt. 10 Feb. 1831 (E.4/1 fo.80d) d 1912		
	Thomas Mortimer bapt. 01 Aug. 1833 (E.4/1 fo.103) d young		
	Richard bapt. 01 July 1835 (E.4/1 fo.122) m Catherine Matheson		
Biography in <i>Dictionary of Canadian Biography</i> , VIII - date of death incorrect here			
"Lost on the Prairies", <i>The Beaver</i> , June 1942, pp. 36-39; C. P. Wilson, "Pritchard and Lajimoniere", <i>The Beaver</i> June 1948, pp. 18-21			
John Pritchard, "Petition of John Pritchard of the Red River Settlement, 7 June 1819, to the House of Commons"; "Cover Picture", <i>The Beaver</i> , December 1949, pp. 4-5; "Red River Reminiscences", <i>The Beaver</i> , June 1933, pp. 18-19.			
Biog: Hudson's Bay Record Society, Vol. II. Bill of Exchange (E.186).			
Date of death:14 Oct 1855 on tombstone, St. John's Churchyard and in obit published in 17 Jan 1856 issue of The Times of London newspaper.			
Filename: Pritchard, John Sr (1777-1855) (fl. XY, NWC 1801-1815) JHB/ek April 1989. rev. 05/2000, 10/04 CE rev. Nov. 2008 JG			

⁷² Testimony at the trial of Paul Brown and F.F. Boucher, transcript pp. 114-120.

George Sutherland: At age 18, George Sutherland came to Red River with the second party of settlers in 1813. His brother Adam was with the same group. Adam was killed during the Battle of Seven Oaks.

Chronology of events leading to the Seven Oaks Battle

The Selkirk Settlers arrived at the forks in 1812. The first winter, however, was spent at Pembina, due to the availability of supplies at that location. Although they were intending to settle in an area long occupied by the Metis they were assisted by the Metis in getting established. This Metis community was engaged in fishing, agriculture, freighting, gathering plains provisions (pemmican, berries and maple sugar) to supply the fur traders.

It is important to note that at this time, the Metis were well established in the area. Since 1769, the Metis, Cree and Assiniboines were considered to be in charge of the Red River area. The Saulteaux only moved to that area in 1790 with the permission of the Crees.

David Thompson reported that when he passed through the forks in 1798 several Canadien-Metis families were living there and had been joined by HBC (Half-Breed) families.

John Wills (Cuthbert Grant's brother-in-law) reportedly built the first NWC Fort Gibraltar at the forks in 1810, because of the danger of Sioux attacks at Pembina. The Metis who lived at the forks were growing vegetables and selling their surplus to the fur traders.

Hugh Heney of the HBC reported on August 24, 1812: "On my arrival here (Forks), I bought a quantity of potatoes, say 150 bushels from the following freemen: (Charles) Bottineau, (Antoine) Peltier and Baptiste Roi (Roy)." At the Seven Oaks trials in 1818 Roy testified that for the previous 12 years he had been cultivating vegetables on land across from the NWC fort and had been selling produce to both the HBC and NWC.

Rev. Charles Bourke who had come over with the first contingent of Irish labourers that Selkirk hired to build the colony in 1811-1812, indicated that the Metis he questioned about the agricultural potential of the Forks had been living there and at Pembina for the previous five to 15 years. Baptiste Marceillais had been living at Red River since 1783 and Jacques Hamelin since 1797. Baptiste Marceillais was married to Angélique Assiniboine and their son Louis was born at Red River in 1805.

January 8, 1814: Miles Macdonell, HBC Governor makes the first Pemmican Proclamation: no pemmican to be exported by the Metis or the NWC, the end of free trade.

The HBC Pemmican Proclamation stated:

And whereas, the welfare of the families, at present forming Settlements on the Red River, within the said Territory, with those on the way to it, passing the winter at York and Churchill Forts in Hudson's Bay; as also those who are expected to arrive next autumn; renders it a necessary and indispensable part of my duty to provide for their support; in the yet uncultivated state of the country, the ordinary resources derived from the buffalo and other wild animals hunted within the Territory, are not deemed more than adequate for the requisite supply. Wherefore, it is hereby ordered, that no persons trading in furs or provisions within the Territory, for the Honourable Hudson's Bay Company, or the

North-West Company, or any individual, or unconnected traders or persons whatever, shall take out any provisions, either of flesh, fish, grain, or vegetable, procured or raised within the Territory, by water or land carriage, for one twelvemonth from the date hereof; save and except what may be judged necessary for the trading parties at this present time within the Territory, to carry them to their respective destinations; and who may, on due application to me, obtain a license for the same. The provisions procured and raised as above shall be taken for the use of the colony; and that no loss may accrue to the parties concerned, they will be paid for by British bills at the customary rates. And be it hereby further made known, that whosoever shall be detected in attempting to convey out, or shall aid and assist in carrying out, or attempting to carry out, any provisions prohibited as above, either by water or land, shall be taken into custody, and prosecuted as the laws in such cases direct; and the provisions so taken, as well as any goods and chattels, of what nature soever, which may be taken along with them, and also the craft, carriages and cattle instrumental in conveying away the same to any part, but to the Settlement on Red River, shall be forfeited.

Given under my hand at Fort Daer, (Pembina,) the 8th day of January, 1814.

(Signed) Miles MACDONELL, *Governor*

By order of the Governor, (Signed) John Spencer, *Secretary*.

March 1814: HBC under John Warren go to the plains at Turtle River (near Grand Forks) and confiscate three sleds of meat from Jean Baptiste Desmarais and his group of Indians and Metis.

May 1814: Macdonell sends Warren and 50 men down the Assiniboine to confiscate NWC provisions. The NWC runs the blockade and stashes the supplies. On May 25, 1814, HBC Sheriff John Spencer went to White Horse Plain and captured Poitras and Saucisse and forced them to reveal where the cache is. Spencer seizes 96 bags of NWC pemmican.

The HBC blockades Red River and seizes 2 NWC canoes and disarms their men.

June 10, 1814: John Spencer and an armed HBC force seize the NWC post at the Souris and Assiniboine. They seize 479 bags of pemmican, 94 kegs of fat, and 865 pounds of bundled dried meat. They take the captured supplies to Brandon House and then to the forks. Shortly thereafter, Duncan Cameron captures Mr. House of HBC. John Macdonell (NWC) then negotiates a settlement and 200 bags of pemmican are returned to NWC and he releases Mr. House.

July 21, 1814: Governor Miles Macdonell publishes the second Pemmican Proclamation prohibiting the Metis from hunting on horseback.

September 15, 1814: Duncan Cameron (NWC) arrests John Spencer (HBC) for pemmican thefts from the NWC.

March 23, 1815: Robertson seizes the NWC post at Pembina to complete their blockade of the rivers. Metis leaders Fraser, Hess and Bostonais Pangman are captured.

The HBC fits out the schooner *Cuchillon* with cannon and it is sent to the mouth of the Red River to blockade the NWC canoes from Fort William who are coming with supplies for the Athabasca region. Lieutenant Holte commands the *Cuchillon*.

April 18, 1815: The settlers, unhappy with their conditions broke into the HBC stores and took the cannons over to the NWC post at Fort Gilbralter, later when Miles Macdonell appealed to the settlers for help in fending off the Metis of the NWC he was ignored.

June 7, 1815: Cuthbert Grant established a Metis camp on the west bank of the Red River, four miles downstream from Point Douglas, the colony's headquarters, to cover the departure in NWC canoes for Canada of disaffected colonists (about 42 men). Grant's men began to harry the settlement, stealing horses and ploughs, and there were exchanges of fire between the Métis and the remaining settlers. In such an encounter at HBC's Fort Douglas on 10 June, one of Governor Macdonell's men was killed when a cannon exploded. Many of Selkirk's people went over to the Metis side. Late in 1814 the disgruntled settlers and Irish paramilitary were writing to Duncan Cameron (NWC) asking for transport to Montreal. The Irish hired to prepare the way for the settlement had contracts that had expired on June 1, 1815, these men along with many from the Kildonan party went over to the Metis side and took the NWC offer of transportation to Montreal.

June 15, 1815: The Metis escalated their demands that the settlers leave the forks, under order from Grant, Shaw, Montour and Pangman, the four chiefs of the Metis. Peter Fidler, negotiated with the Metis chiefs at their camp at Frog Plain. On June 20, 1815 Peter Pangman instructed Fidler that no colonists were to remain, but that a limited number of HBC servants might stay, as it was to the advantage of the Metis to have competing trading companies in the area. Pangman also requested the payment of an annual tribute to the Metis. Fidler made a written counter-proposal on June 25, 1815. Among the offers he made were:

2nd. It is furthermore agreed that the Half Breeds shall ever enjoy the full liberty of running the Buffalo and living according to the custom in which they have been brought up.

3rd. And it is also agreed that they should not be subject to any Local Laws that may be hereafter established unless they finding the good effects of living a civilized life shall come forward and ask to be admitted to our society, then they should be considered as one of us and shall enjoy all the Privileges we may possess.

4th. And it is further promised that whatever presents may be given annually to the Indians, that the Half Breeds shall have an equal share in them. (MacLeod 1974: 29)

Cuthbert Grant and the other Captains of the Metis, Bostonais Pangman, William Shaw and Robert "Bonhomme" Montour (see service record below), rejected this proposal and responded with one of their own. This counter-proposal restated the request that all colonists be removed and that the HBC establish themselves at some other trading spot. They withdrew their request for an annual tribute. This new proposal was then accepted on June 25, 1815 by James Sutherland and James White⁷³ on behalf of the colonists. The settlers (13 men and their families), 40 persons in all, went north to Jack River. The Metis destroyed the crops and burnt all the settlement buildings⁷⁴ except the blacksmith's shop. However, under entreaty of HBC, the settlers returned in the fall of the year.

⁷³ Dr. White was later killed at the Battle of Seven Oaks.

⁷⁴ The HBC establishment of four houses, forming what was called the fort, five farm houses, a barn, a stable, and a mill. Eighteen settlers houses were also destroyed.

NAME: MONTOUR, NICHOLAS		PARISH: Native	ENTERED SERVICE: NWC: 1804; HBC: 1821		DATES: fl. 1821-1843
Appointments & Service	Outfit Year*:	Position:	Post:	District:	HBCA Reference:
<i>*An Outfit year ran from 1 June to 31 May</i>					
<u>North West Company</u>					
	1804-1806		Fort des Prairies		<u>McLoughlin's Fort Vancouver Letters</u> ; Hudson's Bay Record Society (HBRS), Vol. IV; edited By E.E.Rich, (1941); p.#350.
	1806			Lower Fort Garry Department	Search File (SF): Montour, Nicholas
	1810		Fort Vermilion	Saskatchewan River	HBRS, Vol. IV; p.#350
	1811			Columbia	HBRS, Vol. IV; p.#350
	1812-1813		Spokane House	Columbia	HBRS, Vol. IV; p.#350
		Fought a duel in May, 1813 at Spokane House with F.B. Pillet of the Pacific Fur Company			HBRS, Vol. IV; p.#350; see also: Ross Cox, <u>Adventures on the Columbia River</u> (London, 1831) I, p.# 201
	1814-1817			Columbia	SF: Montour, Nicholas
<u>Hudson's Bay Company</u>					
	1821-1823	Clerk		Saskatchewan	B.239/g/62/fo.57
		"Indolent, an expensive Trader, fond of liquor; will be discharged 1823"			A.34/1/fo.56
	1823	Discharged; Freeman			B.239/g/63/fo.34
	Feb.1824	Joins Alexander Ross's Snake Country Expedition; "head of Fort des Prairies half-breeds"			HBRS, Vol. IV; p.#350
	May 1825	Deserts Peter Skeene Ogden's Snake Country Expedition			SF: Montour, Nicholas
	1827-1829	Freeman		Columbia	HBRS, Vol. IV; pp.#8; 297-298; 350
	1829-1831		Kootenay Post	Columbia	B.223/g/1/fo.14; B.239/g/67-68
					HBRS, Vol. IV; p.#350-351;
					SF: Montour, Nicholas
	1831-1837	Trapper		Columbia	B.223/g/3/fo.14; B.239/g/71-76
	1837-1838	Trapper	Fort Colville	Columbia	B.223/g/4/fo.19; B.239/g/77/fo.40
	1838-1842	Trapper	Willamette	Columbia	B.223/g/5-6; B.239/g/78/fo.51
	1842-1843	Settler	Willamette	Columbia	B.223/g/7/fo.24

Father: Nicholas Montour (Senior) (d.1808); a shareholder in the North West Company; see Biography in Documents Relating to the North West Company; Champlain Society Publication; edited by W.S. Wallace (1934); pp.# 487-488.

March 17, 1816: Colin Robertson of HBC seizes NWC Fort Gibraltar on orders from Semple. He entered at the head of an armed party consisting of Alexander MacLean, John P. Bourke, Michael Haydon, Martin Jordan and several others. They imprisoned NWC employees Duncan Cameron, Seraphim Lamar, John Severeight and Joseph Laurent.

March 19, 1816: Alexander McDonnell (HBC Sheriff), John Pritchard, John McLeod and others take possession of the NWC fort at Pembina. Bostonais Pangman, Fraser, Hesse and Cotonaha are all made prisoners. After being held at Fort Daer, they are all sent to Red river and held at Fort Douglas.

Early April, 1816: Fort Gibraltar is razed to the ground by HBC staff. The timbers were carried way to Fort Douglas to strengthen that establishment and fire was set to the remains. In April the Selkirk colonists returned to the settlement from Pembina and began cultivation of their patches of cleared land. It is noteworthy that while Lord Selkirk had not supplied the colonists with plows (they used hoes) he had sent cannons and muskets in abundance.

Mid April, 1816: Semple sends Pambrun up the Assiniboine to Qu'Appelle to secure the HBC pemmican supplies.

April, 1816: Macdonell of the NWC tries to negotiate with Semple.

May 18, 1816: Cuthbert Grant and 49 men seize Sutherland, Pambrun and 22 HBC men in five boats at the Qu'Appelle rapids. They seize 22 packs of furs and 600 bags of pemmican. They send Pambrun and Sutherland back to Fort Qu'Appelle and release one boat to continue to Fort

Douglas with HBC provisions. James Sutherland records the Metis flying the infinity flag with a red background during this attack:

Freeman and Half Breeds forming two distinct companies. [Alexander] Macdonell led one of these consisting of Canadians with colours flying, the other Company were Half Breeds headed by Cuthbert Grant, a Half Breed who has been regularly educated at Canada and has acted for several years as clerk, and still continues to act as such, to the NWC. This tribe had another Flag hoisted of what Nation I know not. It is red with a figure 8 placed horizontally in the middle of it and is said to be a present from the NWC along with some Swords and a few pairs of Pistols to these deluded young men, the Half Breeds as a recompense for their exertions against the colony, [in the] Spring of 1815.⁷⁵

May 31, 1816: The HBC attacks three NWC canoes leaving Fort Gibraltar and seize 40 packs of furs.

June 1, 1816: Cuthbert Grant goes to Brandon House and captures it. Peter Fidler surrenders without a fight. After the May 18th confrontation Grant was joined by Macdonell's party and they proceeded down river with 30 men riding on the north bank and Grant with 40 men riding on the south bank led by a guide riding with a blue Metis infinity flag. At the forks of the Souris, Macdonell goes to NWC Fort la Souris. Grant and his men seize the nearby HBC Brandon House and its supplies. Peter Fidler (HBC) describes this event:

At half past noon about 48 Halfbreeds, Canadians, Freeman and Indians came all riding on Horseback, with their flag flying blue about 4 feet square and a figure of 8 horizontally in the middle, one beating an Indian drum, and many of them singing Indian songs, they all rode directly to the usual crossing place over the river where they all stopped about two minutes, and instead of going down the bank and riding across the river they all turned suddenly and rode full speed into our yard-some of them tied their horses, others loose and fixed their flag at our door, which they soon afterwards hoisted over our East Gate next the Canadian house—Cuthbert Grant then came up to me in the yard and demanded of me to deliver to him all the keys of our stores warehouses and I of course would not deliver them up—they then rushed into the house and broke open the warehouse door first, plundered the warehouse of every article it contained, tore up part of the cellar floor and cut out the parchment windows without saying what this was done for or by whose authority - Alex. McDonell, Serephim, Bostonais, and Allan McDonell were at their house looking on the whole time.⁷⁶

June 10, 1816: Robertson and Semple tore down Fort Gibraltar and used the logs to reinforce Fort Douglas, they burnt all the remaining buildings. Semple then blockaded all the river routes and sent the Selkirk Settlers out two miles downstream to work on the crops and gardens.

June 16, 1816: Grant's party reaches Portage la Prairie. Grant proposes to bypass Semple's blockade by going overland to the west of Fort Douglas and meet the NWC brigade downstream at Frog Plain and provide them with much needed food supplies. He would then in turn blockade Fort Douglas and starve Semple out.

June 19, 1816: The Battle of Seven Oaks.

⁷⁵ P.A.M., Selkirk Papers, James Sutherland's Narrative, pp. 1946-1947.

⁷⁶ H.B.C.A. B/22/A/19, p. 36.

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