

**THE
JAMES WICKES TAYLOR
CORRESPONDENCE
1859 – 1870**

Hartwell Bowfield

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To
R.P.

The General Editor's Preface

At an early date Mr. Bowsfield turned over to me his manuscript of the correspondence of James Wickes Taylor. It was soon evident that Mr. Bowsfield, in covering Taylor's correspondence from 1859 to 1885, had produced a manuscript too large to be encompassed in one volume of the Manitoba Record Society. In part the manuscript problem explains the delay in the publication of the volume. Eventually, I decided to use that part of the manuscript which covered the period, 1859-1870. This not only resulted in a manageable amount of material but it also used Taylor's correspondence for the period when Americans were seriously interested in the acquisition of the territories of the British North West. After Canada had acquired these territories, an American interest in them continued but their acquisition by the United States was hardly a matter of practical politics.

Incidentally, there was another advantage in using, in this volume, the Taylor correspondence to the summer of 1870. The unused part of Mr. Bowsfield's manuscript will be sufficient for another volume. Perhaps, at a later date, Mr. Bowsfield will complete the Taylor story by producing a further volume for the Manitoba Record Society.

I want to take this opportunity to acknowledge certain assistance which has contributed much to the publication of this, the third volume of the Manitoba Record Society. The Faculty of Graduate Studies and Research of the University of Manitoba granted to me funds to acquire the services of a research assistant. The latter, Mr. T. M. O'Malley, relieved me of much of the detail work associated with the publication of this volume. I also want to thank Miss Mae Kawata, the tireless secretary of the Department of History, University of Manitoba, for all that she has done to aid the publication of this and the earlier volumes of the Manitoba Record Society.

W. D. SMITH
University of Manitoba, 1968

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Over a period of several years in the preparation of this volume and in work related to my duties as Archivist of Manitoba, my debt to many individuals has grown beyond adequate acknowledgement. Miss Lucille Kane and the staff at the Minnesota Historical Society, St. Paul, and Miss A. M. Johnson of the Hudson's Bay Company in London, have always provided immeasurable professional guidance. All references to the Hudson's Bay Company Archives in the volume are made with the kind permission of the Governor and Committee of the Company. May I note also the assistance of the staff of the United States National Archives, the Manuscript Division of the Library of Congress, and the Historical Society of Pennsylvania in Philadelphia. Of the staff of the Public Archives of Canada on whom I have called so often through the years, I should like to thank specifically Miss Barbara Wilson whose knowledge and generous aid have always been offered readily. Finally, to the staff of the Provincial Library and Archives of Manitoba, and particularly to Mrs. Louisa Douglas who so patiently assisted in the preparation of parts of the manuscript I should like to express my sincere gratitude and appreciation.

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ABBREVIATIONS

HBCA	Hudson's Bay Company Archives
HSP	Historical Society of Pennsylvania
LC	Library of Congress
MHS	Minnesota Historical Society
PAC	Public Archives of Canada
PAM	Public Archives of Manitoba
USNA	United States National Archives
WRHS	Western Reserve Historical Society

INTRODUCTION

When United States Consul James Wickes Taylor died in Winnipeg in 1893, a local newspaper had merely to say, "The Consul is dead." There was no need, as the *Winnipeg Daily Tribune* pointed out, to say *which* Consul for in the minds and hearts of the people of Winnipeg there was but *one* Consul.¹ Over a period of twenty-three years as the United States representative in the city, Taylor had been a familiar and popular figure in the social and business life of the community; a charming, dignified and friendly man who had identified himself completely with their own expectations and expansive plans for the Canadian west. In promoting railway construction, settlement and trade his words and his voice had been to them proof of this friendship and his earnest desire for the development of the country.

At the time of his death, as well as on many occasions during his career, the press and public recalled in complimentary terms the work he had done in behalf of the community. They remembered his prompt action in 1871 in alerting American military authorities to the Fenian Raid on Manitoba. They were aware of his ceaseless efforts to provide a railway connection between Winnipeg and American railway lines. They were mindful of his work with the American Treasury Department in working out details of a bonding system which facilitated the movement of Canadian immigrants and their goods through the United States to Manitoba. And they had learned that his publications and newspaper articles had made him one of the most prominent, respected and enthusiastic promoters of railway construction, settlement, and trade as well as a faithful and prophetic champion of western agriculture and resources.

Taylor's enthusiasms and the abilities he employed later as an official of the American government were evident in his early years prior to his moving to St. Paul and his intimate association with the North West Territories. Upon graduation from Hamilton College in Clinton, N.Y. in 1838 at the age of nineteen he returned to his home at Penn Yan, N.Y., where his father was a lawyer. For four years he studied law under his father's direction but found not only the association

¹Winnipeg Daily Tribune, April 29, 1893.

with his father uncongenial but the society and people of Penn Yan narrow and prejudiced. He was relying too much on his father, shrinking from responsibility and falling into listless attitudes. Recognizing these habits as fatal to the career of a lawyer and seeking freedom and challenge he left home in 1842 for Cincinnati then the “Queen City of the West.” There he hoped to make his professional debut as well as provide a home for his future wife, Chloe Langford.²

Full of day-dreams, of ambition and sanguine visions of the future he found a home in Cincinnati with a maternal uncle where in an attic room - the proper setting for a young man of a studious, speculative and somewhat romantic nature - he indulged himself in novels, essays and history.³ He took employment as a clerk in a law office in the city but authors and books became his society and his occupation.⁴ Satisfying as this life of a recluse was, however, he was forced by financial difficulties - which were to plague him all his life - to come to terms with the mundane facts of a practical world. He continued his musing and his “crude speculations” on matters political, religious and literary but disciplined by the requirements of earning a living and by the desire for name, fortune and honour he set out consciously to form the social and business contacts through which he might further these requirements of his life.⁵ This did not prove easy and hence the Cincinnati years were not entirely happy ones. He felt uncertain of the future, at times “debarred from hope”⁶ for without family influence or reputation he did not find his entry into the professional world without difficulty. When no opening at first appeared the future to him seemed ominous.⁷ He experienced moods of loneliness and despondency⁸ not only in regard to business but to his personal life for without a career he would not have the income to support a wife. To her he wished to present something more than obscurity and poverty.

² MHS, James Wickes Taylor Papers, Diary 1842-1844, pp. 4, 5. His attention had been drawn to Cincinnati by reading Harriet Martineau's *Retrospect of Western Travel*. Excerpts from this diary were published in 1950. See, James Taylor Dunn (ed.), James Wickes Taylor, “A Choice Nook of Memory.” *The Diary of a Cincinnati Law Clerk 1842-1844*, Ohio State Archaeological and Historical Society, Columbus, 1950.

³ *Ibid.*, pp. 16, 31.

⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 15, 33.

⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 33, 38.

⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 190.

⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 84.

⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 102.

For her, however, he was prepared to struggle on “without friends, fortune or any of those resources, which are at the command of others.”⁹

His literary pursuits and studious habits were never abandoned. No event political or social escaped his reflection. He joined a debating club, he studied music and French, and took early morning walks in the hills and woods.¹⁰ For him it was a world of intellect to his liking, a world of taste and opinion much more satisfying than that provided by the limited society of Penn Yan. He thrived on the opportunities presented in this new setting. In Cincinnati he could hear the Rev. Henry Ward Beecher, “the great Presbyterian champion” of the west, attend a Unitarian church, and meet a member of the Millerite sect which was predicting the second advent of the Saviour in 1843.¹¹ He attended court sittings and on one occasion heard Salmon P. Chase argue the case of a fugitive slave.¹² Chase was to be a useful contact within a few years.

After two years in Cincinnati the buoyant hopes of the young romantic, the young man of “great expectations” setting out to make a name for himself in the world, had been changed by reality to melancholy and despair. In a practical way, nevertheless; he had accomplished much in developing his talents and his interests. In December 1843, at the age of twenty-five, he was admitted to the Ohio courts.¹³ He had made the beginnings at newspaper writing and public speaking.¹⁴ More important he had established a contact with Salmon P. Chase then an active figure in Ohio politics who had a large law practice in the city. Attracted by this useful professional connection and Chase’s anti-slavery views Taylor entered Chase’s law office and for the next few years combined the practice of law with newspaper writing.¹⁵ In 1846, he established the *Cincinnati Morning Signal*. Its existence, though short-lived, along with the Chase association, gained him some political prominence. He was elected a representative of Erie County to the Ohio State Constitutional

⁹ Ibid., p. 84. His diary entries were often romantic and over-dramatic.

¹⁰ Ibid., pp. 68, 130, 134, 168.

¹¹ Ibid., pp. 13, 57.

¹² Ibid., p. 72.

¹³ Ibid., p. 121.

¹⁴ Ibid., pp. 95, 163.

¹⁵ Theodore C. Blegen, “James Wickes Taylor: A Biographical Sketch,” *Minnesota History Bulletin*, Vol. 1, No. 4, November 1915, pp. 156-7.

Convention of 1849-1850.¹⁶ For a short time he edited a newspaper in Sandusky, Ohio and from 1852 to 1856 when he moved to St. Paul was Ohio State Librarian in which capacity he distinguished himself being described by an Ohio newspaper in 1856 as “accomplished and gentlemanly.”¹⁷

As a newspaper editor Taylor gained experience in a field of endeavour in which he was to be continually active, i.e. forming and promoting public and legislative opinion. Throughout his life he relied on the newspaper medium to forward his views on such issues as reciprocity, railway construction, the resources of the North West Territories, the annexation of Canada. This training in the public relations field was developed specifically in the anti-slavery campaign of the 1850’s and in support of Chase’s political views. He proposed to Chase in 1851, for instance, a fund devoted to the defeat of Southern “machinations” in New Mexico and California; the formation of a “healthy” public opinion in the territories; the establishment there of newspapers; the translation and publication in Spanish of anti-slavery literature; the employment of individuals to promote the anti-slavery campaign. These suggestions were to be part of a total programme organized under a “Free Territory League” modeled on the promotional methods of publicity, publication and public meetings so successfully employed by the Anti-Corn Law League in Britain.¹⁸

Taylor was also for many years active politically in support of Chase and sought the latter’s assistance in advancing a political career for himself.¹⁹ He believed he could, if Chase was unable to do so, gain the support of the Whigs and Free-Soilers and become a candidate for election to the Senate.²⁰ Chase, however, was able to obtain this support and was elected Senator in 1849. Unsatisfied politically in Ohio, hesitant about a newspaper career²¹ and still financially embarrassed²² Taylor began again to turn to the law and to look westward. While in Cincinnati, which in the 1840’s he spoke of as the “West,” Taylor’s eyes were ever beyond the horizon. He had looked to

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 157.

¹⁷ Railroad Record: Supplement, April 14, 1856.

¹⁸ LC, Salmon P. Chase Papers, Taylor to Chase, September 5, 1851.

¹⁹ *Ibid.*, Taylor to Chase, April 11, 1848, January 21, 1850.

²⁰ *Ibid.*, Taylor to Chase, February 3, 16, 1849.

²¹ *Ibid.*, Taylor to Chase, April 22, September 5, 1851.

²² *Ibid.*, Taylor to Chase, February 3, 1849, February 9, 1850.

Wisconsin²³ and to Texas.²⁴ In 1849, the year Minnesota was organized as a Territory, he sought Chase's influence in gaining an appointment as a judge in the new territory²⁵ where he might continue his education as a lawyer, jurist and writer. When circumstances warranted, he thought, he might return to a political career.²⁶ One significant project in his mind at this time was a plan to prepare a study on the natural features of the Minnesota region.²⁷ This plan for studying and writing was partially fulfilled as State Librarian in Columbus but a political career was denied him as was financial security.

Taylor's move westward in 1856 to Minnesota, while leading to a new career and new opportunities, was but the development of his earlier talents and potential, a continuation of endeavours begun in Ohio. In St. Paul he again combined the practice of law and newspaper writing. To his promotional work was added new directions. Until he moved to St. Paul, Taylor was little affected by the American expansionist movement. While in Cincinnati in the 1840's the annexation of Texas occupied the public mind to the exclusion of all other political topics.²⁸ Taylor was unaffected by the expansionist fever of those years. On the contrary, as many Americans, he believed Texas and California should be separate republics and he was not sorry in June 1844 when the Texas treaty was rejected.²⁹ Neither is there found in his Ohio years evidence of the passion for railways which seized him in Minnesota and which characterized so much of his life from that period on. He had written about railways for the newspapers but in Minnesota railway construction and its political and economic role in the development of the State of Minnesota and the North West Territories became for him almost a religion. He preached and he prophesied and always his text was the great economic and political paradise in store for his adopted State based on faith in railway communication and the potential wealth of the North West Territories.

James Wickes Taylor was a pioneer promoter of the potential assets of Central British America, as he named it, his interest in the north west having

²³ MHS, Taylor Papers, Diary 1842-1844, p. 103.

²⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 139, 161.

²⁵ MHS Taylor Papers, Taylor to Chase, March 3, 1849.

²⁶ *Ibid.*, Taylor to Chase, March 10, 1849.

²⁷ *loc. cit.*

²⁸ MHS, Taylor Papers, Diary 1842-1844, p. 161.

²⁹ *Ibid.*, pp. 163, 183, 199.

been first aroused in the 1850's while he was State Librarian in Ohio. In this capacity he collected everything in print on the area in preparation for a history of the State which was published in 1854.³⁰ He was soon recognized as an authority on the area. In a series of lectures on the north west during the winter of 1855-1856 he spoke of the inevitability of a railway line from Lake Superior to Puget Sound. Tributary to such a line, he said, would be the extensive and unexplored Saskatchewan plain, an area of extra-ordinary fertility which "we are not at liberty to doom to sterility and solitude."³¹ During these lectures he made reference also to scientific studies in climatology which were to provide him and Minnesota expansionists with an added argument in drawing attention to the North West Territories, studies to which he would refer throughout his life in publicizing its potential. The lectures indicate he was already familiar with the scientific investigation being carried on at this time in the field of climatology. A few years later, while employed as a Special Agent of the Treasury Department Taylor met and worked with Lorin Blodget who between 1863 and 1865 was in charge of the financial and statistical reports of the Department. Both Taylor and Blodget were occupied in the preparation of official reports on trade and commercial statistics but their association went beyond this immediate departmental duty. Blodget had earlier worked at the Smithsonian Institution where he had undertaken research on climatology and later, in the War Department he was associated with the engineers on the Pacific railway surveys. In 1857, he had published *Climatology of the United States, and of the Temperate Latitudes of the North American Continent*, the first work of any importance on the subject of climatology in the United States and a significant study not only as a contribution to science but for its political and economic implication to American expansionists such as Taylor.

³⁰ MHS, Taylor Papers, Taylor to Rev. P. C. Hastings, June 8, 1888; Taylor to H. H. Sibley, April 23, 1885.

³¹ James Wickes Taylor, "Geographical Memoir of a District of North America, extending from Latitude 43 deg., 30 min. to 54 deg., and between Lakes Superior and Winnipeg and the Pacific Ocean," *Railroad Record: Supplement*, Cincinnati, April 14, 1856. The "Memoir," based on the lectures, was in the form of a letter addressed to William R Marshall, then Chairman of the St. Paul Chamber of Commerce, and later (1866-1870) Governor of Minnesota. See also Blegen, *op. cit.* pp. 160-61. A copy of the *Railroad Record: Supplement* is in the Taylor Papers. Extracts from the "Memoir" appear also in the Manitoba Department of Agriculture's first Annual Report of 1880 and in Taylor's report "Relations Between the United States and North-West British America," *House Exec. Doc.* No. 146, 37 Cong., 2 Sess., 1862.

Blodget included in his study statistics and observations relating to the climate and agricultural potential of the North West Territories based on information received from Hudson's Bay Company employees, Sir John Richardson,³² Professor J. B. Cherriman of the University of Toronto, Captain John Lefroy,³³ Colonel Edward Sabine and others.³⁴ The model on which he based his scientific work was the research of Alexander Humboldt, a German scientist, who by 1817 had outlined the system of contour lines connecting points of equal temperature. By his delineation of these "isothermal" lines Humboldt suggested the means of comparing climatic conditions of different areas and countries. Blodget had taken up a project suggested by Humboldt, i.e. extending the known isothermal lines of Europe and Asia across North America and attempting comparisons based on them.³⁵ The practical application of his studies lay in the relationship of temperature to vegetation, agriculture and settlement. In the United States and British North America population had reached the limit of known climatic conditions and was ready to advance into the unknown areas of the interior and the west. Statistics regarding temperature, quantity of rain and other conditions of climate were needed to determine the value of these areas for settlement. Blodget intended his work, as he said, to be a report on the "value of the temperate latitudes of the continent from the point of climatological adaptation to occupation by populous states."³⁶

Of significance to expansionist-minded followers of Humboldt and Blodget was the theory that temperature was not directly related to latitude but varied in accordance with other geographical determinants.³⁷ The northern latitudes did not necessarily, therefore, relegate

³² Sir John Richardson (1787-1865), naturalist and surgeon with the Sir John Franklin expeditions 1819-1822, 1825-1827; commander of the Franklin search expedition of 1848.

³³ Sir John Henry Lefroy (1817-1890), soldier and scientist; made a magnetic survey of British North America 1842-1843; in charge of the Magnetic Observatory at Toronto 1844-1853.

³⁴ Sir Edward Sabine (1788-1883), soldier and scientist; astronomer with the Arctic expedition of Sir John Ross 1818 and Sir Edward Parry 1819-1820.

³⁵ On the title page of his work Blodget included a quotation from Humboldt's address to the Imperial Academy at St. Petersburg in 1828: "When the varied inflections of the Isothermal Lines shall be traced from accurate observations in European Russia and Siberia, and prolonged to the western coast of North America, the Science of Distribution of Heat on the surface of the Globe will rest on solid foundations."

³⁶ Lorin Blodget, *Climatology of the United States, and of the Temperate Latitudes of the North American Continent*, Philadelphia, 1857, pp. 25-29.

³⁷ Alexander von Humboldt, *Cosmos*, (Pritchard trans.), Vol. 1, p. 348.

the North West Territories to an area of unoccupied sterility. Blodget's main conclusions as they related to Taylor's interest were that the climatological capacity of the northern plains of North America had been "much underrated and greatly misunderstood,"³⁸ that the isothermal lines moved northwest after passing Lake Superior;³⁹ that areas of possible abundant production of wheat were near the northern limit of the temperate zone;⁴⁰ and that an immense and unoccupied area adapted to the cultivation of grain existed west of Lake Superior in the North West Territories.⁴¹ To Taylor and the Minnesota expansionists, who became Blodget's disciples, a scientific basis had been provided to sustain their efforts in arousing and developing support in favour of expansion into the north west. Over a period of many years their writings, whether in support of settlement or railway construction, were filled with Blodget quotations used to substantiate their programme.⁴² In his "Geographical Memoir" published the year previous to Blodget's *Climatology*, Taylor, presumably aware of Blodget's other publications" and fully versed in the travel literature relating to the north west, quoted testimony which he considered was confirmation of the existence of the immense natural resources and fertility of the North West Territories. As Blodget he spoke of the region as unknown and under-rated and held back from its development by the fur trade. As Blodget he made many comparisons between the climatic regions of Russia and the North American continent noting for example that the North American latitudes from 44° to 54° represented the Russian temperate zone of 50° to 57° and that the climatic area of Russia corresponding to the northern plains of North America was the most populous and flourishing portion of the Russian Empire. The theory of the northern limit of grain production advanced by Blodget was expressed by Taylor in his statement that the rigorous winter climate was no obstacle to the future occupation of the

³⁸ Blodget, *op. cit.*, pp. 216, 513, 533.

³⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 530.

⁴⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 446.

⁴¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 447, 529, 530.

⁴² See for e.g. Taylor to D'Arcy McGee, June 25, 1862 below.

⁴³ e.g. The United States Army Meteorological Register compiled and published by Blodget in 1855. In his "Memoir" he makes reference to E. Merriam a "distinguished meteorologist," (Ebenezer Merriam, 1794-1864, who had originated the theory of cycles of atmospheric phenomena and whose articles had attracted the attention of scientists in the United States and abroad). Taylor may have heard the papers presented by Blodget at the 1853 meetings of the American Association for the Advancement of Science held in Cleveland, Ohio or read them after publication.

northern plains. "It is well understood," he wrote, "that the growth of the cereals and of the most useful vegetables depends chiefly on the intensity and duration of the summer heats, and is comparatively little influenced by the severity of the winter cold or the lowness of the mean temperature of the years." Taylor's conclusion, as that of Blodget, spoke of the capacity of the country for population and its adaptation for grain growing.

Taylor and the Minnesota expansionists eagerly seized upon Blodget's 1857 publication using his words to strengthen their own programme of promoting the resources and the capabilities of the North West Territories. Their object was to develop a positive policy toward the annexation of the area. Taylor in his "Geographical Memoir," in addition to climatological and geographical information, had included a political and economic note and significantly specified the relation-ship of Minnesota to the area, a theme with which he laboured throughout his life. The population and resources, he wrote, which would inevitably arise north of the 49th parallel would guarantee a railway west from Lake Superior and depending on the transportation facilities of Minnesota would find their outlet via St. Paul. In his first report as Minnesota Commissioner of Statistics in 1860 Joseph A. Wheelock, an ex-New Brunswicker, and a leading exponent of Minnesota expansion, made liberal use of Blodget's work and Taylor's writing and argument to indicate not only the economic value of the northern plains but to promote Minnesota as the natural geographic outlet of the North West Territories. Wheelock argued that United States agricultural expansion absorbed 170,955 square miles every ten years and that the westward progress of American population had nearly reached the extreme western limit of the areas available for settlement. The only direction it could move was into the valleys of the Red and Saskatchewan rivers. The future growth of Minnesota was identified with the progress and development in these fertile lands north of the 49th parallel. Assuming this development, Minnesota, with railway communication, would become the "focus of distribution," the "inevitable out-let" for a rich economic hinterland christened by Wheelock as Minnesota's "Titanic progeny."⁴⁴

⁴⁴ J. A. Wheelock, *Minnesota: Its Place Among the States. Being the First Annual Report of the Commissioner of Statistics for the Year Ending January 1st, 1860*, Hartford, 1860, pp. 10, 13, 17, 30-33.

Minnesotans were not alone in the desire to make known to the public the economic advantages of the North West Territories. Canadians had also been stimulated by the scientific studies in meteorology and the works of Blodget whose publications as well as those of Humboldt were known in Canada.⁴⁵ Colonel Edward Sabine, of the Royal Artillery, to whom Blodget gave credit for some of his statistics, had served in Canada during the years 1813-1816. His interests in astronomy, terrestrial magnetism and ornithology led to his appointment as astronomer both to the John Ross expedition in search of a northwest passage in 1818 and to Edward Parry's Arctic expedition the following year. In 1836, with two other British scientists, Sabine had met with Alexander Humboldt in Berlin. As a result of this meeting Humboldt wrote to the President of the Royal Society urging the establishment of magnetic stations throughout the British Empire. Sabine was a member of the committee which prepared a representation to the British government. In 1839, the programme was approved and construction of observatories, the supervision of which was Sabine's responsibility, was begun. The Magnetic and Meteorological Observatory at Toronto was opened in 1841 and several of the publications relating to the investigations at the several observatories, edited by Sabine, were published in that city in the 1840's and 1850's. Under his supervision his wife translated the first four volumes of Humboldt's *Cosmos* which were published between 1846 and 1858.⁴⁶

For almost ten years Canadian interest in the North West Territories had been stirring. In 1857, the year Blodget published his *Climatology*, both Canada and Britain undertook inquiries relating to the Hudson's Bay Company territories and both investigations took note of the climatological statistics of the country. Before a Select Committee of the Legislative Assembly of Canada in 1857 William MacD. Dawson, head of the Woods and Forests Branch of the Crown Lands Department, presented evidence to substantiate Canada's claim to the Hudson's Bay Company territories. In addition he indicated his awareness of the climatological studies and comparisons made between the climate of Europe and North America based on the system of isothermal lines. There was no reason, he said, why the

⁴⁵ In 1857, Blodget listed as subscribers to his *Climatology* the Canadian Institute, Toronto; the Magnetic and Meteorological Observatory, Toronto; the University of Toronto; and Professor J. B. Cherriman of Toronto.

⁴⁶ See *Dictionary of National Biography*.

Red and the Saskatchewan should not yield golden harvests as rich as those of the Elbe, the Oder and Vistula rivers in Europe.⁴⁷ The same type of evidence was presented to the Select Committee of the House of Commons on the Hudson's Bay Company at Westminster. To the Committee Lieutenant-Colonel J. H. Lefroy and Sir John Richardson, both of whose studies had provided information for Blodget's investigations, gave evidence relating to climate, isothermal comparisons and agricultural production.⁴⁸

Included in the Canadian Committee Report of 1857 was a letter from Donald Gunn of the Red River Settlement regarding climate, soil and agricultural productions as well as a meteorological register covering the period 1855-1856 in the Settlement. If Canada does not push forward, he wrote, and "preoccupy the ground, the Americans will." The considerable economic relationship with Minnesota had already created a strong American tendency in the minds of the young people in the Settlement which "unless diverted, will lead to a more intimate and extensive intercourse."⁴⁹ Canadians were well aware of the economic attachment that had developed between the Red River Settlement and St. Paul and like the Americans were becoming conscious of the need for land for future settlement. In 1856, the Crown Lands Department reported that there were only a few Crown land lots left in the western part of Upper Canada. In the great western peninsula "which had hitherto been the chief receptacle of immigration the supply of Crown lands for settlement" was exhausted. Since public attention was being directed to the lands of Canada as a field for settlement not only for immigrants but for the youth of Canada's increasing population and because the government had no more land to offer to settlers in that part of the province considered the most favourable for settlement it would probably be necessary to take action for the development of the Red and Saskatchewan country. That it was suitable for agriculture and settlement there appeared no doubt. Climatically its isothermal position resembled that of Poland. "According to the highest scientific authorities the line of equal winter temperature with Kingston in Upper Canada, and the vicinity of Sheboygan

⁴⁷ The Canadian Committee Report is included in: Great Britain, House of Commons, *Report from the Select Committee on the Hudson's Bay Company* ..., London, 1857, p. 401.

⁴⁸ *Ibid.*, pp. 19-21, 153-4.

⁴⁹ *Ibid.*, pp. 381-5.

on Lake Michigan, crossed the Saskatchewan half way between the forks and its source and continues northerly even beyond this territory, giving all the country between it and the Rocky Mountains a winter like that of Chicago ... When what is known of this territory is carefully considered, and the largest reasonable deduction made for the unfavorable parts of it, there remains the strongest reason to believe that it presents a vast field for settlement and enterprise.” It was advisable, therefore, to make a careful exploration of the country between Lake Superior and Red River with a view to opening a line of communication with the settlements on the latter and the territory generally.⁵⁰

The following year the Crown Lands Department issued a map of the Hudson’s Bay Company territories which alone might serve as evidence documenting various aspects of the Canadian westward movement.⁵¹ The map was first of all a denial of the claim of the Hudson’s Bay Company to the northwest, a claim which Canada had disputed for many years. The word “Canada” on the map covers what was then territories claimed by the Company under its Charter. On the map two lines confined the Company territories to an area surrounding Hudson Bay, one, a line which claimed to mark the boundary between Canada and the Company territories following the Treaty of Utrecht in 1713, and the other, a line marking the northern boundary of Canada following the conquest of 1759. On the map also were short quotations drawn from the writings of Sir Alexander Mackenzie and Sir George Simpson intended to indicate in complimentary words the nature of the territories in relation to soil, agriculture, minerals and navigation. The scientific evidence to support claims as to the climate of the territories was given by the inclusion of isothermal lines taken both from studies by Professor H. W. Dove⁵² of Berlin in 1852 and from Blodget’s, *United States Army Meteorological Register* 1855. The lines marked the northward turn of lines of equal temperature west of Lake Superior supporting the claim that the northern climate of the territories could be compared favourably with areas in the eastern part of the continent and extensive areas of agricultural production in Europe. Finally, an added element of propaganda

⁵⁰ Canada, Journals of the Legislative Assembly, 1857, Vol. 15, Appendix 25, *Report of the Commissioner of Crown Lands for the year 1856*.

⁵¹ “Map of the North West Part of Canada, Indian Territories & Hudson’s Bay. Compiled & Drawn by Thos. Devine . . . ,” Crown Lands Department, Toronto, March 1857.

⁵² See note 49, Taylor to McGee, June 25, 1862, below.

in the campaign against possible American acquisition of the area was a line marking the northern route of the Pacific railway survey of General Isaac I. Stevens 1853-1857. To alarm Canadians still further at American approaches to the northwest the cartographer prematurely marked Pembina at the 49th parallel south of Fort Garry as a military post "garrisoned by U.S. Troops."

To many American observers and writers in the 1850's and 1860's Canadian expansion westward to the central plains was restricted by the extended region of rock and forest north of Lake Superior. This barrier had already diverted land-seeking farmers of Canada to the more accessible and productive States of Michigan and Wisconsin which constituted, at the time, Canada's "west" and its agricultural frontier. The westward movement in the United States, in many American predictions, would inevitably encompass the central plains of British North America turning northwestward to include an area which was considered a natural appendage of the American west. By the time Taylor moved to St. Paul in 1856 the only established agricultural settlement on these plains was that at Red River which, separated from Canada by the Laurentian Shield, had a closer affinity to the American territory to the south than to the British provinces in the east. The centres of population closest to the Red River Settlement were in Minnesota. The most practical avenue for exports and imports was neither by way of Hudson Bay nor across the abandoned route of the Nor'Westers via the Great Lakes and Winnipeg River system but through St. Paul. Since the 1840's trade via the American route had increased annually and in 1859 when an American steamboat reached Fort Garry a new era of prosperity appeared to open both for the people of the Settlement and for the economic community of St. Paul. It is significant that the work of assembling this boat received the assistance and support of that city's Chamber of Commerce.

In St. Paul Taylor established himself in a law office and continued to study and extol the resources of the north west in the newspapers. Through the columns of the *St. Paul Advertiser* he began to familiarize the public with the topographical features and agricultural resources of the Hudson's Bay Company territories and to indicate the relationship of those territories to the State of Minnesota.⁵³ "Here is an object," he wrote, "which removes our

⁵³ Blegen, *op. cit.*, pp. 161-163.

destiny from the insignificance of a frontier state, making our rivers and railroads the *through* fares to and from regions ... destined to be an Empire in population and resources before the termination of the century.”⁵⁴

American observers such as Taylor were convinced that if the British North West could be made further dependent for transportation and trade upon St. Paul a vast underdeveloped area of agricultural land would eventually be forced to join politically with the United States. Particularly after the expiration of the 1854 Reciprocity Treaty in 1866 and the purchase of Alaska the following year there was an outspoken desire to occupy the territory between Minnesota and the new American possession. It was on this continental vision that Taylor focused his mind and eye and in his career is recorded strikingly one phase of American westward expansion known as Manifest Destiny. Taylor was early associated with this expansionist movement and with one of its main instruments - the railway. In 1857 he became Secretary of the Minnesota and Pacific Railroad Company chartered that year by the Minnesota Territorial Legislature to build from St. Paul northwest of Breckenridge on the Red River with a branch line via St. Cloud north to the international boundary. The Minnesota and Pacific was but one of seventeen railways chartered that year⁵⁵ and as many others fell short of initial expectations. During its short existence of some three years, Taylor and its President, Edmund Rice, were the railway's most active publicists stressing enthusiastically the importance of such a line in advancing Minnesota's commercial destiny in the North West Territories.⁵⁶ When the charter of the Minnesota and Pacific was transferred by the Legislature in 1862 to the newly-organized St. Paul and Pacific Railroad, Taylor at once became active in its support. It would be almost twenty years before St. Paul would have a railway connection with Fort Carry but during those years Taylor laboured incessantly to promote any railway project which would draw the north west into a closer association with American centres of trade

⁵⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 163.

⁵⁵ Rasmus S. Saby, "Railroad Legislation in Minnesota, 1849 to 1875," *Collections of the Minnesota Historical Society, Vol. 15, 1915, p. 11.*

⁵⁶ Blegen, *op. cit.*, 163, 164; Alvin C. Gluek, *Minnesota and the Manifest Destiny of the Canadian Northwest*, Toronto, 1956, pp. 194, 196.

and which he believed would hasten its annexation to the Union.⁵⁷

In 1861, as a Special Agent of the Treasury Department, Taylor reported that the Red River and Saskatchewan districts would shortly be removed from the jurisdiction of the Hudson's Bay Company and organized as a Crown Colony. He urged that no unnecessary restrictions be imposed upon the trade already existing between the American states and the Red River Settlement.⁵⁸ Taylor was aware of dissatisfaction in the Red River Settlement with the rule of the Company and he noted that "Americanization" of the country was "rapidly progressing" leading him to expect "a popular movement looking to independence or annexation to the United States."⁵⁹ In this he was over-estimating the attraction for union with the United States but he was not mistaken in other reports pointing out Canada's growing interest in the Hudson's Bay Company territories. In his correspondence and writings he referred frequently to the reports of John Palliser and Henry Yule Hind whose expeditions had stimulated Canadian action to acquire the North West Territories and he watched carefully the editorials of George Brown of the Toronto *Globe*, the undoubted leader of the Canadian expansionist movement. In the words of Thomas D'Arcy Mc-Gee he recognized an early and eloquent spokesman of a Canadian nationalist sentiment. Commenting on the arrival of the steamboat *Anson Northup* at Fort Garry, McGee had written, "no Canadian can learn with satisfaction that it was left for the infant state of Minnesota ... to do for them [i.e. the community at Red River] what they naturally expected from us; that while we were interrogating our Ministers as to their policy on the Hudson Bay question the Americans from St. Paul were steaming down to Fort Garry. It is not the first time that we have received a lesson in enterprise from our republican neighbors."⁶⁰ Taylor included McGee's comments in his report to the Treasury Department and followed closely Canadian developments and attitudes towards the north west. He assured McGee that if Britain was

⁵⁷ USNA, Special Agent, State Department Papers, Taylor to Hamilton Fish, Secretary of State, January 25, 1870.

⁵⁸ House Exec. Doc. No. 146, 37 Cong., 2 Sess., 1862, "Relations Between the United States and North-West British America," p. 18.

⁵⁹ *Ibid.*, pp. 43-44. See also, Taylor to Chase, December 17, 1861, below.

⁶⁰ See note 54, McGee to Taylor, July 6, 1862, below.

indifferent to the colonization of “Central British America” Minnesota and the United States would not “imitate such neglect.”⁶¹

The same year the *Anson Northup* steamed down to Fort Garry, Taylor petitioned President James Buchanan for an appointment with the United States government. Support for this request came from Senator Henry M. Rice of Minnesota who suggested it was “eminently necessary that the Government should be fully advised upon whatever was transpiring” in the north west.⁶² Taylor worked as a Special Agent of the Treasury Department until 1869 spending much of his time investigating the question of trade and transportation between Canada and the United States. Specifically, for a few years, he directed his efforts toward the retention and extension of the Reciprocity Treaty of 1854. On the outbreak of the disturbances at Red River in 1869 he sensed an opportunity to bring about the annexation of the North West Territories. He was appointed a secret agent of the State Department to report on Red River affairs and was in Ottawa while the delegates of Louis Riel’s Provisional Government were negotiating with the Canadian government.” In his reports to Washington he repeated optimistically time after time that the majority of the people and the Hudson’s Bay Company officials favoured annexation to the United States. He urged that an American railway line be built from Minnesota into the Red River Settlement to further its commercial attachment to St. Paul. He never lost hope in this or in the possibility of political union and when he was appointed American Consul in Winnipeg - after Manitoba’s entry into Confederation - he accepted the appointment eagerly for, as he said, it was in Winnipeg he could best pursue the object of annexation.” There was still in his mind the expectation of further disturbances. Riel, he insisted, had been promised an amnesty and the French-speaking people of the new province were demanding it. Many of them, he said, formerly hostile but feeling betrayed by the Canadian government, were anxious to join the United States. “I am forced to consider,” he reported from Winnipeg early in 1871, “the probability of anarchy and civil war.” At each crisis in Manitoba and the

⁶¹ Taylor to McGee, June 25, 1862, below.

⁶² MHS, Taylor Papers. Taylor to Buchanan, June 13, 1859; Rice to Buchanan, May 25, 1859.

⁶³ Taylor’s letters from Ottawa at this time are found in W. L. Morton (ed.), *Manitoba: The Birth of a Province*, Altona, 1965, pp. 47-65.

⁶⁴ Taylor to Banks, November 24, 1870.

⁶⁵ Taylor to Davis, February 21, 1871.

North West Territories - dissatisfaction over the Métis land grant, railway disallowance, the North West Rebellion - his hopes were lighted again. He confidently expected Confederation could not survive and to his vision of an American Union stretching from the Atlantic to Alaska he devoted the greater part of his life - years of frustration and defeat.

In the 1860s the Red River Settlement was isolated geographically in the centre of the continent and neither the Selkirk settlers nor the Métis had strong political or economic ties with Canada. American expansionists, themselves convinced that the north west belonged “naturally” to the United States,⁶⁶ were consistently guilty of exaggeration in their estimate of the situation at Red River and sought persistently to elicit active steps by the American government towards its annexation. Reports and correspondence were designed to suggest not only that annexation was possible but that it was the desire of the people at Red River. In their attempt to convince others, they were under-estimating the loyalty of those people to Great Britain and over-estimating the attraction of union with the United States.

During those years other North American empire builders had been equally stimulated by a vision of continental destiny. Canadian politicians, editors and railway builders were preaching a Canadian parallel version of the American westward movement and stretching out to attach western lands to the established communities of the eastern part of the continent. To do so Canadian expansionists set up Toronto and Montreal as the rivals of St. Paul for the economic and political attachment of the north west. The first part of the struggle between these metropolitan centres was a victory for Canada in 1870.

Despite prodding by Taylor and the expansionists the American administration at the time of the Red River Disturbances would take no positive step toward annexation of the North West Territories. Though expansionist minded, President Ulysses S. Grant and Secretary of State Hamilton Fish would countenance no sinister move nor risk the extreme measure of war. If, as the first American Consul at Winnipeg, Oscar Malmros, had complained, the administration had no policy toward

⁶⁶ See Jay Cooke to George B. Sargent, February 25, 1870, quoted in E. P. Oberholtzer, *Jay Cooke Financier of the Civil War*, Philadelphia, 1907, Vol. 2, p. 296.

Red River⁶⁷ it was because the North West Territories was a secondary matter, a side issue which did not divert the American focus from the broader pursuit of the annexation of Canada. If Canada could be gained, and Grant and Fish believed it could, Red River, the North West Territories and British Columbia would follow. Canada's entry into the Union, they were convinced, was inevitable and it was on Canada, therefore, the American government concentrated its attention.⁶⁸ Reliance on inevitability proved a negative and inadequate policy in the face of the aggressive position taken by Canada in 1870 when Manitoba was brought into the Confederation.

To Minnesota annexationists the arrival of British and Canadian troops at Fort Garry was not a decisive end to their expansionist venture. Their continuing expectation of success is clearly evident in the correspondence and official reports of Consul Taylor who intended to pursue the policy of annexation. This intention was conveyed to Senator N. P. Banks the man who had introduced in Congress in 1866 the bill prepared by Taylor providing for the entry of the British American territories into the United States. At the end of November 1870, Taylor promised Banks he would provide him with a revision of the 1866 bill based on the discussions they had had in July of that year.⁶⁹ Banks replied he would be glad to renew the proposition.⁷⁰ In the Taylor Papers is found the draft of a speech apparently prepared for Banks' use in introducing such a bill. In this Banks would say he never regretted the introduction of the 1866 bill despite the opposition to it in the English and Canadian press. He was renewing the proposition in the profound conviction that England was unwilling and Canada unable to inaugurate and advance the measures necessary to the development of British America and especially the districts north west of Lake Superior. Significantly Taylor would have Banks say that such measures could be advanced only by the United States in connection with the enterprise and policy of the Northern Pacific Railroad.⁷¹ Taylor for some time had been lobbying for Northern Pacific interests both in St. Paul and Washington and was to be for many years after

⁶⁷ MHS, Alexander Ramsey Papers, Malmros to Ramsey, January 6, 1870.

⁶⁸ LC, Hamilton Fish Diary, January 6, 1870.

⁶⁹ MHS, Taylor Papers, Taylor to Banks, November 24, 1870.

⁷⁰ *Ibid.*, Banks to Taylor, December 17, 1870.

⁷¹ *Ibid.* The draft of this speech is undated but is found in the Taylor Papers following Banks' letter to Taylor of December 17, 1870.

on the payroll of the company. He fully intended to make use of his position as Consul and his association with the railway to advance Minnesota expansion.

The key to Minnesota's grandiose plan for advancement to first position among inland States which would command a vast commerce north, south, east and west was the railway. Through it the State was to reach its sublime and inevitable destiny. Through it the British North West would become the economic hinterland of St. Paul and the United States would complete part of its natural continental role.⁷² No railway line seemed more likely to provide the practical means of aiding Minnesota's control of the North West Territories than the Northern Pacific. The railway itself had not failed in its pro-motional efforts to point out the political implication of its development. Construction would, it was claimed, prevent the building of a transcontinental line through the British North West and preclude the political association of the territories with Canada.⁷³ As early as 1865, the year after its incorporation, the Northern Pacific had asked the banking firm of Jay Cooke and Company to accept the agency for the sale of the railway's bonds." This firm later was highly successful in promoting a sales campaign for the Lake Superior and Mississippi Railroad which was to connect St. Paul with Duluth.⁷⁵ It was not, however, until December 1869 that Jay Cooke agreed to take the Northern Pacific agency. By this time he had bought stock in the company and held tracts of land along the route of the Lake Superior and Mississippi line as well as at Duluth, the eastern terminus of the Northern Pacific.⁷⁶ By this time also the Minnesota expansionists had seen in the Red River Disturbances a propitious event which might be turned to American advantage.

Having committed his firm to the Northern Pacific Jay Cooke asserted the same firm direction which characterized his campaign in support of the Lake Superior and Mississippi line. He was prepared to undertake the promotional work and to make use of the political influence he had in Washington. To supplement these plans he demanded in return the assistance of the people

⁷² Wheelock, *op. cit.*, p. 39.

⁷³ L. B. Irwin, *Pacific Railways and Nationalism in the Canadian-American Northwest, 1845-1873*, Philadelphia, 1939, p. 107.

⁷⁴ Oberholtzer, *op. cit.*, p. 98.

⁷⁵ Irwin, *op. cit.*, p. 109.

⁷⁶ Oberholtzer, *op. cit.*, pp. 105, 107.

of Minnesota who stood to gain most from the projected railway line. He desired Minnesota to “understand, appreciate and cooperate” in his efforts to make it one of the “most powerful & prosperous States in the Union”⁷⁷ and he expected the Minnesota representatives in Congress to exert their influence in support of his Northern Pacific programmes.⁷⁸ Minnesota did not fail to assist Cooke. The Minnesota delegation in Washington could always be counted upon to champion the railway’s cause in Congress and Taylor through the newspapers sought favourable publicity in forwarding its financial and political plans. But however much Jay Cooke, Taylor and the Minnesota supporters throbbed with thoughts of the great national destiny their line would advance, their efforts were to no avail.

Northern Pacific energies had been dissipated over a period of many years in wasted work even before Cooke took control. The original charter holders, over-optimistic, did not gain the financial support anticipated from the public and sought to sell their charter. In 1866, a new Board of Directors with no intention themselves of providing the capital required for construction expended time, money and energy in attempts to obtain government subsidies, extensions of time and permission to issue bonds guaranteed by the government. They received only an extension of time. Following a further re-organization in 1867 surveys were begun but time and energy were still directed principally toward gaining government aid and amendments to the original charter. Another two years extension of time was granted by Congress in 1867. A government guarantee of interest on bonds was denied at that time though two years later an amendment to the charter was obtained permitting the company to mortgage the road. Mortgage of the principal asset, the land grant, was obtained in 1870.⁷⁹ “If the time, labor and money spent at Washington between 1866 and 1870,” says a historian of the Northern Pacific, “had been devoted to a sound financial scheme for building the road, it would have been completed earlier, and many troubles and much needless expense would have been saved.”⁸⁰ At each successive step in its beleaguered development Taylor and the Minnesota

⁷⁷ HSP, Jay Cooke Papers, Cooke to William R. Marshall, February 9, 1870.

⁷⁸ *Ibid.*, Cooke to Alexander Ramsey, March 11, 1870.

⁷⁹ Irwin, *op. cit.*, pp, 103-106.

⁸⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 105. Irwin quotes E. U. Smalley, *History of the Northern Pacific Railroad*, New York, 1883.

representatives in Washington were foremost in its defence but the Northern Pacific, building west from Duluth, was not able to begin construction until February 1870 and did not reach the Red River until the end of 1871, too late, as Taylor had hoped, to be a factor influencing events at Fort Garry during the Disturbances of 1869-1870. Taylor, however, never ceased in his efforts to promote a railway connection with Manitoba as a means of strengthening its economic dependence on Minnesota and attracting the whole of the North West Territories to the Union. Even had such a connection not led to annexation it would have the effect, it was expected, of preventing the building of an all-Canadian route to the west thus giving the Northern Pacific a monopoly of the railway traffic. Taylor pursued this double policy not only as American Consul at Winnipeg but as a paid employee of the railway and transportation interests who subsidized his salary.

Taylor's efforts toward annexation and his promotion of Northern Pacific interests were indistinguishable. It is not surprising that once his consular reports to the State Department respecting the formalities of his taking office were completed he immediately turned to the question of the railway. In Winnipeg he began to talk and write about an American railway connection reporting to Washington that such a connection was "ardently desired" and that it was considered by every intelligent resident to be a step toward a political connection with the United States. He encouraged this attitude seeking to organize and direct public opinion by furnishing confidentially articles to local newspapers on American railway developments.⁸¹ Lieutenant-Governor Archibald he found surprisingly responsive to plans which would advance his own and Northern Pacific designs. Archibald, anxious to provide Manitoba with a railway connection, expressed views which seemed to harmonize completely with Taylor's, suggesting, for instance, that the Northern Pacific might be induced to divert its main line or build a branch to Fort Garry, the Saskatchewan valley and the Pacific coast. He was, according to Taylor, "dispossessed of the illusion" that a railway would be built across Canada north of Lake Superior.⁸² Taylor cultivated these ideas and the Archibald relationship reporting regularly to the State Department as well as to Jay Cooke who hoped to obtain through Taylor

⁸¹ USNA, Taylor Consular Reports, Taylor to State Department, March 13, 1871.

⁸² *Ibid.*, Taylor to State Department, November 19, 1870.

a statement from Archibald which could be used publicly in Northern Pacific promotion.⁸³

Equally indecisive in influencing events at Red River at the time of the Disturbances had been the failure of the St. Paul and Pacific Railroad. Its development as a force in the economic penetration of the north west was as important to the Minnesota expansionists as was that of the Northern Pacific. The St. Paul and Pacific which became part of the Northern Pacific system in 1872 had its origin in the rash of Minnesota railway legislation of the 1850s. The Minnesota and Pacific, incorporated in 1857 by the State, was authorized to build northwest from St. Paul to Breckenridge on the Red River with a branch line from St. Paul north to the international frontier.⁸⁴ This company as so many other Minnesota lines was forced to forfeit its rights having failed to fulfill its obligations under the charter.⁸⁵ In a major re-organization of railway charters in 1862 by the Minnesota Legislature the charter rights of this line were granted to the newly-organized St. Paul and Pacific. Taylor had become Secretary of the former line the year of its incorporation and in 1869, on Jay Cooke's recommendation, was appointed a press agent for the Lake Superior and Mississippi line and the St. Paul and Pacific. Persistent financial difficulties forced the latter to seek funds in Europe and an additional land grant in Congress to aid construction of its line to the boundary.⁸⁶ Taylor and Senator Alexander Ramsey of Minnesota worked together lobbying in support of such aid. Taylor wrote to the Secretary of State early in January 1870 and again the following month in his capacity as a Special Agent of the Department for Red River Affairs emphasizing the importance of assistance to the St. Paul and Pacific in promoting annexation. A bill was then pending in Congress making a land grant for the Pembina extension of the line which if enacted, Taylor said, "would be decisive of the political association of the Red River People."⁸⁷ If it were passed and word could reach Red River it would "exert a marked influence upon the deliberations of the Convention" assembled at Fort

⁸³ *Ibid.*, Taylor to State Department, March 13, 1871; MHS, Taylor Papers, Cooke to Taylor, December 5, 1870; A. B. Nettleton to Taylor, December 31, 1870.

⁸⁴ *loc. cit.*

⁸⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 52.

⁸⁶ Irwin, *op. cit.*, p. 133.

⁸⁷ USNA, Taylor Special Agent Papers, Taylor to State Department, January 25, 1870.

Garry in the spring of 1870, and would “do more than all other agencies to determine the future relations of Northwest British America.”⁸⁸ Later that year he reported Hudson’s Bay Company Governor William Mactavish’s earlier statement that the opinion prevalent at Red River was that a railway to St. Paul would make it impossible for Canada to colonize and govern the country.⁸⁹ The bill in Congress did not pass. That year the Northern Pacific purchased a controlling interest in the St. Paul and Pacific and their separate destinies became united. The financial crisis and the collapse of the Jay Cooke Co. in 1873 halted advance on both lines. By 1870 the St. Paul and Pacific had reached only to St. Cloud approximately eighty miles north of St. Paul. Even when the line northwest to Breckenridge reached the Red River in 1871 Taylor could not be enthusiastic and said he would reserve his congratulations until arrangements were completed for the branch line to the frontier.⁹⁰ It was not until 1878 that the St. Paul and Pacific reached the international line and made a connection with the Pembina branch of the Canadian Pacific Railway. That year John A. Macdonald had campaigned and won election on a platform of a national policy of tariffs. This policy, introduced in 1879, and the construction of a Canadian transcontinental line, doomed for the time any hope Taylor still held that the economic tie between Winnipeg and St. Paul could be strengthened and lead to a political union or that Minnesota, as Taylor had expressed it, would “long be the principal avenue of Commerce between eastern and western Canada.”⁹¹

Throughout his life Taylor’s actions were characterized by perseverance and zeal. Whatever the issue - the resources and development of the North West Territories, reciprocity, railway developments, or Louis Riel - he meticulously collected the relevant information and pursued his course with a sense of mission bordering on belligerence arguing his case long after interest in it had vanished in official circles. He continually failed to accept defeat and sought obstinately to revive a case or perpetuate an issue. His career from one point of view may be defined as a series of misplaced passions.

⁸⁸ *Ibid.*, Taylor to State Department, February 16, 1870.

⁸⁹ USNA, Taylor Consular Reports, Taylor to State Department, November 19, 1870.

⁹⁰ MHS Taylor Papers, Taylor to George L. Becker, December 4, 1871.

⁹¹ *loc. cit.*

The Reciprocity Treaty between Canada and the United States which he sought to renew was terminated; annexation of Canada, expected by many Americans, to follow the end of the reciprocal trade agreement did not take place; the railways which he supported as agents of the commercial attachment and eventual political union of the North West Territories were not completed soon enough to fulfill their role in his plan of continental union; the Riel Disturbances of 1869-1870 did not result in the positive action he sought from the American government in forwarding his expansionist plan; his contention that the United States had some responsibility toward obtaining an amnesty for Louis Riel was dismissed by the State Department and brought him only an official reprimand. Though all these designs were thwarted officially Taylor's enthusiasm was dimmed neither by time nor defeat. He continued to hope reciprocity could be revived and he probably never accepted Confederation as final. At each political or economic crisis in Canada he was aroused again and as new figures, indicating an interest in reciprocity or annexation, appeared on the American political scene he was immediately in contact with them overflowing with offers of encouragement and assistance.

Of all the causes Taylor espoused during his life reciprocity was one of the most intense and lasting and as in so many aspects of his career the issue was stimulated and intensified by his association with the St. Paul expansionists. Just prior to moving to Minnesota in 1856 he had written that Central British America was designed by nature to be closely associated with the future of St. Paul.⁹² Soon after his arrival he published a series of articles in the *St. Paul Advertiser* on Minnesota's boundaries in which he advocated a north-south line along the valley of the Red River rather than a westward extension. Such a line would, he argued, ensure Minnesota's commercial destiny in the North West Territories.⁹³ Taylor's views and his abilities as a publicist soon made him a welcome and industrious addition to the group of Minnesota expansionists working toward their State's economic continental role. The Fraser River gold rush of 1858 not only focused their attention on one of the resources of the western part of the continent but led them to advance again Minnesota's claim as the rightful and natural inheritor of the territories soon, they believed, to be surrendered by the Hudson's

⁹² *Railroad Record: Supplement*, Cincinnati, April 14, 1856.

⁹³ *Blegen, op. cit.*, pp. 162-3.

Bay Company. Taylor prepared for a convention held in St. Paul to consider this inheritance a report in which the assistance of Minnesota was offered to Canada in colonization of the area as well as in obtaining the extension of the Reciprocity Treaty to it.⁹⁴ Trade between St. Paul and the North West Territories was limited at the time to the Red River Settlement area but the launching of the ungainly *Anson Northup* which reached Fort Garry in 1859 served to dramatize an annually increasing trade and to indicate the possibilities of the transportation connection. Taylor became a leading exponent of increased trade and improved transportation facilities with the Red River Settlement and in 1859 was asked by the Governor of Minnesota, H. H. Sibley, to visit and report on the Settlement.⁹⁵ The following year he assisted in the legislative campaign which resulted in a Memorial from the Minnesota Legislature to Congress asking that the Reciprocity Treaty of 1854 be extended to include the Hudson's Bay Company territories.⁹⁶

Taylor had just begun his career as an agent of the Treasury Department where his specific work was to inquire into, and report on, American commercial relations with the North West Territories. He hoped the Administration would accept Minnesota's views regarding reciprocity and that he would be able to assist in forwarding American continental destiny as decisively, he said, as had been done by the purchase of Louisiana.⁹⁷ Improved transportation facilities between Minnesota and the Red River Settlement, increased interest in the potential of the route, the difficulties and hazards of the Hudson Bay route which the Hudson's Bay Company, until quite recently, had used almost exclusively and the lack of positive steps in developing a Canadian connection suggested to him that the time was ripe for American action toward development of the Minnesota route and the expansion of trade with the north west.

Reciprocity had, however, already come under attack in the eastern United States by timber, grain, transportation and manufacturing interests.⁹⁸ In addition the Republican party elected in 1860 was committed to the

⁹⁴ Gluek, *op. cit.*, pp. 134-5.

⁹⁵ Blegen, *op. cit.*, p. 159.

⁹⁶ Gluek, *op. cit.*, p. 184. A copy of the Memorial is in the *Nor'Wester*, January 28, 1860.

⁹⁷ MHS, Taylor Papers, Taylor to President James Buchanan, January 30, 1860.

⁹⁸ D. C. Masters, *The Reciprocity Treaty of 1854*, London, 1936, p. 69.

principle of protection.⁹⁹ As a result of a Resolution of the House of Representatives early in 1860 the Treasury Department asked one of its agents, Israel T. Hatch, to prepare a report on the Reciprocity Treaty.¹⁰⁰ Hatch, a former New York Congressman, was not considered an impartial judge of the treaty. To neutralize his expected adverse opinion Senator Henry Rice of Minnesota, who had been chiefly responsible for Taylor's recent appointment to the Treasury Department, secured approval for a second investigation.¹⁰¹ This was undertaken by Taylor who reported favourably on the treaty vindicating its operation and recommending, as Minnesota expected he would, an extension of its terms to cover the North West Territories and British Columbia.¹⁰² Following his report which was presented by the Treasury Department in June 1860 Taylor sought permission to prepare an extended and comprehensive study on trade between the United States and Canada and with the North West Territories.¹⁰³ His detailed report on this commercial relationship was presented to the House of Representatives in 1862. Again he outlined the mutual value of the Reciprocity Treaty and the potential market lying northwest of the State of Minnesota. He urged that no unnecessary restrictions be imposed on the trade "already considerable in extent" between the northwestern States and the "rising dominion of England upon the waters of Lake Winnipeg."¹⁰⁴

Despite the strained relations which developed between the United States and Canada during the American Civil War, Taylor continued to press for freedom of commercial relations. Pressure was exerted again in 1862 through the St. Paul Chamber of Commerce which early that year forwarded to Congress a Memorial prepared by Taylor remonstrating against any action toward abrogation of the Reciprocity Treaty. The Memorial was not only a defence of the treaty and of the Canadian actions which had created so much criticism in the United States but again a plea for the commercial future

⁹⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 131.

¹⁰⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 125.

¹⁰¹ Blegen, *op. cit.*, p. 171; MHS, Taylor Papers, Taylor to President Buchanan, June 13, 1859.

¹⁰² *House Exec. Doc.* No. 96, 36 Cong., 1 Sess., 1860.

¹⁰³ USNA, Taylor Special Agent Treasury Department Papers, Taylor to H. M. Rice, November 16, 1860; Taylor to Howell Cobb, Secretary of the Treasury, November 16, 1860.

¹⁰⁴ "Relations between the United States & Northwest British America," *House Exec. Doc.*, No. 146, 37 Cong., 2 Sess., 1862.

of Minnesota based on the resources of the North West Territories and a territorial extension of the treaty to the country northwest of the State. In 1864 the House of Representatives again asked the Secretary of the Treasury for a report on the operation of the treaty. "The tide," however, was, as Taylor reported, "running heavily against the treaty" and only a short delay in giving notice of abrogation was obtained.¹⁰⁵

Taylor, at this time, was in constant contact with C. J. Brydges, General Manager of the Grand Trunk Railway and an agent of the Hudson's Bay Company in Canada, who was seeking to avoid the expected termination of the treaty. Both men acted as unofficial "go-betweens" passing on the views regarding reciprocity of their respective governments with whom they were in touch. Taylor's letters were shown to A. T. Galt, the Canadian Minister of Finance, and other members of the Cabinet, while Brydges' correspondence was forwarded to Salmon P. Chase, the Secretary of the Treasury.¹⁰⁶ Taylor, it has been suggested, was being used by Brydges as a lobbyist in Washington to forward the Canadian view toward continuance of the Reciprocity Treaty.¹⁰⁷ In their correspondence between 1862 and 1864 may be followed the protracted attempts to save the treaty and the increasing American opposition to it. Taylor put forth two suggestions - one that Canada and the United States agree upon a 5% duty on all articles within the free list, the other that a Commission (of which he might become Secretary) negotiate a new treaty. The suggestion of a 5% duty was a compromise tactic being used by Taylor to satisfy both the American need for revenue and the Canadian wish for continuance of the free list.¹⁰⁸ Neither suggestion received any official encouragement. Rather, the House of Representatives was prepared only to make changes in the treaty which were entirely unacceptable to Canada.¹⁰⁹ To the increasing economic attack already directed at the treaty had been added the political animosity resulting from resentment at Great Britain's recognition of the South as a belligerent during the Civil War. The ill-feeling, irritation, and tension of the

¹⁰⁵ MHS Taylor Papers, Taylor to C. J. Brydges, February 2, May 6, 26, 1864.

¹⁰⁶ *Ibid.*, Brydges to Taylor, June 7, 1864; USNA, Taylor Special Agent Treasury Department Papers, Taylor to Secretary of the Treasury, May 10, 1864.

¹⁰⁷ Gluek, *op. cit.*, p. 187n.

¹⁰⁸ MHS, Taylor Papers, Taylor to Brydges, [May 6, 1864, May 26, 1864; USNA, Taylor Special Agent Treasury Department Papers, Taylor to Secretary of the Treasury, May 10, 1864.

¹⁰⁹ MHS, Taylor Papers, Brydges to Taylor, February 26, 1866.

war was reflected in American attitudes toward Canada creating a hostile atmosphere, as Taylor phrased it, “unfavorable for dispassionate discussion,”¹¹⁰ and making reciprocity another of his lost causes. In March 1865 the British government was officially notified of the American intention to terminate the agreement. Under the treaty one year’s notice of such intention was required. The Reciprocity Treaty, therefore, would be abrogated in 1866.

Supporters of the treaty attempted a final but unavailing defence at a commercial convention in Detroit in July 1865. The expressed purpose of the convention was to consider the continuance of the treaty. Here some 450 delegates gathered representing the major cities, Boards of Trade and Chambers of Commerce of Canada and the eastern as well as parts of the western United States. Taylor attended this convention as a representative of the St. Paul Chamber of Commerce and was a member of the convention’s Reciprocity Committee. The presence of elements at Detroit hostile to the treaty and holding the view prevalent in many quarters that termination would force Canada into union with the United States was reflected in two contradictory resolutions - one approving the notice of termination and the other calling for the negotiation of a new treaty. The second resolution, reflecting the Canadian and Taylor’s influence, called for the inclusion of British Columbia, Vancouver Island and Rupert’s Land in a new treaty and for the free navigation of the St. Lawrence River.¹¹¹

The latter theme, i.e. Minnesota’s need for an inexpensive means of transportation as an alternative to the railway,¹¹² was stressed by Taylor at a trade convention held in Portland, Maine in August, 1868. The purpose of this convention, initiated by the Portland and Rutland Railroad Company, was to direct public attention to the harbour of Portland as a port for the export of western produce, the need for a direct transcontinental railway line connecting Portland and the Pacific Ocean, and to consider means of facilitating trade between the Atlantic and the interior of the continent.¹¹³ Taylor was introduced

¹¹⁰ *Ibid.*, Taylor to Brydges, February 2, [1864].

¹¹¹ *Proceedings of the Commercial Convention Held in Detroit July 11th 12th, 13th, and 14th*, 1865, Detroit, 1865.

¹¹² See Gluek, *op. cit.*, pp. 202-3.

¹¹³ *Proceedings of the International Commercial Convention, held in the City of Portland, Me., August 4th and 5th*, 1868, Portland, 1868, pp. 3-8.

at the meetings as the man most conversant with all questions touching the relations of British America and the United States.¹¹⁴ Though he was elected chairman of the Committee on Lake, River and Canal Navigation¹¹⁵ he undoubtedly would have been happier serving on the Committee on International Commercial Relations which, while noting the obstacles in both Canada and the United States to reciprocity,¹¹⁶ presented a resolution asking Congress to appoint a Commission to investigate the question of closer commercial relations between the two countries with a view to negotiation of a commercial alliance or Zollverein.¹¹⁷ Nevertheless Taylor had an opportunity in his address to the convention to express similar views and to represent the wishes of Minnesota and the Northern Pacific Railroad.

Aware of the administration's policy that reciprocity was at that time "out of the question"¹¹⁸ Taylor did not call for revival of the treaty though he remained hopeful of a revision of the revenue system of the United States which would lead to a commercial union of Canada and the United States and a continental free trade area.¹¹⁹ As a Minnesota man he did not fail to project the western view, a vision of a new "Mediterranean" empire of those states and provinces surrounding the Great Lakes to which the Canadian and American west would be tributary.¹²⁰ In an apologetic manner he suggested that if Canada and Britain were not prepared to invest in the development of the North West Territories it should be surrendered to the American people who would not decline the opportunity to discharge the responsibility. If Britain declines, he said, to place her territories "in the circle of the world's activities, let her come forward frankly and repeat the history of Napoleon's cession of Louisiana to the United States."¹²¹ At the Portland convention Taylor combined those themes and issues which

¹¹⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 42.

¹¹⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 74.

¹¹⁶ *Ibid.*, pp. 62-3. The reasons given were (1) the difficulty of adjusting excise and impost duties, (2) the American need for revenue, (3) the American fear of competition from Canadian grain, cattle and lumber, and (4) the Canadian contention that the Reciprocity Treaty had been abrogated by the United States to force Canadian annexation to the United States.

¹¹⁷ *Ibid.*, pp. 60-64.

¹¹⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 48.

¹¹⁹ *loc. cit.*

¹²⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 45.

¹²¹ *Ibid.*, p. 47.

were the dominant work of his life - freedom of commercial relations, America's continental destiny, the role of Minnesota as the centre of a commercial empire of the west, and the paramount necessity of railway construction in developing the trade, wealth and population of the territory waiting west of the Great Lakes.

As Taylor said, reciprocity was out of the question. Yet it was not a policy he abandoned. His correspondence indicates that scarcely a year passed without reference to the possibility of its revival or to the suggestion of a customs union between Canada and the United States. In 1871, he saw in the signing of the Washington Treaty and the adjustment of many of the difficulties which had arisen between the two countries during the Civil War, the herald of a new era of closer relations, opening the door to negotiations. Reciprocity was attainable.¹²² The commercial crisis in Canada in 1877-1878 suggested to him that the time was opportune to consider an international rail-way policy as part of a commercial treaty which would advance the prosperity of adjoining American states and territories without undue financial burden on either country. He was obviously quite aware of the difficulties experienced by Canada in financing an all-Canadian transcontinental railway line.¹²³ Yet he did not appear to accept the implication in the "National Policy" budget introduced by the Canadian Minister of Finance, S. L. Tilley, in 1879. He described it as "tentative" only, its real intention being, he said, to lead up to a negotiation for reciprocal trade.¹²⁴ Referring to the progress of railway construction in the north west in 1882 and the railway connection with St. Paul he noted a "new and important element" for negotiations which would greatly enlarge trade between Canada and the United States. As he did on innumerable occasions he called for an international commission to consider concurrent fiscal legislation and a customs union.¹²⁵ He hopefully expected he would be called to Washington to take part in such negotiations.¹²⁶ To President Chester Arthur the following year he reported a growing sentiment in

¹²² *The Manitoban*, July 15, 1871.

¹²³ USNA, Taylor Consular Reports, Taylor to State Department, March 6, 1878.

¹²⁴ MHS, Taylor Papers, Taylor to J. J. Hill, March 22, 1879.

¹²⁵ USNA, Taylor Consular Reports, Taylor to State Department, November 28, 1882.

¹²⁶ MHS, Taylor Papers, Taylor to Solon Humphreys, April 27, 1883; Taylor to H. & A. Allan, April 27, 1883; Taylor to H. J. Jewett, April 27, 1883.

Manitoba in favour of more liberal trade relations. He received a reprimand for this “very irregular” direct approach to the President.¹²⁷ Throughout 1883 and 1884 he noted the “great uneasiness and dissatisfaction” in the Canadian west resulting from the monopoly clause of the Canadian Pacific Railway contract and the increasing Canadian tariff. No measure, he suggested, would be received in Winnipeg with greater enthusiasm than an announcement of the appointment of commissioners to determine the possibility and to frame the articles of a commercial union between Canada and the United States.¹²⁸ Similar official reports and personal correspondence continued almost until the time of his death in 1893. Reciprocity, a customs union, even political union were still in his mind possible. In 1885 he wrote to an old Ohio friend stating his belief that extension of the American union northward would be a practical measure within a brief period.¹²⁹ The constant pressure was of little effect. Taylor was denied fulfillment of the “great object” of his life - a commercial or political union of Canada and the United States.¹³⁰ By 1885 a transcontinental railway line, the construction of which he had worked to prevent, had been completed north of the boundary line he had for many years hoped to eliminate.

Added to the list of lost causes with which Taylor became associated was the cause of Louis Riel and the amnesty. With his usual persistence and zeal he pleaded Riel’s case with the State Department but failed once more. The amnesty was but one area of tension and dissatisfaction that troubled Manitoba’s early years as a province. The French population was disturbed at delays in the allotment of lands reserved for half-breeds and their children and the issue was such that Taylor reported the peace of the province was threatened.¹³¹ Early in September 1871 he was aware of a contemplated Fenian movement against the province and he was certain it would have the sympathy and possible aid of the French element.¹³² The Fenian raid proved a fiasco but tensions continued to the point where the government, in

¹²⁷ USNA, Taylor Consular Reports, Taylor to President Arthur, February 23, 1883.

¹²⁸ *Ibid.*, Taylor to State Department November 26, 1883, February 28, 1884. ¹²⁹ MHS Taylor Papers, Taylor to Senator H. B. Payne, April 24, 1885,

¹³⁰ MHS, Taylor Papers, Taylor to N. W. Kittson, May 8, 1885.

¹³¹ USNA, Taylor Consular Reports, Taylor to State Department, June 23, 1871. See also, *The Manitoban*, June 24, July 8, 1871 and *Le Metis*, June 22, 1871.

¹³² USNA, Taylor Consular Reports, Taylor to State Department, November 21, 1871.

his words, was “paralyzed at all points by the breach of faith which accompanied the Canadian occupation” of Red River in 1870.¹³³ Towards the end of February 1872 when Riel and Ambroise Lepine, at Archbishop Tache’s urging, left Manitoba, Taylor forwarded to the State Department two Resolutions of the Manitoba Legislature of that month. One rebuked the interference of Ontario in offering a reward for Riel’s arrest. The other requested the Imperial government to settle all questions relative to the events of 1869-1870. To Taylor the most important of the difficulties to be settled was the claim by Rev. N. J. Ritchot and A. H. Scott (delegates of Riel’s provisional Government to Canada) that during their negotiations in Ottawa in 1870 the first and leading stipulation was the granting of a general amnesty.¹³⁴ The failure of the Dominion government to do so, said Taylor, added to the dissatisfaction at delays in the half-breed land grant, perpetuated the bitterness existing between the French and the Canadian party in the province to the point of civil war. The paralysis of the administration, the confusion and the dissatisfaction were, in his opinion, directly related to the amnesty issue.¹³⁵ Following the election riots of September 1872 in Winnipeg he repeated his comments of April that had a general amnesty followed the Manitoba Act in 1870 an actual peace, “not a hollow pretence of peace” would have been assured. Instead, Canada’s failure to redeem an “obligation” had brought only anarchy.¹³⁶

Early in December 1872 a delegation representing the French population called on Alexander Morris just prior to his taking office as Lieutenant-Governor Louis Schmidt, a member of the Provincial Legislature and spokesman for the delegation, asked that the pledge of an amnesty given to the Red River delegates be fulfilled.¹³⁷ Morris said he had no authority on the subject of an amnesty and no knowledge of any promise to the Red

¹³³ *Ibid.*, Taylor to State Department, April 22, 1872.

¹³⁴ *Ibid.*, Taylor to State Department, February 28, 1872.

¹³⁵ *Ibid.*, Taylor to State Department, April 22, 1872.

¹³⁶ *Ibid.*, Taylor to State Department, September 22, 1872. A few days later he reported again on the election riots saying, “There is probably not a thoughtful man in the country but regards these events as hastening the annexation of Manitoba to the United States a full decade.” *ibid.*, September 25, 1872. See also, MHS, Taylor Papers, Taylor letter, n.d. (cSeptember 1872) and *ibid.*, Taylor to J. C. B. Davis, December 9, 1872.

¹³⁷ USNA, Taylor Consular Reports, Taylor to State Department, December 11, 1872.

River delegates.¹³⁸ At this answer Archbishop Tache was indignant and threatened, it was reported, to provide proof in his possession of a pledge to the delegates in April 1870 by John A. Macdonald, Georges Cartier and Sir Clinton Murdoch.¹³⁹ Some ten days later when they met at an exhibition at St. Mary's Academy in Winnipeg, Tache spoke personally to Taylor saying that three days prior to Morris' meeting with the delegation he had given Morris proof of the assurance of an amnesty. Morris' answer, therefore, he called prevarication. Taylor, excitedly, reported the whole sequence of these events to the State Department.¹⁴⁰

Taylor was satisfied in his own mind that a simultaneous assurance of an amnesty had been given to the State Department by Sir Edward Thornton, the British Ambassador in Washington in 1870, to induce the withdrawal of an American order forbidding the passage of boats of Wolseley's Expeditionary Force through the Sault Ste. Marie Canal.¹⁴¹ He was partly correct in this impression. When the steamer Chicora had been halted at the Canal in May 1870, Thornton immediately protested to the State Department. He stated that the difficulties between Canada and Red River had been settled amicably and that Wolseley's expedition was one of peace. Secretary of State Hamilton Fish asked if an amnesty would be granted to all those who had been concerned in the disturbances and for all offences. To this Thornton replied that the Canadian government had already done so and that he thought the Imperial government would do the same.¹⁴² The understanding Fish had of this meeting with Thornton was that an amnesty would be granted.¹⁴³

Taylor's insistence on the point of United States responsibility as a party to the agreement between Canada and the Red River people and

¹³⁸ *Ibid.*, Taylor to State Department, December 14, 1872. *The Manitoban*, December 14, 1872.

¹³⁹ See note 408, Taylor to State Department, May 23, 1870 below.

¹⁴⁰ USNA, Taylor Consular Reports, Taylor to State Department, December 26, 1872.

¹⁴¹ *Ibid.*, Taylor to State Department, December 11, 26, 1872.

¹⁴² LC, Hamilton Fish Diary, May 14, June 20, 1870. Thornton may have been referring to Governor-General Sir John Young's Proclamation of December 6, 1869 calling for the dispersal of armed persons at Red River and stating that no legal proceedings would be taken against them. See, *Canada Sessional Papers*, Vol. 5, No. 12, pp. 43-4.

¹⁴³ LC, Hamilton Fish Diary, June 14, September 15, 1870.

his suggesting action by the State Department resulted in a severe reprimand. The Department was not interested in the issue nor in Taylor's opinion that the United States could no longer overlook the violation of faith by Canada.¹⁴⁴ The reprimand had little effect in quietening Taylor. He repeated this opinion on further occasions and continued to press the case. Early in 1873 he forwarded a copy of a Memorial sent to the Queen by Ritchot and Scott which stated that an unqualified promise of an amnesty had been promised by Sir John Young, Murdoch, Cartier and Macdonald.¹⁴⁵ In November of that year he referred again to the negotiations and the promises of 1870 in Ottawa and prepared a draft resolution for the Senate in which the Secretary of State would be asked to forward all correspondence with the government of Canada regarding the passage of troops and munitions through the Sault Ste. Marie Canal in 1870. The object of the resolution was to ascertain how far the United States government was a party to the pledge of amnesty said to have been given by the Canadian government to the Red River delegates.¹⁴⁶ The State Department no doubt wondered what it could do to stem its over-zealous Consul. Finally, in 1874, when he sought permission from the Department to report to Ottawa on the question, he was told in very certain terms that Washington "didn't care a continental" about Riel.¹⁴⁷ Though this undiplomatic outburst ended Taylor's efforts to rouse the Department to action he appears to have had the final official word. Many years later, just before Riel's execution, he repeated again to the Department the well-worn review of the negotiations in Ottawa and the alleged statements to Fish that an amnesty had been promised. As to Riel, there had been a "violation of this international agreement" and because of this Riel had been an outlaw for fifteen years.¹⁴⁸

The State Department, which had found it necessary to reprimand Consul Taylor for his actions in the amnesty issue, had a few years earlier referred to him as "the best man we have got in all the Canadian provinces."¹⁴⁹

¹⁴⁴ USNA, Taylor Consular Reports, Taylor to State Department, December 26, 1872.

¹⁴⁵ *Ibid.*, Taylor to State Department, January 22, 1873.

¹⁴⁶ *Ibid.*, Taylor to State Department, November 24, 1873; MHS, Taylor Papers, draft of report to State Department, November 24, 1873.

¹⁴⁷ Gluek, *op. cit.*, p. 291n.

¹⁴⁸ USNA, Taylor Consular Reports, Taylor to State Department, November 3, 1885.

¹⁴⁹ Gluek, *op. cit.*, p. 291n.

This complimentary assessment, rather than the periodic scoldings and censure, is a just evaluation of Taylor's career. To have been an agent of the American government, in different capacities, from 1859 until his death in 1893 is testimony of his value as a reporter on the affairs of Canada and the North West. To have had the support through these years of the Minnesota representatives in Congress, whether Republican or Democratic, is evidence of the esteem in which his services to Minnesota were held. The Consul at Winnipeg, said Senator Alexander Ramsey, "is the best officer in the Consular list of the United States."¹⁵⁰ Taylor served through the administration of six United States Presidents, of both parties, and on those occasions when his tenure was in jeopardy he was able to call upon both political and business contacts whose influence on his behalf could always be counted on to secure his continuance in office. As well, on such occasions, his Manitoba and Canadian friends, recognizing his great contribution in the development of the west, offered their assistance, prepared if he requested, to use whatever influence they might have with the American State Department. In 1884, Senator John Christian Schultz feared Taylor's position might be affected by a change of administration in the United States and asked if the mediation of a Canadian Minister or the British Ambassador at Washington would be of help. He added in his offer of assistance, "Myself and all of your very many friends would feel it to be a local and a Dominion calamity" if he were not continued in office.¹⁵¹

As an informed and able¹⁵² as well as a kind and courteous representative of the United States in Winnipeg there is an abundance of evidence in his papers. Yet, in his lifetime and later, there were charges against him which picture him as a "double agent" or as one writer has expressed it "chameleon-like" in his activities.¹⁵³ The most blatant instance of this occurred in regard to reciprocity in 1865. While at the Detroit Convention, as a delegate of the St. Paul Chamber of Commerce, pressing for renewal of the Reciprocity Treaty, he was at the same time writing articles anonymously for

¹⁵⁰ MHS, Taylor Papers, C. M. Loring to Taylor, August 10, 1873.

¹⁵¹ *Ibid.*, J. C. Schultz to Taylor, November 19, 1884.

¹⁵² Manitoba and the north west said a Winnipeg newspaper in 1875 "it is well known, frequently found in him an advocate at once friendly and able." *The Standard*, April 10, 1875.

¹⁵³ Joe Patterson Smith, *The Republican Expansionists of the Early Reconstruction Era*, Chicago, 1933, p. 60.

The *Chicago Tribune* denouncing reciprocity.¹⁵⁴ Similarly, when seeking employment with the Hudson's Bay Company in 1869 he could write for the *Tribune* an article referring to the Company's Council of Assiniboia as a "Star Chamber."¹⁵⁵ It would appear that Taylor was prepared to sell the point of view expected of the buyer. The answer to these enigmatic actions is perhaps that economic necessity forced him to do so. Throughout his life Taylor was beset by financial difficulties; he grasped at almost any opportunity for writing or employment which might enable him to augment his income. He found the salary of \$1500 a year as Consul insufficient to support himself and educate his family. Because of his financial situation he was never able to establish a home in Winnipeg.¹⁵⁶ His wife and family lived in St. Paul while he worked in Winnipeg. In 1874, he stated to his old friend Norman Kittson (from whom he was continually seeking financial assistance) that he was sending \$100 a month from his annual salary to his wife in St. Paul.¹⁵⁷ Some of the requests for assistance he was forced to make are almost pathetic - a request for friends to pay premiums due on his life insurance;¹⁵⁸ a suggestion to a man who had promised his daughter Elizabeth the gift of a shot gun to send \$50 instead;¹⁵⁹ a request to the Red River Transportation Company for \$100 to restore his wardrobe.¹⁶⁰

One of the attractions of the Winnipeg consular post had been the expectation of enhanced income from the transportation interests he had already served in St. Paul and Washington.¹⁶¹ Annually Taylor pleaded with these interests for a continuance of the subsidies they had been providing. The list of companies included the St. Paul and Pacific Railroad, the Northern Pacific Railroad, the Minnesota Stage Company, the Red River Transportation Company, the Northwestern Telegraph Company, the

¹⁵⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 60-61. The drafts of these articles and scrapbook of newspaper *clippings* are found in MHS, Taylor Papers.

¹⁵⁵ MHS, Taylor Papers, Taylor to Kittson, June 7, 1869, and draft of article for *Chicago Tribune* dated June 8, 1869.

¹⁵⁶ Which he said was the most expensive place on the continent to live, *ibid.*, Taylor to Kittson, December 10, 1875.

¹⁵⁷ *Ibid.*, Taylor to Kittson, October 20, 1874.

¹⁵⁸ *Ibid.*, Taylor to Kittson, July 26, 1877; Taylor to Marshall, July 26, 1877.

¹⁵⁹ *Ibid.*, Taylor to Kennedy, October 8, 1874.

¹⁶⁰ *Ibid.*, Taylor to Kittson, September 23, 1876.

¹⁶¹ *Ibid.*, Taylor to Stephen, February 26, 1879.

American Express Company, and the Canadian Pacific Railway. All of these were prepared to accept his claim that as Consul he could advance their interests and agreed to provide him with an allowance. When the allowance he had been receiving from the Canadian Pacific Railway was discontinued in 1889 he requested that his daughter, Elizabeth, an accomplished travel writer and illustrator, be placed on the payroll, arguing that her work was of value in furthering the immigration policy of the company.¹⁶²

The income from salary, allowances and newspaper writing was never sufficient. As Consul he continually sought some alternative by which he might improve his financial situation and make a home for himself and his family. He was weary, he wrote, of “this foreign residence ... tired of separation from my family ... and .., impatient of my exile.”¹⁶³ For years he was casting about for a way to avoid his continual residence abroad.¹⁶⁴ He hoped he might return to St. Paul and journalism or the law.¹⁶⁵ He forwarded to his business and political contacts an endless list of positions which he suggested he might hold - as Secretary of a Fishery Commission under the Treaty of Washington;¹⁶⁶ as Land Commissioner or Secretary of the St. Paul and Pacific Railroad;¹⁶⁷ as Registrar of a new Land Office expected at Grand Forks;¹⁶⁸ as Land Commissioner or Attorney with the Canadian Pacific Railway;¹⁶⁹ as Land Commissioner of the Hudson’s Bay Company.¹⁷⁰ In 1876, he wrote President Grant asking for a re-appointment as a Special Agent to investigate Canadian-United States relations.¹⁷¹ There are many letters in his papers in which he called for commissions of inquiry or Congressional investigations looking toward reciprocity or a customs union and in every case he suggested an appointment and employment as an agent to undertake the study. Taylor, however, remained at his post as Consul for twenty-three years.

¹⁶² *Ibid.*, Taylor to Stephen, July 24, 1889; Taylor to Hill, September 15, 1891.

¹⁶³ *Ibid.*, Taylor to Senator S. J. R McMillan, March 8, 1877, January 23, 1880.

¹⁶⁴ *Ibid.*, Taylor to Senator William Windom, March 8, 1877.

¹⁶⁵ *Ibid.*, Taylor to Kittson, December 27, 1884.

¹⁶⁶ *Ibid.*, Taylor to McMillan, March 8, 1877.

¹⁶⁷ *Ibid.*, Taylor to Kittson, January 19, April 3, 1879.

¹⁶⁸ *Ibid.*, Taylor to Ramsey, January 21, 1880.

¹⁶⁹ *Ibid.*, Taylor to Kittson, February 23, 1881; Taylor to Hill, February 23, 1881.

¹⁷⁰ *Ibid.*, Taylor to Donald A. Smith, February 23, 1889.

¹⁷¹ *Ibid.*, Taylor to President Grant, March 21, 1876.

No one ever doubted Taylor's abilities or failed to give him credit for a major part in publicizing the resources and potential of the Canadian west. Few could fault him, as a representative of the United States, in developing a harmonious relationship between his own country and the people of Canada. One man, J. J. Hill, conscious of the reputation Taylor had achieved, believed he had over-played his function and was critical of him saying he had done too much for the Canadian west and that his efforts had been "many times at the expense of your own country."¹⁷² Taylor would never have denied that he had worked for the development of the north west but he denied to Hill that he had worked against the interests of the United States. "On the contrary," he replied to Hill, his efforts were "intended and have resulted in securing to my own country the lion's share of advantage and progress."¹⁷³ Taylor could never be accused of working against the United States even when he was working for Canada. He added to Hill, "I have never thought it necessary to the proper and faithful representation of my country to misrepresent Canada."¹⁷⁴ He could, he felt, work to the advantage of both countries. In 1871, he obtained from the American Treasury Department bonding regulations which facilitated the movement of immigrants to Manitoba. For this he was much praised. Manitoba was grateful to him. At the same time, though, he was thinking of the United States and railway interests, promoting railway traffic for Minnesota railway lines and expecting that many of the immigrants would, on their way to Manitoba, stay in the United States and take up lands of the Northern Pacific or the St. Paul and Pacific railways.¹⁷⁵ Taylor was a good American and a good Minnesotan labouring with dreams that were not to be and with causes which, in his day, were beyond his achievement. "I think it can be said without fear of contradiction," Henry Rice wrote to him, "that you were the only person who had faith in its [i.e. the North West Territories] future development, and perhaps I was the only one who had faith in your predictions ... I have on all occasions public & private given you the credit of doing for that region what no other man ever did."¹⁷⁶ Such was the plaudit

¹⁷² *Ibid.*, Hill to Taylor, September 23, 1891.

¹⁷³ *Ibid.*, Taylor to Hill, n.d., (? September 1891).

¹⁷⁴ *loc. cit.*

¹⁷⁵ *Ibid.*, Taylor to A. B. Nettleton, December 7, 1870; USNA, Taylor Consular Reports, Taylor to State Department, May 15, July 18, 1871; *The Manitoban*, July 8, 1871.

¹⁷⁶ MHS, Taylor Papers, Henry Rice to Taylor, January 11, 1881.

from an American with whom Taylor had been associated since his first days in St. Paul in 1856. From a Canadian who wrote to him in 1888 came a further compliment. "If you are not a Canadian you have in times past done that which will make your name remembered in Canada when many a seemingly great Canadian name is forgotten."¹⁷⁷

¹⁷⁷ *Ibid.*, J. C. Schultz to Taylor, January 3, 1888.

Taylor, St. Paul, to Salmon P. Chase, October 20, 1859¹

I have just returned from a trip to the Selkirk Settlements on the Red River of the North, and Lake Winnipeg. I left St. Paul on the 17th² of June, returning Sept. 24.³

You are aware of the interest with which I have regarded the basin of Lake Winnipeg. The valleys of the Saskatchewan and Red Rivers are destined to organization and settlement as an English colony, completing with the Canadas and British Columbia, Sir Bulwer Lytton's⁴ prediction of British power and communication from ocean to ocean.

The settlements of Lord Selkirk - now forty years established - I found to be a most interesting community - schools, churches, a magistracy etc. - combined with peculiarities derived in nearly equal degree from English, Scotch and French colonists, which amply rewarded a visit during the month of August - a month of the most remarkable wheat harvest I ever witnessed. I was in fields, which yielded 40 bushels per acre. The population is 10,000,⁵ of which half is pure European.

¹ LC, Salmon P. Chase Papers. Chase was a United States Senator from Ohio 1849-1855, 1860-1861, Governor of Ohio 1855-1859, Secretary of the Treasury 1861-1864 and Chief Justice of the Supreme Court 1864-1873. Taylor's association with Chase had begun in 1842 when he entered Chase's law office in Cincinnati.

² Manton Marble noted the date as June 10.

³ This trip was made with Joseph A. Wheelock, Minnesota's first Commissioner of Statistics, and Manton Marble of the *New York Evening Post*. Taylor's account of this trip was the basis of his report *Northwest British America and its Relations to the State of Minnesota* presented to the Minnesota Legislature by Governor Alexander Ramsey and published in 1860, and of his article "Central British America" in the *Atlantic Monthly*, Vol. 5, No. 27, pp. 103-108, January 1860. Wheelock's observations were presented in his first report as Commissioner of Statistics published in 1860. Marble's account appeared in *Harper's New Monthly Magazine* August, October 1860, and February 1861 under the title "To Red River and Beyond."

⁴ Secretary of State for the Colonies 1858-1859.

⁵ This is undoubtedly an inflated figure. A population of 6,523 for 1856 given in Appendix 2b of the 1857 *Report from the Select Committee of the House of Commons on the Hudson's Bay Company*.

2 TAYLOR CORRESPONDENCE

I shall write out my notes fully, and, if encouraged by their reception, will make a volume.

I shall write to Mr. Smyth in the hope that he will make a place in the Ohio District Libraries, for the work.

Will you confer with him on the subject? I have many friends in Ohio, who, I hope, would be pleased thus to hear from me: and there certainly can be no impropriety (rather a propriety) in circulating, with the aid of Ohio, evidence that the Northwest includes areas, suitable for dense settlement, which were terra incognita in 1787 and 1802.

Will you oblige me by your kind interest in this affair?

I should be pleased to hear from you at your convenience.

Taylor, St. Paul, to James Buchanan, President of the United States,
January 30, 1860⁶

I have received the appointment of Special Agent of the Treasury Department to inquire and report upon our commercial relations with the Districts of British America northwest of Minnesota.

Having already made my acknowledgments to Mr. Cobb,⁷ allow me, Sir, to express directly to yourself, how sensibly I appreciate the trust imposed, and the importance of the questions which it involves.

I congratulate you upon the impression produced by your announcement and vindication of the Treaty with Mexico.

As I ventured to assure you in May, when I had the honor of an interview (upon the introduction of Senator Rice),⁸ the North-western States will respond cordially to your policy in regard to Mexico;

⁶ MHS, James Wickes Taylor Papers.

⁷ Howell Cobb (1815-1868), Secretary of the Treasury 1857-1860.

⁸ Henry Mower Rice (1816-1894), Senator from Minnesota 1858-1863.

particularly if accompanied by an extension of the similar policy of Reciprocity in the interest of the Northern frontier.⁹

I presume that you have no time to read newspapers, and therefore beg leave to inclose the following article from the Cincinnati Gazette (opposition) the oldest journal northwest of the river Ohio. It is significant of what public opinion will soon be throughout the Mississippi Valley.

If the Senate fail to approve the Treaty,¹⁰ it will be even more potential in the canvass of 1860, than if ratified.

I hope to make a satisfactory report, and as soon as I can adjust my materials, upon the kindred subject which I have under consideration. I am sanguine that your administration will have the signal distinction of having adjusted every existing or possible complication on the Continent of North America - shaping its future as decisively as was done by the purchase of Louisiana.

It is my ambition to help forward such a consummation Northwestwardly to the Pacific, and I repeat my gratification, that your administration recognises me as a humble coadjutor in its eminent mission of International Adjustment.

Taylor, St. Paul, to Howell Cobb, Secretary of the Treasury, March 29, 1860¹¹

In further response to a communication from the Treasury Department, bearing date December 21, 1859, and calling for information of

⁹ The Reciprocity Treaty with the United States in 1854 was terminated in 1866. During those years Taylor argued not only for its continuation but for its extension to include the Hudson's Bay Company territories and British Columbia. On January 7, 1860 notice of a Memorial to the President was given in the Minnesota Legislature for military protection in the Red River Valley and for extension of reciprocity to the Hudson's Bay Company territories. In his message to the Legislature the Governor spoke hopefully of such extension. See *Nor'Wester*, January 28, 1860.

¹⁰ The McLane-Ocampo Treaty negotiated in December 1859 between the United States and one of the factions struggling for control in Mexico, called a treaty of transit and commerce, would have made Mexico a virtual protectorate of the United States. It was rejected by the Senate in May, 1860. See Alexander DeConde, *A History of American Foreign Policy*, New York, 1963, p. 264.

¹¹ USNA, Special Agent Treasury Department Papers.

the “transportation of merchandise in bond by way of Pembina to the British Red River Settlements, the condition of that business, and the manner in which the transportation is effected”, I herewith furnish some additional particulars.

Since the date of my last communication to the Department, a newspaper, called “*The Norwester*” [sic] has been established at Fort Garry. I learn from its columns, and from private letters, that there is little doubt of the loss, in the dangerous navigation of Hudson’s Bay [sic]¹² of the *Kitty*, a ship chartered by the Hudson’s Bay Company, chiefly for conveying the goods of private traders and other inhabitants of the Red River Settlement.¹³ I witnessed, in July 1859, the departure of numerous boats from Selkirk on the long and difficult voyage through Lake Winnipeg and rivers falling into Hudson’s Bay to York Factory. These boats were compelled to return without their expected cargoes, and intelligence from York, as late as the 25th of October, had terminated all hope of the arrival of the vessel. The ship, Prince of Wales, freighted with the goods of the Hudson’s Bay Company, reached York Factory in safety, but with much risk from ice in the Straits to the Bay.

“If the worst apprehensions are realized” the Red River journal adds “this will have been the third chartered vessel which has been wrecked in three years in the ice-bound regions of Hudson’s Bay. In 1849, the *Graham* was lost, while in the Straits, on her outward trip. The cargo shared the fate of the vessel, and the crew escaped with difficulty to the coasts of Labrador, where they were hospitably received by Moravian missionaries. The *Baroness*, which left York on the 6th of March, 1858, has never since been heard of. The ship, now missing, was freighted with the greater portion of a year’s supply for the Settlement. Almost every settler, who possesses the smallest amount of capital, is himself an importer, and the custom has been to send on the money in advance. The value of the property, belonging to the Settlement on board the *Kitty*, is estimated at ^10,000 sterling. The merchants had, for the most part, effected insurances on their goods; but few, if any, of those who had imported for private use, had taken that safe and necessary precaution.”

¹²Throughout his letters Taylor varied the spelling of “Hudson Bay” and “Hudson’s Bay Company.” Attention to these errors will not be drawn beyond this reference. Other errors will be noted only on their first occurrence.

¹³ See *Nor’Wester*, December 28, 1859.

These casualties, concurring with the increased facilities of transportation through Minnesota, and the postponement of the Canadian enterprise of a road from Fort William, on the Thunder Bay of Lake Superior to Fort Garry, render it highly probably, that all the merchandize, ordered from Europe by the inhabitants of Selkirk, as well as by the Hudson Bay Company, will be imported through this Revenue District.

I desire to present, in a separate communication, the nature and extent of these importations, as well as a statement of the probable exports of the country.

I propose to consider, in the present communication, the single topic of the "manner in which the transportation of this merchandize will be effected", during the summer of 1860 and for some time to come.

Much reliance, both at Selkirk and Saint Paul, is placed upon Steam Navigation on the Red River of the North. During 1859, a steamer was transported from the Mississippi river near Crow Wing to the navigable channel of the Red River at the mouth of the Shayenne [sic]. It was there reconstructed, and received the name of *Anson Northrup*, [sic] in honor of the person undertaking and conducting so novel an enterprise. The steamer was withdrawn for repairs, after accomplishing only three trips between the American military post of Fort Abercrombie and Fort Garry. The *Norwester* of January 28 says, that for some time preceding that date, a carpenter had been engaged in constructing new decks and finishing the cabins of the steamboat, while new castings, for some portions of the machinery, have been forwarded from Chicago in the depth of winter. In June, regular trips will be resumed from Fort Garry to Georgetown, a station of the Hudson Bay Company lately established at the junction of the Buffalo river with the Red River; and will there connect with a mail and express line to Saint Paul.

It is understood that parties at Saint Paul (J. C. Burbank Co.) who are contractors for the transportation of mails from Saint Cloud to Breckenridge and Fort Abercrombie have become proprietors of the *Northrup*,¹⁴ and have effected the foregoing arrangements. They have

¹⁴ The *Anson Northrup*, under an agreement between J. C. Burbank and Sir George Simpson, was owned by the Burbank firm and the Hudson's Bay Company. HBCA, A.12/10 fo. 153, Simpson to Governor & Committee, July 18, 1859.

also taken measures to transfer a second steamer, *the Freighter*, from a point on the Minnesota River within eight miles of Big Stone Lake, across the intervening prairies, to the navigable channel of the Red River, at the mouth of the Sioux Wood River, which is near the site of Breckenridge. A contract recently executed with the Hudson Bay Company, for the transportation of five hundred tons annually for five years from Saint Paul to Selkirk, and at least one hundred tons annually from Selkirk to Saint Paul, is the principal inducement for Messrs. J. C. Burbank & Co to become interested as above stated in Red River Transportation." It is a part of their summer arrangements to convey the goods between the Falls of Saint Anthony and Sauk Rapids, by light draught steamers on the Mississippi River; while, from Saint Cloud to Georgetown on the Red River, waggons, drawn by oxen, will be substituted for the wooden carts, hitherto so familiar and picturesque a feature of the northwestern frontier. I am informed that one hundred and fifty of these four wheeled waggons have been constructed during the past winter for use on this route.

I herewith forward a Map of Minnesota, recently prepared with great topographical accuracy, upon which I delineate by a red line the Mail and Express routes from Saint Cloud to Georgetown, and thence by the Red River to British America.

The Selkirk newspaper, above referred to, anticipates an active business campaign in the ensuing spring, observing that some of the merchants had determined to anticipate the steamer by proceeding to Saint Paul during the winter, purchasing goods, hauling them to Red River, and embarking them, in flat boats built for the purpose, immediately upon the movement of the ice. I have no means of ascertaining whether those plans were carried into effect: but the foregoing was the manner of transporting a steam saw mill from Saint Paul to Fort Garry a few years ago.

There are other parties - gentlemen of great experience and sagacity - whose arrangements of transportation to the British Red River Settlements are by the route of Crow Wing, Otter Tail Lake, the Crossing of Red Lake River at the Rapids and thence northwest

¹⁵ The contract - to run for four years - called for a shipment of 250 tons. Ibid, D4/79, fo. 563ff.. Simpson to Governor & Committee, November 3, 1859.

to Pembina. Messrs. Culver and Farrington and N. W. Kittson¹⁶ are the leading names engaged in this overland trade; and it is their opinion that until the roads are greatly improved, the Red River carts will continue in use. They will rely upon their agency for the transportation of goods to the trading stations at Pembina and Selkirk - probably also to the Indian agencies of the United States in Northern Minnesota - during the summer of 1860.

The settlers between the Mississippi River and Lake Superior have taken measures during the winter of 1859-60, to open and improve a waggon road connecting those points. I beg leave to indicate, on the accompanying map, not only this Superior road, but also the route by way of Crow Wing, Otter Tail Lake, Detroit Lake and Red Lake River to Pembina, which will unquestionably continue to be a favorite line of communication from the Settlements of Minnesota to those of Northwest British America.

It is a singular illustration of the attention which the subject of transportation to the Red River District commands in this community, that a draft locomotive for propelling freight waggons over the plains and trails now intervening between the navigation of the Mississippi, and the Red River steamers, has been stored at Galena during the winter, and will be [received?] at Saint Paul in a few days. It was built on contract for Major J. R. Brown, of the Sioux Indian Agency in Minnesota, and weighs about fourteen tons. In its trial with 140 pounds of steam (as I gather from a newspaper paragraph) it went steadily up a grade of some ten feet in one hundred and fifty feet. Major Brown is sanguine that its practical results may sensibly influence our communications with the interior districts of the continent.

These preparations imply a very considerable expectation of future trade and intercourse. The present population of Selkirk is about 10,000: but their wants alone would not justify the arrangements which I have enumerated. The concentration of the business of the Hudson Bay Company at Fort Garry, and its communications with the markets of the world, almost exclusively through Minnesota and the United States, have largely influenced the arrangements in question. I am satisfied that the

¹⁶ Norman Wolfred Kittson (1814-1888), a competitor of the Hudson's Bay Company for many years after establishing a fur trading post at Pembina in 1844, became, in 1862, the Company's purchasing and forwarding agent at St. Paul and later established a line of steamers known as the Red River Transportation Company.

Company will soon relinquish the route by Hudson Bay, for the purpose of importations to, or exports from, their trading stations on the Red, Saskatchewan and Mackenzie Rivers¹⁷ - the valleys of those rivers, with their numerous tributaries, constituting an immense central area of the continent, fully equal in extent and far exceeding in natural resources the Atlantic and Pacific Districts of British America.

While postponing details to another occasion, I would here state that the average of annual exports of furs from the Company's possessions, and mostly from the district in question, is about \$1,800,000, which is five times the value of the imports sent in exchange. The latter will greatly increase, however, with the present facilities of transportation.

Of course, if the English Government should take measures to organize a Colony embracing the Districts of the Red and Saskatchewan Rivers, and extending from the western limits of Upper Canada to the eastern boundary of British Columbia, and a considerable emigration should be attracted thither from Great Britain and the Atlantic British Provinces, our commercial relations to the region which may be appropriately designated as Central British America, would proportionately increase in importance. A late debate in the English Parliament contained an assurance from the Duke of Newcastle, Colonial Secretary, that such an organization may be expected at the present session, as the result of an adjustment with the Hudson Bay Company.

I am informed that the manner in which transportation in bond to the British Red River Settlements will be prosecuted during the summer of 1860 is not fully determined by parties engaged therein. I will communicate further particulars on this head soon after navigation is resumed on the Northwestern rivers. It is probably that the Grand Trunk Railway of Canada will transport the merchandise of the Hudson Bay Company by rail to Collingwood on Lake Huron; by propellers to Milwaukee, and thence by rail and Mississippi steamers, under consignment to J. C. Burbank & Co., to St. Paul: while, from this point, the firm just named will forward the packages

¹⁷ The Hudson's Bay Company continued for many years to use the York Factory route for shipments to and from the more northern districts. The trade of the Red River, Saskatchewan and Rainy River districts only became concentrated in the St. Paul route. The invoice shipping books in the Company's Archives listing shipments via York Factory and St. Paul bear this out. HBCA B.29/ee.

by way of Pembina to Fort Garry in the manner already indicated. Such was the procedure of last year.

I would correct, in conclusion, an erroneous statement in my last communication. No bonded goods were detained at Georgetown on the Red River during the winter just passed. All merchandise in that situation went forward in carts last fall, and the bonds given therefore have been cancelled.

Taylor, St. Paul, to Howell Cobb, Secretary of the Treasury, November 15, 1860¹⁸

Under the date of March 29, 1860 I communicated to the Treasury Department whatever information was then accessible in regard to the "Transportation of merchandise in bond and otherwise from the United States, by way of Pembina, to the British Red River Settlements." The events of 1860, from April 1 to November 1, exhibit "the condition of that business" so forcibly, that I ask leave to submit a Supplementary Report on the subject.

The route from London, through Hudson's Bay to York Factory, and thence by a broken chain of small rivers and lakes, including 34 portages, to Lake Winnipeg, and through that lake to the Selkirk Settlements, was, until recently, the favorite communication of the Hudson Bay Company with their posts in the interior of North America. As Hudson's Bay is closed with ice ten months of the year, annual voyages were only practicable, and orders for goods required two years to be filled. Shipments" have been of frequent occurrence - a vessel, the Kitty, having been lost in 1859. The freights per ton paid by the Hudson Bay Company upon this route have been as follows:

¹⁸ USNA, Special Agent Treasury Department Papers.

¹⁹ Taylor may possibly have intended here "shipwrecks."

10 TAYLOR CORRESPONDENCE

From London to York Factory	\$
30.00	
From York Factory to Red River	
<u>125.00</u>	
	\$155.00; ²⁰

while the settlers have paid \$162 per ton for freight from York Factory to Red River, and over \$200 per ton from London.

The Lake Superior Route has seldom been used for the transportation of merchandise. This route traverses a series of granite ridges, elevated some 1,400 feet above Lake Superior, and forming the divide between the waters of that lake, and those of Lake Winnipeg and Hudson Bay. The Winnipeg river, Lake of the Woods, Rainy Lake and river and Pigeon 21 or Kaministiquia [sic] river, form a broken chain of water communication for canoes and barges across this mountain barrier, between Lake Winnipeg and Lake Superior. This was the route pursued for over a hundred years by Canadian fur-traders. In a distance of 771 miles from Fort Garry to Fort William, it involves 60 portage transshipments, practicable only for small canoes. The shortest and best ascertained route by this water chain, gives a distance estimated at 647 miles from Fort Garry to Fort William, involving 50 portage transshipments. 412 miles of this, from Fort Garry to Rainy Lake, is said to be practicable for small barges of 2½ tons; the remainder of the distance to Lake Superior requires canoes.

The construction of a corduroy road over 116 miles of swamp, from the northwest corner of the Lake of the Woods to Fort Garry, would diminish the through distance to 502 miles, but would scarcely be regarded as increasing the facilities of transportation.²² The navigation is exceedingly dangerous except to practiced boatmen. As this route involves more portages and less slack-water navigation than the Hudson

²⁰ The statistical facts throughout this report are based on Joseph A. Wheelock, *Minnesota: Its Place Among the States. Being the First Annual Report of the Commissioner of Statistics, for the Year Ending January 1st, 1860*, Hartford, 1860. Joseph Albert Wheelock (1831-1906), born in New Brunswick, settled in Minnesota in 1850, a founder and later editor of the St. Paul Press, anti-British in sentiment and one of the active Minnesota expansionists.

²¹ These are not, of course, the same rivers as Taylor suggests. The Pigeon forms the boundary between Minnesota and Ontario; the Kaministiquia enters Lake Superior at Fort William.

²² Such a route had been surveyed in 1857-58 by S. J. Dawson and recommended by him.

Bay route, the cost of transit cannot be less than by that. According to Sir George Simpson, it is twice as much. On a load of flour shipped by this route, by the Hudson Bay Company, \$225 per ton were paid. English authorities have long conceded, that the plains of Northern Minnesota - especially the interlocking valleys of the Upper Mississippi and the Red River of the North - constitute the most feasible highway for the commerce of the Selkirk Settlements. I refer to a chart of the routes established within the last ten years between the recent settlements of Minnesota and the older community situated at the mouth of the Red River, which accompanied my communication of March 29. One class of these land trails, guided at will over the level uplands, follows the Western or Dakotah slope of the Red River, crossing that river at Georgetown with a distance of 533 $\frac{1}{2}$ miles from Fort Garry (the central point of the Selkirk Settlements) to Saint Paul. Another track leaves the Red River at Pembina, on the international frontier, and enters the Mississippi valley at Crow Wing, with a distance to Saint Paul from Fort Garry of 482 miles. Over these roads, the transportation of merchandise to Central British America, has been by wooden carts, drawn by oxen and horses, each cart of about 800 pounds burthen, and usually ranged in long caravans for the purpose of mutual protection from Indian attacks.

The years 1859 and 1860 witnessed the introduction of steamboat navigation upon the Red River. A new method of transportation followed, towit [sic] ; By land carriage from St. Paul to the Falls of Saint Anthony 8 miles, by the navigation of the Mississippi from Saint Anthony to Saint Cloud 89.5 miles, by land carriage from Saint Cloud to Georgetown 217 miles, and by the navigation of the Red River from Georgetown to Fort Carry 345 miles - Total 659.5 miles. During the season just closed (May to November 1860) Messrs. J. C. & H. C. Burbank & Co. have diverted the bulk of transportation to the Steam-boat and Waggon Route last described. On this route, the Government of the United States has established a mail service, tri-monthly in summer and semi monthly (overland) in winter, for which J. C. Bur-bank is contractor. The time of transit from Saint Paul to Fort Garry, by stage and steamboat, has been reduced to ten days.

With these preliminary statements, I proceed with the Statistics of Trade and Transportation from Minnesota to Selkirk during the current year.

The average of transportation by land carriage during the last five years has not exceeded 500 carts, each carrying between 700 and 800 lbs of merchandise, but rarely freighted except on the return trips from Saint Paul. This would be an aggregate of 175 to 200 tons per annum. I am surprised to find that the transportation of 1860 by carts and waggons alone, including 60 tons floated down the Red River in flatboats, will exceed 200 tons. One caravan in July numbered 200 carts, while there have been several trains of 50 carts each. This old method of transportation is by no means obsolete, therefore; nor will it become so, until freights by the Steamboat and Express Route are considerably reduced.

The published rates of transportation by the Burbank line have been \$5 per 100 lbs from Saint Paul to Fort Garry. The transactions of the season just closed may be recapitulated as follows:

From Saint Paul to Fort Garry

The merchandise forwarded to the Hudson Bay Company has amounted to 250 tons - for other parties, to 125 tons - Total 375 tons, of which all the packages to the Hudson Bay Company and about 25 tons to other parties, have passed through the United States in Bond. About 100 tons will remain at Georgetown on Red River during the winter months and be embarked for Fort Garry in May next.

From Fort Garry to Saint Paul

The importation of robes and furs has been only about 60 tons; but the Hudson Bay Company propose, next year, to substitute the Minnesota Route for their exportation of buffalo robes. These have hitherto gone through Hudson Bay to England, and thence to Montreal and New York, where they are mostly sold. The year 1861 will probably witness a transportation of robes and furs from Fort Garry to Saint Paul, amounting, in value, to nearly a million of dollars.

I estimate the value of exports through Minnesota to the British Red River Settlements, for the past year, at \$300,000. This will be greatly increased in 1861. An agent of the Hudson Bay Company, who is now in Saint Paul, assures parties interested here, that the transportation from St. Paul to Fort Garry next year will not be less than 500 tons to the Company alone; while the goods forwarded to settlers and private traders at Selkirk will doubtless equal that quantity.

The Messrs Burbank . . . who are understood to be agents of, or contractors with, the Hudson Bay Company, propose to place another steamboat on the Red River of the North in the spring of 1861. The Hudson Bay Company will construct extensive warehouses at Georgetown and Fort Garry, the present termini of steamboat navigation on that river. The Company have also a project under consideration, of building a propeller for the navigation of Lake Winnipeg and its principal tributary, the Saskatchewan - the rapids near the mouth of the river last named not materially obstructing such navigation.

I do not anticipate that these arrangements will displace the old system of land carriage, as will appear from the following statement of the cost of transportation by Red River carts, published by J. A. Wheelock, Commissioner of Statistics of the State of Minnesota, on the authority of Messrs Culver & Farrington and N. W. Kittson, fur traders of St. Paul.

Four carts carrying 800 lbs each require, by the Red River mode of travelling, but 4 oxen to haul them and but one driver:

Four oxen at \$50 each cost \$200, require no feed but the wild grass of the country and about \$5 per head for keeping them through-out the year at Pembina. The cost of round trip for four carts will then be as follows:

Wear of 4 carts, one third of cost	\$	20
Wages of one man, 2 months at \$20		40
Provisions		10
Interest on cost of outfit at 10 per cent		26
Loss on oxen, 3 pr. ct. of cost \$200		6
Keeping cattle \$5 per head		<u>20</u>
		\$122

Total freight carried by 4 carts, 3,200 lbs.

Cost per ton for full freight of carts loaded both ways 38.00

Cost per ton when loaded only one way

76.00

The cost of transportation from London to Saint Paul, via railroads from Atlantic ports (first class freights) is \$34.33 per ton - via canals and lakes \$18 per ton. To these add the cost per ton by carts from Saint Paul to Fort Garry when loaded only one way (the least favorable statement), and the respective aggregates of \$110.33 and \$94 per ton from London to Fort Garry are presented for comparison with the above programme of the

Messrs Burbank; although the celerity and safety of delivery, by the Steamboat Express, are considerations of great practical value, and may determine the manner of transportation.

The relations of the United States, and particularly of this Revenue District, to the districts and population of Northwest British America, will be seen, from the foregoing statements, to be of an interesting and important character.

With the organization of a Crown Colony, which is proposed by the English Government and is expected to be consummated soon after the arrival of the Duke of Newcastle in England,²³ these international relations will doubtless be adjusted on some permanent basis of mutual advantage.

Under existing circumstances, I feel justified in submitting to the Department, at an early day, all the information in my possession relating to Central British America, - its organization, population, trade and resources - but in advance of such a Report, I herewith annex a few results of personal observation in the summer of 1859, which may serve to explain the nature of our present communications with that portion of the continent, and may indicate the facilities and prospects of their extension.

1. I postpone the narrative of Lord Selkirk's remarkable colonization of Red River. Of the present community of ten thousand souls, about five thousand are competent, at this moment, to assume any civil or social responsibility, which may be imposed upon them. The accumulations from the fur trade during fifty years, with few excitements or opportunities of expenditure, have secured general prosperity, with frequent instances of affluence; while the numerous churches and schools sustain a high standard of morality and intelligence.

2. The people of Selkirk fully appreciate the advantages of communication with the Mississippi River and Lake Superior through the State of Minnesota. They are anxious for the utmost facilities of trade and intercourse. The Hudson Bay Company is no exception to the general feeling of cordiality. The population of Selkirk unconnected

²³ Secretary of State for the Colonies 1859-1864, had accompanied the Prince of Wales on his tour of Canada and the United States July to October 1860.

with the company, is so numerous, and influential that all restrictions of trade have been relinquished.²⁴ Goods are charged with an impost of four per cent, whether brought from Europe or the United States, which constitutes the revenue of the colony of Assiniboia [sic]. Land can be purchased by any one at seven shillings sterling per acre, with liberal credits and low interest.

3. The physical geography of the vast interior districts, which constitute the basin of Lake Winnipeg will soon be as familiar as that of the territory of the United States within the same lines of longitude. The Canadian Government has lately published the result of an exploration of the channels and valleys of the Red and Assiniboine [sic] rivers.²⁵ The London Geographical Society has given to the world the narratives of Captain Palliser [sic]²⁶ and his associates, who have thoroughly explored the vicinity and passes of the Rocky Mountains, between latitudes 49° and 54°. Intelligent parties, organized for hunting adventure or overland transit, are making constant additions to the public knowledge of Northwest America.

4. The navigable capacity of the Red River of the North may be comparatively stated as follows: Ascending the stream from Lake Winnipeg, the navigation to Pembina is equal to that of the Mississippi between Prairie du Chien and Lake Pepin; from Pembina to the mouth of Red Lake river, the channel may be compared to the Mississippi from Red Wing to Fort Snelling; from Red Lake river to Shayenne, to the Minnesota from Fort Snelling to Shakopee; and from Shayenne to Breckinridge [sic], to the Minnesota from Shakopee to Fort Ridgley [sic]. The Red River is navigable above (south of) Pembina 400 miles, while the distance from the International line by the river to Lake Winnipeg, is 175 miles; total distance navigable by steamers 575 miles. To this add 350 miles for the navigation of the Shayenne, Red Lake river and Assiniboine (its principal tributaries) and the river coast of the Red River Valley, accessible by steamers, will be found to exceed nine hundred miles.

²⁴ The Company had not relinquished its legal claim to a monopoly of trade but had abandoned any attempt to prosecute free traders.

²⁵ Henry Yule Hind, *North West Territory. Reports of Progress: Together with a Preliminary and General Report on the Assiniboine and Saskatchewan Exploring Expedition . . .*, Toronto, 1859.

²⁶ John Palliser's reports were published between 1859 and 1863 by the Imperial Parliament and in the *Royal Geographical Journal*.

5. Lake Winnipeg is about two hundred and fifty miles in length, but of unequal breadth. Its area cannot be less than that of Lake Erie, but is far more diversified by islands and headlands. The western bank is alluvial, resting on limestone, while the numerous bays of its eastern shore develop [sic] the gneiss, granite and trap rock of the primary formation. The lake is not deep, but with no shallows obstructive to navigation.

6. From a point near the Northwestern angle of Lake Winnipeg, the great navigable channel of the Saskatchewan, divided into two arms at latitude 53° and longitude 106° may be ascended by steamers to Fort Edmonton on the north branch, and to Chesterfield House or old Bow Fort on the south branch in close proximity to the Rocky Mountains. The Rapids of the Saskatchewan, near the mouth of the river, can hardly be said to interrupt navigation. Open loaded boats have been tracked (drawn with a rope by men on shore) over the most violent portions of the Rapids, the respective distances being one mile and a quarter of a mile, while, for descending vessels, there is no difficulty. Loaded boats run the Rapids with safety at every state of water.

7. When Central British America is fully recognised as a colony of England, its interior navigation can be greatly facilitated by canals between the channels of the Assiniboine and the South Saskatchewan, and connecting Lakes Winnipigoos [sic] and Manitoba with the Saskatchewan west of the rapids; but with the present natural advantages of the country, it is easy to perceive that steam navigation will greatly contribute to the enterprise of an overland communication from Minnesota to British Columbia, and will bring an immense and fertile district, whose colonization can be no longer postponed, into profitable connection with the public thoroughfares of Minnesota.

8. The testimony of intelligent residents is explicit, that the country upon the north branch of the Saskatchewan is superior, for the purpose of agriculture, to the plains of the South Saskatchewan. The latter are destitute of timber, except on a range of elevations near the international boundary, and partake of the cretaceous formation apparent on the Upper Missouri. The regions adjacent to Fort Pelly, Carlton House, Fort Pitt and Edmonton House - well known points in a general northwestern direction from Fort Garry - are remarkably adapted to the cultivation of grain and the sustenance of cattle.

The scenery of the North Saskatchewan is fully equal to that of the Mississippi between Galena and the Falls of St. Anthony.

9. The limit of successful agriculture in the Northern Temperate Zone should be carried considerably beyond the Saskatchewan valley, especially near the Rocky Mountains. Sir Roderick Murchison,²⁷ in a recent address before the London Geographical Society, represents this chain of mountains to be greatly depressed in high northern latitudes, and, indeed, several of the tributaries of the Mackenzie have their sources on the Pacific slope, and wind through the mountains before falling into the great Arctic rivers. The mountain valleys of the Peace and Liard rivers, from latitudes 56 degrees to 60 degrees, are thus influenced by the Pacific winds, and wheat, with other cereals, is successfully cultivated.

10. The present agriculture of Selkirk confirms the evidence from a variety of sources, that the districts west and northwest of the Red River valley, are well adapted to settlements. For the production of wheat, barley, rye, oats, peas, potatoes, vegetables, grass - whatever is grown in Minnesota except maize, the region in question will be unsurpassed by any other area of similar extent on the continent.

The foregoing is barely an enumeration of the points (each sustained by ample evidence) which demonstrate that a new and important epoch of colonization has begun in the basin of Lake Winnipeg. Gentlemen of experience in Northwestern transportation assure me that the Red River commerce will probably increase in a greater ratio than has been observed upon the Mississippi above Galena - an opinion partly founded upon the numerous wants of the people at Selkirk and at nearly fifty trading posts of the Hudson Bay Company, and their corresponding ability and disposition to purchase. To this present demand, will be added that caused by the transit of emigrants and their effects, when representative institutions are established and settlements are encouraged.

A significant commentary upon the events above detailed, is present-ed in an article from the *Norwester* newspaper, published at Fort Garry, dated September 28 and entitled "American Proclivities in Red River," which is appended ("A").

²⁷ Sir Roderick Murchison, Director of the British Geographical Survey, and President of the Royal Geographical Society, had taken the initiative in urging Government support of Palliser's expedition 1857-1860.

I also forward a condensed map illustrating the “River and pro-posed Railway System” connecting Minnesota with Northwestern British America (“B”).²⁸

Taylor, St. Paul, to H. M. Rice, November 16, 1860²⁹

Will you oblige me by forwarding the inclosed communications to the Treasury Department, upon your arrival at Washington?³⁰

Please represent to Mr. Cobb, also, that I am solicitous to make a comprehensive report upon the subjects referred to me. I have already indicated the topics which I propose to consider (in a communication dated June 26) and hope for a result satisfactory to the Department and to myself. My Report upon the operation of the Canadian Reciprocity Treaty, dated May 2, 1860,³¹ other reports on file, and the inclosed papers, are but incidental to the General Report in question, upon which I am now engaged. This will be forwarded at an early day.

In order to present full information upon the subject of the “Transportation of foreign merchandise through Minnesota, under bond, for the consumption of the British Settlements on Red River,” I find it necessary to visit the ports of Detroit and Sarnia, as well as

²⁸ The enclosed map indicates a line from St. Paul to Pembina and westward along the 50th parallel of latitude. The Minnesota and Pacific Railroad was chartered by the Minnesota Legislature in 1857 to build a line from St. Paul which would reach the navigable waters of the Red River. Taylor had been Secretary of this railway. In 1855 he had proposed a line from Lake Superior to Puget Sound and in 1859 had drawn a map for the St. Paul City Council showing a line from Pembina to British Columbia through the valley of the South Saskatchewan. Irwin, *op. cit.*, pp. 128-12.9; Blegen, *op. cit.*, 153ff.

²⁹ USNA, Special Agent Treasury Department Papers.

³⁰ Taylor to Cobb November 15, 16, 1860 in which Taylor asked for a leave of absence to visit Detroit, Sarnia and Montreal.

³¹ *House Executive Document* No. 96, 36 Cong., 1 Sess., Serial 1057. Taylor’s report (pp. 48-60) was transmitted to the House by the Secretary of the Treasury in June 1860 along with the report of Israel T. Hatch, also a Treasury agent and former Congressman from New York. Hatch endorsed the principle of reciprocity but stated that the treaty was unjust to the United States and had been violated by Canada. Taylor not only defended the treaty but recommended its extension to the North West Territories and British Columbia. See also, Donald C. Masters, *The Reciprocity Treaty of 1854*, London, 1936, pp. 122-130.

Montreal, where the goods are landed from vessels, and pass into the possession of the Grand Trunk Railway for transportation to Fort Garry. I inclose an application for authority to visit those points, returning by way of Washington, for the purpose of making some inquiries at the Treasury Department.

In the course of my investigations, I have been greatly impressed by the importance of the Trade of Lake Superior, and of its future connection with Minnesota and the English Colony soon to be developed northwest of Minnesota. I trust that I shall be within the tenor of my instructions, if I make this subject prominent in the Report which I am now preparing. With the construction of a railroad from Bayfield³² and Superior³³ to Saint Paul - an event not far distant - it is evident that a large proportion of the transshipments for the Northwest will take place at the western harbors of Lake Superior.

I shall devote myself assiduously to the presentation of these important questions, and rely, with confidence on your cooperation.

Taylor, St. Paul, to Salmon P. Chase, [Secretary of the Treasury] July 15, 1861. Private³⁴

I send herewith two official communications - one, an abstract of the revenue laws of our British neighbors north of Minnesota (whom you have kindly placed under my observation); and the other, a reply to your note of March 8, authorizing me to continue in my situation as special agent. "Andrews Colonial and Lake Trade," published by the Government about 1854,³⁵ was not without influence in the establishment of Canadian Reciprocity.

³² Bayfield, Wisconsin on the shore of Lake Superior.

³³ Superior, Wisconsin.

³⁴ LC, Salmon P. Chase Papers; found also in, MHS, Taylor Papers.

³⁵ Israel D. Andrews (? -1871), Consul General of the United States for the British Provinces, had been active in promoting the Reciprocity Treaty of 1854. Taylor is referring to his, "Report on Colonial and Lake Trade," *Senate Executive Document No. 112, 32 Cong., 1 Sess., Washington, 1852.*

I have an ambition to carry, under your auspices, the geographical and statistical view west of Lake Superior to the Mountains, north of latitude 49⁰. This will be the object of the General Report, on which I am engaged.

During a recent absence of W. R. Marshall,³⁶ the proprietor and editor of the Saint Paul Press, I assumed the editorial chair of the paper. Pardon me for inclosing a specimen number of this paper, (the leading Republican organ of the State) and inviting your attention to some articles on a subject which has great interest for me.

I am solicited by Mr. Marshall, Gov. Ramsey³⁷ and other prominent Republicans to renew my connection with the Press, and I have agreed to devote three hours a day to its columns.

In doing so, I shall not suffer any interruption of my labors under your direction. I simply propose a contribution (gratuitously made) to the support of the government in this crisis³⁸ and the party charged with its administration....

Taylor, St. Paul, to Salmon P. Chase, Secretary of the Treasury, December 17, 1861³⁹

I beg your attention to the following extracts from the "Nor'-Wester," the newspaper printed at Selkirk settlement....

"The progress of our republican neighbors in opening up, settling, and organizing new territories is something wonderful . . . We cannot regard with indifference this rapid march of civilization at our very doors. . . . The first Dakota elections came off yesterday fortnight. . . . Lucky they truly are to be thus early enfranchised,

³⁶ William Rainey Marshall (1825-1896), pioneer merchant of St. Anthony and St. Paul, a founder of the St. Paul Press 1861, member of the first Territorial Legislature of Minnesota, Governor of Minnesota 1866-1870.

³⁷ Alexander Ramsey (1815-1903), first Territorial Governor of Minnesota 1849-1853, Governor of Minnesota 1860-1863, United States Senator 1863-1875, one of the leaders of the Minnesota expansionist movement.

³⁸ The Civil War.

³⁹ This letter was not located in either the Chase or Taylor Papers. It was printed in "Relations Between the United States and North West British America," *House Executive Document No. 146*, 37 Cong., 2 Sess., Serial 1138, pp. 38-41.

when we, a large, populous, and well-to-do community of 50 years standing, are still in swaddling-clothes, under a fostermother's patronising rule! Shame on the British Government that this is the case! How much longer is it to continue? Are they waiting till we make short work of our destinies by voting annexation to Minnesota or Dakota, or till we take the reins of government with a rude grasp and proclaim independence of both American and British rule? . . . ”⁴⁰

And yet, notwithstanding this decisive language, the *Nor'Wester* is hardly abreast of the public dissatisfaction. The party which favors annexation to the United States is so numerous, especially among the French population, as to suggest the scheme of a rival newspaper....⁴¹

As I have previously assured the department, the Americanization of this important section of British America is rapidly progressing. Un-less the British Parliament acts promptly - for instance, during the session soon to transpire - I shall confidently expect a popular movement looking to independence or annexation to the United States.

In case of a collision with England,⁴² Minnesota is competent to “hold, occupy, and possess” the valley of Red River to Lake Winnipeg. There are no British troops at Fort Garry. . . .

I hasten, sir, to lay before you these facts in regard to the Red River settlement, as confirming my conviction that no portion of the British territory on this continent is so assailable, so certain of occupation by American troops in case of war with England, as Fort Garry and the immense district thence extending along the valley of the Saskatchewan to the Rocky Mountains. If our struggle is to be, in the

⁴⁰ *Nor'Wester*, October 1, 1861, copied by Taylor from the *Toronto Globe*.

⁴¹ *loc. cit.* The *Nor'Wester* referred to a prospectus received announcing a newspaper to be published in the Red River Settlement by Ohio men who had recently come to Minnesota. The policy of the newspaper was to be “uncompromising hostility” to the Hudson's Bay Company and the annexation of the Red River country to the United States. The *Nor'Wester*, in regard to annexation, said it “will, we hope, be utterly unpracticable . we go decidedly for British connexion; and we have such confidence in the Red River people that we believe they will scorn to support any journal of contrary opinions.”

⁴² War between the United States had become a distinct possibility in November when the British ship, the *Trent*, had been stopped by an American ship and two commissioners of the Confederate government on their way to London and Paris removed. See Robin W. Winks, *Canada and the United States, The Civil War Years*, Baltimore, 1960, pp. 69-103.

fullest sense, a struggle for national existence, against foreign foes as well as domestic-traitors, Minnesota, however remote from the scene of the southern insurrection, will claim the distinction of a winter campaign for the conquest of central British America. I append a rough diagram, exhibiting that portion of British territory . . . which 1,000 hardy Minnesotians, aided by the French, American, and half-breed population, could seize before the 4th of March. . . .

The winter weather would not deter the lumbermen and borderers of Minnesota from the march to Pembina and Fort Garry. . . . Indeed, there is some reason for the opinion that the frozen prairies, marshes, and lakes of Minnesota afford facilities for military operations in winter months much greater than the army will find in Virginia or Kentucky. . . .

I am led into this train of remark by the news of the morning, forcing me to consider the possibility of war with England. Probably to no one will the news be more unwelcome. My correspondence with the Treasury Department, and the investigations which I have been encouraged to pursue, have had, for their permanent predicate, the peace of the two great nations who speak the English tongue. The telegrams of this date surprise me in the midst of labors, the object of which was to demonstrate how much the United States and the British districts northwest of Minnesota are identified in geographical situation and material interests of all kinds. To the advancement of the latter I had not deemed annexation essential. By treaty stipulations and concurrent legislation it seemed possible to work out the mutual destiny of the American States and British provinces of the northwest. I trust that such agencies will yet be suffered to shape and advance events on this frontier. But if otherwise - if war is unavoidable - the budget on which I am engaged, and of which some installments are on file in the Treasury Department, may prove of some advantage to the government in our altered relations to England, and to the immense central region of which Minnesota has hitherto been the commercial key, and may yet prove a military highway.

Alexander Ramsey, St. Paul, to Salmon P. Chase, Secretary of the Treasury, December 28, 1861⁴³

The relations with interior or central British America are every day becoming more interesting to us; And in this connection it occurs to me to say that I have understood that James W. Taylor Esq. has been intrusted with a Special Mission on behalf of your department in this quarter.

As Mr. T. is so entirely master of the subject of the financial & Commercial questions involved in our relations with Hudson Bay on our Northern border and the business with those immense regions North of us it would be advisable to secure to the Gov'm[en]t the advantage of the immense amount of information he has accumulated on this subject by continuing him in his present position until he shall have full time to present to your department a full and detailed report of the many interesting facts that will be of importance to the revenue & trade along the Norther[n] lake shore of Superior & the International boundary further west.⁴⁴

I feel confident in saying that there is no other American so entirely familiar with the geography & resources of the country American & British stretching way north west of us to the Rocky Mountains as Mr. Taylor.

Taylor, St. Paul, to Thomas D'Arcy McGee, June 25, 1862⁴⁵

Recently at Quebec, you requested me, especially from my stand point as a citizen of Minnesota, to communicate with a Committee of the Canadian

⁴³ USNA, Special Agent Treasury Department Papers. Enclosed in Taylor to Chase, January 16, 1862.

⁴⁴ As a result of a Senate resolution of M.S. Wilkinson of Minnesota in regard to Taylor's connection with the Treasury Department the Department had asked Taylor when his work would be completed. Taylor requested until May 1, 1862 and in support of his application he had sought the recommendation of Governor Ramsey. See USNA, Taylor to Chase - January 16, 1862 (Private) and *ibid.*, Taylor to Chase, January 16, 1862 (Official).

⁴⁵ MHS, Taylor Papers. Thomas D'Arcy McGee (1825-1868) MP for Montreal West 1858-1868, Minister of Agriculture 1864-1867.

Parliament of which you are chairman, upon the subject of immigration⁴⁶.

On this subject the State of Minnesota has an interest inseparable from the Province of Canada. You will find, as we have found, that a groundless prejudice against the winters of the St. Lawrence and Winnipeg basins, is a lion in the way and must first be vanquished. We have a common argument, to present to the intelligent and influential minds of both continents - the physical argument, which is capable of demonstration that the areas of the Great Lakes and the American Plains northwest of Chicago, are the favorite and permanent seat of cereal and animal production in North American. Except for the Provinces and States north of latitude 42° the supply of bread and meat would be insufficient for a dense population. With their resources in these vital respects it can readily be shown that the basins of the St. Lawrence, of the Mississippi above Galena, of the Red and Saskatchewan rivers of Central British America and of the Columbia and Frazer [sic] rivers of the Pacific Coast, can never fail to produce an immense supply for European consumption.

The Cereals and Grasses are closely related to the movement of population from the old to the new world, and between the Sections of our own continent. There is a maxim that immigration follows parallels of latitude. It would be more accurate to say that immigration is attracted by analogous climates and identical agricultures. Every European whose native soil is the habit of grain and grass, and subject to a climate of that wholesome rigor without which bread and meat are seldom produced in affluence - every emigrant from such districts of Europe is simply *misplaced* - the victim of an unfortunate allotment - if he becomes an American emigrant [sic] south of latitude 42^o. Let the native of Italy, of southern France, of Austria, of Spain seek the valleys of the Ohio and Lower Mississippi, the plains of Texas or the plateau of Mexico. In his instance there may be no violation of any physical principle: but the Russian, the Prussian, the German, the Dane, the Scandinavian, the Hollander, the Belgian, the English-man, the Scotchman, the Irishman will follow an instinct of nature by immigration to our Northern Empire of the St. Lawrence, and to the Central and Pacific areas northwest of the Great Lakes.

⁴⁶ The Select Standing Committee on Immigration and Colonization appointed in April on McGee's motion. Canada, *House of Commons, Debates*, April 25, 28, 1862.

Humbolt [sic]⁴⁷, Ritter,⁴⁸ Dove⁴⁹ - all the great names of physical Geography - have prepared thinkers everywhere for this proposition. Its enforcement and recognition I regard as the corner stone of your system of immigration. Here in Minnesota with a geographical situation even further north than the Canadas, we impress every effective tongue and pen into a crusade against popular ignorance on this subject. We welcome your exposition of Canadian productions at London.⁵⁰ It would be fortunate if your Pacific Western - the agriculturists of Vancouver Island and British Columbia - have completed their arrangements for a similar illustration of the genial influence of their ocean climate. Except for the distraction of civil war the authorities of Minnesota and Selkirk, would have concurred in an international contribution indicating the productiveness of those great interior plains, which divide the waters of the Gulf of St. Lawrence and Puget's [sic] Sound.

I hope to witness future cooperation in well-directed efforts to diffuse authentic information upon the physical features, and capacity of the continental zone above indicated.

The most efficient agency contributed by the State of Minnesota for this purpose, is the organization of a Bureau of Statistics. I inclose the Reports of the Commissioner J. A. Wheelock Esq. for the Years 1860 and 1861. The Committee will observe that the Commissioner illustrates his statistical results by attractive and forcible expositions of their relation to immigration. Indeed the encouragement of immigration is the principal object of the office. Thus the incumbent is directed by law to circulate his annual [Report] very liberally, on both Continents, and fortunately Mr. Wheelock combines with all his enthusiasm a judicial quality of mind which restrains

⁴⁷ Alexander Humboldt (1769-1859), German naturalist, who, by 1817 had delineated the system of isothermal lines for comparing climatic conditions. Lorin Blodget (1823-1901), an American physicist and climatologist, using Humboldt's theory, extended the system of isothermal lines to the North American continent and published his findings in, *Climatology of the United States, and of the Temperate Latitudes of the North American Continent* . . . Philadelphia, 1857. Blodget claimed that vast areas of the British northwest were adapted to the cultivation of grain. Taylor and the Minnesota expansionist seized upon and publicized his arguments to stimulate American interest in the area. Taylor later worked with Blodget in the Treasury Department.

⁴⁸ Karl Ritter (1779-1859), a German geographer.

⁴⁹ Heinrich Wilhelm Dove (1803-1879), a German meteorologist, had made an extensive study of the distribution of temperature over the surface of the earth.

⁵⁰ The International Exhibition, London 1862.

his publications from all statements or speculations not fully authenticated. Thus he commands audience through the periodical press - either by direct communications, or, more frequently by the editorial reproduction of his facts and opinions. His term of office is five years, of which two has [sic] elapsed. The principal expenditure from the State Treasury is the collection of authentic materials for each year's report, and its publication and distribution in the effective manner provided by law. The whole annual charge to the State including salary of Commissioner, does not exceed \$3000. I can already perceive, that the office is invaluable as furnishing to intelligent citizens the materials of correspondence either to the press, or through private communications.

The Committee are doubtless aware of the circumstance very significant in this connection, that the European emigrant almost invariably leaves his native land with his destination in America distinctly and inflexibly in view. With the Norwegian or Swede, usually through the intervention of some relative or friend already in the country, the particular fraction of land which is to be the future home, is often selected and purchased. The Illinois Central Railroad Company are about to organize a Foreign Emigration Department, in which the most effective methods of stimulating and directing European emigration long in advance of embarkation upon the Atlantic, will probably be adopted. Most prominent of these I have no doubt will be communications through the newspapers, or periodical press and other publications, disseminated as far as practicable in the languages and localities of Northern Europe.

I hope that those communities of the North whose interests are identified will be able to organize similar agencies. Canada, Michigan, Wisconsin, Minnesota, Selkirk, Saskatchewan should combine their efforts on this question quite as effectively as Nature has linked their geographical and commercial affinities.

I have purposely grouped American States of the Northwest with two extensive districts of Central British America, which separate by an immense interval Canada from British Columbia. Experience will demonstrate, that upon the question of immigration - in regard to the interests, which govern the distribution of the human family - a geography, merely political has little significance especially when close communications by water and rail and a community of language, ideas and interest suggest, and even constrain

unity of plan and harmony of action. The Grand Trunk and Great Western railways of Canada now virtually terminate at Milwaukee - their next extension will be by way of La Crosse and St. Paul to the Red River of the North, and thence to the Rocky Mountains extends a fertile and beautiful wilderness of plains, forests, lakes and streams, which is most closely related to the question apparently, but not actually, local in its character, of Canadian immigration. I term this wide and affluent district Central British America, and in addition to the probable railroad communication just mentioned, it is more directly accessible from Canada, through Lake Superior and by the mail route from Fort William to Fort Garry. Pardon me, if I insist again that the Statesmen of Canada will [not] establish the Immigration Question on a basis satisfactory to themselves, until the valley of the Saskatchewan is recognized as a West - in the American relation of that word to the Commercial and Manufacturing States of the Atlantic Seaboard. I do not approach - I waive entirely, all discussion of mere political organization, whether the country shall be held as a part of Canada, to be admitted as a Province of the Union on attaining a certain stage of population & development, or whether it shall immediately be organized by the Imperial Parliament on or near the model of British Columbia. These are matters of policy, quite aside from the immediate topic of the great and manifest expediency of opening the country to settlement on terms as liberal as are proposed in Australia or the United States. This done, with almost any forms of responsible government, Canada becomes a continental power. And any diversion of the young and adventurous into the plains and mountains of Your West, will be restored ten-fold by the new destiny which will be suddenly manifested, by the increase of your commerce and manufactures, and by the vitality inseparable from the energetic movements of population.

Allow me in this connection to express a conviction that in the colonization of Northwest British America, the people of Lower Canada will bear a conspicuous share. Having visited Selkirk I was constantly struck with the traces of the early French occupation, prior even to the Conquest, and the influence more recently of the adventurers from Montreal who were connected with the old Northwest Company. St. Boniface with its excellent Bishop, Monsr Tache [sic], represents most happily this important element. Every where the language and associations of the people reminded me more of the Eastern, than of the Western Canadian Province.

This status might be changed but it seems improbable. My own impression is, that Central British America, advancing in population and resources, upon its present social basis, would become a community eminently just and impartial in whatever political relation the Government of England might adjust towards the Eastern Provinces, but having closer sympathy with Lower Canada than with its more immediate neighbor.

And be assured that the people of Minnesota desire no other eventualities than the early consummation of Sir E. B. Lytton's⁵¹ vivid horoscope for the future of British America. Of course if England is indifferent to the colonization of Central British America, we - the immediate neighbors of that fertile, salubrious and extensive district - cannot be expected to imitate such neglect. But we prefer - we are solicitous, that Canada shall lead, and that the energies and pride of the English nation shall be signally illustrated in the development of the immense and valuable district northwest of Minnesota.

We exclude altogether the idea or term of Annexation - we have learned a better word "Reciprocity": and hope with the inauguration of an English Colony beyond us to better the instruction of the Eastern States and Provinces, upon the subject of frontier intercourse. As I have had occasion to remark elsewhere "Our whole commercial future (here in Minnesota) has been projected in concert with the victories of peace, even more renowned than War, of which we still hope to witness the achievement in Northwest America irrespective of the imaginary line of an international frontier." Allow me in conclusion to repeat the hope so gracefully expressed in 1858 from the throne of England "That Her Majesty's Dominions in North America may ultimately be peopled in an unbroken chain from the Atlantic to the Pacific by a loyal and industrious population of subjects of the British Crown."

⁵¹ See Note 4, October 20, 1859.

Thomas D'Arcy McGee, Quebec, to Taylor, July 6, 1862⁵²

I am exceedingly obliged for your letter of the 25th of June, which, (unless you object) I should wish to embody in my report of the ensuing year, on Immigration and Settlement in Canada, and the British North West.⁵³

I most cordially concur with you in your wide and generous views of the harmony of interests which ought to prevail, between our common "North-West," and if I can do anything to promote a like spirit in Canada, rest assured my efforts shall not be wanting.⁵⁴

I promise myself much pleasure and instruction from Mr. Wheelock's reports, to whom I beg you will make my most respectful compliments.

Taylor, St. Paul, to Salmon P. Chase, Secretary of the Treasury, March 2, 1863⁵⁵

The dissatisfaction of the people of Selkirk Settlement with the Hudson Bay Company, and the authorities appointed by the Company, has almost reached the point of violent resistance.

⁵² MHS, Taylor Papers.

⁵³ The report of the Committee does not appear to have been printed. The Report of the Committee on Immigration and Colonization made in 1865 is the first published report in which attention is devoted to the possibilities of the North West Territories as an area for settlement and immigration. See, Canada, *Journals of the House of Commons*, Vol. 24, Appendix 6, Second Report of the Select Standing Committee on Immigration and Colonization, George Jackson, Chairman, September 12, 1865.

⁵⁴ McGee had spoken eloquently on many occasions of a Canadian nation stretching from the Atlantic to the Pacific. See, Isobel Skelton, *The Life of Thomas D'Arcy McGee*, Gardenvale, 1925, p. 397. In a letter of July 10, 1861 to the Treasury Department Taylor had quoted McGee's reference to Canadian disinterest in the Red River Settlement - "...while we were interrogating our Ministers as to their policy on the Hudson Bay question the Americans from St. Paul were steaming down to Fort Garry . . ." McGee was referring to the trip of the *Anson Northup* to Fort Garry in 1859. *House Executive Document No. 146*, 37 Cong., 2 Sess., Serial 1138, p. 19.

⁵⁵ USNA, Special Agent Treasury Department Papers.

I forward herewith, annexed and marked "A" some details of the excitement and its causes, which are taken from the Toronto Globe.⁵⁶

In another communication I shall submit an abstract of measures, now being discussed by the English press and in the Canadian Parliament to prevent the "Americanization" of Central British America - a result now universally admitted to be inevitable, unless there are important changes of British administration northwest of Minnesota.

The whole question is of immediate practical importance.

Taylor, St. Paul to Salmon P. Chase, Secretary of the Treasury, September 22, 1863⁵⁷

I propose, in partial response to the resolution of the U.S. Senate passed March 12, 1863, to present for your consideration at an early day in the next Congressional session, a Memoir of the American Fur Trade, which formerly centred at St. Louis but of which St. Paul is destined to be the principal entrepot from the great Interior Districts of the Northwest.

I feel competent to aid the labors of Messrs. Andrews⁵⁸ and Elder,⁵⁹ by some statistics of the immense wealth of Lake Superior the mining organizations of that district, and the resultant commerce, foreign and domestic.

I can assure you, also, that England will soon astonish the world by the agencies of colonization which are already organized at London in the direction of Central British America. Responsible parties are now in this

⁵⁶ Enclosed are newspaper clippings referring to the Rev. G. O. Corbett case; a letter to the Editor from the Red River Settlement dated January 5, 1863 critical of the Hudson's Bay Company; and the "Memorial of the People of Red River Settlement to the Canadian and British Governments" asking for a telegraph line and a road from Lake Superior to British Columbia sponsored by James Ross and William Coldwell, Co-editors of the *Nor'Wester*. See *Nor'Wester*, January 24, 1863.

⁵⁷ LC, Salmon P. Chase Papers; found also in MRS, Taylor Papers.

⁵⁸ See note 35, July 15, 1861.

⁵⁹ Dr. William Elder (1806-1885), physician, author, editorial writer, with whom Taylor later worked in the Treasury Department.

city (among them C. J. Brydges⁶⁰ Esq. Managing Director of the Grand Trunk Railway) who are making arrangements to transport from St. Paul to Fort Garry telegraphic wires and other material with which to construct a line from the Selkirk Settlement to the Pacific coast of British Columbia during 1864. St. Paul and Selkirk will be connected simultaneously by an American Telegraphic Company. With the telegraph, an emigrant and mail route will be opened. The Hudson Bay Company, with a change of proprietors," and a material enlargement of capital stock, brings its whole existing corps of intelligent officers and experienced employees to the consummation of this new policy. When the connection of St. Paul with Sitka in Russian America can be accomplished, as proposed, it is expected by the present managers of the Hudson Bay Company, that a message can be sent from Washington or Quebec, through Siberia by way of Behrings Straits, to St. Petersburg [sic].

My opportunities for early and full information are good, and I propose to make this remarkable development of English and Canadian policy, through the intermediate states of Michigan, Wisconsin and Minnesota, the subject of a separate communication to the Department. . . .

Taylor, [Washington], to C. J. Brydges, February 2, [1864]⁶²

At the request of Mr. Chase I came to this city in October last, but was absent on inquiries relating to our Overland Trade during December and most of January. While at St. Paul, I received your favor of Deer 24th and owe you an apology for yielding to the solicitation of the editor of the St. Paul Press, for the publication of those paragraphs relating to the

⁶⁰ Charles John Brydges (1827-1889), General Manager of the Grand Trunk Railway 1861-1874; in later years Land Commissioner of the Hudson's Bay Company at Winnipeg; at this time also an agent of the Company. It has been suggested he may have been using Taylor as a lobbyist in Washington. See USNA, Taylor to Chase, May 10, 1864 and Alvin C. Gluek Jr., *Minnesota and the Manifest Destiny of the Canadian Northwest*, Toronto, 1965, p. 187n.

⁶¹ In June, 1862 control of the Company had passed to the International Financial Society. See E. E. Rich, *Hudson's Bay Company 1670-1870*, Toronto, 1960, Vol. III, pp. 816-848. See also, MHS, Taylor to C. J. Brydges, February 2, 1864.

⁶² MHS, Taylor Papers.

Telegraphic and Railway policy of the Hudson Bay Company.⁶³ I returned to this city on the 21st January.

While I was in the West, the House of Representatives passed a resolution calling upon the Secretary of the Treasury for statistical information of the practical operation of the Reciprocity Treaty⁶⁴ and I found a large collection of tables, which had been prepared from the files of this Department and the published reports of Canada. These have just been sent to the House, without note or comment by the Secretary. I will send you a copy as soon as [it is] printed.

The tide is running heavily against the Treaty, and this session is most unfavorable for dispassionate discussion, as it immediately precedes a Presidential election. My hope is that Congress will yet be induced to postpone the consideration of the subject to the session commencing in December 1864 (I think a just interpretation of the Treaty requires such postponement), or at least provide for the consideration of the whole subject by Commissioners.

Mr. Chase was an early and efficient friend of the Treaty - his vote and influence, as Lord Elgin⁶⁵ was well aware - were essential to its success, and he will be superior to any mere local prejudice in the present discussion. Still, *revenue* has now become the vital question with the American Government and it will be urged with great effect, that the Canadian producers should in some way contribute to the support of the national credit in exchange for the advantages of an American market.

⁶³ In June, 1863, the International Financial Society which had gained control of the Hudson's Bay Co. announced its intention of promoting colonization in the Company's territories. The Company sent Edward Watkin to Red River to report on the questions of colonization and the construction of a telegraph line. Watkin, a Company stockholder, was President of the Grand Trunk Railway 1861-1863 and promoting the Atlantic and Pacific Telegraph and Transit Co. See Rich, *op. cit.*, pp. 830-848; John S. Galbraith, *The Hudson's Bay Company as an Imperial Factor 1821-1869*, Toronto, 1957, pp. 378-394.

⁶⁴ On December 7, 1863, J. S. Morrill of Vermont gave notice that he would introduce in the House of Representatives a joint resolution to terminate the treaty. *Congressional Globe*, 38 Cong., 1 Sess., 9. Two weeks later Elijah Ward of New York introduced a bill appointing commissioners to negotiate a new treaty. *Ibid.*, 19. On January 8, 1864 a resolution was introduced requiring the President to give notice terminating the treaty. *Ibid.*, 134.

⁶⁵ James Bruce, 8th Earl of Elgin (1811-1863), Governor-General of Canada 1847-1854 had done much to secure the Reciprocity Treaty of 1854.

My position here is favorable to the earliest information, and you are well aware of my solicitude that the Treaty, enlarged and extended territorially should become a permanent continental policy. It would give me pleasure to meet you here, and confer freely upon this question, and all other[s] relating to International interests in the Northwest. My address is "Treasury Department, Washington D.C." and will be until April - perhaps longer.

With best regards to Mr. Sandfield McDonald [sic]⁶⁶ and Mr. Isaac Buchanan. . . .⁶⁷

C. J. Brydges, Montreal, to Taylor, Washington, February 22, 1864.
Confidential.⁶⁸

I am much obliged for your letter of the 2nd inst., which reached me some short time ago.

I regret for many reasons to hear the views which you state are so prevalent at Washington, with reference to the question of Trade between Canada and the United States.

I have always felt and believed that the Reciprocity Treaty was one which was productive of mutual benefit to both parties.

It would of course be absurd to suppose that any Treaty could ever be continued, unless it had about it, the element of mutuality, so absolutely indispensable to its continuance.

You must excuse me saying, that it would look as if the question was being discussed more as one of temper, than of calm reason, and a policy carried on under such circumstances, can of course have but one result.

It would be absurd to deny that Canada has derived advantages, - and undoubtedly great ones - from the existence of the Reciprocity Treaty, and that she would not willingly take any step which would have the effect of putting an end to that Treaty.

⁶⁶ John Sandfield Macdonald (1812-1872), joint Premier of Canada with Louis Victor Sicotte 1862-1863 and with Antoine Aime Dorion 1863-1864.

⁶⁷ Isaac Buchanan (1810-1883), MP for Toronto 1841-1844 and for Hamilton 1857-1867. He had been an advocate of tariff protection but later favoured a commercial union or free trade area between Canada and the United States.

⁶⁸ MHS, Taylor Papers.

It would, in my opinion, and in that of the best informed people of this Province, be as absurd to deny that the benefit to the United States has been, at least, equally as great. The United States received the advantages of having the Fisheries of the Lower Provinces thrown open to her nautical industry, and skill; she obtained a connection between Lakes Erie and Ontario,⁶⁹ and thus was enabled to render her vast Western possessions, - to a certain extent, - independent of the charges which would have been made upon the products of that part of the Union, if no other outlet to the ocean had existed, except thro' the seaports on the southern shore of Lake Erie. In the employment of her ships in the Coasting Trade, she also acquired very large advantages.

These are some of the prominent features in which the United States gain, and gain largely.

There is of course the broad view of the benefit which a Country derives from throwing open to its manufactures, a market in a populous Country, and which, but for such Legislation would have had [raised?] against it, a discriminatory Tariff, as regards importations from the other side of the Atlantic; and also the fact, that by the policy which inaugurated and consummated the Reciprocity Treaty, the people of the United States had the advantage of securing from Canada the products of her soil, which products were of importance to her as a question of food for her people, in regard to the equilization [sic] of the cost of her great staples of food.

These are political considerations, which of course will have their due weight with the Statesmen of both Countries.

The effect, I think, of the discussion which is taking place in Congress, will be contrary in Canada to what is anticipated by those who are anxious for the disruption of the Treaty. It would seem to be an idea, that the course intended to be pursued of giving notice of the ending of the Treaty would of necessity drive Canada into the consideration of the question of becoming annexed to the United States. I believe that that question is farther off than ever it was, and less likely to be taken into account than at any period hitherto in the history of this Province.

⁶⁹ The Welland Canal.

The effect I believe - on the contrary - will be a feeling that the Counsels of the United States are being guided more by passion than by reason, and to make it therefore a necessity for Canada to take the necessary steps for placing herself throughout the year in a position of entire independence, as regards communication through the United States.

I need not tell you, - so conversant with the facts - that within the last 10 or 12 years, Canada has received an annually increasing proportion of her supplies through the United States Territory,⁷⁰ - to the advantage of her (U.S.) arterial means of communication, and therefore, of the Country at large - in consequence of the fact, that her River, the St. Lawrence - was shut out from all communication with the ocean, for so large a period of the year, by the laws of nature.

The fact that Canada obtained this access to the ocean thro' Foreign Territory, without any cost to such Foreign Country, but with great advantage to it, has deterred Canada from taking up the question of an independent outlet to the ocean, she believing that the advantages from the existing state of matters are so great to the United States, that the latter would not desire to take any step calculated not merely to put an end to the arrangements which existed, but even to raise a doubt as to the certainty of their being continued permanently.

That doubt has now been cast.

The Mercantile and agricultural interests of Canada are rapidly awakening from the dream in which they have been slumbering, that as it was the interest of the United States to keep up the present bonding system, so that Canadian importations might be tributary to United States means of conveyance, that therefore the last thing which would ever be heard of, would be the abrogation of facilities which are of the greatest importance to your Country.

The increasing volume of Trade in Canada cannot submit to have itself placed in a position, where from caprice, or change of policy, it must be debarred from carrying on its ordinary business except during the Season of Navigation.

⁷⁰ The main line of the Grand Trunk Railway between Toronto and Montreal had opened in 1856. When it was first chartered it had leased the lines of railways which together had a line between Montreal and Portland, Maine.

The result of your course will therefore be (and the evidences of it are now showing themselves with unmistakeable vigour) that the Grand Trunk Railway which at present extends almost from one end of Canada to the other, will, at least by the time that the Reciprocity Treaty can be put an end to, have an access to the Atlantic ocean, through British Territory, and thus make Canada for ever independent of the difficulties in which it is supposed the ending of the Treaty would place her.

In the interest which I represent in this Country,⁷¹ I cannot but rejoice that this question of Intercolonial Railway has received so valuable an impetus. I believe it will tend largely to knit together British interests on the Continent of North America, and I now see beyond the possibility of doubt, the completion at a very early day, of an unbroken line of Railway Communication, under one control and management, from the Atlantic ocean to the Western borders of the Province of Canada - whilst rejoicing that this consummation will certainly be brought about, I cannot but regret in the interests of civilization, on this Continent, that the United States is likely to take the suicidal course of putting an end to a Treaty from which she has derived such great advantages, and which certainly would, if continued, secure for her, great & enduring advantages in the future.

I was not aware until I received your letter, of the important part which Mr. Chase had played in the original inception of the Reciprocity Treaty. I rejoice much to hear it, because I am glad to find that one whose course has marked him out as a statesman in every sense of the word, in your Country, should have entertained sound Commercial views upon this very important question.

There is one paragraph in your letter which strikes me as important. I quote it in order that if you have not a copy of your letter, you may know the exact words that you used. It is as follows:-

“It will be urged with great effect that the Canadian producers should in some way contribute to the support of our national credit, in exchange for the advantage of an American market.”

⁷¹ The Grand Trunk Railway.

May I ask you to do me the favor somewhat to amplify your meaning in penning that paragraph. I have considerable confidential communication with the leading Members of political parties in this Country, to a large extent I know their views, and whilst I believe that what I have stated in this letter correctly represents their feelings, I am quite sure that they would be disposed to carefully consider any suggestion which would be calculated to produce a satisfactory Commercial Trading arrangement between Canada and the United States.

Pray therefore say what it is that would be considered desirable to be obtained from us, in exchange for the advantages of an American Market to us. It may be that if I had some inkling of what is meant (as I assume that you are uttering the sentiments of important parties in Washington) I might be in a position to bring about something which would be calculated to advance a matter in which I know you take so warm and deep an interest.

I should like very much, if I had the time, to spend a few days in Washington. I have never been there, but I hardly feel that I could spare the time, however valuable the information I might get there, might prove to be.

Taylor, [Washington], to C. J. Brydges, [March 12, 1864]⁷²

Your letter of Feby 22 is received: and it offers me pleasure to assure you that the “sober second thought” here at Washington is more favorable to negotiation on the subject of the Reciprocity Treaty than it seemed a month since . . .

The subject of the Treaty has been referred by the House of Representatives, to the Committee on Commerce, the Chairman of which, Mr. Ward 71 of New York, holds liberal and intelligent views. I am in communication with Mr. Ward and other members of the committee.

⁷² MHS, Taylor Papers. The letter is undated but is probably March 12, 1864. See USNA, Special Agent Treasury Department Papers, Taylor to Chase, Enclosure, May 10, 1864.

⁷³ Elijah Ward (1816-1882), United States Representative from New York 1857-1859, 1861-1865, a supporter of the Reciprocity Treaty.

At a late interview, I presented the point made in the St. Paul Memorial of 1862 (See Mr. Galt's report on Reciprocity Treaty),⁷⁴ that all legislation prior to September 11, 1864 was premature and void:⁷⁵ while a proposition for a conference by Commissioners in advance of the expiration of the ten years fixed as the duration of the Treaty was unobjectionable and every way expedient. I was yesterday informed that the Committee have not reached any conclusion.

The sentence of my letter to which you refer was almost a transcript of Mr. Chase's language in conversation. He thinks in the view of necessities of both Governments - Canadian as well as the United States - that a fixed and permanent duty upon the articles enumerated in Article 3, not so high as to discourage the present movement of produce, and on that account the most fruitful of revenue, might be imposed, accompanied perhaps by a modification of our navigation laws. The rate of such a duty and how far the restrictions of our coasting trade should be removed, remain to be considered. I suggested five per cent ad valorem. In a few days I will have another interview with the Secretary and I propose to write to you again on the subject.

I cannot believe that the bill, repealing the transit of bonded goods, will become a law: but I will ascertain its situation and prospects. My engagements, at present, give me little leisure to attend upon Congress, or visit the members. . . .

C. J. Brydges, Montreal, to Taylor, Washington, March 26, 1864⁷⁶

I have to thank you for your two favors of the 17th and 19th

⁷⁴ *Report of the Minister of Finance on the Reciprocity Treaty with the United States*, also, *The Memorial of the Chamber of Commerce of St. Paul, Minnesota, and Report of Congress, U.S., Theeon, Quebec*, Queen's Printer, 1862. In January 1862, Taylor presented a memorial to the St. Paul Chamber of Commerce remonstrating against any action in Congress suspending the treaty and suggesting that Congress, in 1864, considered a revision, territorial extension to the territory north-west of Minnesota and British Columbia, and enlargement of the treaty provisions "to the proportions of a Zoll-Verein or Customs Union." The memorial was submitted to Congress, referred to the Committee on Foreign Relations and printed. See *Senate Miscellaneous Documents No. 26, 37 Cong., 2 Sess., Serial 1124*.

⁷⁵ The treaty was promulgated by President Pierce on September 11, 1854 and was to remain in force for ten years and for a full year after either party gave notice of intention to terminate the agreement.

⁷⁶ MHS, Taylor Papers.

and also for the Copy of the Report made by Mr. Chase to Congress with reference to the Reciprocity Treaty.

I am glad to find from what you say, that there is a prospect of the matter being taken up in a proper light, and that, although the present Reciprocity Treaty may be ended, an attempt will be made to have the whole question calmly reviewed by Commissioners appointed by the two contracting parties.

I am glad also to see what you say with reference to the continuance of the Bonding system. It is only however right, that I should say, that the agitation which has taken place in the United States upon these subjects, has made all political parties here determined to proceed with the construction of the Intercolonial Railway.

It is felt that it will not do to allow the rapidly growing Trade of Canada to be subject to the caprice of Politics in your Country and that the only proper course for us, is to have an outlet of our own, desiring at the same time to cultivate those friendly relations with the United States, which cannot be otherwise than beneficial to the interests of both.

I am a good deal at Quebec just now, but as the late Ministry have resigned⁷⁷ and a new Government is in the course of formation, I shall probably not be there again for 2 or 3 weeks.

I expect to go to Boston early next week, and may proceed by way of New York. A telegram to me at our office 279 Broadway will find me, or at all events enable you to know my whereabouts. I should be very glad indeed to have the opportunity of a conversation with you.

I am much obliged for the copy of your letter to Mr. McGee.⁷⁸ I will take an early opportunity of speaking to him on the subject as in all probability he will be a Member of the Cabinet now being formed.

I note what you say with reference to the Hudsons Bay Company, and shall hope to have the pleasure of seeing you soon, when we can talk that matter over, and I shall be very glad indeed to aid you in any way that I can.

⁷⁷ The John Sandfield Macdonald-Dorion Government was defeated on March 21, 1864 and succeeded by the John A. Macdonald-Tache administration.

⁷⁸ Possibly Taylor's letter of June 25, 1862. McGee became Minister of Agriculture in April, 1864.

Taylor to C. J. Brydges, [May 6, 1864]⁷⁹

Inclosed is the Report of the House Committee on Commerce upon the Reciprocity Treaty.⁸⁰ I have not preserved a copy of the resolutions reported by the Committee but it was extensively published a month ago, and you can find the text in your files of Canadian newspapers. It authorized the President to give notice of abrogation, but provided for the appointment of Commissioners to confer upon the terms of a new treaty, with such Commissioners as might be appointed by Great Britain and the Provinces.

The consideration of this resolution was postponed for a month - that period expiring yesterday: but the Internal Revenue Bill was then before the House, and it is quite uncertain when the resolution will be discussed. The friends of the Treaty - Mr. Ward of New York, Mr. Arnold⁸¹ of Illinois and Mr. Donnelly⁸² of Minnesota, and perhaps others - will reply to the speeches of Messrs Morrill⁸³ and Pike,⁸⁴ at the first opportunity.

I have no doubt that all proceedings for the abrogation of the Treaty, would be indefinitely postponed if the Canadian Parliament and the Congress of the United States should concur in a resolution or act imposing a duty of five per cent upon the existing free lists, as hitherto established by the Treaty and other legislation. Why not try such an experiment? I observe that \$19,134,966 imported into Canada from U.S. during 1863 was free of duty - if these articles had paid 5°J_o duty, your revenue would have been increased \$956,748. If the duty was imposed to

⁷⁹ MHS, Taylor Papers. Excerpts from this letter were enclosed in Taylor to Chase, May 10, 1864.

⁸⁰ *Congressional Globe*, 38 Cong., 1 Sess., April 1, 1864, p. 1387.

⁸¹ Isaac Newton Arnold (1815-1884), Republican Representative from Illinois 1860-1864. While in Congress he served as Chairman of the Committee on Manufactures.

⁸² Ignatius Donnelly (1831-1910), Republican Representative from Minnesota 1863-1869.

⁸³ Justin Smith Morrill (1810-1898), Republican Representative from Vermont 1855-1867, author of the "Morri!1" tariff of 1861, Chairman of the House Committee of Ways and Means 1864-1865, United States Senator 1867-1898. He introduced in the House and was the principal champion of the tariff acts of 1862 and 1864. In January 1864, he had introduced a resolution requiring the President to give notice of termination of the Reciprocity Treaty. *Congressional Globe*, 38 Cong., 1 Sess., January 8, 1864, p. 1.

⁸⁴ Frederick Augustus Pike (1817-1886), Republican Representative from Maine 1861-1869. He had attacked the treaty and favoured a revision. *Ibid*, May 19, 1864, p. 2364ff.

take effect July 1, and its effect was to reduce your imports of these articles to \$15,000,000 per annum, your annual increase of revenue would be \$750,000, or \$325,000 [sic] for the half year ending Dec. 31, 1864.

Of your exports to the United States for the year ending June 30, 1863, \$18,250,322 were free of duty. Five per cent on that importation would give \$912,251 to the U.S. Treasury, or if such a rate of duty reduced the exportation of these articles (hitherto duty free) to \$15,000,000, the addition to our revenue would be \$750,000 per annum.

Advanced as the rates of the American Tariff now are, the danger of smuggling over your border increases: and I am apprehensive that the necessities of the revenue will force an abrogation of the Treaty, unless its friends, here and in Canada, can agree upon some minimum duty, which without obstructing commercial intercourse, will be as productive of revenue, as the high and almost prohibitive rates of our general Tariff. Five per cent ad valorem all around might be a compromise, which would baffle the opponents of the Reciprocity Treaty.

I do not make this proposition, except to you (and I shall suggest it to Mr. Chase) : for, whatever influence I have among members of Congress, is unqualifiedly for the Treaty, and for its territorial extension westward to the Pacific. I have caused a Memorial to be adopted by the St. Paul Chamber of Commerce to the foregoing purport, which will be presented in the House by Mr. Donnelly, and in the Senate by Govr. Ramsey when the question is up.⁸⁵

Give my respects to Mr. Galt.⁸⁶ He will not fail to notice how effectual his paper⁸⁷ in response to the former Report of the House Committee of Commerce has proved, in lowering the tone of the inclosed Report.

Please send me a speech, lately printed, by Hon. Isaac Buchanan.

⁸⁵ Taylor had this Memorial circulated on the floor of the House during the debate. See MHS, Taylor to Brydges, May 26, 1864. A draft of the Memorial is in MHS, Taylor Papers.

⁸⁶ Alexander Tilloch Galt (1817-1893), Canadian Minister of Finance 1858-1862, 1864-1867.

⁸⁷ See note 74, March 12, 1864.

Taylor, Washington, to Salmon P. Chase, Secretary of Treasury, May 10, 1864⁸⁸

For the year ending June 30, 1863, the United States imported from Canada articles free of duty, amounting in value to \$18,250,322.

For the year ending December 31, 1863, Canada imported from the United States articles free of duty, amounting in value to \$19,134,966.

If the two Governments (Canada and the United States) should now unite in the passage of a joint resolution or act, imposing five per cent ad valorem upon the existing free lists, each Government might be in receipt of an additional revenue of \$900,000 for the ensuing year.

I anticipate that such a minimum rate as 5% would not divert the present course of trade, and would be more productive of revenue than higher rates.

The Canadian Parliament is now in session. Hon. A. T. Galt, a particular friend of Senator Fessenden,⁸⁹ is Minister of Finance. The Canadian Treasury needs money, and if it was represented by influential parties, that some minimum rate, mutually imposed for the sake of revenue, would be satisfactory to the members of Congress, who have advocated the abrogation of the Reciprocity Treaty, I am inclined to believe that such an arrangement could be effected, to pass into operation on the 1st of July next.

I am in correspondence with C. J. Brydges, Managing Director of the Grand Trunk Railway (and also agent of the Hudson Bay Company on this continent) and having made the above suggestion to him, I thought it my duty to advise you of the circumstance. Of course, the suggestion was made altogether on my own responsibility. Mr. Brydges is in communication with leading members of all parties at Quebec. I enclose on a separate paper some extracts from letters between Mr. Brydges and myself on this subject.⁹⁰

⁸⁸ USNA, Special Agent Treasury Department Papers.

⁸⁹ William Pitt Fessenden (1806-1869), United States Senator from Maine 1854-1864, 1865-1869, Secretary of the Treasury, succeeding Salmon P. Chase, 1864-1865, Chairman of the Senate Committee on Finance.

⁹⁰ Enclosed are extracts of Taylor's letters to Brydges of March 12, May 6, 1864, and Brydges' letter to Taylor of February 22, 1864.

Taylor, to [C. J. Brydges], May 26, 1864.⁹¹

I have the satisfaction of informing you that the House of Representatives, by a vote of 78 to 72, have postponed the proposition to authorize notice abrogating the Reciprocity Treaty and the appointment of Commissioners etc., to the first Tuesday of December next.⁹²

This was done on motion of Thaddeus Stevens,⁹³ of Pennsylvania chairman of the committee of Ways and Means, and I have reason to believe that it was on the ground, twice urged by the St. Paul Chamber of Commerce (in 1862 and very recently),⁹⁴ that all action on the subject of notice was premature. I [caused?] the St. Paul memorial to be circulated on the floor of the House.

Previous votes showed the hostile disposition of the majority, the resolution being on the point of passing by from 3 to 6 majority. Of course the appointment of Commissioners falls for this session: but I prefer this result rather than their appointment with a congressional declaration prejudicing the whole discussion.

The negotiation for a new treaty is now substantially in the hands of Lord Lyons⁹⁵ and Mr. Galt and say, Mr. Howe⁹⁶ of Nova Scotia on one side, and Mr. Seward,⁹⁷ Mr. Chase, and Senator Fessenden (Chairman of the committee on finance) upon the other.

Perhaps you and myself may be regarded as Secretaries to such an International Commission.

So much for the House - the body from which I expected no favorable result. All my arrangements were in expectation of the passage of the resolution through the House, and I looked to the more deliberate judgment of the Senate for the right adjustment of the question.

⁹¹ MHS, Taylor Papers.

⁹² *Congressional Globe*, 38 Cong., 1 Sess., p. 2508.

⁹³ Thaddeus Stevens (1792-1868), Republican Representative from Pennsylvania 1858-1868.

⁹⁴ See note 74, March 12, 1864 and Taylor to Brydges, May 6, 1864.

⁹⁵ Richard Bickerton Pemmell, Lord Lyons (1817-1887), British Ambassador at Washington 1858-1865.

⁹⁶ Joseph Howe (1804-1873), Premier of Nova Scotia 1860-1863, Fisheries Commissioner under the Reciprocity Treaty 1862-1866, Secretary of State for the Provinces 1869-1873.

⁹⁷ William Henry Seward (1801-1872), American Secretary of State 1861-1869.

I think I can assure you that the transportation of goods in bond will remain as heretofore. This letter is not for publication: but show it to Messrs Galt, McGee, Buchanan, Sheppard.⁹⁸

C. J. Brydges, Montreal, to Taylor, Treasury Department, Washington, June 7, 1864. Private.⁹⁹

I am very much obliged to you for the several letters I have received from you lately on the subject of the Reciprocity Treaty. I have shown them all to Mr. Galt and the other Members of the Canadian Government and they rejoice equally with me at the turn which matters have taken.

I trust that we shall now be able to carry on negotiations so as to put the question in a fair shape before the time comes when notice will be given by the United States. I rather expect in the course of a day or two to receive from Mr. Galt a letter bearing upon this subject, at any rate he promised to write me such a letter, giving, - unofficially of course, simply for your private information, - his own views as to the course matters might take with reference to negotiations for the renewal of the Treaty.

If I get this from him I will send you copy of it, and perhaps I had better defer till then any remarks with reference to the subject matter itself.

I am very glad to hear that there is no prospect of the Bonding System being interfered with - such a measure could only be justified by the absence of everything like statesman-like views, as it could have no other effect but to be as injurious to parties putting it in operation as to those who would be affected by it.

I am sorry to see Gold rising so rapidly, but hope that the upward course of the market in this commodity [?] may before long be arrested.

⁹⁸ Possibly George Sheppard (1819-1912) who had edited several newspapers in Canada, including the *Toronto Globe*, between 1854 and 1860 and for a short time in the United States in 1860 returning there in 1862. See J. M. S. Careless, *Brown of the Globe*, Toronto, 2 vols. 1959, 1963.

⁹⁹ MHS, Taylor Papers.

It is a most serious matter for Railway Companies who are carrying any large amount of American property.

C. J. Brydges, Montreal, to Taylor, Washington, Treasury Department, June 11, 1864. Private.¹⁰⁰

I wrote you from Montreal a day or two ago in which I said that I expected to hear very shortly from Mr. Galt on the subject. I now enclose copy of a letter which I have today received from him thereon.

Mr. Galt's letter explains itself, and I need not therefore say anything upon it, except call your attention to the importance which he attaches to the meeting of Commissioners, fully to discuss the whole question.

I am sure this is the right course, and the sooner the machinery can be got started so as to put the matter in hand the better it will be.

Let me call your attention to the last paragraph of Mr. Galt's letter. He would of course not like his views in any way to become public. They are merely written for your own eye, or such parties as you may think it desirable to show them to confidentially.

Enclosure:

A. T. Galt, Quebec, to C. J. Brydges, June 9, 1864. Copy.

I return you Mr. Taylor's letter with the report of the Committee on Commerce.

With regard to Mr. Taylor's suggestion that the difficulty between the two Governments in respect to the Treaty would be removed by a mutual understanding that a duty of 5 per cent might be imposed upon the Free List established by the Treaty, I may point out to you that, inasmuch as a large part of the Trade under the Treaty is in fact a mere transit Commerce, as far as Canada is concerned, the imposition, even of the small duty which he suggests, would in all probability divert from us the greater part of the

¹⁰⁰ MHS, Taylor Papers.

imports which we now have from the Western States.

Perhaps there would not be any very great objection to our consenting to a small duty on Lumber especially if the United States agreed to extend the classes of lumber to which the Treaty is now supposed to apply. This would meet the views to a great extent of the State of Maine, and if the duty were not higher than that suggested by Mr. Taylor I do not think it would seriously affect our Lumber interests.

I do not believe that Canada would desire to impose, herself, any duties upon our Free List, but I can readily understand that at present the United States may imagine that a considerable amount of revenue would be obtained on the articles they import from Canada. The fact is that no proper understanding is likely to be arrived at on this important subject until it has been fully discussed and considered by Commissioners, and I hop,: the Summer will not pass without arrangements being made between the two Governments for this purpose.

I have no objection to your informing Mr. Taylor, confidentially, what my opinion is on this matter, but I would not like it to go beyond himself.

George Sheppard, New York, to George L. Becker, St. Paul, June 30, 1865¹⁰¹

Y[ou]r favor of the 26th rec'd. I enclose copy of a letter to the *Tribune*, in which the results of my observations during a recent visit to Western Canada are briefly set forth. All the facts are understated. The fact germane to my former note is indisputable. Renew reciprocity, and you postpone annexation indefinitely. Refuse reciprocity - or insist upon conditions with wh[ich] a colony cannot comply - & you ensure annexation within a brief period. On this point I am positive.

¹⁰¹ MHS, Taylor Papers. George Loomis Becker (1829-1904), Minnesota State Senator 1868-1871, for many years associated with the St. Paul & Pacific Railroad, and a constant correspondent with Taylor. He undoubtedly forwarded this letter to Taylor.

To you in the North-West the matter has a significance apart f[ro]m commercial considerations. For reciprocity will help the Confederation scheme, & that involves the erection of a British province at y[ou]r very doors. Defeat reciprocity, & the Red River country will drop like a ripe plum into your hands.

Not having another copy of my Tribune letter, may I beg of you to hand it to Mr. Taylor, after perusal?

I shall be glad to see you here. You will find me at No. 71 Broadway, Room 68.

C. J. Brydges, Montreal, to Taylor, Washington, February 26, 1866¹⁰²

I am in receipt of your letter of the 17th inst for which I am much obliged. I confess to being not surprised at the result of the visit of Messrs. Galt and Howland¹⁰³ to Washington. I never myself anticipated that any good result would follow from the negotiations which were started but I was hardly prepared for the extreme views which found expression in Memorandum B by Mr. Morrill and his friends of the Committee.¹⁰⁴ I need hardly say that as far as this country is concerned any such terms are simply the close of all possible negotiations as I am perfectly certain that I am only speaking the entire sentiment of the country when I say that we should be prepared to submit to any possible difficulties rather than even consider terms which on the face of them we look upon simply as insult. I myself believe that the 17th of March¹⁰⁵ will come and that the Treaty will end absolutely on that day.

What course will be taken after that is a matter which it would be at present perfectly idle to prophecy [sic] but if the views mentioned

¹⁰² MHS, Taylor Papers.

¹⁰³ William Pearce Howland (1811-1907), Postmaster General in the John A. Macdonald administration formed in 1864, and Minister of Finance, succeeding A. T. Galt, 1866-1867. With Galt he had gone to Washington in July, 1865 and again in January 1, 1866 to discuss the prospect of renewal of the Reciprocity Treaty.

¹⁰⁴ i.e. the Ways and Means Committee of the House of Representatives. The United States Free List was to be reduced to articles of little interest to Canada and the duty of wheat, flour, coal, fish and lumber increased to what Galt considered a prohibitive level. See Masters, *op. cit.*, p. 172.

¹⁰⁵ The date on which the United States was to give notice of abrogation of the treaty.

in your letter could be entertained or rather suggested by the Committee of Ways & Means and acted upon by your Government it is possible that an arrangement might be arrived at.

I am not quite clear however that even this could be done so strong is the feeling engendered throughout Canada by the extraordinary propositions, to use the mildest term, made by the Committee of Ways & Means.

I shall be very glad indeed to hear from you in regard to this matter and will at once take care that your letter is placed in Mr. Galt's hands.

Taylor, Treasury Department, Washington, to W. H. Seward, Secretary of State, May 17, 1867¹⁰⁶

I am in possession of information in regard to the disposition of the people of Red River Settlement and the situation of the Saskatchewan districts adjacent to the Territory of Montana, which warrants the following general statements.

1. The population of Red River or Selkirk, north of Minnesota, is about 10,000, of which 5,000 are Canadian French, 2,000 English, 2,000 Scotch and 1,000 American. Great dissatisfaction exists with the domination of the Hudson Bay Company and neglect by England - but the organization of a Province and the extension over it of the Canadian Confederation might check this dissatisfaction and restrain an annexation movement. But these measures must come quickly, and be very liberal in their terms, to have such an effect. The situation, just now is critical: and may be materially influenced by the action of the State Department.
2. But the object of this note is to invite your attention to the region east of British Columbia and north of Montana. In the course of my investigations, as Mining Comr, of Treasury Department, I learned last February that important discoveries of gold and silver had been made in November 1866 on the headwaters of the South Saskatchewan river: and I have just been informed that 500 Americans, mostly from the adjacent territory of Montana,

¹⁰⁶ University of Rochester, W. H. Seward Papers.

have wintered in their vicinity. It is probable that before July there may be a migration of 5,000 Americans to the Saskatchewan country, not unlike the rush from California to Frazer River in 1859. If so, that number of Americans *will not be long without a government*. What shall it be - acquiescence in the Canadian Confederation, or an organization independent not only of the Hudson Bay Company, but of England? It has occurred to me that the leaders of this emigration should receive a suggestion, that an open adhesion to the United States might not be expedient at this time.

Something like the self-government of Oregon in 1839 [sic]¹⁰⁷ or Austin's¹⁰⁸ dismemberment of Texas from Mexico, would probably be the impulse of the settlers.

I propose to call upon Mr. Frederick Seward¹⁰⁹ in a few days, to communicate more fully upon this subject when I hope to receive some intimation how far this condition of things in Central British America calls for action on the part of the American Government or whether certain designs by citizens of Minnesota and Montana upon the region referred to will embarrass in any way the policy of the State Department.

Taylor, Washington, D.C., to Edward Cooper, November 23, 1867¹¹⁰

The voluntary annexation of British America is nearer than we have supposed.

¹⁰⁷ American settlers organized a provisional government in 1843. Three years later the 49th parallel was constituted the boundary between the United States and the British possessions and in 1848 Oregon was admitted as a Territory.

¹⁰⁸ Stephen Fuller Austin (1793-1A36), one of the leaders with Sam Houston of the American settlement in Texas which declared its independence of Mexico in 1836 and was admitted to the Union in 1845.

¹⁰⁹ Frederick William Seward (1830-1915), son of W. H. Seward and Assistant Secretary of State 1861-1869.

¹¹⁰ USNA, Special Agent State Department Papers; also in MHS, Taylor Papers. Edward Cooper was the Assistant Secretary of the Treasury. With his permission Taylor had forwarded this letter to W. H. Seward, Secretary of State. See USNA, *ibid*, Taylor to Seward, November 25, 1867. Taylor was at this time with the Treasury Department and while his appointment as a Special Agent of the State Department did not take place until the end of 1869. Taylor availed himself of the permission granted by the State Department to advise the Department on "the progress of American interests and institutions, northwest of Lake Superior." USNA, *ibid.*, Taylor to F. W. Seward, March 14, 1868.

Nova Scotia is greatly dissatisfied with the Confederation scheme, which was forced upon the people against their will, and is fatal to local self government. Hon. Joseph Howe, the foremost man of this Province, led a party triumphantly in the late elections with the watch-word of repeal, and, failing of repeal, he and his party openly proclaimed that they prefer Annexation on the terms of the bill presented to Congress in June 1866 by Mr. Secretary McCulloch.¹¹¹ This was deliberately said in a protest against Confederation, filed in the Colonial office by Messrs. Howe, Annan [sic]¹¹² and others, last winter, and has been often repeated on the hustings in Nova Scotia during the summer of 1867.

Newfoundland and Prince Edward Island have refused to become parties to Confederation.

New Brunswick, inseparable in all its commercial relations from Maine and New England holds a position similar to Nova Scotia.

Even in Canada, where great advantages, political and material, are anticipated from the centralization of the Provinces at Ottawa, a strong annexation feeling prevails. The French of Lower Canada are not reconciled to English domination; the Irish population is everywhere seditious; while the peninsula of Canada West, is largely American, both in population and feeling.

West of the Great Lakes from Lake Superior to the Pacific Coast, there are only three isolated points where civilized society is established namely, Selkirk Settlement, north of Minnesota and South of Lake Winnipeg; a few miners from Montana on the sources of the Saskatchewan; and the Colony of British Columbia, including Vancouver and Queen Charlotte Islands. Over this immense area large enough to make five States equal in all respects to Minnesota, the European population does not exceed 30,000 nine tenths of whom desire annexation to the United States.

¹¹¹ Hugh McCulloch (1808-1895), Secretary of the Treasury 1865-1869, 1884-1885.

¹¹² William Annand (1808-1887), Premier of Nova Scotia 1867-1875, had gone to London in the autumn of 1866 with Howe (then the leader of the anti-Confederation party in the Province) to oppose the inclusion of Nova Scotia in Confederation. A later insertion at the bottom of page 2 of Taylor's letter reads, "Mr. Howe has since withdrawn from the party," the reference being to Howe's acceptance of the "better terms" offered to Nova Scotia by the Canadian Government and a post in the Federal Cabinet.

The press and public of British Columbia make public demonstrations in favor of the American connection.

In 1866, a proposition was matured in the Treasury Department and communicated to Congress by the Secretary of the Treasury, which was nothing less than an overture to the English Provinces on this Continent to become States and Territories of the United States upon certain terms and conditions. These were in the form of Articles, twelve in number, which, among other stipulations, consolidated the provincial debt with that of the United States; secured the enlargement of the St. Lawrence canals to a capacity of passing 1,500 ton vessels; made certain the construction of a North Pacific Railroad, and assured to the proposed Western Territories the usual legislation by Congress for the support of frontier communities. A draft was submitted entitled "A bill for the admission of the States of Nova Scotia, New Brunswick, Canada East and Canada West, and for the organization of the Territories of Selkirk, Saskatchewan and Columbia."

Mr. N. P. Banks¹¹³ subsequently (July 2, 1866) presented this bill to the House of Representatives. It was read twice and referred to the Committee on Foreign Affairs.

I have suggested to President Johnson, that a few words in his message calling the attention of Congress to this measure would, without committing him to its details, give an impulse to the movement of annexation, which might mark an epoch in our manifest continental destiny. He could thus inaugurate its discussion; and this discussion once begun, must soon lead to practical results.

I firmly believe, if the bill referred to was placed among the laws of the United States, as a standing proposition for the consideration of Great Britain and the Provinces, that the state of public sentiment over the border, to which I have above alluded, would soon be irresistible. We have only to

¹¹³ Nathaniel Prentiss Banks (1816-1874) of Massachusetts, Chairman of the House Committee on Foreign Affairs. On March 28, 1866 the House of Representatives requested the Secretary of the Treasury to provide a statement regarding trade with the British North American Provinces 1860-1865. Taylor drew up a report entitled "Commercial Relations with British North America" which was presented to the House on June 12, 1866. In the report he included the plan for union noted above. It was this plan, embodied in a bill prepared by Taylor, which Banks presented to the House. The bill was not pressed and died in Committee. On many occasions thereafter Taylor pressed for its revival. House journal, 39 Cong., 1 Sess., p. 471; *House Executive Document*, No. 128 39 Cong., 1 Sess., Serial 1263; *Congressional Globe*, 39 Cong., 1 Sess., p. 3548.

deposit an "open basket" (to use an illustration of the N.Y. Evening Post applied to this bill) under the tree, and the ripe fruit will speedily fall.

It seems to me that a Canadian Reciprocity Treaty is obsolete. Mr. McCulloch in his reports, has indicated that a concurrence by Canada in our reformed revenue legislation (whenever we reach it) will be the best mode of adjusting our commercial relations; but, when this alternative is presented to Canadians, they shake the head in despair.

Their debt is 70 million dollars to 4 millions of people, ours 2,500 million dollars to 35 million population - Canadian per capita \$17.50 American \$71.42. To equalize the debts would require an assumption [sic] or disbursement in behalf of British America of '\$200,000,000 which is [the] real significance of the House bill - the United States being justified financially by enlarging its revenue basis. But the poor tottering Confederation cannot, or will not, for a generation to come, consummate any such policy as the bill contemplates, although it would make Canada a great Continental and Pacific power. The people of the Provinces see this.

Annexed to the United States, this generation will find all its resources doubled; but dragging out a dependent and precarious political life under Confederation, what they now have will hardly escape depreciation.

I shall be happy at any time to communicate more fully my views on this question, with the facts in their support which have come under my observation.

Taylor, St. Paul, to W. H. Seward, Secretary of State, February 27, 1868¹¹⁴

I enclose [the] resolutions on Relations to Northwest America which I have furnished to the Senate Committee on Foreign Affairs.¹¹⁵

¹¹⁴ USNA, Special Agent State Department Papers.

¹¹⁵ i.e. the Senate Committee of the Minnesota Legislature. The resolutions were introduced by Senator Warren Bristol February 26, 1868 and given approval. *Minnesota General Laws*, 1868. Senator Ramsey presented them to the United States Senate March 31, 1868 where they were referred to the Senate Committee on Foreign Affairs. Senate *Miscellaneous Documents*, No. 68, 40 Cong., 2 Sess., Serial 1319. A partial draft of the resolutions is found also in MHS, Taylor Papers, dated March 6, 1868. See also, *St. Paul Daily Press*, February 27, 1868.

I shall probably meet the Legislature at a banquet to-morrow when I may have an opportunity to urge the subject.

(Resolutions)

1. That the Congress of the United States is hereby requested to confirm, by requisite legislation, the annexation of Alaska to the United States.¹¹⁶
2. That we regret to be informed of a purpose to transfer the territories between Minnesota and Alaska to the Dominion of Canada, by an order in council at London without a vote of the people of Selkirk and the settlers upon the sources of the Saskatchewan river, who largely consist of emigrants from the United States; and we would respectfully urge that the President and Congress of the United States shall represent to the Government of Great Britain that such action will be an unwarrantable interference with the principle of self-government, and cannot be regarded with indifference by the people of the United States.
3. That the Legislature of Minnesota would rejoice to be assured that the cession of Northwest British America to the United States, accompanied by the construction of a Northern Pacific Railroad,¹¹⁷ are regarded by Great Britain and Canada, as satisfactory provisions of a treaty, which shall remove all grounds of controversy between the respective countries.

¹¹⁶ Alaska had been purchased in March 1867; the treaty ratified in May and the formal transfer made in May. The appropriation for the purchase had not yet, however, been voted.

¹¹⁷ The Northern Pacific was chartered as a land-grant railway by Congress in 1864 to build from Lake Superior to the Pacific coast by 1876. The line had to face many financial and legislative hurdles and required several extensions of time. Taylor and the Minnesota expansionists were persistently active as lobbyists in Washington in protecting its charter believing that such a line would forestall the building of a line through the British North West, draw the territory more closely into the economic orbit of the United States, and perhaps eventually to political union. See Irwin, *op. cit.*, pp. 101-153. In 1867, Taylor had sought a position with the Northern Pacific but failed, though he represented it at a number of commercial conventions. See Blegen, *op. cit.*, p. 186.

Taylor, St. Paul, to Hugh McCulloch, Secretary of the Treasury, November 13, 1868¹¹⁸

I expect to go over the ground of this letter in regular "State Paper" style with all the rhetorical and statistical proprieties but I now desire to compress into the ten minutes of your time for which I am accustomed to stipulate some points for consideration making this communication merely a *Brief*.

1. When my resolution was adopted at the Detroit Convention of 1865¹¹⁹ in favor of an Assimilation of Tariff and Excise on the Canadian frontier, the excise presented the greatest difficulty. But that has passed away. The Excise systems of Canada and the United States are nearly identical, or could easily be made so.

2. How with the Customs duties? For answer, I quote your report of 1866, "It is not unlikely that when the United States shall have simplified existing methods, and reduced existing rates of taxation, so as to receive the largest amount of revenue with the least burden to industry, British America will be prepared to undertake a system of public improvements along the channel of the St. Lawrence and through Northwest British America to the Pacific Coast, which, by the financial necessities attending its adoption and the administration of a federal Government, will suggest a Zollverein, or a complete assimilation of excise and customs duties on each side of the northern frontier."

3. But Canada may decline the burthen [sic] of developing the Northwest Territories. It must be done on our American Scale, or, the Confederation will lose Selkirk and British Columbia. A railroad from Lake Superior to the North Pacific Coast by 1880, is the price of English dominion. If undertaken the same necessities will make the Canadian and American Tariffs identical: and then a Zoll-verein or free trade between them, retaining a Tariff against the rest of the world will follow.

4. This on your hypothesis, often expressed to me in conversation that England has never ceded territory, and rather than do so in

¹¹⁸ MHS, Taylor Papers.

¹¹⁹ The St. Paul Board of Trade sent Taylor to the Detroit Commercial Convention in July 1865 to press Minnesota's desire for the continuance and extension of the Reciprocity Treaty. He became a member of the Convention's Reciprocity Committee. *Proceedings of the Commercial Convention Held in Detroit July 11th, 12th, 13th, and 14th, 1865*, Detroit, 1865.

the Northwest, will discharge the price for keeping her Pacific front. But I have thought it possible that England might be willing to transfer the region west of Canada, in settlement of every outstanding question between the two countries: and, in that case, we would have Canada to satisfy. At this point Senator Ramsey's proposition¹²⁰ comes in:

5. I recapitulate its points:
 - a. The exchange of the products and manufactures of U.S. and Canada, subject to a revenue duty of five per cent.
 - b. Assimilation of excise duties.
 - c. Free navigation of Lakes and Rivers and freedom of Fisheries.
 - d. Admission of Canadian vessels to American registry.
 - e. Common patent and copyrights and rates of postage.

Mr. Ramsey's resolution contained a stipulation in respect to a Northern Pacific Railroad, but that would be a domestic question and would take care of itself. However, I will not dwell upon these details.

6. Observe the powerful inducements both to England and Canada. Peace to the British Empire, our markets and all the commercial advantages of annexation to the British Provinces. Unless Mr. Seward and Mr. Reverdy Johnson are in too great haste, the coming Treaty, instead of dealing with the Alabama question singly, might settle the future of this continent on the surest foundations.¹²¹ But to do so, we must look West. It will never do to ignore the Pacific side of the negotiation with Great Britain and Canada.

¹²⁰ Ramsey's resolutions were presented on December 9, 1867 and referred to the Senate Committee on Foreign Affairs. *Congressional Globe*, 40 Cong., 2 Sess., December 9, 1867, p. 79. *Senate Miscellaneous Documents*, No. 4, 40 Cong., 2 Sess., Serial 1319. A printed copy is also in, MHS, Alexander Ramsey Papers, attached to Taylor to Ramsey, December 6, 1867 in which it is clear Taylor assisted in the formulation of the resolutions. Taylor did not include in his letter a further important provision, i.e. that Canada, with Britain's consent cede the North West Territories to the United States, the United States to pay the Hudson's Bay Company \$6,000,000.

¹²¹ The *Alabama* was a vessel built in Great Britain for the Southern States during the American Civil War. Its attacks on United States shipping over a period of three years were the cause of considerable tension between Great Britain and the United States. Negotiation of the American claim for damages was undertaken by Reverdy Johnson, the United States ambassador to Great Britain but the treaty concluded was rejected by the Senate. By the Treaty of Washington in 1871 the claims were submitted to an International Tribunal which the following year awarded the United States \$15,500,000. Allan Nevins, *Hamilton Fish, The Inner History of the Grant Administration*, New York, 1937, pp. 518-561.

7. It has been my duty, first imposed by Mr. Chase and since enjoined by you, to keep the Northwest question prominent before Congress and the Country. I shall renew these efforts this winter. I hope for your encouragement as hitherto.

8. Of course, there can be no objection to a joint Commission of Inquiry on this side of the Atlantic, which should discuss the terms of a Reciprocal arrangement, by treaty or Concurrent legislation between the United States and the British Provinces. In all the action by Legislatures or Commercial bodies in the Northwest, with which I have had any connection, such a Negotiation or Discussion has always been favored. Only in assenting to it, let there be no unnecessary assent to future stipulations. The War and Debt have removed the whole question to other grounds than we occupied in 1854. The North-west, with its immense grain surplus, then was not, but is now a great weight in the scale. The agricultural interest is jealous of the free admission of Canadian staples. If this section of the country assents, it must have a quid pro quo - some stipulation in advance of the old Treaty. The free navigation of the St. Lawrence as *it is*, will not satisfy the Western people. Of that, we are reasonably sure now. Let Canada put \$6,000,000 into the enlargement of the Welland and St. Lawrence Canals, and the way will be clear to a new arrangement.

9. There is some distrust of New England alacrity to relieve their trade with the Lower Provinces of the absurdities of our Tariff upon breadstuffs, while the West is expected to bear its equally absurd scale of duties upon Manufactures. We are quite willing to keep the noses of our Eastern friends to the grindstone, until they are willing to *relieve the whole country by a thorough revision of the Tariff*.

10. But this communication is already too long. I close it with what I addressed to you, August 27th about the Situation of Nova Scotia, and the position of Mr. Howe. "I have recently had a long conference with Hon. Joseph Howe of Nova Scotia. He is not prepared for extreme measures of resistance to Canadian Confederation: but he will demand, and I think will command essential modifications of the Act of Union. He says that State rights, as we find them essential to good government and territorial expansion, are an equal necessity of the Provinces: and if he fails in decentralizing the Ottawa government, then he and his people are ready for our Treasury project of Annexation. He has already made effective use of that project, other wise known as the 'Banks Bill'¹²² and, as a future

¹²² See note 113, November 23, 1867.

contingency, its discussion is quite likely to be renewed.

If a Special Commission on Trade and Intercourse with Canada, is thought expedient, Mr. Howe will receive from the Canadian Government, the appointment of Commissioner. In that event, I hope to be useful to you, either in the position of Commissioner, or Secretary to the Commission. The flattering reception which attended my exposition of our international interests at Portland¹²³ emboldens me to make this request.”

Taylor, St. Paul, to W. H. Seward, Secretary of State, November 18, 1868¹²⁴

Mr. Joseph Howe of Nova Scotia, great as his influence is, will fail to reconcile the people of Nova Scotia to Confederation, unless you give to the Confederate leaders the prestige of having restored the Reciprocity Treaty. That would remove every objection to Confederation. As the London Post has it, Reciprocity would be a sedative to Nova Scotia.

The Halifax Chronicle, the newspaper established twenty five years ago by Mr. Howe, holds the following language in the face of that gentleman’s letter.

From the Halifax Morning Chronicle (successor to Mr. Howe’s “Nova Scotian”) of Nov. 2¹²⁵

“The position of Nova Scotia previous to Confederation, we believe, was far, very far preferable to annexation with the United States. The people of this Province are now seeking the

¹²³ Where he had represented the interests of the Northern Pacific Railroad at a commercial convention. Blegen, *op. cit.*, p. 168. See also, MHS, Taylor Papers, Taylor to William Windom, July 20, 1869.

¹²⁴ USNA, Special Agent Treasury Department Papers.

¹²⁵ *The Morning Chronicle* of Halifax was founded by William Annand in 1844. *The Novascotian*, purchased by Howe in 1827, was sold in 1841 to Richard Nugent who sold it to Annand in 1844. Both papers continued, Howe being editor of both from 1844-1846. James .A. Roy, *Joseph Howe, a Study in Achievement and Frustration*, Toronto, 1935, pp. 23, 99, 127.

restoration of the liberties they enjoyed before the passage of the Confederation Act. If they succeed, as we hope and trust they may, they can live and prosper without becoming citizens of the United States. If they fail, and are still condemned by the British Parliament to remain in the Canadian Confederacy, it will then be time enough to consider whether it would be advantageous for the Province to be annexed to the United States. Should the time unhappily come that we shall be called upon to choose between Annexation and Confederation, the *Morning Chronicle* will be no more backward in taking its position than it has been on the many questions that have engaged the attention of Nova Scotians during the past twenty-five years.”

This language is very significant. The *Chronicle* is edited by Mr. Annand, a prominent member of the Government, and I am satisfied that all the young, active, aspiring men of the Province prefer Annexation, on the basis of the proposition drafted by me in 1866,¹²⁶ forwarded to Congress by Mr. McCulloch, and afterwards presented by Gen. Banks, to the Canadian Connection.

In this stress, will not the Ottawa politicians be willing to transfer the Northwest Territory in exchange for a Reciprocity Treaty? Will not Great Britain join in the cession, if the United States will assume the indemnity to our citizens on account of the Alabama depredations?

Allow me to refer you to Senator Ramsey’s resolution,¹²⁷ published in the *Darby Globe* of July 31, and which was referred (I think) on the 28th or 29th to the Senate Committee on Foreign Relations.

I hope, in my position as Agent of the Treasury Department for this District to be of some service to Mr. McCulloch and yourself in this connection.

William R. Marshall, Governor of Minnesota, St. Paul to Taylor, Washington, January 9, 1869¹²⁸

I duly rec’d yours of Dec. 27 - I regret that the entire expenditure

¹²⁶ See note 111, November 23, 1867

¹²⁷ See note 120, November 13, 1868

¹²⁸ MHS, Taylor Papers.

of my Ex[ecutive] contingent [fund] some time ago rendered out of my power to [do] what was suggested and what I should have been glad to do.¹²⁹

You will have seen the Message.¹³⁰

The Nor [thern] Pacific, after all the discouraging reports - has been after [able?] to effect an arrangement to commence construction.

At the instance of Mr. Becker I wrote to Jay Cookely¹³¹ to know if some arrangement couldn't be made for the St. P[aul]. & P [acific].¹³² to take the section from the Red river to the [NW?] - to construct it as soon as the N.P. would the section from Lk. Superior to Red river. Mr. Cooke replied declining the proposition - he says they will undoubtedly be able to push on, after getting to Red river.

Why, now isn't it Becker's true policy to push on to Pembina? He can hardly get a grant west in competition with the Nor[thern]. Pacific. That Co[mpany]. will oppose him. They will *help him* get a grant to continue his road to Pembina. I assume that they will - because it is obviously to their interest to do so. . . .

¹²⁹ Taylor's employment in the Treasury Department ended in 1869. He was seeking employment. He later stated that on the succession of George S. Boutwell to the Treasury he was "removed as politically obnoxious," his association with Salmon P. Chase having harmed him. See, *ibid*, Taylor to Jay Cooke, May 6, 1869; Taylor to H. H. Sibley, April 23, 1885.

¹³⁰ Presumably President Andrew Johnson's Annual Message to Congress in which he said that "national policy would seem to sanction the acquisition and incorporation into our Federal Union of the several adjacent continental and insular communities as speedily as it can be done peaceably, lawfully, and without violation of national justice, faith or honor." *Congressional Globe*, 40 Cong., 3 Sess., Appendix, p. 5.

¹³¹ Jay Cooke (1821-1905), banker and financier, head of the banking firm of Jay Cooke & Co. organized in Philadelphia in 1861. Overspeculation in the affairs of the Northern Pacific Railroad resulted in the failure of his firm in 1873. As early as 1865, the year after its incorporation, the Northern Pacific had asked Jay Cooke to accept the agency for the sale of the railway's bonds. It was not, however, until December 1869 that he agreed to take the agency. By this time he had bought stock in the company and held tracts of land along the route of the Lake Superior and Mississippi Railroad between St. Paul and Lake Superior as well as at Duluth, E. P. O. Oberholtzer, *Jay Cooke, Financier of the Civil War*, Philadelphia, 1907, Vol. 2, pp. 98, 105, 157.

¹³² The St. Paul and Pacific Railroad was chartered by the Minnesota Legislature in 1862 with the object of connecting St. Paul with the Red River at Breckenridge and building north along the Red to the international boundary. It became the property of the Northern Pacific in 1870. Irwin, *op. cit.*, pp. 132, 144-145. See also note 196, September 18, 1869.

Taylor, St. Paul, to Thomas Swinyard, May 4, 1869.¹³³

The postponement of the Northern Pacific Railroad, and the indifference of the Government at Washington to its construction - partly on grounds of retrenchment but chiefly on account of the hostility of the Union Pacific - offer to Canada a great opportunity. I have suggested in a letter to Mr. Howe (a copy of which is enclosed in personal confidence) that the Dominion Government, while incorporating a Canada Pacific Railroad Company, and vesting it with a liberal grant of lands, shall further encourage the construction of its Western section in combination with existing lines northwest of Windsor through the States of Michigan, Wisconsin and Minnesota, postponing for another decade, the construction of a direct line of connection north of Lakes Huron and Superior. Your Company¹³⁴ is interested in such an International enterprise; and if the Dominion Government contemplates efficient measures for the colonization of the Selkirk and Saskatchewan districts, why not take advantage of existing investments, representing fifty millions of capital between the Detroit river and the Red River Settlements. I would enlarge the Reciprocity negotiation to include these great Western interests and I am not sanguine that the West can be brought to favor a Treaty except on a basis thus broad and permanent.

For the present, I shall devote all the time I can spare to the direction of public opinion through the press. I should like to establish a bureau for the dissemination of information and persuasion on these subjects. As Manager of the Great Western would it not be expedient or desirable for you to contribute to such occupation of my time, at this point, a retainer? Pardon this last suggestion, but I would justify your confidence, if, after full consideration, you see your way to regard it with favor.¹³⁵

¹³³ MHS, Taylor Papers. Thomas Swinyard, an English engineer, was General Manager, succeeding C. J. Brydges, of the Great Western Railway 1862-1870 and later Chief Engineer in the Federal Department of Public Works.

¹³⁴ The Great Western Railway.

¹³⁵ Earlier in the year Taylor had asked C. J. Brydges for employment as Attorney for the Grand Trunk Railway. See, MHS, Brydges to Taylor, April 12, 1869; and Taylor to Brydges, May 4, 1869.

Taylor, St. Paul, to Joseph Howe, May 4, 1869.¹³⁶

I heard of the result of the late election in Hants¹³⁷ with pleasure - partly on personal grounds, and also for the reason that I have come to regard Confederation as a fact accomplished, which England will not recall but which may be reformed by an enlightened public sentiment. Your success at the Hants hustings was preceded by great concessions on behalf of your Province, and I anticipate that it will be the pre-cursor of a liberal policy for the future. Such a policy is not inconsistent with [. . . ? . . .] of federal administration, but, like the [. . . ? . . .] administration of Jefferson in 1801, its chief merit will lie in the direction of decentralization - in the practical recognition and [. . . ? . . .] of local self-government.

With the establishment of the Confederation, there is a prospect of negotiation with the United States on questions of trade, finance, frontier improvements and perhaps boundaries. The contracting parties will be the United States and Canada, with the advice and *consent* of *Great Britain*. I italicise the attitude of observation and concurrence which the English embassy at Washington occupied in 1866, at the time of the unsuccessful negotiation of the Provincial delegation with the Committee of Ways and Means¹³⁸ - assuming that such henceforth will be still more distinctly the form and tenor of negotiation on all questions pertaining to the relations of the United States and Canada.

Hitherto two circumstances have concurred to prevent negotiation - the uncertainty of your political organization and our absurd and oppressive tariff. I could wish that the latter was as near removal as the former obstacle. Still we are not without hope that the baseless fabric of the American protectionists will soon pass away. The recent demonstrations at Brooklyn and Boston are very significant.¹³⁹ No two names could bring more weight and influence than those of William

¹³⁶ MHS, Taylor Papers.

¹³⁷ Howe had entered the Federal Cabinet as President of the Council January 30, 1869 and after a bitter campaign was elected to the House of Commons to represent the constituency of Hants, Nova Scotia, April 26, 1869. Roy *op. cit.*, pp. 284, 285.

¹³⁸ The negotiations regarding the Reciprocity Treaty.

¹³⁹ A number of meetings were held in American cities at this time urging more liberal trade arrangements with Canada. L. B. Shippee, *Canadian-American Relations 1849-1874*, Toronto, 1939, p. 308.

Lloyd Garrison and Henry Ward Beecher.¹⁴⁰ Personally I have been gratified that the suggestion in my Portland speech¹⁴¹ of a minimum revenue duty in the commerce of the United States with other American communities, has been embodied so prominently in the programme of the Boston meeting. Great attention has been attracted to the organization of the Reform League:¹⁴² and I have reason to believe that President Grant (already prepossessed in favor of the views of Commissioner Wells)¹⁴³ will be a willing observer, if not more, of its progress in public favor.

I have long been of the opinion that a Reciprocity Treaty, on the basis of June 1854, was hopeless. Its abrogation has brought loss and inconvenience to New England, leading to a local movement for its restoration: but I have never concealed the opinion that the Northwest - our States and Territories so designated and your recent acquisition from the Hudson Bay Company - will exercise a controlling influence upon a new adjustment. For some time I have found it necessary to assume, that Canada would enlarge the Welland and St. Lawrence canals to the dimensions of our Superior Canal in consideration of a new treaty - otherwise the jealousy of our agricultural interest, excited by the proposition to admit Canadian grain duty-free, would have controlled public opinion in Illinois, Wisconsin and Minnesota: and more recently, the suggestion is frequently heard that, Canada should be urged, in exchange for the freedom of our Atlantic markets, to unite in a cession of the Selkirk and Saskatchewan districts to the United States. Such a proposition offered by Mr. Ramsey, of Minnesota, is now pending before the Committee on Foreign Relations of the United States Senate.¹⁴⁴ It may yet be presented for consideration of England and Canada, as a leading provision in a Tri-partite Treaty which shall finally adjust every pending question between the respective countries.

In regard to this cession of Territory, I propose on this occasion to accept the emphatic comments of the Canadian press, and dismiss it as inadmissible.

¹⁴⁰ Both champions of free trade. Garrison, in 1869, became President of the Free Trade League. O. G. Villard, *Free Trade - Free World*, New York, 1947, pp. 7, 259. See also, MHS, Howe to Taylor, May 24, 1870.

¹⁴¹ See note 123, November 13, 1868.

¹⁴² See Villard, *op. cit.*, p. 260.

¹⁴³ David Ames Wells (1828-1898), Special United States Commissioner of Revenue 1866-1870, at one time a protectionist, had become a leading advocate of the abolition of the tariff.

¹⁴⁴ See note 120, November 13, 1868.

I assume, therefore, that Canada has acquired the districts of Selkirk and Saskatchewan, and hopes to extend the Confederation over [British] Columbia as a permanent policy: that the Ottawa Government understands, and will act on the knowledge, that the tenure of those remote districts, particularly of British Columbia, is a communication over land: that no other than a railway communication will be sufficient for the necessities of the case, political no less than commercial: and that the Western policy of the Ministry which contains Joseph Howe, will be earnestly directed to the early completion of a Viaduct from Ocean to Ocean - from Halifax to Victoria. I anticipate the incorporation of a Canada Pacific Railroad Company, at the present session of Parliament as the first step to such a Continental policy.

While, however, the charter and attendant land grant of the Canada Pacific will probably pass from the Ottawa valley northward of Lakes Huron and Superior to Fort Garry - a provision and an assurance for a future communication exclusively on the territory of the Dominion - yet I beg leave to call your attention to the expediency of confining the immediate construction of the railroad to the Western section between Fort Garry and the Pacific coast: trusting to the Rail-roads of Michigan, Wisconsin and Minnesota to bridge the interval between Sarnia and Windsor in Canada and the Selkirk Settlement, in like manner as our Western Railroads, terminating at Detroit rely on the good faith and business interests of the Canadian railroads to traverse the territory of Ontario and communicate with New York. The Atlantic terminus of the Grand Trunk Railroad is at a harbor of the State of Maine under a similar international arrangement. An International Pacific Railway is quite practicable, and that within a brief period, with a reasonable degree of similar cooperation along the common channel of the St. Lawrence. It was, indeed, a favorite idea of Mr. Seward, that any future Reciprocity Treaty should include in its guarantees the inviolability of all future Railroad investments in such a Continental route.¹⁴⁵

¹⁴⁵ The suggestion of an International Railway was a persistent theme in Taylor's letters for many years. His views represented those of the Minnesota expansionists and the Northern Pacific Railroad interests who wished to prevent the construction of an all-Canadian route. A Canadian route from the Red River Settlement westward would be, they thought, an adjunct to the Minnesota and American lines. See MHS, Taylor Papers, Draft of article "Minnesota" for the *Chicago Tribune*, dated May 17, 1869; and draft of article for the *Toronto Globe*, dated May 18, 1869.

There is in existence a grant of 6,400 acres per mile for about 330 miles of railway connecting the most western termination of Lake Superior, and the Railways of the Northwestern States, with the international frontier at Pembina. This aggregate of 2,112,000 acres is distributed in alternate sections or blocks of 640 acres, through a belt of ten miles in each direction, enclosing the proposed route. Starting from the vicinity of Lake Superior and from St. Cloud, two spurs unite at Crow Wing, and thence soon reach and traverse the eastern valley of the Red River of the North by Otter Tail Lake and Red Lake to Pembina. No finer body of land, more fertile or better supplied with wood and water is accessible in Minnesota or the West. The route is identical with the present waggon road from St. Paul and St. Cloud to the Red River Settlements. Why should not the Canadian Railway proprietors, whose lines cross the State of Michigan, become parties to the construction of this closing line of the communication with the valley of Lake Winnipeg, to which the Canadian people and government are so solicitous to divert the migration of the Eastern Provinces: and thus secure a basis for the extension westward along the "Fertile Belt" of a Railway, which, in the West, has proved to be even more the cause, than the effect, of civilized population.

I will not doubt that a grant of thirty alternate sections per mile, to be taken in a belt fifteen miles on each side of a Canada Pacific Road, with a guaranty for ten years of five per cent to stockholders, would secure the construction of the Western Section, before 1880. And once connect Puget's Sound with the Settlements on the Red River, the International connection with Sarnia and Windsor would virtually unite the Atlantic and Pacific Provinces, while the general prosperity, East and West, would force the barriers between Lake Superior and Hudson's Bay before the close of the century.

Pardon the length to which my reflections on the best course to secure a Commercial Treaty, permanent and adequate in its provisions, has extended this letter. I repeat that the Northwest - its communications and interests - must weigh heavily in the scale of successful negotiation: and I hope to be of some service in such a discussion. I am no longer in office at Washington: St. Paul will henceforth be my scene of effort, but I propose to myself a degree of activity through the press and before public assemblies, which an official position has hitherto restrained. Especially will it give me pleasure, if in any way

I can facilitate you and your associates in your noble but arduous task of establishing civilized society in the fertile and beautiful districts northwest of Minnesota, over which the Dominion of Canada has suddenly extended its jurisdiction.

Taylor, St. Paul, to Joseph Howe, May 5, 1869. Private.¹⁴⁶

I have taken the liberty to forward copies of the enclosed letter to Messrs. Brydges and Swinyard, of course guarding against publicity, since the policy therein suggested would require to be executed by parties connected with the Canada railroads, and I recognise the necessity that the Ottawa Government should confine its direct encouragement to lines within the territory of the Dominion. I urge on these gentlemen and their associations that *they shall command the approach to Selkirk through Northern Minnesota* - from Duluth as well as from Fort William - and to that end I seek to be employed in obtaining for them the valuable land grant which I have described.

As for the country and the route west of Fort Garry, I anticipate a course of legislation, which will perforate the wilderness with a railroad and a cordon of settlements before 1880. How appropriate that you should follow your late personal triumph, by the inauguration of the requisite measures in Parliament. It seems to me that a bold policy is now essential to Canada. Our Northern Pacific Railroad is postponed. Grant's administration is timid, and the Union Pacific monopoly is hostile. I am not sanguine of favorable legislation next winter. Why not seize the opportunity, and secure the connection with the North Pacific *on the latitude of London?*

Less than half of your struggle to start the Nova Scotia system of railroads would suffice for the accomplishment of such a Continental communication.

I shall rejoice to be a witness, much more to be an assistant, in its consummation.

¹⁴⁶ MHS, Taylor Papers.

Taylor, St. Paul, to Jay Cooke, May 5, 1869.¹⁴⁷

Favor me, as you read this letter, by spreading on your table the valuable map of Northwest America with which you illustrate the late pamphlet on the "Lake Superior and Mississippi Rail Road."¹⁴⁸

We start at Duluth. Thirty miles of the railroad to Moose Lake is under contract. This section will overcome the bluffs and channel of St. Louis river and the elevation to the plateau of the Mississippi river. Diverging from the Lake Superior and Mississippi line at Moose Lake, 70 miles connects with Crow Wing skirting the north shore of Mille Lac. From Crow Wing, or the crossing of the Mississippi, the red line indicates a route of the North Pacific, but I invite your [attention] on this occasion to the dark line further northwest by way of Otter-tail Lake to Pembina on the International frontier. The distance from Crow Wing to Pembina is 237 miles: add 70 miles east to Moose Lake: and we have 307 miles which will connect Duluth with the navigable channel of Red River at Pembina, and the region of Central British America lately transferred by the Hudson Bay Company to Canada.

There is a Congressional Land Grant of ten sections, or 6,400 acres per mile for this route - an aggregate of 1,964,000 acres. For the first 100 miles, or to a point thirty miles west of Crow Wing, the lands are of the second class, but fully equal to the average of the Superior and Mississippi grant: but thence northwest to Pembina, I can testify from personal observation that no finer body of land exists in Minnesota. Take the whole two millions of acres together, and the grant, on the completion of a railroad, would readily sell for ten millions of dollars, and during the progress of construction would constitute an ample security for an equal amount of bonds.

This grant will revert to the United States in 1873, if and so far as the railroad fails of construction within that period, and is now controlled by the Chicago and Northwestern Company.¹⁴⁹ If desired I can ascertain on what terms a transfer could be obtained.

¹⁴⁷ MHS, Taylor Papers.

¹⁴⁸ Jay Cooke & Co. was the agent for the sale of the Company's bonds. Oberholtzer, *op. cit.*, If pp. 107-109. Jay Cooke had not yet committed his firm to an association with the Northern Pacific. See note 131, January 9, 1869. Taylor and the Minnesota expansionists were anxious to see construction begin so that the charter and the land grant would be protected. See, MHS, Taylor to Brydges, May 4, 1869.

¹⁴⁹ Taylor is referring to the Northern Pacific. The Chicago and Northwestern had purchased shares of the Northern Pacific in 1867. Irwin, *op. cit.*, pp. 104-105.

When I met you in Philadelphia I mentioned the possibility of a cession of the territory west of longitude 90° ¹⁵⁰ to the United States. In that event the section here described would unquestionably constitute part of the Northern Pacific Railroad. If the territory remains Canadian there is no doubt of vigorous measures for the colonization [of the] Selkirk and Saskatchewan districts and prominent among these will be the Railway. I propose, by securing the Minnesota communication from Pembina to Duluth and to St. Paul to tap the present system of water communication, and any future railway system between latitudes 49° to 54° , and for twenty degrees of longitude (95° to 115°).¹⁵¹ I am told since my return to St. Paul, that the Hudson's Bay Company, with energies invigorated rather than impaired by the transaction with Canada, will immediately construct and embark steamers on Lake Winnipeg and the Saskatchewan. They already have a line on the Red River of the North.

A Northern Pacific Railroad, if the country beyond Pembina becomes American, or an International Pacific Railroad, if it remains Canadian is as certain as any thing future.

A word in this connection upon the route of the Northern Pacific Road. If Central British America (as I have been accustomed to call the basin of Lake Winnipeg) remains a member of the Canadian Confederation, I regard an International Pacific Railroad as a necessity of England and Canada. Nothing less will prevent a popular movement at Selkirk, in the future settlement on the Saskatchewan, and in British Columbia, for Annexation to the United States. A Railroad is the sole and imperative condition of English dominion in the Northwest. Its route along the "Fertile Belt" so faithfully indicated on your Map, will start at Fort Garry in latitude 50° : trend to Fort Edmonton in 53° : and nearly in that latitude reach the North Pacific coast. Its eastward extension to Canada north of Lakes Superior and Huron will not occur within the century. Its diversion by way of Pembina, Otter Tail Lake and Crow Wing to Duluth will be the prize of the Commonwealth of Minnesota. And it is because I regard such a Railway through British Territory, as an inevitable necessity, that I project the route of the Northern Pacific due southwest from Duluth to Big Stone Lake, and thence west

¹⁵⁰ Approximately Fort William, Ont.

¹⁵¹ Approximately Lake of the Woods to the Rocky Mountains.

on or near latitude 46° , through the junction of the Big Horn and Yellowstone rivers, between Virginia and Helena in the heart of Montana, and through the Hellgate Pass of the Rocky Mountains to the navigable channel of the Columbia river. Such a route would be equidistant from the International on the north and the Union Pacific in the average latitude of $41\frac{1}{2}$: it would traverse a country as capable of settlement as any other route: it would be central to Dakota and the choice Yellowstone valley of Montana: and, while sufficiently north to give a great commercial advantage to the head of Lake Superior, would still intercept communications to Green Bay, Milwaukee and Chicago at reasonably favorable angles.

In 1864, Secretary Chase called me to Washington to assist on a return from the Treasury Department to a Senate Resolution asking for a statement of the Foreign and Domestic Commerce of the United States. My associates in the Commission - Dr. William Elder and Mr. Lorin Blodgett [sic]¹⁵² - exhibited the Foreign Commerce and the Domestic Commerce East of the Mississippi, while it devolved on me to describe the present and prospective trade and communications west-ward to the Pacific coast. In doing so, I found it convenient, as you have done, to illustrate the text by a Map, across which were drawn my conjectures of those railway lines, which the system, as it then was developed in the Atlantic and Mississippi States, would in all probability be projected across the Plains and Mountains of the Far West. The Union Pacific was already assured and I anticipated not only that a Southern line in latitude 35° and a Northern near latitude 45° would follow, but also that England would require an extension of the Minnesota lines through the Saskatchewan valley, which I termed an "International route." The Confederation of the English Provinces: the absorption by Canada of the Hudson Bay Territory: and the necessity, absolute necessity of a Railroad, if England expects to retain her frontage on the Pacific, may concur to give precedence to the extreme Northern project, especially if the Canadian Statesmen relinquish all impracticable schemes and build on our Minnesota foundations, frankly accepting Duluth as the common entrepot from the Lakes.

Still, I repeat, it is not impossible that the whole energies of the Administration may be directed to the cession of the country between

¹⁵² See note 47, June 25, 1862.

Minnesota and Alaska, in condonation of the Alabama controversy and as the consideration of Reciprocal Trade with Canada. To such a great change, and its contingencies and consequences, I cannot conveniently refer in the present communication.

Taylor, St. Paul, to Jay Cooke, May 6, 1869. Private.¹⁵³

I am very certain that by communications to you similar to the enclosed,¹⁵⁴ or by publications on topics directly connected with your interests in the Northwest, that I can be of material service to you.

Will you not retain me as your agent or correspondent at St. Paul? I propose to go over the whole ground of the Map first published by you, keeping constantly in mind your present and future enterprises in this direction. Expect from me weekly either a manuscript letter to you or some newspaper article forwarded to your address, which shall embody an equal degree of labor and research as the paper now sent. The compensation which will satisfy me will be \$50 per month.

Of course I shall respond to any suggestions as to topics chosen for investigation and discussion.

This may be a novel proposition but as you have made advertising a [... ? ...], suppose you lay me under weekly contribution.

I desire to satisfy you fully, and therefore make no stipulation in regard to the permanence of my communications.

As a friend of Mr. Chase I am among the proscribed of this administration:¹⁵⁵ and am obliged to trespass upon the indulgent consideration of my friends until I can establish myself as lawyer or editor. I think your brother Henry¹⁵⁶ or the Chief Justice¹⁵⁷ will assure you of one probability that I can execute satisfactorily the role which I assign to myself, and to which I ask you to assent.

¹⁵³ MHS, Taylor Papers.

¹⁵⁴ Taylor to Howe May 5, 1869.

¹⁵⁵ See note 129, January 9, 1869. In 1868, Salmon P. Chase, having failed to gain Republican nomination for the Presidency, had sought the support of the Democratic Party. See, Oberholtzer, *op cit.*, pp. 67, 68.

¹⁵⁶ Henry Cooke was in the Washington office of Jay Cooke & Co. where he acted as a lobbyist for Northern Pacific interests. *Ibid.*, pp. 175, 178-180.

¹⁵⁷ Chase had become Chief Justice of the Supreme Court in December 1864.

Taylor, St. Paul, to N. W. Kittson, May 15, 1869.¹⁵⁸

Will you oblige me by placing in Gov. McTavish's [sic] hands the enclosed copy of a letter to Hon. Joseph Howe of the Canadian Government?¹⁵⁹ I have recently presented the same views in communicating to C. J. Brydges of the Grand Trunk Railway and Tho's Swinyard Esq. of the Great Western Railway.

If Canada retains Selkirk, Saskatchewan and [British] Columbia, the policy which I indicate should be pressed upon public attention. I shall do so as far as possible in justice to other demands upon my time.

An International Railway, already completed to St. Cloud,¹⁶⁰ may be extended to Fort Garry, and thence by the Saskatchewan and Upper Frazer River to Butes [sic] Inlet on the North Pacific coast by the year 1880, on the following basis.

1. A grant of thirty alternate blocks of 640 acres for a belt 60 miles wide enclosing the proposed road. Its route to follow the well known Hudson's Bay Company trail to Forts Ellice, Pitt and Edmonton, Jasper House and Yellow Head Pass.
2. If possible, a guaranty of five per cent to stockholders by England or Canada, to continue during construction and for ten years after the completion of the road. Such guaranty to take effect from the date of subscription and to be a first lien not only on the income of the road, but on the proceeds of the sales of lands.
3. The Land Grant of 19,200 acres per mile to include mineral lands, which hitherto have been excluded from American grants.
4. The lands reserved by the Hudson's Bay Company not to constitute any part of the grant to aid the construction of the Railroad.

British Columbia makes a "communication" with the Eastern Provinces, as I understand it, the condition of joining the Confederation.

¹⁵⁸ MHS, Taylor Papers. Re Kittson see note 16, March 29, 1860.

¹⁵⁹ See above, Taylor to Howe, May 4, 1869. William Mactavish was Governor of Assiniboia 1858-1870, and of Rupert's Land 1864-1870.

¹⁶⁰ The St. Paul & Pacific. Taylor was at this time suggesting that the Chicago & Northwestern build a line from St. Cloud to Pembina as part of the Northern Pacific system. See MHS, Taylor Papers, Taylor to M. L. Sykes, May 13, 1869.

The Legislature last winter voted against Confederation.¹⁶¹ I hope that they will demand the Railroad before 1880 on some basis like the above.

At all events, the people of Selkirk should most earnestly petition for such a Railroad policy extended, if Canada insists, to Fort William on Lake Superior.

The Hudson's Bay Company should throw its great influence in the same direction. I estimate the aggregate of lands between longitude 94° and 115° and from latitude 49 to 55 (the district covered by their charter and lately transferred to Canada) to be equal to four times the area of Minnesota - or 200 millions of acres, the whole as capable of settlement as Wisconsin, Minnesota and Montana. The Railroad policy which I urge would give great value to this possession of lands.

"But what," you will ask, "if Canada declines these measures of Western improvement?"

In that case there will be a great pressure both upon England and Canada to cede the territory west of 90°, or the longitude of Fort William, to the United States. Senator Ramsey's proposition to that effect is before the Senate Committee on Foreign Affairs and I know that President Grant is most anxious for a Treaty with England, which shall transfer the country between Minnesota and Alaska, in settlement of the Alabama controversy and as a consideration for the establishment of complete Reciprocal trade with Canada.

I have no doubt that a clause could be inserted in such a treaty giving \$5,000,000 to the Hudson's Bay Company in satisfaction of the title to one twentieth of the land in Central British America - a sum in hand more available to stockholders than five times that amount twenty years hence. If the Northwest should become American, the route of a Northern Pacific Railroad will inevitably pass through Northern Minnesota, Selkirk and the Saskatchewan valley.

If it remains Canadian it must be on the condition of *an International Railroad within ten years on the same route.*

¹⁶¹ The Legislative Council of British Columbia on February 17, 1869 passed a resolution by a vote of eleven to five urging that the Imperial Government take no step toward joining the Colony with Canada. See, F. W. Howay, W. N. Sage, and H. F. Angus, *British Columbia and the United States*, Toronto, 1942, p. 213.

In either event the time has arrived, when I can employ myself greatly to the advantage of the Company which Gov. McTavish is the representative at Selkirk and yourself in Minnesota. For the salary of a Clerk I will devote myself to this discussion during 1869 - watching every phase, advising the Directory in London directly or through you, and conducting the publications in England, Canada and the United States.

I respectfully solicit an answer to this proposition during the expected visit of Gov. McTavish at St. Paul.

Joseph Howe, Ottawa, to Taylor, May 24, 1869¹⁶²

I came here far from well, and for a fortnight had cold wet weather and am only now beginning to gather strength and recover my voice, sadly shaken by stumping a large County in Midwinter. Though able to attend my Parliamentary and official duties I have not been and am not yet much inclined to be enterprising or to volunteer the assumption of any labor or responsibility that I can put aside.

Though the territories of the Hudson's Bay Company are to be transferred, legislation is required to confirm the bargain made by the Delegates. The Law must then be sent to England, and, making reasonable allowance for ordinary delays the whole affair cannot be closed and the territory legally transferred till September. In the mean-time all that it is proposed to do here is to vote the money required to complete the purchase, and take a grant to enable the Government, in anticipation of a final settlement to complete the road from Thunder Bay to the nearest Settlements and to survey some lands for immediate occupation.

The people of Toronto are moving for the formation of a joint Stock Company with a view to colonization and the construction of a Railroad and a Prospectus with everybody's name to it came to me by last Mail. I do not, however, apprehend that, in the present unsettled state of the [... 7 ...], and with the Intercolonial upon our

¹⁶² MHS, Taylor Papers.

hands that the Government of Canada will be in a condition this year to assume new and heavy obligations.

You say that you sent me copies of your letters to Brydges and Swinyard but none were [sic] enclosed.

Our future relations with the United States appear to me very uncertain. Had the Alabama claims been settled under the Treaty¹⁶³ we might have worked together for good on both sides of the lines, but the new and extravagant claims put forth by Sumner,¹⁶⁴ will, or I am much mistaken, be scouted by all parties in England.

Till the political atmosphere is cleared the Reform League¹⁶⁵ can do nothing. Here we are all in favor of friendly arrangements, but can do nothing till the politicians over the way assume a calmer tone. So soon as I get a little leisure I mean to turn my thoughts to the North-West, and may perhaps pay you a visit in the course of the summer....

Taylor, St. Paul, to Alexander Ramsey, June 7, 1869.¹⁶⁶

I thank you cordially for your purpose of supporting my application to the Secretary of the Treasury¹⁶⁷ for an opportunity to close my term of service by a Report satisfactory to myself, and, as I hope to him.¹⁶⁸

¹⁶³ The Johnson-Clarendon Treaty. See note 121, November 13, 1868.

¹⁶⁴ Charles Sumner (1811-1874), Chairman of the Senate Committee on Foreign Relations 1861-1871, one of the leaders in the defeat of the Johnson-Clarendon Treaty in 1868.

¹⁶⁵ See, MHS, Taylor Papers, Taylor to Howe, May 4, 1869.

¹⁶⁶ MHS, Taylor Papers.

¹⁶⁷ George Sewall Boutwell (1818-1905), Governor of Massachusetts 1851-1852, Secretary of the Treasury 1869-1873.

¹⁶⁸ There is in, MHS, Taylor Papers a draft in Taylor's hand of a letter from the Treasury Department to Taylor extending his commission as Special Agent to September 30, 1869 for the purpose of preparing a final report on the interests of the United States on the northwestern frontier. It would not be unusual for Taylor to draft his own letter of appointment as he did when he was made a Special Agent of the State Department at the end of 1869.

If he declines all extension of my term of service, perhaps Secretary Fish¹⁶⁹ in view of the international interests involved will afford me the desired opportunity of preparing and presenting my budget to the Government. This done, I shall not trouble you further in regard to an official position.¹⁷⁰

Taylor, St. Paul, to N. W. Kittson, June 7, 1869.¹⁷¹

It has occurred to me that Gov'r McTavish and yourself may expect a specific proposition in regard to labors which I desire to undertake on account of the Hudson's Bay Company.

I will devote one fourth of my time as follows:

1. To communicate weekly to some leading journal of the United States, Canada and England, upon the conduct and policy of the Company's officers in Selkirk: and upon the best measures to develop [sic] their territorial reserve.
2. To represent the Company's interests in all negotiations between the Governments of the United States and Canada.
3. To prepare an abstract of the Laws of the United States in relation to Public Lands, Preemption, Homesteads, Railroad grants and subsidies, for transmission to the Directors in England, with such practical suggestions as my experience and observation may suggest.

I propose a compensation of Fifty Dollars per month for a period of six months. Within that period I hope to be able to satisfy all parties that I can be useful.

¹⁶⁹ Hamilton Fish (1808-1893), Governor of New York 1849-1851, United States Senator 1851-1857, Secretary of State 1869-1877.

¹⁷⁰ See also, MHS, Taylor Papers, Taylor to Ramsey, June 14, 1869; Taylor to William Windom, July 20, 1869.

¹⁷¹ MHS, Taylor Papers.

Taylor, St. Paul, to Hon. W. B. Ogden, June 12, 1869.¹⁷²

Your favors of April 26 and May 4 were received and highly appreciated. In the latter, you refer to negotiations, which, I presume, led to the arrangement since announced by you on the occasion of your Historical Discourse on American Railways. Letters received in this city from Mr. Jay Cooke are of a similar tenor: and I am willing to believe that the Northern Pacific rests on "a well-laid foundation for commencing and carrying on the entire work."

I have commenced a series of communications in the Chicago Tribune, the Toronto Globe and the New York Tribune:¹⁷³ and propose to extend my list of journals. My favorite topics relate to our Pacific lines of Railroad, Western Immigration and our Relations with British America. With the materials in my possession, I can do much to educate public sentiment, since I do not write carelessly and only for papers of large circulation and influence. I speak with confidence, from the reception of articles furnished during the month of May.

I should like to continue these labors. On such a personal topic, of course I can say but little. I prefer to await some suggestions from yourself, now that (to repeat your language) "vigorous steps of organization and progress are instituted" in connection with the N[orthern]. P[acific]. R[ail] R[oad].¹⁷⁴

I have had some correspondence with Mr. Jay Cooke: and I can not doubt that he will cheerfully concur in arrangements, which will warrant me to continue the labors I have undertaken.

I am under engagements to give one fourth of my time to the Lake Superior and Mississippi Railroad for \$50 per month for six months, revocable at pleasure: and I have a similar arrangement with the St. Paul and Pacific Railroad. If the other half of my time could be appropriated by the Northern Pacific at \$100 per month, I would be so far relieved from care, that I would surprise you by the amount of literary work I would turn off in the next six months. For I only stipulate for a half-year's trial: After that period I am entirely willing to be governed by circumstances.

¹⁷² MHS, Taylor Papers. William Butler Ogden (1805-1877), a Director of the Northern Pacific Railroad, and President of the Chicago and Northwestern Railroad.

¹⁷³ Drafts of many of these articles are found in, *ibid*, Taylor Papers, through May and June 1869.

¹⁷⁴ See, *ibid*, Taylor Papers, Taylor to E. M. Wilson, June 13, 1869.

M[y] dear Mr. Ogden, pardon the persistency with which I have followed this matter. I have given ten years to this enterprise. I am ready for its discussion at all points. I know I can be of service: and, just now, I am willing to assume much drudgery for little compensation, hoping for better times and better things

Taylor, St. Paul, to Hon. E. M. Wilson, June 13, 1869.¹⁷⁵

You have doubtless observed the announcements of an arrangement between Mr. W. B. Ogden and Mr. Jay Cooke by which the latter becomes the Financial Agent of the Northern Pacific Railroad Company. Very likely you have direct information on the subject. I understand that Mr. Cooke becomes a stockholder for the purpose of a thorough survey and location of the line: and, with some aid from the Government, will undertake to raise the funds required for the construction of die road.¹⁷⁶

I have had some communication with Mr. Cooke, as well as with the Directors of the Northern Pacific, and am encouraged to believe that I may be retained, at a moderate compensation, to contribute regularly from this point to the journals of the country on topics connected with the enterprise. I should hold myself in readiness to undertake other labors of the mind, at the instance of the Company or the Minnesota delegation in Congress. My statement may seem indefinite: but with the materials in my possession I feel confident that I could command frequent publications in influential quarters, which would contribute materially to the education of public opinion. Would you object to communicate to the Executive Committee of the Northern Pacific (Care of Hon. W. B. Ogden, 52 Wall St. New York City) and to Mr. Jay Cooke, Philadelphia - especially to the latter - your recommendation of me for such employment. If you are inclined to do me this personal favor, it will add to my obligation if you will refer to your

¹⁷⁵ MHS, Taylor Papers. Eugene McLanahan Wilson (1833-1890), a United States Representative from Minnesota 1869-1871.

¹⁷⁶ A preliminary agreement only, made May 20, 1869 between Jay Cooke & Co. and the Northern Pacific Railroad. The agreement was not binding until the Jay Cooke & Co. had made an exploration and survey of the route of the railwav. A final contract was not entered into until December 1869. Oberholtzer, *op. cit.*, ft, pp. 157-159.

position on the House [Committee on the] Pacific Railroad Company, and my ability to aid your deliberations. As I hold no position under the Government, I can give a degree of attention to this discussion, which I am willing to believe, will be satisfactory to all parties.

Taylor, St. Paul, to Alexander Ramsey, June 14, 1869.¹⁷⁷

As you have expressed a purpose to request the Secretary of the Treasury, that I may be allowed a brief period to review and embody in a Final Report the information in my possession upon the relations of the Revenue Service and other public interests to Northwest British America, I beg leave to make some additional statements in this connection.¹⁷⁸

1. I have no desire for any permanent connection with the Treasury. While, as a citizen, I shall interest myself in the success of Gov. Boutwell's measures, yet I am glad to say that I have, since March, made other arrangements which promise to be satisfactory. As these will not be consummated until December, I am willing to devote the interval to the preparation of a Report which shall include all the subjects hitherto entrusted to me.
2. On the leading topic - the new situation on the Northern frontier of Minnesota, growing out of the transfer of the Hudson's Bay Territory to Canada - I am quite certain that the paper which I shall present will possess interest and value.
3. I am solicitous, also, to submit to the Secretary's consideration some views of the form and scope of a future negotiation for Reciprocal trade and intercourse between the United States and Canada.
4. As late Commissioner of Mining Statistics East of the Rocky Mountains,¹⁷⁹ and author of the Mineral Land Preemption Act of July 26, 1866, I propose to submit a brief supplement to my former reports.

¹⁷⁷ MHS, Taylor Papers.

¹⁷⁸ See, *ibid*, Taylor to Ramsey, June 7, 1869; Taylor to Windom, July 20, 1869.

¹⁷⁹ A position Taylor held while a Special Agent of the Treasury Department. Blegen, *op. cit.*, pp. 181-182.

5. I regard my agency in the organization of a National Board of Trade¹⁸⁰ with much satisfaction: and I will endeavor to indicate its practical value in the subordination of sectional interests to a general policy - on measures of finance as well as on other questions of national importance.
6. While employed as above, I shall cheerfully give my advice and co-operation to my successor, Gen. Levi Nutting,¹⁸¹ who only requires experience to justify fully the Secretary's confidence.

Taylor, St. Paul, to Alexander Ramsey, June 14, 1869.¹⁸²

Since your departure I have information of the form of the Pro-visional Government, which Canada proposes for the Selkirk and Saskatchewan Districts. The Canadian Ministry have introduced a bill at Ottawa, which provides for the appointment by the Governor General, of a Lieutenant Governor and a Council of not more than fifteen or less than seven; who will constitute the Executive and Legislature. The Lieutenant Governor is to have the exclusive appointment of magistrates. A complete proconsulship, as you perceive. It is almost a transcript of the impossible administration of the Hudson's Bay Company: and must be obnoxious to the people of Selkirk.¹⁸³

I have further information of jealousies and collisions with the Indians resulting from the scarcity of buffalo, which may involve the Canadian Government in that most unwelcome of complications - an Indian war.

¹⁸⁰ Taylor represented the St. Paul Chamber of Commerce at the second annual meeting of the National Board of Trade in December 1869 and was elected a Vice-President for 1870. *loc. cit.*

¹⁸¹ Levi Nutting (1819-), Minnesota State Senator 1865 and later State Surveyor General. He was Taylor's successor as Special Agent of the Treasury Department for the District of Minnesota. MHS, Taylor Papers, Taylor to Windom, July 20, 1869.

¹⁸² MHS, Taylor Papers.

¹⁸³ In the draft of an article for the Chicago Tribune, *ibid*, dated June 8, 1869, Taylor had written that the bill would be obnoxious to the people of the Red River Settlement "especially as the Americans resident at Selkirk had led them to anticipate that the new government under the Dominion would be as liberal as our popular system for the organization of a Western Territory. As it is, the Canadian scheme is a mere transcript of the Star Chamber hitherto organized by the appointments of the Hudson Bay Company.

I am satisfied that Canada with a little patience and address, can be brought to concurrence with your proposition of July, 1868,¹⁸⁴ which certainly offers the only practicable basis for the renewal of negotiations with England.

I should be gratified to be of any service to the Department of State, in bringing forward this Northwest question as an element in a future adjustment.

George L. Becker, St. Paul, to Taylor, June 24, 1869¹⁸⁵

I am in receipt of your favour of the 22nd. I hope you will not feel it necessary to excuse yourself to us. I have every confidence that you will in your own good time help us by promoting the general interests.

We do not expect to revolutionize the commerce of the world by building our line:"" nor have we any ambitious plans for the future. I should be glad to have you as often as you can conveniently drop in at my office for a little discussion of current topics: and we shall be certain thus to learn something from each other. I shall be glad to be in receipt of such letters as you publicize if they can be conveniently furnished.

I hope you will not trouble yourself about making your labors satisfactory. I have no doubt we shall get far more than an equivalent for the amount we are under an engagement to pay.

Taylor, St. Paul, to Hon. William Windom, July 20, 1869.¹⁸⁷

About two years since, my name was presented to the Directors of the Northern Pacific Railroad Company for the office of Secretary.

¹⁸⁴ See note 120, November 13, 1868.

¹⁸⁵ MHS, Taylor Papers.

¹⁸⁶ The St. Paul & Pacific Railroad.

¹⁸⁷ MHS, Taylor Papers. William Windom (1827-1891), United States Representative from Minnesota 1859-1869, United States Senator 1871-1883.

Gov'r Smith,¹⁸⁸ in reply to the numerous and strong representations in favor of the appointment, intimated that a change in that office could not then be conveniently effected, but encouraged me to expect some other form of employment or agency. Accordingly, at his instance, I aided Judge Rice¹⁸⁹ and others at Washington, and I represented the interests of the Company at Commercial Conventions held in Boston, Portland and Cincinnati. A sum sufficient to cover my actual expenses has been paid to me: but I have not acquired compensation for my personal services, or my loss of salary on the Press newspaper while absent at Portland and Cincinnati.

I am aware that I shall have active competition for any position in the Company, when operations commence: and I do not write for the purpose of forestalling your support. I am willing to be governed by the full force of circumstances, as they shall hereafter be developed. Still I am willing to believe that my gratuitous labors in behalf of the enterprise will incline you to give your influence with Senator [sic] Boutwell¹⁹⁰ in a matter of personal importance to me and which is not without connection with the Interests of the Northern Pacific.

You are aware that Gen. Nutting is my successor in the office of Special Agent for the District of Minnesota. I have asked the Secretary to give me a reasonable period - say six months - to prepare and present a Final Report to him, in matters referred to me by his predecessors, especially upon the situation of the Selkirk and Saskatchewan Districts with reference to the Revenue and other interest of the United States in Northwest British America. Gov. Ramsey, when he last left for Washington, promised to urge the Secretary to grant the request but, as the Senator has not written to me, I am at liberty to infer that he was unsuccessful or failed to present the subject.

I am of the opinion that if you would repeat my request, Gov B[outwell], would grant it. Let me ask therefore, that you will urge the Secretary to issue a temporary Commission, as Assistant Special Agent, for this District, to report fully as above. I would not desire

¹⁸⁸ John Gregory Smith (1813-1891), Governor of Vermont 1863-1865, President of the Northern Pacific Railroad 1866-1872.

¹⁸⁹ Richard D. Rice (1810-1882), an incorporator of the Northern Pacific Rail-road 1864, Vice-President 1866-c1875, formerly a judge in Maine 1848-1863.

¹⁹⁰ Boutwell was in the House of Representatives 1862-1869 but not in the Senate until 1873.

any public announcement of such an appointment, as it would be merely a supplement to my former service.

I enclose a copy of a note to Gov'r Ramsey, to which I received no answer. Its suggestions may facilitate you in addressing the Secretary.

It may be some excuse for this communication that I would rather be indebted to you for the favor it asks than any to [sic] public man in the State.

Oscar Malmros, Winnipeg, to J. C. B. Davis, Acting Secretary of State, September 11, 1869. No, 10.¹⁹¹

In the following lines I beg to submit a short statement of the political condition of this part of B.N.A. Of the population of this Territory, 12,000 to 14,000 inhabitants, one half are french [sic] half breeds, belonging to the Catholic Church, the other half are descendants of Scotchmen, English half breeds and a few Americans.

The entire French and over one half of the other inhabitants are strongly opposed to annexation to Canada; the rest, with the exception of perhaps a couple of dozen of Canadian partisans, are politically indifferent.

There are two influential corporations in this Territory, first and by far the most influential, the Catholic Clergy, next the resident officers of the Hudson Bay Co.

Both are decided in their expression to me of dislike to Canadian rule, although the Hudson Bay Co., I think, might be conciliated by the Canadian Government, if the latter would treat with the proper consideration the

¹⁹¹ USNA, Consular Reports. Malmros, the first United States Consul in Winnipeg, had been appointed July 1, 1869 and arrived at Fort Garry August 13, 1869. It was the publication of this Consular Report in *Senate Executive Document*, No. 33, 41 Cong., 2 Sess., containing the references to the Hudson's Bay Co. officers and the Roman Catholic clergy which made his position "untenable" forcing him to leave Fort Garry hurriedly in March 1870 not knowing whether he would have time to write his own resignation. See, MHS, Ramsey Papers, Malmros to Ramsey, March 15, 1870.

wishes and interests of the Company's officers here.¹⁹² (The active sympathy of the Catholic clergy, I have no doubt, may be relied on in any feasible scheme to sever the connection of this country with Canada. Perhaps I may mention here that the honors shown me at the reception the Catholic Clergy gave me at the episcopal court were very extraordinary and disproportioned to the importance of my official position.)¹⁹³

In case of insurrection the people, on account of their relationship with the indians, would be able to get the assistance of from 1,000 to 1,500 indian warriors, (and if the settlers, in the case supposed should raise from among themselves a small regularly armed force of say 1,000 troops, it would form a nucleus around which volunteers from the North Western States might collect.) The country is easily defended against a Canadian invasion. At present there is not a single soldier in this country.

But the people have no political experience, little talent for organization and hardly enough political vitality to incline them to sustain the burdens which an insurrection might necessitate.

The mass of the settlers are strongly inclined however to get up a riot to expel the new Governor on his arrival here about the 15th of October. 194 A few of the opponents of Canada, it is true, are dissuading them from engaging in any riotous proceedings but whether their advice will prevail is still doubtful [sic].

(The acquisition by our Government of the Hudson Bay Territory would of course render the building up of a great confederation north of the United States an impossibility.

While on proper occasions, by conversing on the causes of success or failure of revolutions in other countries I have indirectly endeavoured

¹⁹² The Company officers were dissatisfied that the amount of 300,000 pounds sterling which Canada was to pay for the Company's territories was not to be part of the fur trade profits in which they would share. Rich, *op. cit.*, III, pp. 891-894. Taylor referred to this dissatisfaction on many occasions in his reports.

¹⁹³ The bracketed portions in this report do not appear in *Senate Executive Document*, No. 33. These portions are bracketed in the report and are marked marginally "Omit:"

¹⁹⁴ Marginal note "Stop here." Rev. Georges Dugas had written to Bishop Tache on August 29 and September 4 reporting plans of the metis to prevent Lieutenant-Governor William McDougall from entering the country. Morton, *op. cit.* p. 409.

to prevent mistakes and ill considered movements on the part of this people, I assure you that I have never forgotten that I am not a political agent and that accordingly I have not said anything tending to compromit [sic] the Government or to make my own position with any part of this people or the incoming colonial administration a false or an unpleasant one.¹⁹⁵

Nor would I have ventured to address the Department on the subject of this letter, if our Government was represented here by an officer of diplomatic character.)

Taylor, St. Paul, to E. D. Litchfield, September 18, 1869¹⁹⁶

I enclosed to you during your [visit?] to St. Paul a letter to Hon. Joseph Howe,¹⁹⁷ President of the Privy Council of Canada, in which I urged upon his attention the expedience of confirming [sic confining?] the immediate construction of a Canada Pacific Railroad to the Western section between Fort Garry and the Pacific coast, trusting to the Railroads of Michigan, Wisconsin and Minnesota to bridge the interval between Sarnia and Windsor in Canada and the Selkirk Settlement.

Mr. Howe has lately passed a week in St. Paul on his way to Red River. He will soon exchange his position in the Canadian Government for that of Secretary of State having special charge of the [... ? ...] communications between the Dominion and the Provinces composing the Confederation.¹⁹⁸ It will probably devolve upon him to present a Railway policy for Northwest British America. Mr. Becker explained to Mr. Howe very fully the practical operation of a grant

¹⁹⁵ Though an annexationist Malmros warned American citizens not to interfere in the dispute. *Ibid*, p. 438.

¹⁹⁶ MHS, Taylor Papers. Edwin B. Litchfield had bought most of the special and preferred stock of the St. Paul & Pacific in 1866 and acquired from it surveyed lines which he organized as the First Division of the St. Paul & Pacific. Soon after he disposed of his interest to E. Darwin Litchfield of London who in turn sold out to the Northern Pacific in 1870 giving it control of the St. Paul & Pacific. See, Heather Gilbert, *Awakening Continent, the Life of Lord Mount Stephen*, Aberdeen, 1965, Vol I, pp. 36-37.

¹⁹⁷ See, MHS, Taylor Papers, Taylor to Howe, May 4, 1869.

¹⁹⁸ Howe's appointment as Secretary of State for the Provinces was officially dated November 16, 1869. See, Roy, *op. cit.*, p. 290. He reached the Red River Settlement October 9, 1869. See, W. L. Morton (ed.), *Alexander Begg's Red River Journal* . . ., Toronto, 1956, p. 44.

of public lands in aid of Railway construction and induced him to visit the Kandiyohi district on the main line of the St. Paul and Pacific. He was also furnished with the documentary history of the Road, and various pamphlets, charts, etc., to which he is giving much attention.

During reported interviews, we talked over the scheme of an international system of communications across the continent. He pronounces a Railroad north of Lakes Huron and Superior as impracticable at least for a long time to come; and recognized the necessity of using the lines of Michigan, Wisconsin and Minnesota to Pembina on the northern frontier of this State. As for the section of 70 miles north of Pembina to Fort Garry, he invited a proposition from the Directors of the St. Paul and Pacific Road: and repeatedly assured me that Canada would readily grant lands to aid its extension for that distance. As to the line west of Fort Garry, I shall expect a direction mainly Canadian and in the interest of the Hudson's Bay Company: but the St. Paul and Pacific may be likewise represented on the first organization of the Board of Directors.

If therefore, Mr. Becker, acting as the representative of parties in London and Amsterdam can secure the existing franchise and grant of lands from Watab¹⁹⁹ to Pembina in Minnesota, or a new grant from Breckenridge to Pembina through Dakota Territory, I regard a connection north of the frontier with Fort Garry or the capital of the Province of Selkirk, as reasonably certain, with a fair prospect of a controlling interest in a Railroad through the valleys of the Saskatchewan and Frazer Rivers to the North Pacific coast - say in latitude 53°.

Mr. Howe says that Canada will make a concession of lands west of Fort Garry equal to that granted to [sic] the United States to the Northern Pacific. He holds out no present expectation of a subsidy. Probably some government guarantee to assist over the Rocky Mountains, may be hereafter anticipated....

Taylor, St. Paul, to George L. Becker, October 23, 1869.²⁰⁰

In April last, after meeting Mr. H. M. Rice in Washington, I received a

¹⁹⁹ On the Mississippi River, just north of St. Cloud, Minn. The St. Paul & Pacific was completed to St. Cloud.

²⁰⁰ MHS, Taylor Papers.

letter from him written in Philadelphia, which proposed that I should assist in finding parties and exhibiting inducements, to undertake the construction of the St. Paul and Pacific Railroad from Watab²⁰¹ to Pembina. In the event of success, I was assured of a liberal compensation, not only for the specific commission, but for my continuous labors of the last ten years to keep prominent an International Railroad between St. Paul and Northwest British America.

Several letters passed and I met Mr. Rice at New York. He claimed to be in a position to transfer the franchises and land-grant to parties competent to build the road, and said that the Chicago and North western RR Co.²⁰² would release their interest, on being reimbursed their advances (estimated at about \$80,000), and assured of a satisfactory connection. The latter, I understand to be, that there should be no injurious discrimination against that Company.

I supposed, of course, that my labors would be welcome to Mr. Edmund Rice²⁰³ with whom I communicated as freely as formerly on my return to St. Paul.

Both the Messrs. Rice then professed to be hopeless of any activity on the part of the Chicago and Northwestern. Mr. E. R. said that he had unsuccessfully urged the location of the line from Superior and Crow Wing to Pembina. Feeling solicitude that the Land Grant should be secured against other claims, corporate and individual, I addressed the enclose[d] letter . . . to Mr. M. L. Sykes,²⁰⁴ whom I had met in New York. I read it to Mr. Edmund Rice, who continued to doubt whether the Company would do any thing.

Looking over the ground, my first impulse was to address parties interested in a Northwest communication from Duluth. These were Canada - railways and government - and the Philadelphia interest, represented by Mr. Edgar Thomson²⁰⁵ and Mr. Jay Cooke. Hence my communications ... to Messrs

²⁰¹ See note 199, September 18, 1869.

²⁰² See note 149, May 5, 1869.

²⁰³ Edmund R. Rice (1819-1889), brother of H. M. Rice, President of the Minnesota and Pacific Railroad 1857-1864 which had become part of the St. Paul and Pacific in 1862. Minnesota State Senator 1864-1865, 1873-1874.

²⁰⁴ See, MHS, Taylor Papers, Taylor to M. L. Sykes, May 13, 1869. Sykes was a shareholder in the Chicago and Northwestern Railroad.

²⁰⁵ John Edgar Thomson (1808-1874), civil engineer, President of the Pennsylvania Railroad 1852-1874, and a Director of many railroads including the Northern Pacific.

Howe[,] Brydges and Swinyard, and ... to Mr. Jay Cooke. The responses from these parties were not discouraging but I was soon was encouraged to hope for a more satisfactory arrangement with yourself. Of the tenor and situation of that negotiation, I need not particularize.

It is due to you to be informed of the whole course of my correspondence on this subject. Mr. H. M. Rice presented to me great inducements for activity - nothing less than a contingent interest and position which would relieve me from pecuniary anxiety and I felt justified in trying *all things*. I was fortunate, at an early day, in my indication of a land basis of agreement, which seemed to meet the views of all parties: and I shall deeply regret if the Chicago and Northwestern shall now present impracticable terms.

I will add that Messrs Howe and Mr. Swinyard express their hearty concurrence in all which I assigned last May to the Canadian Government. To this end, I have neglected no opportunity this summer to stimulate public opinion through the press of Canada.

I hope that you may still come to a satisfactory arrangement, and crown your Railroad enterprize by the rapid development of Northern Minnesota.

Malmros, Winnipeg to J. C. B. Davis, Acting Secretary of State, November 6, 1869. No. 14.²⁰⁶

In continuation of the subject of my despatch No. 10, relative to existing political dissatisfaction and possible consequent revolutionary movements in this Territory I beg to submit the following statement of recent occurrences here.

On Oct. 20th and 21st about 200 armed men took an oath to resist Governor

²⁰⁶ USNA, Consular Reports.

McDougall's²⁰⁷ coming into the country and to defend the same against all Canadian pretensions to govern it.²⁰⁸

Since then the armed force has increased to 600 men this number being deemed sufficient for the present for all practical purposes. This movement has the sanction of the Catholic Clergy.²⁰⁹

Gov. McDougall arrived at Pembina on the 29th of October²¹⁰ where he was immediately notified that the people would not allow him to enter into the Territory.

The Governor accordingly left Pembina for Canada on the 3d of November.²¹¹

On the 2nd of November a detachment of the armed force referred to took possession of Fort Garry which they now hold.

The disciplin [sic] maintained by the armed force is admirable and would reflect credit on any military corps in the world. This movement is not confined to the people of French extraction; on the contrary a large majority of all other settlers either support it directly or at least sympathize with it and the prospect now is that in a short time the country will be a unit in favor of independence (i.e. annexation to the U.S. although some favor the formation of a separate British Colony.)²¹²

A Provisional Government will be proclaimed in a short time.

²⁰⁷ William McDougall (1822-1905), politician, newspaper editor, founder of the *North American* newspaper in 1850; member of the Legislative Assembly of Canada 1858-1867, Commissioner of Crown Lands 1862-1864, Provincial Secretary 1864-1867, MP 1867-1872, 1878-1882, Minister of Public Works 1867-1869, MLA Ontario 1875-1878; a Father of Confederation and a leading exponent of Canadian westward expansion; in 1868 with Sir George Cartier went to England to arrange for the transfer of the Hudson's Bay Co. territories to Canada; appointed Lieutenant-Governor of the North West Territories in September, 1869.

²⁰⁸ Following meetings of October 20 and 21 the Metis National Committee issued a communication to William McDougall ordering him not to enter the North West Territories without the permission of the Committee. CSP, 1870, Vol. 5, No. 12, p. 11.

²⁰⁹ Alexander Begg also held this opinion. Morton, *op. cit.*, p. 163.

²¹⁰ McDougall reported the date of his arrival as October 30. CSP, *op. cit.*, McDougall to Secretary of State for the Provinces, p. 5.

²¹¹ He remained there until December 18. Morton, *op. cit.*, p. 235.

²¹² The bracketed portion does not appear in Senate Executive Document, No. 33, *op. cit.* It is marked in the margin "Omit."

In the present condition of politics in Canada it seems hardly likely that her Parliament will permit force to be used to obtain possession of this Territory, but in case they should send troops here next summer I am inclined to think that by that time the Provisional Government will be fully prepared to successfully resist any invading army Canada may be able to send over British soil or waters, provided the revolutionary government is conducted in the meantime with some tact and prudence. Probably the only chance Canada might have of suppressing the revolution would be the permission of the U.S. to send troops over American soil, the international boundary line between this Territory and Minnesota and Dakota being close to the heart of this settlement and the formation of the soil south of this point being such as to render the defence of the country against an invasion from the territory of the U.S. extremely difficult.

In that unexpected case the revolution would indeed be a failure, and the consequences to this Territory most disastrous. The 7000 French settlers would at once take to the plains, join the Indians and for years wage a savage warfare against the Canadian troops and the settlement.

Half of the settlement would be ruined by the mere fact of the French abandoning their homesteads and the other half must inevitably be entirely broken up by such a war.

From motives of humanity, if from none other, it is to be hoped that our Government will not let Canadian troops pass through the U.S. should permission be asked. Will the Department be good enough to advise me of the policy of the Government in this respect?

(Should this revolution be successful it may, I think be safely predicted that in less than 2 years time all the British Colonies in this continent will apply for admission into the Union.)

I need scarcely say that I have continued to observe perfect neutrality in relation to the politics of this country.²¹³ The few American residents, who before my arrival were rather violent in their censure of Canada were immediately advised by me to be guarded in their language and to leave

²¹³ Alexander Begg, at the end of December, however, felt that Malmros was "mixing himself up with the French party much more than seems necessary in his position." Morton, *op. cit.*, p. 240.

politics to the natives. I am glad to say that their conduct ever since has been irreproachable in this respect.

Taylor, St. Paul, to Hamilton Fish, Secretary of State, November 16, 1869.²¹⁴

The attempt to extend the Canadian Confederation over Selkirk Settlement and the Districts thence extending to the Rocky Mountains, meets with armed resistance from the French population, mostly of mixed Indian blood, who are more than equal in number to the English, Scotch and American settlers. I estimate the French element at 6000, capable of sending 1000 men into the field. Of the latter, fully one half, mounted and armed, occupy the roads and, fords between Pembina on the international frontier and Fort Garry - points on the Red River of the North separated by a distance of 70 miles. They have forcibly ejected Hon Wm McDougall, who passed two miles beyond the frontier, with the purpose of assuming his duties as Lieu-tenant Governor under the Dominion of Canada on 1st of December.

Of the situation of this Red River community, prior to the late attempt to incorporate territory and people as part of Canada, I refer you to the following Executive Documents:

1. "Relations between the United States and Northwest British America." House Executive Document (June 20, 1862) No. 146. Second Session of the 37th Congress.
2. "Commercial Relations with British America." pp. 23-36. House Executive Document (June 12, 1866) No. 128. First Session, Thirty Ninth Congress.²¹⁵

Under the Canadian Confederation Act, a negotiation between the English and Canadian Governments and the Hudson Bay Company recently resulted in a transfer of the Territory between longitude 90° and the Rocky Mountains, hitherto claimed under the charter of the Company, to Canada. The people of Selkirk had no voice in the cession.

²¹⁴ USNA, Special Agent State Department Papers; also in, MHS, Taylor Papers, and *Senate Executive Document*, No. 33, *op. cit.*

²¹⁵ Both these documents are reports made by Taylor.

In advance of its consummation, Canadian officials appeared in the Settlement, projecting roads and executing surveys of land. The Canadian Parliament passed an Act for a Provisional Government, which provided for a Lieutenant Governor and Councillors of his appointment not exceeding fifteen or less than seven in number. In the Governor and Council all legislative power was vested. Soon it was announced that most of these Councillors would accompany the Governor from Canada, thus depriving the Selkirk people of all representation, however indirectly, in their government. Other apprehensions were excited during a six months delay in the extension of Canadian jurisdiction. The people became greatly excited with a rumor, that they would be required by Canada to pay for the lands occupied by them and their ancestors for fifty years. Accustomed to an uniform duty of four per cent, the prospect of a Canadian Tariff with an average of fifteen or twenty per cent, increased the public dissatisfaction. Under these circumstances, it was not difficult for a few leaders to improvise a military organiza[tion,] proclaim a Provisional Government and turn back the representative of the Dominion of Canada at the border.

I enclose the newspaper version of the event.²¹⁶

M. Tache, the Catholic Bishop of St. Boniface, is absent in Europe and his priesthood, dissatisfied by the prospect of a large Canadian and American emigration, have taken no measures to allay the excitement among their parishioners.

Whether the officials of the Hudson's Bay Company will earnestly support Govr McDougall is quite a problem. They were forced into the recent cession to Canada, on the payment of 000,000, and there had been previously much acrimony in the discussion. Govr. McTavish, lately at the head of the Company's administration counsels peace and submission to Canadian authority: but there is unquestionably much sympathy among all classes of the population with the demands of the French insurgents. These are likely to be as follows:

1. The extension of suffrage to the Half Breed population and the concession of the right of the people to elect their own Legislature.

²¹⁶ The enclosed newspaper accounts are the letters to the St. Paul Press of November 3, 4, 1869 from Pembina correspondents signed "Spectator" and "Pembina." These correspondents were Enos Stutsman, Charles Cavilier or Joseph Rolette, Jr. See, Morton, op. cit., p. 9n. Their letters appear also in, Senate Executive Document, No. 33, op. cit.

2. The recognition of an absolute title in all existing claims of land which are accompanied by actual occupation: and the establishment of a Homestead system.
3. The introduction of the American system of school Endowments and grants of land for public improvements.
4. A modification of the Canadian Tariff.

Upon the refusal to grant these demands or perhaps in any event, I anticipate a strong and determined movement in favor of annexation to the United States.

An attempt to introduce English or Canadian troops will instantly precipitate the latter result. If Central British America remains Canadian, it must be only as the result of a peaceful adjustment among the people interested.

I propose to communicate frequently with the State Department during the progress of these important events.

I venture to send duplicates of the foregoing communication to Secretary Boutwell and Senator Ramsey.

Jay Cooke, Philadelphia, to [Taylor], November 30, 1869.²¹⁷

I thank you for the information given.

I do not suppose there is much probability of our taking hold of the two roads out of St. Paul.²¹⁸ Still something may come of it.

In regard to the aid to Pacific Roads to be asked for this winter. The Convention²¹⁹ no doubt would do good if it should agree to urge aid for the Northern and Southern Pacific Roads. Two Roads only & aid in the form of Endorsement of [Bonds] so secured that the Treas'y will not be called upon

²¹⁷ MHS, Taylor Papers.

²¹⁸ The St. Paul and Pacific, and the Lake Superior and Mississippi both of which later came under the control of the Northern Pacific. Irwin, *op. cit.*, p. 118.

²¹⁹ Taylor was to attend the convention of the National Board of Trade in Richmond early in December where he would be representing Northern Pacific views. MHS, Taylor Papers, Taylor to Ramsey, November 12, 1869.

to advance [money] for five years if at all. Also that the Gov't should give such subsidy say, quarterly for Mail Transportation Service as would be equivalent to cost of present disbursements for such purposes.

Malmros, Winnipeg to J. C. B. Davis, Acting Secretary of State, December 4, 1869. No. 16.²²⁰

Since the date of my despatch No. 14 the political state of this colony has very much changed. The leaders of the french portion of the inhabitants ever since garrisoning Fort Garry, have committed such a long series of blunders, in spite of the good advice given them that they have estranged the by far greater portion of the english speaking population from their cause.

The spreading of many false rumors, such as that the french had taken up arms to suppress protestantism in the settlement and others equally absurd and perhaps a judicious use of money have likewise contributed to weaken the party in arms and to render a re-union of the two sections of the population improbable.

Gov. McDougall who is still at Pembina D.[akota] T.[erritory] has authorized Col. Dennis,²²¹ a Cannadian [sic] to enlist a force to disperse the rebels.²²² Should that gentleman succeed in enlisting a force for that purpose from among the real settlers of the colony, and coercion be attempted there is every prospect of a civil war. In case however Col. Dennis should recruit largely from among lately arrived Cannadian immigrants, who as a class are much disliked, it may have the effect of arousing the entire colony in opposition to Gov. McDougall and again unite the two sections of the people of the colony.

In case no coercion is attempted the rebels may be perhaps induced to let Gov. McDougall in under certain conditions.

²²⁰ USNA, Consular Reports. Also in, *Senate Executive Document*, No. 33, *op. cit.*

²²¹ John Stoughton Dennis (1820-1885), surveyor, came to the Red River Settlement in August 1869 as head of a Canadian survey party; appointed Surveyor General of Canada 1871; Deputy Minister of the Interior 1878-1881.

²²² McDougall's Proclamation of December 1, 1869 appointed Dennis his "Lieutenant and Conservator of the Peace." The printed Proclamation is in PAM, Red River Disturbances.

Malmros, Winnipeg to J. C. B. Davis, Acting Secretary of State, Decem-ber 11, 1869. No. 17.²²³

Col. Dennis the recruiting officer named in my despatch No. 16 issued on the 6th inst. the order contained in enclosure No. II.²²⁴ He has entirely failed to get recruits willing to take up arms for Gov. McDougall's proposed government. On the contrary this open attempt and several clandestine ones to create civil war in the Colony has created great and almost universal indignation towards Mr. McDougall. On the 8th inst. a band of 50 Canadians who had taken up arms against the revolutionists surrendered unconditionally & are now held as prisoners of war.²²⁵ In consequence of this event and his entire failure to enlist recruits Col. Dennis on the 9th inst. issued the order contained in enclosure No. III.²²⁶

Immediately on the issue of Col. Dennis['] 1st order the insurrectionists resolved not to treat with Gov. McDougall under any circumstances. It is credibly reported that Col. Dennis will leave this country in 2 or 3 days if he can obtain a safe conduct to Pembina.²²⁷ On yesterday the insurrectionists adopted and raised under military honors a flag of their own, not very happily conceived; it consists of the "fleurs de lis" [sic] of ancient France and a harp and shamrock. The revolutionists fullfil [sic] the principal function of a government, protection of persons and property in a highly satisfactory degree.

(For the present, as a matter of policy, they hold themselves out as ready to negotiate with the Canadian Dominion they really mean however independence, and are sanguine of their ability to unite the settlement on the submission to Canada of such terms of union as will be rejected by the

²²³ USNA, Consular Reports. Also in, *Senate Executive Document*, No. 33, *op. cit.*

²²⁴ See, PAM, Red River Disturbances. The order forms part of McDougall's Proclamation of December 1, 1869. Dennis called on all "loyal men" to assist in the restoration of public peace and order.

²²⁵ The date was December 7. The party taken to Fort Garry as prisoner was the group which had gathered at Dr. J. C. Schultz's store on December 4. Morton, *op. cit.*, pp. 205, 215-218.

²²⁶ The printed order is in, PAM, Red River Disturbances. Dennis noted the possibility of the "French party" presenting a list of "alleged rights" to McDougall. He called upon the "loyal party" to cease action under his call to arms of December 6 and upon the "French party" to send a deputation to McDougall at Pembina.

²²⁷ Dennis left Lower Fort Garry December 11 to join McDougall at Pembina and with him left for Canada December 18. Morton, *op. cit.*, pp. 227, 234, 235.

latter in which case independence will be declared as they intended when they first took up arms.)²²⁸

George L. Becker, St. Paul, to Taylor, December 18, 1869.²²⁹

I received this morning your esteemed favor of the [15th?] and am greatly obliged for your attention. I sent you the despatch of the 14th very reluctantly, for I consider the Red River extension the most desirable one now open to us:²³⁰ and the recent course of events there would no doubt influence largely an American Congress to act promptly upon such a bill as we proposed to submit. I have laid all these considerations before our friends abroad: and by the 1st of January shall have their judgment upon the views thus presented. Meanwhile I trust you will not lose sight of this matter, and that you will be able to keep it in full view. If Wilkinson²³¹ essays a speech on the situation then it would afford him a capital chance to father this idea of a railway down Red River, and give it a national significance and importance. Suppose you try him on this point. The news from Red River this morning is rather startling if we take all that the papers say as true: nevertheless I think we should use a degree of caution here. I think the "Press" [is] disposed to be decidedly sensational and somewhat accustomed to magnify.²³²

My own judgment is that the settlement and development of that region is far more likely to be encouraged and promoted through the Canadian officials, than by a successful rebellion of half breeds. I can have no confidence myself in such a government as these last would organise, or in the Law and order they would establish. I do not think that civilisation would thrive under their management.

²²⁸ The bracketed portion is not in *Senate Executive Document*, No. 33, *op. cit.* It is marked in the margin "Omit."

²²⁹ MHS, Taylor Papers.

²³⁰ E. D. Litchfield had expressed the wish that a grant of lands be secured for a line westward to the Missouri River rather than northward to Pembina. See, MHS, Taylor Papers, Becker to Taylor, December 15, 1869.

²³¹ Morton Smith Wilkinson (1819-1894), United States Senator from Minnesota 1859-1865, House of Representatives 1869-1871, State Senator 1874-1877.

²³² The St. Paul Press, a Republican newspaper, was the leading exponent of the expansionist-annexationist movement in Minnesota.

On the contrary under McDougall and his associates I should expect to see rapid strides in wealth and population: and in my opinion the *Americanisation* of that region would be far more sure and rapid under Canadian than under half breed and indian auspices.

Malmros, Winnipeg to J. C. B. Davis, Acting Secretary of State, December 24, 1869. Confidential, No. 19.²³³

Herewith enclosed I have the honor to transmit copy of two letters from Mr. Nelson²³⁴ Dep[u]lty Collector at Pembina, D[akota]. T[erri-tory].

Mr. Nelson, who has been known to me for a number of years, is a gentleman of undoubted veracity and I therefore unhesitatingly accept as true in every particular the facts stated by him from his own knowledge.

From the recklessness and disregard of law shown by Mr. McDougall in presuming to act as Governor, to stir up civil war and enlist soldiers before the Queen's proclamation of annexation was issued and before his commission as Governor could take effect and from the indirect evidence contained in Mr. Nelson's letters the conviction is also forced upon me that Gov. McDougall intended and intends to bring all the horrors of an indian massacre upon this settlement and perhaps even on the people on our side of the line.

The only suspicious circumstance that has come to my own personal knowledge is that the Sioux murderers near Portage la Prairie²³⁵ have been treated with very extraordinary hospitality by some Canadian settlers, partisans of Gov. McDougall.

The insurrectionists have so far steadily refused any assistance offered them by indians against an expected Canadian invasion, but suppose they accepted the aid proffered, in that case the indians would have to fight against combatants only, while if engaged on the Canadian side they would be let loose to murder women and children.

²³³ USNA, Consular Reports.

²³⁴ N. E. Nelson, Deputy Collector of Customs.

²³⁵ Sioux Indians who had sought refuge in the North West Territories following the Sioux Massacre of 1862 in Minnesota.

The fears of Mr. Nelson however that Gov. McDougall may have been successful in his indian negotiations for an outbreak, with the exception possibly of the Sioux, I do not share.

If Governor McDougall made presents of money or other articles to the indians they no doubt accepted them and in return were liberal in promises of aid, but these promises are, according to my knowledge of the relations existing between the Halfbreeds and Indians, likely to be the only return Mr. McDougall will ever get for his money.

As the Sioux at the Portage possibly may have been incited by Gov. McDougall or his agents to a raid against the settlers on the American side of the boundary line I shall not fail at once to use all means at my disposal to ascertain whether they really do contemplate the hostilities apprehended by Mr. Nelson.²³⁶

Being of the opinion that all confidential communications of a political nature made to me are really made in confidence to our Government, I deem it my duty to inform you that at an interview I had yesterday with Governor Mactavish the latter told me confidentially that he contemplated to submit to their House in London (the Hudson Bay Co.'s House) whether it might not be in the interest of the Company to favor annexation of this country to the United States. On a former occasion Gov. Mactavish mentioned to me, likewise in confidence, that with the expected influx of immigration, the commercial interests of the Company required the protection of a strong military government, such as the United States. In case our government would do something to dispose the Hudson Bay Co. in London favorably towards the United States it would materially influence the action of the resident officers of the Company in regard to the revolutionary

²³⁶Indians from St. Peter's, north of Lower Fort Garry, had responded to Dennis' call to arms, and had been enrolled. CSP, 1870, *op. cit.*, p. 77, Dennis to McDougall, December 2, 1869. McDougall had been in contact with the Indians and stated he found them well disposed. He made use of "loyal" persons who had influence with them to "arouse their apprehensions in reference to the annexation features of the half-breed movement and its effect upon them and their land claims." *Ibid*, pp. 65-66, McDougall to Howe, November 29, 1869. McDougall was aware of the American fear of Indian, and particularly Sioux, participation. He ordered Dennis not to make use of the Indians, to prevent their receiving ammunition and arms, and to dispense with those from St. Peter's who were at Lower Fort Garry. *Ibid*, p. 92, McDougall to Dennis. The Indians did not play any significant role in the Red River Disturbances though American observers, particularly sensitive as a result of the Sioux Massacre of 1862, continued to accuse and suspect McDougall of plans to employ them.

movement in this Colony. The Catholic Clergy are in part openly in part secretly working for annexation to the United States.

I am told by the rebel leaders that within a couple of weeks, if not sooner, they will be ready to proclaim independence and the republic.²³⁷

A Catholic priest, by the name of Thibault,²³⁸ formerly of this Colony, now a resident of Montreal, has been commissioned by the Dominion Government to negotiate with the rebels or rather to make unauthorized promises to them. Information obtained from various sources is to the effect that that gentleman is also provided with a corruption fund.²³⁹ Father Thibault will be met nine miles above this place, taken to the Bishop's residence where he will be entertained by the Clergy & kept by them from interfering in the politics of this country. His mission will prove a failure.

Hamilton Fish, Secretary of State, Washington, to Taylor, December 30, 1869. Confidential.²⁴⁰

Having been led to believe that you are in possession of valuable information in regard to Northwest British American and especially the relations of the Selkirk, Saskatchewan and Columbia Districts to

²³⁷ Such statements are difficult to assess. Malmros and Taylor may both be charged with exaggeration arising perhaps from misunderstanding, perhaps from a deliberate attempt to make union with the United States appear to be more of a possibility than it was and to induce the American Government to move positively toward annexation. Alexander Begg, writing at the end of December 1869, believed that the Americans had "a great deal of influence over the movement amongst the French" and reported it was Riel's intention to declare for independence and afterwards be admitted into the Union. Morton, *op. cit.*, p. 240.

²³⁸ Rev. Jean-Baptiste Thibault (1810-1879), Vicar General of the Diocese of St. Boniface, a missionary in the north west since 1833; appointed with Col. Charles de Salaberry by the Dominion Government in December 1869 to investigate the grievances of the metis. CSP, 1870, *op. cit.*, pp. 42-43, Howe to McDougall, December 7, 1869.

²³⁹ Alexander Begg stated that Canadian money had been offered to Louis Riel, as did Bishop Tache later. Morton, *op. cit.*, p. 241, 241n. John A. Macdonald privately suggested to Donald A. Smith that he make use of money and jobs. PAC, Macdonald Papers, Macdonald to Smith, December 12, 1869; noted in Morton, *op. cit.*, p. 83.

²⁴⁰ MHS, Taylor Papers. A draft of this letter, similar in content, and in Taylor's hand, is in *ibid*, Taylor Papers. Taylor undoubtedly drafted this commission himself.

the United States, you are appointed a Special Agent of the State Department for the period of six months to investigate and report to the Department upon the following subjects.

1. Full details of the revolt by the inhabitants of Selkirk settlement against the Canadian Confederation and the expulsion of Honorable William McDougall on his way to assume the office of Governor.
2. The geographical features and commercial affinities of the Selkirk, Saskatchewan and Columbia Districts.
3. The character and disposition of the population.
4. Existing routes of communication from Canada and the United States, and what changes or improve[ments] in this respect are proposed.
5. The political relations of the several British possessions between Minnesota and Alaska.
6. The general question of commercial and political relations between the United States and Canada.
7. The political relations between the Dominion of Canada and the several states and provinces composing it.

Your attention will first be directed to a report in relation to the insurrection at Selkirk.

Your compensation will be at the rate of (\$5) five dollars per day, and (10) ten cents per mile for necessary travelling expenses will be allowed to you.

All your proceedings under this commission are to be strictly confidential and under no circumstances will you allow them to be made public. This injunction includes the fact of your appointment.

Taylor, Washington, to C. J. Brydges, January 5, 1870.²⁴¹

You can readily anticipate that the return of Hon. Wm. McDougall to Canada, and the new importance thereby given to the French movement

²⁴¹ MHS, Taylor Papers.

at Selkirk, is a prominent topic in official circles here. The opinion prevails, that unless the Canadian Government, in connection with the officers of the Hudson Bay Company, shall succeed this winter in adjusting the difficulty with the settlers, very unfortunate complications are likely to follow. I greatly deprecate any military demonstration. The late attempt of Col. Dennis to organize an armed force of Christian Indians, in behalf of McDougall, excited apprehension of a similar enlistment of savage bands west of Fort Garry and made the whole population a unit under the leadership of Riel - resulting in the capture of Dr. Shultz [sic]²⁴² and all the advocates of the connection with Canada, and the final retreat of Mr. McDougall and his staff.

I hope that your public men will deal discreetly with the situation. There is some talk of an Abyssinian campaign against the Selkirk insurgents. Far better to devote the thousandth part of the expenditure to a strenuous, but judicious effort to remove grievances, to guarantee popular rights, and to *inaugurate a comprehensive system of public improvements*.

If, last Spring, the Ottawa authorities had sent a Commission to Selkirk (I remember that your name was suggested by me as the representative of the important question of internal improvements), even their informal representations of the policy of the Dominion in the Northwest would have secured a cordial reception for Gov. McDougall. There was too much delay - too much reticence - too much appearance of a family compact for speculative purposes. It may not yet be too late for a treaty with the people, for your Government right now to admit the necessity of a negotiation on liberal terms. After what has passed Ministers must not persist in the blunder of underrating the Red River demonstration. Success has lifted it beyond the domain of burlesque.

I claim the privilege of expressing myself with entire frankness and therefore I shall not conceal from you that the situation in the Northwest - at Selkirk and in British Columbia - suggests to almost every one I meet the possibility of a treaty with England and Canada, for the cession to the United States of the territory beyond the Lakes

²⁴²Dr. John Christian Schultz (1840-1896), came to the Red River Settlement in 1861, practiced medicine, was at one time owner of the newspaper the *Nor'Wester*, leader of the Canadian and anti-Riel party during the Red River Disturbances, MP 1871-1882, called to the Senate 1882, Lieutenant-Governor of Manitoba 1888-1895.

simultaneously with the settlement of the Alabama controversy, and the adjustment of commercial relations with the Dominion. It is suggested that the English ministry might submit to the inhabitants of Selkirk - and British Columbia, whether their preference is for political union with the Canadian Confederation or the United States: that, upon an unquestionable declaration in favor of the latter alternative, the United States should assume the discharge of all private reclamations[?] on account of the Alabama and similar cruisers: that a treaty determining a rule of international law for the future should be framed: and that, as an essential part of the negotiation, that free trade, free shipping and free fisheries should be embodied in a new Reciprocity treaty with Canada. Of course, this is the most general of statements and doubtless seems to you entirely impracticable: but reserve your judgment until matters in the Northwest take more definite shape: and until I shall hereafter indicate practical details.

Washington is very dull. The recess is so long [?] that [?] members from the most distant [?] States [?] (except those of the Pacific coast) left for home.

I thank you for the order on Mr. Beach.²⁴³

Malmros, Winnipeg, to J. C. B. Davis, Acting Secretary of State, January 6, 1870. No. 21.²⁴⁴

Since the date of my despatch No. 19 the President of the Provisional Government, Mr. Bruce,²⁴⁵ has resigned and Mr. Riel, heretofore Secretary, elected in his place.

Mr. Bruce remains member of the Executive Council, a body which consists of 13 members and together with the President and Secretary constitutes the Government.

²⁴³ On December 27, 1869 Brydges had sent Taylor an order, presumably on the New York office of the Grand Trunk Railway, for \$100 with authority to draw an additional \$100 as payment for information on Reciprocity and other matters which Taylor was to provide. See, *ibid*, Brydges to Taylor, November 30, and December 27, 1869.

²⁴⁴ USNA, Consular Reports.

²⁴⁵ John Bruce (1831-) became President of the Metis National Committee in October 1869 at the time Louis Riel became Secretary. He resigned December 27, 1869. Morton, *op. cit.*, 47, 48, 24

The vacancy in the office of Secretary has not yet been filled.²⁴⁶

Ever since the occupation of Ft. Garry the people have been living under martial law but it has never been expressly proclaimed.

Peace and quiet continue to prevail in the settlement and although the cordial sympathy existing between the english and the french speaking sections of the people up to the time of taking Ft. Garry has not yet been restored their relations are becoming daily more friendly and all at least acquiesce in the rule and acts of the Provisional Government.

On account of the unexpectedly prolonged stay at Pembina of Col. Salabery [sic],²⁴⁷ one of the Canadian Commissioners, a conference with them has not yet been held. As soon as the negotiations, which will lead to nothing, shall have been broken off, independence, I am in-formed, will be declared. This step would have been taken long ago had it not been for the alienation arising between the two elements of the population soon after Ft. Garry was occupied.

As it may assist in obtaining a clearer insight into the situation I beg more fully to explain than I have done heretofore the influences controlling the revolutionary movement and the motives of the men engaged in it.

At no time did there exist in this Colony any particular attachment towards Canada, nor would that have been natural. The origin of this people, 2/3 of whom at least are halfbreeds, is different from that of the Canadian people; their historical life is unconnected with that of Canada and all intercourse, social or commercial between the respective communities, at least direct intercourse, has been prevented through natural obstacles.

But at first real dissatisfaction with Canada arose through a small faction of resident Canadians, who after having failed to make the Hudson Bay Co. subservient to their own purposes at once began,

²⁴⁶ It had been filled December 27, 1869 by Louis Schmidt, *ibid*, pp. 255, 258. Bishop Tache, in 1858, had sent Riel, Schmidt and Daniel McDougall to Quebec to further their education. Schmidt returned to Red River in 1861, *ibid*, pp. 34, 80, 245.

²⁴⁷ Col. Charles de Salaberry (1820-1882), a member of the Dawson expedition to Red River in 1858, appointed with Rev. J. A. Thibault in 1869 by the Canadian Government to investigate the grievances of the metis.

through their newspaper,²⁴⁸ the only one published here, and otherwise to abuse the Company and their numerous friends and supporters. This faction assuming the role of special guardians of Canadian interests here soon became most unpopular but was unfortunately endorsed by the Ottawa authorities upon whom their own unpopularity was consequently reflected. For over a year past the Canadian authorities have but echoed the sentiments of the faction referred to and treated the country and its prominent citizens accordingly. With this so-called Canadian party all Dominion officials sent here identified themselves immediately after their arrival.

In one of my despatches of Sept. 11th, No. 10 I think, I stated that the active sympathy of the Catholic Clergy might be relied on in any feasible scheme to sever this country from Canada. This has proved to be true; but for their support among a class of the people over which they wield a very large influence the present insurrectionary movement would have collapsed long since. The causes of their hostility to the Dominion were: 1st, that the government proposed to be established here was despotic in its nature - that of the Legislative Council, which was to be appointed, all the members, with the exception of two,²⁴⁹ were to be taken from the eastern provinces and that this mode of composing the Legislature would have deprived the Catholic element of all influence in Legislation. 2. Another cause of aversion to the Dominion arose from the circumstance that a fever of emigration to this region had been artificially created in Upper Canada with a view as Gov. McDougall is said to have expressed himself "to swamp" the native population.

A sudden large influx of immigrants [sic] however is for the present not favoured by the Catholic Clergy as it would result in virtually expatriating a very large number of their parishioners. For a majority of the french halfbreeds, although the chase becomes yearly less remunerative, the buffaloes greatly diminishing in number and receding farther and farther west, devote still the greater portion of their time to hunting on the plains and have contracted the improvident, uneconomical habits of that mode

²⁴⁸ The *Nor'Wester* established in 1859 by William Coldwell and William Buckingham.

²⁴⁹ William McDougall had been instructed to offer seats on his Council to William Mactavish, Governor of Assiniboia, and John Black, the chief judicial officer of the community and a Hudson's Bay Company officer. CSP 1870, *op. cit.*, p. 2, Under Secretary of State to McDougall, September 28, 1869.

of life, and it will require some years before the influence of their priests and the diminishing profits of the chase will make of them an exclusively farming population and imbue them with that attachment to the soil and that money-saving quality characteristic of agriculturists. If therefore before their mode of life and habits have been changed a large immigration sets in inoculating them with new expensive wants of older communities and introducing along with public improvements of the country increased taxation (at present the only tax levied is 4 per cent on imported goods) it is to be feared that the farms of many of them would soon pass by voluntary sale and otherwise into the hands of the immigrants and that a large portion of the halfbreeds would have to resort to the plains. By good judges, Canadians, natives and Americans, who have travelled last summer through Upper Canada the number of immigrants to be expected next summer from that quarter is estimated at from 6000 to 10,000. That this immigration will be exclusively protestant does not make it more palatable to the Catholic Clergy. On the other hand it is not unreasonably expected that as a part of the United States this country for the next few years, until Minnesota and Dakota are more settled, would attract but a moderate immigration and that in part consisting of Irish and German Catholics.

3. A third reason for the hostility of the Catholic clergy towards Canada consists in the desire to be revenged for the snubbing received last autumn by Bishop Tache of this Territory at the hands of Mr. Cartier²⁵⁰ and other members of the Dominion Cabinet.

Another element unfriendly to Canada and sowing discontent at least up to the time the insurrection commenced is composed of the resident members of the Hudson Bay Co. as stated in my despatch of Sept. 11th. The causes of their disaffection are, I presume, fully known to the Government and I shall therefore not dwell upon them. They would like to have this country annexed to the United States if it could be accomplished peaceably.

²⁵⁰ George Etienne Cartier (1814-1873), Minister of Militia and Defence 1867-1873. When Tache, on his way to Rome in July 1869, met Cartier in Ottawa and attempted to warn Cartier of dissatisfaction in the Red River Settlement, Cartier, according to the Bishop, said "he knew it all a great deal better than I did, and did not want any information." Canada, House of Commons, *Report of the Select Committee on the Causes of the Difficulties in the North-West Territory in 1869-1870*, Ottawa, 1874, p. 10.

At the commencement of the troubles it gratified them to see Canada involved in difficulties. In the progress of the movement when they thought it might result in protracted armed hostilities with Canada injurious if not ruinous to their commerce for a considerable length of time, when they thought that the chances of the rebellion were unfavorable and that in case of its suppression they would be held responsible for the troubles they used their influence in opposition to the rebellion, and now when the prospects of the latter are brightening again they are inactive and wavering but wishing that the directors in London might permit them to support the popular movement.

The direct agitation for armed resistance to Canadian pretensions and for independence was commenced and carried on rather secretly by Messrs. Bruce and Riel. The former a quiet, honest, persevering halfbreed farmer, aged about 45 years,²⁵¹ a man of sound judgment within a limited sphere. Mr. Riel is a young man of about 25 or 26 years old, ambitious, quick of perception though not profound, of indomitable energy, daring, excessively suspicious of others and of a pleasing and rather dignified address. Neither of these gentlemen has had the least political experience which accounts for many mistakes they have made.

In case the Department should desire information on any part of the political situation more explicitly and fuller than given by me hereto-fore I shall be much pleased to furnish it.

Taylor, Washington, to C. J. Brydges, January 12, 1870.²⁵²

Mr. Jay Cooke is here and has finally determined to assume the financial agency of the Northern Pacific. He has reconsidered his plans of May - last, and only proposes to provide the means to build from the Falls of the St. Louis river 25 miles west of Duluth²⁵³ to the Red River as far north as the mouth of the Sheyenne²⁵⁴ River or the Hudson Bay Company's post of

²⁵¹ He was born in 1831.

²⁵² MHS, Taylor Papers.

²⁵³ The St. Louis River flows into Lake Superior at Duluth.

²⁵⁴ The Sheyenne River enters the Red River from the west north of Moorhead, Minn.

Georgetown. He has quietly arranged with strong parties for the sum of \$5,600,000, distributed in twelfths: and a telegram was yesterday sent to G. S. Smith²⁵⁵ to locate the line instantly, and commence the construction at the Falls or the Dalles in February.

The future policy of the Company eastward will be to cross the mouth of Superior Bay from Duluth, and keep close along the Lake shore, not attempting to ignore the interests of Superior City, Bayfield, or any promising locality of the coast. I anticipate legislation extending the line and franchises of the road from the mouth of the Montreal river²⁵⁶ (the Eastern terminus and the most eastern post which the present charter allows) to the Straits of Mackinac, where the State of Michigan will connect by very direct railway communications. I submit to you whether you desire, in the interest of the Grand Trunk, to be party to an extension of a Canadian charter from the Sault St. Marie to the valley of the Ottawa. I know that Mr. J. Edgar Thompson [sic] of the Pennsylvania Central is looking to such a through line from Lake Superior to the Lower St. Lawrence, but you are doubtless fully informed of its situation and prospects.

Senators Chandler²⁵⁷ and Howard²⁵⁸ of Michigan will have great influence upon the policy of the Northern Pacific and I anticipate that the Mackinaw connection, drawing the trade of Lake Superior and the Northwest through Detroit will be insisted upon by those gentlemen. Meanwhile, great activity may be expected west of Duluth. I have urged all summer the far northern line, and I am hopeful that Minnesota and the Red River valley may be crossed as far north as the 47th parallel of latitude. Such a route will suggest lateral connections with the Selkirk and Saskatchewan districts. A bill will be introduced tomorrow in both houses, authorizing the St. Paul and Pacific road to extend its main line from

²⁵⁵ Not identified.

²⁵⁶ The Montreal River rises in northern Wisconsin, flows north west forming part of the boundary between Wisconsin and Minnesota and empties into Lake Superior east of Ashland, Wise.

²⁵⁷ Zacariah Chandler (1813-1879), a founder of the Republican party, United States Senator 1857-1875, 1879, Secretary of the Interior 1875-1877, a leading exponent of the American expansionist movement of the 1860's.

²⁵⁸ Jacob Merritt Howard (1805-1871), a founder of the Republican party, United States Senator 1862-1871.

Breckenridge²⁵⁹ to Pembina and granting twenty sections per mile (12,800 acres) in aid of its construction before 1875-the plan being, on the part of Mr. G. L. Becker and his associates, to finish the line in three years. As that corporation has strong representations at Amsterdam, and may be useful to Jay Cooke and his associates, I do not anticipate any hostility from the Northern Pacific interest...²⁶⁰ Northern Pacific should appropriate their first five millions to giving Duluth a direct western communication with the Red River valley. We have urged on the Directors to first build, an extension of the St. Paul and Pacific from the Red River to the Missouri; but, on the whole, the course adopted is better for the States and certainly will not be unwelcome to Canada.

I will resume the prospects of the Northern Pacific, east and west, in my next letter....

George L. Becker, St. Paul, to Taylor, Washington, January 13, 1870.²⁶¹

I am receipt of your favor of the 8th. I have already written you on the subject of the Red River grant and Mr. Benson²⁶² will also have informed you of the situation. I see from the morning papers that a bill giving this grant has been introduced into either House. I now hope that no effort will be spared to put the bill through without delay, so that active operations may go on this summer in that Valley. Having persuaded our friends abroad to take this grant in preference to the Missouri project, chiefly by the statement that I expected no opposition to this bill, and hence thought it could be got through immediately I am of course anxious to prove that I was not mistaken in this regard.

I am pleased to hear of your official relation to the Red river question.²⁶³ I shall make no mention of the fact which you communicate to me confidentially.

²⁵⁹ Breckenridge, Minn. is on the Red River at the mouth of Otter Tail River. George L. Becker of the St. Paul and Pacific had informed Taylor two days before that a decision had been made to concentrate on obtaining a land grant from Congress for the Pembina rather than the Missouri extension of the line. MHS, *op. cit.*, Becker to Taylor, January 10, 1870; Becker to Taylor, January 13, 1870.

²⁶⁰ Letter torn.

²⁶¹ MHS, Taylor Papers.

²⁶² Not identified.

²⁶³ Taylor's appointment as Special Agent of the State Department.

Malmros, Winnipeg, to J. C. B. Davis, Acting Secretary of State, January 15, 1 870. No. 23.²⁶⁴

The negotiations with the Canadian Commissioners, Col. Salabery and Father Thibault have been closed and, as I predicted, no agreement has been arrived at.

Col. Salabery as I am reliably informed, attempted to bribe President Riel by the offer of a considerable amount of money which was contemptuously refused.²⁶⁵

Father Thibault, I am told by the Bishop's Deputy,²⁶⁶ the Bishop himself being at present in Rome, will remain here and use his influence in favor of independence and annexation to the United States, after having made a report of the result of his mission to the Dominion Government.

Herewith enclosed I transmit copy of a memorandum, in the nature of instructions, of the result of a conversation held between the Canadian Commissioners and several members of the Dominion Cabinet before the Departure of the Commissioners for this Country.²⁶⁷

Col. Salabery has been allowed, rather inopportunely, the privilege of communicating with a number of people while here and of repeating to them the arguments and mistatements of fact contained in his instructions. The people of the Colony being generally rather ignorant Col. Salabery has succeeded in creating among a part of them a desire of negotiating with Canada.

For the 10 days past an agitation, secretly urged on by the Hudson's Bay Co. has been commenced for the purpose of reconstructing

²⁶⁴ USNA, Consular Reports.

²⁶⁵ See note 239, December 24, 1869.

²⁶⁶ Rev. Jean Marie Lestanc (1830-1912), came to the North West Territories as a missionary in 1855.

²⁶⁷ The memorandum consists probably of notes made by Thibault following his meeting with members of the Canadian cabinet on December 3, 1869. CSP, 1870, *op. cit.*, pp. 45-46, Howe to Thibault, December 4, 1869. It is not, apparently, found in any Canadian source. The *St. Paul Press* had obtained a copy from a private source and published it on February 9, 1870. The *New Nation* published it March 4, 1870 having copied the *St. Paul Press* article. The *New Nation* noted that these instructions had not "we believe, been placed before the public through any other channel." The full text of the instructions taken from Malmros' despatch is printed in Morton, *op. cit.*, pp. 81-82.

the Provisional Government with a view of giving that Company the management of affairs here .261 Partially with that object in view the Hudson's Bay Co. has attempted to hire a large number of French Halfbreeds to transport their boats, canoes and stores to York Factory and other posts. The French Halfbreeds however have refused this tempt-ing offer on the ground that the country demanded their services. This action on the part of the halfbreeds is the more to be admired as all of them have served as soldiers for a long time, a portion since middle of October, practically without any remuneration, and as their families are beginning to suffer in consequence. It is to be feared however that on account of their poverty the French Halfbreeds will not be able to hold out much longer unless they obtain pecuniary aid from abroad. The sum of about \$25,000 - promptly sent would materially aid and I think secure the success of the independence movement
²⁶⁹

Taylor, St. Paul, to Hamilton Fish, Secretary of State, January 20, 1870.²⁷⁰

On the 16th of November, I communicated to the Department of State the intelligence, that the French population of Selkirk Settlement had forcibly resisted the attempt to incorporate the territory, extending from longitude 90° to the Rocky Mountains, as part of the Dominion of Canada. On Tuesday Nov. 2, a body of insurgents, armed and mounted, surrounded Fort Pembina, a post of the Hudson Bay Company two miles north of a point where the international frontier crosses the Red River of the North, and ordered Hon. William McDougall, who was on his way to assume the position of Lieutenant Governor of the Northwest Territories by appointment of the Canadian Government, and was the guest of the officers of Fort Pembina, to recross the international frontier.

²⁶⁸ Donald A. Smith of the Hudson's Bay Company had been sent as a Commissioner by the Canadian Government which hoped for the dissolution of the Provisional Government and the restoration of the Company's authority. Alexander Begg in his journal noted movements in the Settlement at this time toward uniting the people behind the Company. *Ibid*, pp. 259-261.

²⁶⁹ Malmros' letter concluded with the memorandum noted above, 267.

²⁷⁰ USNA, Special Agent State Department Papers. Found also in, Senate Executive Document, No. 33, 41 Cong., 2 Sess.

The commission of Mr. McDougall had not taken effect: but he proposed on the 1st of December to issue a proclamation taking formal possession of the country in the name of Canada, and assuming the duties of Lieutenant Governor. Before that day, he anticipated a Proclamation of the Queen of England, announcing the formal transfer of the country included in the charter of the Hudson Bay Company to the Dominion of Canada - a negotiation to that effect being on the point of consummation. The fact and the terms of the transfer, the legislation in anticipation of it by Canada, and the action of Mr. McDougall under his prospective appointment of Lieutenant Governor, excited so much dissatisfaction among the people of Selkirk, that an organization was effected to resist by force the inauguration of the Canadian authority over the region known as Hudson Bay Territory or Ruperts Land.

A parley having proved ineffective Mr. McDougall, who had no adequate means of resistance, was escorted to the American settlement of Pembina in the Territory of Dakota, where he remained until Saturday, the 18th of December, when he left for Canada. His Secretary, J. A. N. Provencher Esq.,²⁷¹ had been previously despatched as an envoy to the French population, but he was stopped at St. Norbert, a settlement about ten miles south of Fort Garry, and was returned a prisoner to Fort Pembina. and compelled to leave the country with Mr. McDougall. The party of the latter, who were thus forced upon American territory consisted, in addition to himself, family and servants, of J. A. N. Provencher Esq., Provincial Secretary, A. N. Richards Esq., Attorney General,²⁷² Captain Cameron,²⁷³ and Dr. Jackesz²⁷⁴ (these four gentlemen having been designated, as was rumored, to be members of the Legislative Council under the Canadian Act

²⁷¹ Joseph Alfred Norbert Provencher (1843-1887), lawyer, editor of *La Mireerue* of Montreal, appointed Secretary of the Government of the North West Territories in 1869, later Commissioner of Indian Affairs in Manitoba and a member of the Council of Keewatin. Provencher remained at Pembina till the end of February 1870. Morton, *op. cit.*, p. 233n.

²⁷² Albert Norton Richards (1822-1897), MP 1863-1864, 1872-1874, Solicitor General of Upper Canada 1863-1864, appointed Attorney-General of Manitoba and accompanied William McDougall to the North West Territories in 1869, later Lieutenant-Governor of British Columbia 1870-1881.

²⁷³ Captain Donald Roderick Cameron, Royal Artillery, son-in-law of Charles Tupper, was to be in charge of the military and police; later sewed with the British-American Boundary Commission 1872-1874.

²⁷⁴ Albert G. Jackes M.D., later acted as Secretary to the Commissioners negotiating Indian Treaty No. 6 at Fort Carlton and Part Pitt in 1876, and on the Council and Board of Health of the District of Keewatin,

organizing the territory) Alexander Beggs [sic],²⁷⁵ Collector of Customs and Col. J. S. Dennis, Surveyor General. Their removal was effected by a detachment of thirty armed men. No violence was offered. Mr. McDougall's explanations and remonstrances were courteously received. He is of the impression that they produced a temporary effect on the evening of Novr. 1, but at 9 o'clock next morning, the order of expulsion was firmly executed.

On the same day, November 2, Fort Garry, seventy miles north of the international frontier, was occupied by about fifty insurgents. During the morning they had dropped into the walled inclosure of the post, either singly or in small groups and about noon, at a signal, possession was taken without a struggle. Hon. William McTavish, Chief Factor of the Hudson Bay Company and Governor of the Colony of Assiniboia, was confined to one of the barracks by illness, and no intrusion upon him was suffered. There were no English or Canadian troops at Fort Carry or any other point in the Settlement and while, as a result of a previous organization, perhaps four hundred men were in arms to support the insurrection, the decisive events of the expulsion of Mr. McDougall and the capture of Fort Garry were accomplished by less than a fourth of that force.

The situation is not materially changed at the expiration of two months, but before proceeding with the narrative of subsequent occurrences, it is proposed to describe the people of Selkirk, the relations of the Hudson Bay Company to them and the Policy of Canada which has led to existing complications.

THE PEOPLE OF SELKIRK

Of a population of twelve thousand, fully one half are the descendants of those Canadian traders, who have been the pioneers of European civilization along the lakes of the North and the great interior rivers of the continent & early as 1762,²⁷⁶ the site of Fort Garry was occupied as a French post - Fort La Reine²⁷⁷ - and similar trading

²⁷⁵ Alexander Begg (1825-1944), journalist and author, later Immigration Commissioner for Ontario and British Columbia in Scotland, 1888-1897, author of a *History of British Columbia*, 1894.

²⁷⁶ The explorer LaVerendrye reached the site of the present city of Winnipeg in 1738.

²⁷⁷ Fort la Reine was approximately sixty miles to the west on the Assiniboine River.

stations existed on the east side of Lake Winnipeg and on the Lake of the Woods. A hundred years afterwards Canadian traders explored the Saskatchewan and English rivers:²⁷⁸ and in 1787 the Northwest Fur Company was organized, and concentrated the whole fur product of the rivers and lakes from Lake Superior to the Arctic Ocean, at Montreal. The officers and employees of this company occupied every prominent locality in the basin of Lake Winnipeg and in the valley of the Mackenzie river: and when Lord Selkirk induced his associates of the Hudson Bay Company to extend their posts from the coast of Hudson's Bay,²⁷⁹ and organize a colony on the Red River of the North, the Canadians were already on the ground, in the first place resisting, but afterwards becoming parties to the proposed colonization.²⁸⁰

The limits of the grant by the Hudson Bay Company to Lord Selkirk were nearly coterminous with the Red River valley, full half of the area being now included in the State of Minnesota. It was executed in 1811 and in the autumn of 1812, a detachment of emigrants from the Highlands of Scotland arrived on the banks of the Red River near the mouth of the Assiniboine. Other parties followed from Scotland, the Orkney Islands and even from Switzerland. Their descendants constitute about one fourth of the present population of the Selkirk Settlement. The remaining 3000 are divided equally between English settlers - emigrants from Canada or the descendants of retired officers of the Company, and American emigrants from the adjacent State of Minnesota.

The French population are Catholic. The Cathedral of St. Boniface, with its monastery, nunnery and schools, occupies the eastern bank of the Red River opposite Fort Garry and the confluence of the Assiniboine river. The Bishop, M. Tache, is of a prominent family of Lower Canada. He devoted his youth to missionary labors on the Saskatchewan river, from which he was called to his Episcopate. He is a man of great energy and intelligence, and, ten years ago, wrote much and

²⁷⁸ English and Scottish traders from Montreal were in North West Territories in the late 1760's. See, A. S. Morton, *A History of the Canadian West to 1870-71*, Toronto, 1939, p. 263.

²⁷⁹ Many Hudson's Bay Company posts had been built in the interior before the establishment of Selkirk's colony, the first being Cumberland House in 1774.

²⁸⁰ The North West Company which amalgamated with the Hudson's Bay Company in 1821 was a persistent opponent of Selkirk's colonization plan.

labored assiduously to bring the Red River country to the notice of the French public of Lower Canada, but recently, it is understood that he has regarded the emigration from Upper Canada or Ontario with considerable distrust. He has been absent in Europe for some months and is at present in Rome. The east bank of the Red River and the settlements south of the Assiniboin are organized as Catholic parishes and are exclusively occupied by the French population.

The descendents [sic] of the early Scotch settlers occupy the Parish of Kildonan immediately north of Fort Garry. They are Presbyterian, and exhibit the thrift, intelligence, probity and prejudices characteristic of the people of Scotland. Adjacent to them on the North and West are the English population while the more recent Settlement, thirty to fifty miles westward upon the Assiniboin river, represents all the foregoing constituents of population.

The American adventurers, who have become identified with this community during the last fifteen years are not at all isolated. They sustain personal and business relations with all classes, and have a proportionate influence.

Probably no similar population in the world are better provided with religious and educational institutions. Trade has been free for years notwithstanding the restrictive terms of the charter of the Hudson Bay Company: the traffic in furs has been very productive, and there are frequent instances of affluence.

HUDSON BAY COMPANY

The relations of this corporation to the people of Selkirk are quite anomalous. Full details of the history of that remarkable organization are reserved for another paper: but it is pertinent at present to observe that from 1670 to 1812 there was no serious attempt on the part of the Company to penetrate the interior.²⁸¹ Their posts were in the immediate vicinity of Hudson's Bay, while the immense districts of the Winnipeg and Mackenzie basins were occupied by the Canadians or the Northwest Company. Lord Selkirk's colonization of Red River was accompanied by a vigorous rivalry with the Northwest Company, leading to many collisions, until, in 1821, the

²⁸¹ See note 279 above.

latter organization was merged, mainly by the influence of the late Edward Ellice,²⁸² for many years a prominent member of the English Parliament, in the Hudson Bay Company. The traditions of this struggle remain in the Selkirk Colony. The regime of the Hudson Bay Company, although in many respects wise and politic, has never been popular with the Canadian or old Northwest element on Red River. A large portion of the trade of the Settlement remained in the hands of the free traders, or parties disconnected with the Company and when the Hudson Bay Company sought to discharge the trust of civil government, it proved extremely difficult to reconcile the function of legislator and magistrate, with that of the chief trader in the community.

The form of Government thus established has been very simple. The settlements upon the Red River, from the international boundary at Pembina to the mouth of the river in Lake Winnipeg and upon the Assinniboin for a distance of sixty miles west of its junction with the Red River at Fort Garry have acquired a civil organization under appointments of the Hudson Bay Company, which is officially designated as the "Colony" of Assinniboia. In the Council thus organized, consisting of the Chief Factor at Fort Garry, who was acting Governor, the English and Catholic Bishops and nine prominent inhabitants, all legislative power was vested, and five of the Councillors were constituted Magistrates, holding monthly courts in as many districts - the Council sitting occasionally as a Court of appeal and for the trial of persons charged with felony. At different periods, this criminal jurisdiction has been shared by a Recorder. The revenue of the Colony was received from an impost of four per cent levied impartially on all goods, whether brought from England, Canada or the United States, and with no discrimination in favor of the Hudson Bay Company. The Company also, within the limits of Assinniboia at least, was always ready to sell land at seven shillings sterling per acre with liberal periods of credit and low rates of interest. Practically, a large portion of the people held whatever land they chose to occupy by sufferance of the Company. It will be seen that an apprehension of the disturbance of these possessory rights, under

²⁸² Edward Ellice (1781-1863), merchant, a party to the union of the XY and North West fur Companies in 1804; a partner in the North West Company which he represented with William and Simon McGillivray in the negotiations leading to the amalgamation of the North West and Hudson's Bay Companies in 1821; in the House of Commons at Westminster 1818-1826, 1830-1863; Secretary to the Treasury 1830-1832 and Secretary of War 1832-1834 in Earl Grey's administration.

Canadian authority, had much to do with the recent outbreak.

For a long time previous to 1859, the Hudson Bay Company held an exclusive license of trade in districts beyond their chartered limits: namely, in the region now known as British Columbia and the adjacent islands and in the valley of the Mackenzie and other Arctic Districts. This license expiring on the 30th of May, 1859, Sir Edward Bulwer Lytton, then Colonial Minister of England, refused to renew it, confining the Company to their claim under the charter of 1670 of exclusive trade and territorial dominion on the shores of Hudson's Bay and the districts drained by tributary rivers. The legality and scope of this charter had been contested by Canada, but, upon the whole, the legal opinion of England was on the side of the Company. Still, in 1857, a Parliamentary Commission, after an exhaustive inquiry, reported that the districts on the Red River and Saskatchewan were suitable for agricultural settlement, and expressed a trust that there would be no difficulty in effecting arrangements between her Majesty's government and the Hudson Bay Company, by which those districts might be ceded to Canada on equitable principles.

This report of 1857 was the starting point of a Canadian agitation for the cession of what has been called the "Fertile Belt", or a zone of the North American continent between latitudes 49° and 55° and embracing the Red River and Saskatchewan valleys east of the Rocky Mountains and the area on their western slope since organized as British Columbia. As to the territory north of the parallel of 55° there was general acquiescence in the opinion that the administration of the Hudson Bay Company was best adapted to the condition of the country and its inhabitants.

NORTHWEST EXTENSION OF CANADA

At this period, the relations of Canada to the Hudson's Bay Company and the Winnipeg districts came prominently to view. The Canadian Government dispatched a party of exploration under the direction of S. NI. [sic] Dawson Esq.,²⁸³ Civil Engineer, and Prof. J. Y.

²⁸³ Simon James Dawson (1820-1902), appointed by the Canadian Government in 1857 to explore the country west from Lake Superior to the Saskatchewan River. His report, published in 1859, did much to arouse Canadian interest in the North West Territories; in 1868 he was employed to open a land and water route from Lake Superior to the Red River Settlement.

Hindis [sic],²⁸⁴ who devoted the years 1858-9 to a thorough survey of a route from Thunder Bay on Lake Superior to Fort Garry, and of the Red River and Assiniboin districts adjacent to Minnesota and Dakota. Simultaneously, the English Colonial office dispatched Captain John Pallisor upon an exploration of practicable routes between Canada and the Red River Settlement, but chiefly of the true nature of the great prairie region watered by the Saskatchewan and its affluents, and of the communications westward through passes of the Rocky Mountains with the British sea-board of the North Pacific. The general results of these explorations were unfavorable to the construction of a railroad or other communications on British territory between Canada and the Winnipeg basin, but indicated that the great plains of Northern Minnesota present the most direct and practicable route from Canada, as well as from the United States, to Northwest British America.²⁸⁵ It was ascertained that, northwest of Minnesota, the country reaching from the Selkirk Settlement to the Rocky mountains, and from latitude 49° to 53° on the longitude of 94° and to latitude 55° on the Pacific coast is as favorable to grain and animal production as any of the northern states: that the mean temperature for spring, summer and autumn observed on the 42° and 43° parallels in New York, Michigan and Wisconsin, has been accurately traced through Fort Snelling and the valley of the Saskatchewan to latitude 55° on the Pacific coast, and that from the northwest boundary of Minnesota this whole district of British America is threaded in all directions by the navigable water-lines which converge to Lake Winnipeg. It was established, that the sources of the Saskatchewan have an average

²⁸⁴ Henry Yule Hind (1823-1908), geologist, professor of chemistry and geology Trinity College 1853-1865; geologist with the Dawson expedition of 18i7 and head of the Assiniboine and Saskatchewan Exploring Expedition of 1858; his reports and writings, as those of Dawson, drew attention in Canada to the North West Territories.

²⁸⁵ Palliser reported "the knowledge of the country on the whole would never lead me to advocate a line of communication from Canada across the continent to the Pacific exclusively through British territory. The time has now for ever gone for the effecting such an object, and the unfortunate choice of an astronomical boundary line has completely isolated the Central American possessions of Great Britain from Canada in the east, and also almost debarred them from access from the Pacific coast on the west." Palliser suggested that settlers would adopt "the shortest and least expensive route," that is through the United States. John Palliser, *The Journals, Detailed Reports, and Observations Relative to the Exploration, by Captain Palliser . . .* During the years 1857, 1858, 1859, and 1860. London, 1863, pp. 6, 16, 17. Hind believed a land and water route between Canada and the Red River Settlement could be opened. Hind, Report 1859, p. 26.

elevation above the sea far less than in American territory; that the Rocky Mountains are diminished in width, while the passes are not difficult: that the supply of rain is more abundant and the carboniferous and silurian formations of greater extent than further south; and, owing to the greater influence of the Pacific winds through the mountain gorges and the reduced altitude, that the climate is no material obstacle to civilized occupation.*²⁸⁶

The publications which followed and illustrated these expeditions and a series of reports by the St. Paul Chamber of Commerce and the Legislature of Minnesota,²⁸⁷ so fully dispelled misapprehension and prejudice in regard to the great Northwestern areas that the Hudson Bay Company was constrained in 1863 to announce a new and enlarged policy "in accordance (to quote the circular of the new directory) with the industrial spirit of the age and the rapid advancement which colonization has made in the countries adjacent to the Hudson's Bay territories." Dr. John Rae,²⁸⁸ the celebrated Arctic explorer, was charged with the survey of a telegraph line from Selkirk to the mouth of the Frazer river: his report was favorable, and the material was purchased and forwarded to Fort Garry and Victoria on Vancouvers [sic] Island. Steamboat navigation on Lake Winnipeg and the Saskatchewan, and general system of land surveys and bounties to settlers were also pro-posed: and very confident assurances were proclaimed that the modernized Hudson Bay Company would become a most efficient agent of emigration and colonization.²⁸⁹

The new impulse proved feeble and ineffective. The telegraphic material remained in warehouses: the rest of the programme was relinquished: and the proposition for the transfer of the country to Canada revived with greatly increased force. The plan for a confederation of the Provinces, proposed by the Quebec Conference of October 10, 1864,

* See Foreign and Domestic Commerce of United States. Senate Document, 1864. p. 219

²⁸⁶ In original document.

²⁸⁷ Taylor is referring to reports he had made to these bodies in the 1860's.

²⁸⁸ Dr. John Rae (1813-1893), explorer and physician, served with the Hudson's Bay Co. as clerk, surgeon and explorer 1833-1856; between 1846 and 1854 made four voyages to the Arctic surveying and charting many miles of newly-discovered coast line.

²⁸⁹ See, Rich, *op. cit.*, Vol. III, pp. 816-848;

which was afterwards embodied in an Act of the Imperial Parliament,²⁹⁰ contained a provision that “the Northwest Territory, British Columbia and Vancouver shall be admitted into the Union on such terms and conditions as the parliament of the federal provinces shall deem equitable, and as shall receive the assent of her Majesty, and in the case of the province of British Columbia and Vancouver, as shall be agreed to by the legislature of such province.”

One of the first acts of the Parliament of the Dominion of Canada, after the inauguration of the Confederation was to make a formal overture to the Queen in Council for the annexation of the Northwest Territory; but the Home Government, having on several occasions recognized the validity, either by its terms or by prescription, of the charter of the Hudson Bay Company, assumed the burthen of negotiation with its Directory. Canada was represented at London by astute commissioners - among them Sir George Cartier and Hon. William McDougall - and it was not until 1869 that the acquiescence of all parties was secured to the terms of cession. The ultimatum of the Government was communicated on the 9th of March, 1869, by the colonial minister, the Earl of Granville, and to Sir Stafford Northcote, Governor General [sic] of the Hudson Bay Company, and consisted of the following articles:

²⁹¹ . . .

It was evident that the alternative of acceptance would be the summary termination of the Company’s corporate rights, and on the 24th of March²⁹² the proprietors, at least the English stockholders, at a regular annual meeting of the Hudson Bay Company, definitely accepted the Earl of Granville’s proposition. The Canadian Parliament promptly concurred.

The people of Minnesota had watched these proceedings with great interest. Soon after the organization of the Territory of Minnesota in

²⁹⁰ The British North America Act, 1867. The section quoted is not the exact wording of the Act.

²⁹¹ The final basis and articles of agreement were embodied in the Imperial Order-in-Council of June 23, 1870. See, *Canada Gazette*, Vol. 4, 1870-1871, pp. 47-57; CSP, 1869, Vol. S, No. 25, Report of the Delegates Appointed to negotiate for the acquisition of Rupert’s Land and the North-West Territory. Found also in, E. H. Oliver, (ed.) *The Canadian North-West, its Early Development and Legislative Records . . .*, Ottawa, 1914, pp. 939-963.

²⁹² The date of the meeting was March 25, 1869. Many protests were registered at this meeting which was adjourned until April 9th when a decision was recorded. See, Rich, *op. cit.*, Vol. III, p. 889.

1849, Governor Ramsey visited the Selkirk Settlement and communicated to the American public a most favorable impression of the Red River country and its inhabitants and the natural resources, mineral and agricultural, of the Saskatchewan valley. The trade of the Hudson Bay Company and the settlers was soon diverted from the long and difficult communications by way of York Factory on Hudson's Bay and Fort William on Lake Superior to the Mississippi steamers and the prairie trails northwest of St. Paul to Fort Garry.²⁹³ In the winter of 1858-9 a steamer was taken apart and transported from the upper waters of the Mississippi to a convenient point on the Red River; there rebuilt, and during the following summer made trips to the Settlement.²⁹⁴ In 1860 the Hudson Bay Company established a depot at Georgetown in Minnesota and built an additional steamer.²⁹⁵ The Red River caravans continued their annual trips across the plains; and in 1864 a Report of the Treasury Department on the Foreign and Domestic Commerce of the United States estimated the imports of Central British America for the use of the Hudson Bay Company and the Selkirk Settlers as amounting, in value to \$500,000 annually, while the average annual exports, almost exclusively furs, were not less than \$1,000,000.

To close business relations with Minnesota, was soon added an intelligent appreciation by the Selkirk people of the advantages of responsible government, and the dissatisfaction with the regime of the Hudson Bay Company rapidly increased. The organization of British Columbia, in 1859,²⁹⁶ as a colony of England, was immediately followed by a demand for similar institutions over the wide inhabitable area between Canada and the Rocky Mountains. The press of Minnesota encouraged this aspiration. But when the policy of making the Winnipeg districts an appanage of Canada, without seeking an expression of the wishes of the people, became apparent at London and Ottawa, the Legislature of Minnesota, in advance even of the termination of the negotiations above mentioned, placed on record in a memorial, of March 6th, 1868, to the President and Congress of the United

²⁹³ See note 17, March 29, 1860. In the year Taylor was writing, shipments via York Factory totalled £41,004; via York Factory for the Red River District £806; via St. Paul for the Red River District £48,523. HBCA, B. 239/ee/108, 119.

²⁹⁴ This was the *Anson Northup* which reached Fort Garry on its first trip June 10, 1859.

²⁹⁵ The *International* which reached Fort Carry May 26, 1862. See the *Nor'Wester*, May 28, 1862.

²⁹⁶ The mainland of British Columbia became s Crown Colony in 1858.

States, the following expression: . . .²⁹⁷

On the 31st of March, 1868, this declaration of the Minnesota Legislature was presented to the Senate of the United States, referred to the Committee on Foreign Relations, and ordered to be printed. (Senate Miscellaneous Documents, No. 68, 1867-8).²⁹⁸

The Canadian Parliament in June 1869, after the success of the Granville intervention, proceeded to organize a Temporary Government for Ruperts Land, or the territory upon Hudson's Bay and its tributaries included in the charter of the Hudson Bay Company, and the Northwest Territory, which was the designation of the regions drained by the Mackenzie and other streams falling into the Arctic Ocean, or the whole of Northwest British America, except the Pacific slope previously organized as British Columbia. This legislation and all proceedings under it, preceded the final transfer of the country, and was contingent upon a Proclamation of the Queen in Council to that effect. The substance of the Canadian bill is stated as follows by a Toronto journal.

. . .²⁹⁹

Unfortunately for Canada, the formal cession of the country was not speedily consummated. It did not appear to be convenient for the Canadian Minister of Finance to pay £300,000 immediately: the English Government, as the trustee of both parties, could not proclaim the territory a part of Canada in advance of such payment, and it was doubtful whether any measures by the Dominion Government for the occupation and administration of the Selkirk district, were legitimate during the summer of 1869. Still Canadian surveyors proceeded to Fort Garry and were actively engaged under instructions from the Land Department at Ottawa. It is difficult to estimate or overstate the popular prejudice against Canada, which this step excited. Another party proposed to construct a Government waggon road from Fort Garry to Lake of the Woods. The demeanor of these Canadian officials, and their employees, was extremely injudicious. Perhaps all other causes of dissatisfaction would have failed to organize a movement for the forcible expulsion of Mr. McDougall, if the follies of

²⁹⁷ See, MHS, *ibid*, Taylor to W. H. Seward, February 27, 1868.

²⁹⁸ *Senate Miscellaneous Document*, No. 68, 40 Cong., 2 Sess., Serial 1319.

²⁹⁹ See, Canada, Statutes. "An Act for the Temporary Government of Rupert's Land and the North-Western Territory when united with Canada," 1869.

these Canadian subordinates from July to October had not exasperated the inhabitants. Probably the zealous partisans of the Canadian Connection did not exceed one hundred, and several of the Canadian settlers, who had resided several years at Selkirk, had become personally more obnoxious than the officials.

As before stated, the political feeling among the people was in favor of an Independent English Colony, on the termination, which all desired, of the jurisdiction of the Hudson Bay Company: but if the proposed incorporation with Canada had been accompanied by a reasonable regard for the wishes, and a guarantee of the rights, of the people, there would have been a general, if not a hearty, acquiescence. It is a mistake to suppose that the insurrection was the result of accident. There had been much discussion previously among the people. Louis Riel, the youthful French leader of the revolt, when summoned before the Councillors and Magistrates of Assiniboia,, and urged to desist, not only justified resistance, but almost obtained the concurrence of the Council to his measures.³⁰⁰ He openly addressed the people in front of the Cathedral of Saint Boniface, after Sunday morning mass, appealing for support in the design to exclude the McDougall party from the country. It is the custom of the French population to proceed to the adjacent buffalo plains, under strict military discipline, for an October hunt and it was easy in returning from that expedition, to organize the armed bands, which took possession of Forts Pembina and Garry.

The events of the Second of November- were not followed by any excess. The insurgent party were mutually sworn, under the style of "Liberators" and to the number of six hundred, to strict subordination: although the roads from Pembina to Fort Garry (or Winnipeg, as the village near its walls is called) were under strict surveillance, yet there was no material interruption of business: while a Provisional Government, with John Bruce as President or Governor, and Louis Riel, as Secretary and Marshall, proclaimed and enforced martial law.

I have thus endeavoured to present the situation at Selkirk, which preceded the events of Novr. 2, and resume briefly the subsequent narrative.

³⁰⁰ The Minutes of this meeting of October 25, 1869 are in, CSP 1870, op cit., pp. 135-137; Oliver, op. cit., pp. 615-618.

³⁰¹ The date Riel occupied Fort Garry and the McDougall party was turned back.

RED RIVER CONVENTION

The Provisional Government, which was established and recognized by the insurrection, consisted of a Council of Twelve as follows;³⁰² Pierre Poitras, Pierre L'Eveille,³⁰³ Magnus Burston,³⁰⁴ Francois Jeanton³⁰⁵ Ambroise L'Epine,³⁰⁶ J. B. Touron,³⁰⁷ Louis Lasante,³⁰⁸ Pierre Parenteau, J. B. Perreau,³⁰⁹ Charles Nolin, J. B. Millet and Andre Bauchemin.³¹⁰ The Executive office was vested in John Bruce, President and Louis Riel, Secretary, who, as commander of the insurgent forces, could hardly be considered to hold a subordinate position.

Almost the first act of the new authority was to call a popular convention. Twelve representatives of the English and Scotch parishes were invited as follows - St. Johns 1, St. Margarets 1, Headingley 1, St. Marys 1, Kildonan 1, St. Pauls 1, St. Andrews 1, St. Clements 1, St. Peters 1, Town of Winnipeg 2 - to meet "the President and Representatives of the French-speaking population of Ruperts Land in Council" in the Court House at Fort Garry, on Tuesday Novr. 16th. The date of this summons was Nov. 6.³¹¹

As the day fixed for the Convention approached, the Canadian party addressed a communication to Hon. William McTavish Governor of the Colony of Assiniboia, demanding from him that he should deal with the "threatening position assumed by a portion of the French-speaking population towards the Crown in the person of Her Majesty's

³⁰² This list does not correspond with the list of French-speaking representatives who were to meet with representatives of the English-speaking parishes November 16, 1869. See, Morton, *op. cit.*, p. 166. It may be the list of a council formed at the time of the meetings October 15-19, 1869 and the organization of the Metis National Committee. See, *ibid*, p. 47. Many of the names appear in the list of representatives at the Conventions of November 16, 1869 and January 25, 1870. See *ibid*, pp. 166, 286. What specific identification of these individuals is possible has been made in, *ibid*, pp. 166, 167, 286, 287.

³⁰³ Pierre Leveille.

³⁰⁴ Magnus Birston

³⁰⁵ Franms Genton.

³⁰⁶ Ambroise Lepine.

³⁰⁷ Jean Baptiste Tourond.

³⁰⁸ Louis Lacerte.

³⁰⁹ Jean Baptiste Perrault.

³¹⁰ Andre Beauchemin.

³¹¹ The printed notice is in PAM; see also, Morton *op. cit.*, p. 164. Taylor has omitted St. James in his list.

representative, the future Governor of the Territory”: that he (McTavish) “as the representative of Her Majesty in the Territory” should circulate a full and correct exposition of the nature of the transfer of the Territory to the Dominion of Canada, and of the policy likely to be adopted by the Canadian authorities relative to the government of the Territory, and that he should warn the insurgents to lay down their arms and disperse to their homes.³¹²

On the 16th of November, Govr. McTavish issued a proclamation protesting with much particularity against the military occupation of the country: the interruption of the mails, the capture of the Hudson Bay Company’s posts and stores, and “unlawful proceedings to resist arrangements for the transfer of the Government of the Territory made under the sanction of the Imperial Parliament.” In conclusion, he exhorted all engaged in the revolt to disperse to their homes, and adopt only lawful and constitutional means for the redress of grievances.³¹³ The document indicates the full embarrassment of Govr. McTavish’s position. He was expected to vindicate the prospective authority of his Canadian successor, when legally he could not recognize any other than his own tenure of office, which, always weak, was now almost suspended by the anomalous situation of the settlement. His Proclamation was without effect, except to magnify the importance of the Convention, which assembled on the day of its date, and to which the attention of all classes was directed. The Scotch and English settlers had sent representatives. Mr. McDougall himself, though prevented from attendance in person, was in communication with the body, and a week passed in most earnest discussion, although the session of the Convention was not continuous. At length, a “list of rights” was unanimously adopted as the only conditions upon which the Canadian authority could be tolerated. An abstract of this paper, furnished to the St. Paul and Chicago press, is as follows: . . .³¹⁴

While there was unanimity in favor of the foregoing schedule, yet the Convention could not agree upon the requisite guaranty for the execution of its terms. The majority, led by Riel, demanded that Mr. McDougall should

³¹² This letter, dated November 12, 1869 is in *ibid*, p. 171 and CSP1870, *op. cit.*, p. 56.

³¹³ The Proclamation is in PAM; see also, Morton, *op. cit.*, p. 167; CSP, 1870, *op. cit.*

³¹⁴ The list included by Taylor corresponds with the list printed in, Morton, *op. cit.*, pp. 209-210 under the date December 5, 1869 and the printed document in, PAM, dated December 1, 1869 and issued December 4, 1869.

not be allowed to assume the office of Governor until the Canadian Parliament had fully ratified the demands of the Convention: while the Canadian partisans professed to be satisfied with the personal pledge of his influence in behalf of such ratification. Whether that pledge would have been given will remain uncertain, since the Convention, finding agreement on this vital point impossible, was soon dissolved.

DECLARATION OF THE PROVISIONAL GOVERNMENT

A formal declaration of independence of Canada followed the adjournment of the Convention. It recited the grievances already considered; claimed that the attempt by the Hudson Bay Company to transfer the territory was an abdication of their right to govern it; protested against the Canada legislation as an usurpation, and asserted that the people were justified in resuming the authority necessary to vindicate and maintain their rights. There was no other expression than of loyalty to Great Britain and a confidence that the English people would sympathise with their action. I assume that this document is in the possession of the Department and do not forward a newspaper.³¹⁵

PROCLAMATIONS BY MR. McDOUGALL

Mr. McDougall, during the month of November, had anticipated that an opportunity would offer to satisfy the people of Selkirk that his administration as Governor would be in all respects advantageous to them. The Canadian Act contemplated a Personal Government, at least until the close of the February (1870) session of Parliament; and I am satisfied that Mr. McDougall entertained very enlightened views in regard to the measures for the welfare and advancement of the Settlement. The people, however, justly desired some further guarantee, beyond the excellent intentions of any single individual, whatever his position: and such was the purpose of the Convention of November 16th. But Mr. McDougall could not consent to waive the assertion of

³¹⁵ Taylor is referring to the "Declaration of the People of Rupert's Land and the North West" dated December 8, 1869. See, PAM and Morton, *op. cit.*, pp. 219, 220. It was not a declaration of "independence" but a statement of grievances and a defence of the establishment of a Provisional Government. William McDougall also referred to it as the "Declaration of Independence." See, CSP, 1870, *op. cit.*, McDougall to Howe, December 16, 1869, p. 96.

his authority on the 1st of December, for the sake of submitting the action of the Red River delegates to the Ottawa authorities, although I have no doubt that if such a proposition had proceeded from him, it would have been accepted.

On the contrary, he crossed the frontier on the night of the 1st of December, and under cover of darkness and during the sojourn[sic] of a few minutes on British territory, issued two proclamations - one, formally assuming the office of Lieutenant Governor of the Northwest Territories, and another, appointing one John Stoughton Dennis as his Lieutenant and Conservator of the Peace in and for the Northwest Territories with authority "to raise, organize, arm, equip, and provision a sufficient force within the said Territories, and with the said force to attack, arrest, disarm or disperse" the insurgents, fully describing the latter Powers of impressment and confiscation to the fullest extent, and to appoint officers and deputies, were also added, with "authority to order all or any of the inhabitants of the said Northwest Territories" to support and assist military movements.³¹⁶ I assume that the United States Consul at Winnipeg has communicated this document, which led to great excitement and important results.

COL. DENNIS CAMPAIGN

On the 6th of December - five days after the promulgation of the above commission - Col. J. S. Dennis published it, adding a call on "all loyal men of the Northwest Territories to assist (him) by every means in their power to carry out the same and thereby restore public peace and order, and uphold the supremacy of the Queen."³¹⁷ It was attested at Stone Fort, Lower Settlement, and to this post, situated twenty miles north of Fort Garry, Col. Dennis succeeded in rallying about two hundred Swampie Indians, mostly half civilized occupants of a reservation in the vicinity. The Canadians, about sixty in number, were also assembled in arms at the residence of Dr. John Shultz in the town of Winnipeg; and it was soon announced that a body of Cree Indians and refugee Sioux, who had been driven from Minnesota for complicity in the massacre of 1862, were organized and moving, some six hundred strong, upon the settlements.

³¹⁶ These documents are in, PAM, dated December 1 and December 2, 1869. McDougall's Proclamation of December 2, 1869 is printed in Morton, *op. cit.*, pp. 221-222 and CSR 1870 *op. cit.*, pp. 71-72.

³¹⁷ The document is in PAM.

These proceedings united all parties, except the few Canadian officials and their dependents, against Mr. McDougall and in support of the Provisional Government. The "Liberators" responded in full force to the summons of Riel. Scotch, English and Americans joined in the public defence: the house of Shultz was surrounded and the Canadians captured: Dennis disbanded his garrison of Stone Fort and fled to Pembina, claiming, in his circuitous route along the western frontier,³¹⁸ to have dissuaded the Cree and Sioux bands from hostilities against the settlement: and, after a few days not unattended with hazard to himself and his party, Mr. McDougall left for Canada.

There is a very considerable body of evidence that the savages of the plains were incited by emissaries of Dennis to fall upon the settlements - an imputation which is thought to be confirmed by his influence over their movements during his flight to Pembina: but, on the other hand, Mr. McDougall protests that he had no knowledge of or agency in the instigation of such a warfare.³¹⁹

LATE INTELLIGENCE

Since the departure of Mr. McDougall on the 18th of December, the situation has not materially changed.

Rev. M. Thibault, a Catholic clergyman and Vicar General of Quebec, and Col. De Salaberry, formerly a member of the Dawson-Hindes party of exploration, sent by Canada to the Red River country, have passed to Fort Garry and are understood to be envoys of the Canadian Government to satisfy the inhabitants of Red River by all requisite concessions. They will probably invite and seek to accompany a deputation to visit Ottawa.

A more remarkable circumstance is the arrival of Mr. Donald Smith, sent by the Directors of the Hudson Bay Company to relieve Mr. Wm. McTavish whose first act was to recognise the Provincial [sic] Govern-

³¹⁸ Dennis' route was via Portage la Prairie. Morton, *op. cit.*, p. 229.

³¹⁹ There were constant rumours of Sioux movements during the winter of 1869-1870 and Americans were inclined to believe the Indians were being aroused by the McDougall party. See Morton *op. cit.*, pp. 204, 233. See also, USNA, Consular Reports, Malmros to State Department, December 24, 1869.

ment as the only legitimate authority.” Canada having declined, on hearing of Mr. McDougall’s repulse, to pay £300,000 until the possession of the Northwest Territories is assured, the Company claims a reversion of their chartered rights, and they choose to recognize President Bruce and his council. Doubtless they expect, on this ground, to receive full indemnity for the appropriation of the goods and funds of the Company for the use of the insurrection.

All of which points to a resolute effort to adjust the Red River complication on any terms. The idea of force seems to be definitely abandoned. Whether the Red River people will be proof against these and other influences, (in the absence of any effective encouragement by the United States),³²¹ is doubtful although a rumor prevails that a new journal, about to be established at Selkirk in the interest of the insurgents, will announce definitely that there can be no restoration of the authority of the Hudson Bay Company: that the hostility to incorporation with Canada is unappeasable: and that, until the way opens to peaceful union with the United States, the people will stand resolutely, on the ground of their successful struggle, as a Province of England demanding the protection of the British Constitution. . . .

Taylor, Washington, to Hamilton Fish, Secretary of State, January 20, 1870.³²²

In reply to so much of your communication of January 13, and its enclosures, as refers to the “attempted enlistment of men within the jurisdiction of the United States” by Mr. William McDougall and parties acting under his direction during his late residence at Pembina in the Territory of Dakota, I present the following statements.

I met Mr. McDougall at St. Paul in October on his way to the Red River Settlements. He was not unaware of the dissatisfaction

³²⁰ Taylor was not aware that Smith held a Commission from the Dominion Government and had been appointed to McDougall’s Council. CSP, 1870, *op. cit.*, p. 81. Smith denied reports that he recognized the Provisional Government. *Ibid.*, p. 79, Report of Donald A. Smith, April 12, 1870. His report is also in W. L. Morton (ed.) *Manitoba: The Birth of a Province*, Manitoba Record Society, 1965, pp. 25-45, and Oliver, *op. cit.*, pp. 919-936.³²¹ The bracketed portion was omitted in Senate Executive Document, No. 33.

³²² USNA, Special Agent State Department Papers.

among the French population, but supposed with the aid of his Secretary, Mr. Provencher (a relative of the first Catholic bishop at Red River and of a Lower Canadian French family) that he could readily satisfy the malcontents. On his way to Pembina he met Canadian merchants³ who expressed the opinion that a conference, with some gifts and promises, would remove all obstacles to his advance. I think for some time after his expulsion from the territory - although some of his staff were violent in their expressions - that Mr. McDougall expected confidently to secure a hearing from the French leaders, and that his exposition of his designs, with other appliances, would induce a reaction in his favor. A convention of the whole people was assembled at the call of the Provisional Government, the Scotch and English settlers sending twelve delegates to meet the French council of twelve. The whole tenor of discussion, before and during that convention, which continued from Nov. 16 to Nov. 24, was the bill of rights, which should be presented as the conditions of recognizing Canadian authority in the person of Govr. McDougall. I repeat the terms of this document, which was agreed to unanimously by the Convention³²⁴. . . .

I cannot suppose that these articles were acceptable to Mr. McDougall, but a division arose in the convention on the question of a sufficient guarantee for their execution. Louis Riel, and the French party insisted, that Mr. McDougall should not be suffered to enter the country until the "list of rights," it was called, should be ratified by act of the Canadian Parliament. At this point, the Convention was unable to agree, and the Provisional Government proclaimed Independence of Canada. Mr. McDougall, disappointed and irritated, prepared to assume the Government of the country. The first of December had been fixed by Act of the English Parliament, as the date of the transfer of the country to Canada, but as certain preliminary terms were required, all parties expected a Proclamation of the Queen, that these had been fully performed, and that the Act had taken effect. In fact, this Proclamation has never issued, Canada having declined to pay the sum of 9300,000 for the title of the Hudson Bay Company, on receiving the news of the repulse of Mr. McDougall at Pembina. Of this default, however, that gentleman was not aware, and doubtless supposed that the Queen's Proclamation had issued.

³²³ W. E. Sanford and James Turner of Hamilton who travelled with Joseph Howe when he visited Red River Settlement in August 1869. CSP, 1870, *op. cit.*. Sanford to Howe, November 18, 1869, pp. 15-16; Roy *op. cit.*, pp. 291-292.

³²⁴ See note 314 above.

On the night of the 1st of December he crossed the frontier and posted two proclamations, one assuming the office of Governor, and another appointing Col. Dennis, a Canadian gentleman who had been engaged during the previous summer in a survey of lands at Selkirk, his Deputy and Conservator of the Peace. As important results followed from the latter document, I repeat its text, as given in the St. Paul and Chicago newspapers. . . .³²⁵ Col. Dennis accompanied the circulation of the McDougall Proclamation (which was in manuscript) by the following supplement....³²⁶

I ask the attention of the Secretary to this transaction. Col. Dennis was especially obnoxious to the Selkirk people. In advance of all Canadian authority, he had appeared with his subordinates six months before and proceeded with mysterious hints to execute a survey of lands under instructions from the Crown Lands Department at Ottawa, of which Mr. McDougall had for a long time, and until very recently, been the Minister. A Mr. Charles Marr [sic]³²⁷, connected with him, had been so injudicious as to communicate to a Toronto paper some ribaldry in regard to the French Half Breed women - a reflection thrown without reserve upon the families of half the population - a most wanton and injurious imputation, as I have since been assured by Hon. Joseph Howe of Nova Scotia, now a member of the Canadian Government, who visited Selkirk in September last. Except for these occurrences - the unauthorized land survey,³²⁸ rousing apprehension of the security of titles, and a bit of idle tattle which was of a nature to be repeated under every roof of the Settlement, perhaps the intensity of passion might have been wanting in the revolutionary movement at Winnipeg.

Probably one hundred persons, all told, composed the Canadian Party of the Settlement. Most of them were connected with the location and

³²⁵ See note 316 above.

³²⁶ See note 317 above.

³²⁷ Charles Mair (1832-1927), journalist, poet, one of the founders of the Canada First Movement in 1868; came to Red River in the autumn of 1868 as accountant and paymaster on the road being built from Lake of the Woods to Fort Garry. His role in the Red River Disturbances and subsequent career in the North West Territories is dealt with in, Norman Shrive, *Charles Mair, Literary Nationalist*, Toronto, 1965.

³²⁸ J. S. Dennis, in charge of surveys, had been instructed to seek permission of the Hudson's Bay Company. He spoke to Mactavish and Bishop Tache of the intended work. G. F. G. Stanley, *Louis Riel*, Toronto, 1963, p. 57.

construction of a waggon road from Fort Garry to the Lake of the Woods, with a view to a communication by barge navigation for two hundred miles along the Minnesota frontier, and an eastern section of road to Thunder Bay on Lake Superior, which had also been greatly mismanaged during the summer of 1869. The unlucky pa-per, which vested all executive authority in Dennis, had no other effect than to limit the active support of Governor McDougall to an insignificant fraction of the people, and yet the whole purport of this warrant of attorney was the organization of hostilities against the Provisional Government. Thereupon, Col. Dennis proceeded to enlist two hundred Swampy Indians, many of whom are partially civilized, living on farms near Lake Winnipeg, and members of an Indian mission church. Lower Stone Fort, twenty miles from Fort Garry, was occupied by this Indian contingent: and simultaneously the Cree Indians, whose villages are near Portage La Prairie sixty [miles west of Fort] Garry, and a band of Sioux Indians, refugees from the Minnesota Indian massacre of 1862, who were in the vicinity of the Mouse river³²⁹ near the international boundary, manifested a hostile disposition. It is vehemently charged that these savages were instigated by Col. Dennis or his agents; and Col. Dennis has made a merit of the circumstance, that he dissuaded the Sioux Indians from continuing their march upon the settlements, when the overthrow of the Canadian cause was ascertained to be complete.

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The commission to his Lieutenant or Deputy, and the events which immediately followed, not only closed all negotiation in the interest of Mr. McDougall, but made it imprudent for him to remain at Pembina. The whole population rallied to the support of Riel: Col. Dennis disbanded his force at the Lower Stone Fort, and fled to Pembina, skirting the western frontier in disguise, and countermanding the movement of the Cree and Sioux bands: about sixty Canadians, who were under arms at Winnipeg, the town near Fort Garry, were made prisoners: the insurrection was entirely successful, and Mr. McDougall and most of his suite soon after returned to Canada.

While in St. Paul, Mr. McDougall denied with much emphasis, that he had favored the enlistment of Indians, except the Christianized Chippewas

³²⁹ The Souris River.

³³⁰ See, Consular Reports, Malmros to State Department, December 24, 1 869.

or the English and Scotch Half Breeds: and it is very probable that he was not cognizant of many of the acts of his representative in the Settlement. I do not determine the question, how far the unqualified terms of the commission to Dennis, made him responsible for all the acts of the latter....

Malmros, Winnipeg, to J. C. B. Davis, Acting Secretary of State, January 22, 1870. No. 24.³³¹

The agitation referred to in my last despatch to re-instate the Hudson Bay Co.'s government culminated on the 19th inst. The Pro-visional Government had become considerably weakened through the sudden defection of two of its most popular councillors,³³² sufficiently weakened as officers of the Company supposed to justify an attempt to overthrow it by force and to take President Riel prisoner.³³³

Threats to that effect were frequently expressed on the 19th inst. by the leaders of the crowd that assembled here on that day.

These threats however had the consequence of thoroughly uniting again all the adherents of the Provisional Government and, this union restored, the contemplated attack became clearly impracticable.

It was then proposed to hold a mass meeting to which motion no objection was raised. A full and correct report of the meeting and of the interesting papers there read is contained in the "New Nation" newspaper of the 21st inst., which, not having sufficient time to make a copy of the papers referred to, I transmit to the Department by to-day's mail.³³⁴

³³¹ USNA, Consular Reports.

³³² Charles Nolin and Pierre Leveille. Morton, *op. cit.*, pp. 239, 260; the New Nation, Letter of Pierre Leveille, May 27, 1870. Alexander Begg in his journal reported on January 13, 1870 that Nolin and Leveille attempted to gain support for a Crown Colony; on January 15, 1870 he referred to the divisions in the French Council. Morton, *op. cit.*, p. 260.

³³³ Begg stated on January 17, 1870 that Americans were planning to take Riel prisoner. *Ibid.*, p. 264.

³³⁴ This is the public meeting held at Fort Garry January 19, 1870 at which Donald A. Smith presented his credentials as a Commissioner of the Canadian Government and made known the purpose of his negotiations with the people of Red River Settlement. New Nation, January 21, 1870.

On the 20th inst. the authority and power of the Provisional Government were again generally acknowledged. On that day Gov. Mactavish of the Hudson Bay Co. & Dr. Cowan,³³⁵ one of the councillors of the former government, fearing for their own personal safety, applied to Mr. Riel for a guard of protection.

The convention to be held on the 25th inst., pursuant to resolution of the mass meeting, may result in proposing such terms of a union with the Dominion as the latter may be unable to accede to, although the members of the Provisional Government seem to be confident of their ability to carry more radical measures.

Becker, St. Paul, to Taylor, Washington, January 22, 1870.³³⁶

Your favor of the 15th has been read with great interest. I have great hopes from what you say that the Pembina grant will soon be secured. This cannot be done too quickly, and I hope that you and our other friends in Washington will keep this constantly in mind, that no opportunity may be lost.

Your present relation to the Government, and to many of the prominent men in and about the capitol is certainly favorable to the interest in hand. An early success is not only of great importance to this company,³³⁷ but I hope to make it useful to you. . . .

I say farther that if you can secure the passage of such a measure this session of Congress, that the Company is ready and willing to make any assureances [sic] to you, that you may require either of an interest in the work, or such provision for your family as may be reasonable and just upon which point I should be glad to take your views. . . .

³³⁵ Dr. William Cowan (1818-1902), came to Red River in 1849 with the Company of Pensioners who were to be stationed at Fort Garry; entered the Hudson's Bay Company service in 1856, became a Chief Trader in 1860; member of the Council of Assiniboia 1863-1870; in charge of Fort Garry when seized by the metis in November 1869.

³³⁶ MHS, Taylor Papers.

³³⁷ The St. Paul and Pacific Railroad.

Malmros, Winnipeg, to J. C. B. Davis, Acting Secretary of State, February 14, 1870. No. 25.³³⁸

The convention referred to in my despatch No. 24 after having adopted the Bill of Rights, of which I herewith enclose a copy,³³⁹ and after having re-constituted the Provisional Government, adjourned on the 11th inst.

The present Prov[isional]. Government has in fact been dictated by Mr. Riel and consists of himself as President, Thos. Bunn, Secr'y of State, Louis Schmidt Ass[istan]t Secr'y of State, Mr. O'Donahue [sic]³⁴⁰ Treasurer and a legislative council of 13 members presided over by the President, Mr. Riel. The Convention also elected a Chief justice in the person of Mr. James Ross.³⁴¹ All persons elected received the unanimous vote of the convention.

The Prov. Gov't is not however so strong as the unanimity by which it is elected would seem to indicate or as it might have been if Mr. Riel and his party had not provoked the hostility of the Chief Resident Officers of the Hudson Bay Co., and no doubt of the Company in London, by claiming for the people of the settlement the title to all unoccupied lands in the Territory.

If it was not for this position of extreme antagonism on the part of Mr. Riel and his followers to the interests of the company I think it highly probable that its influence might have been secured in favor of the Provisional Government and its ulterior object: independence. Aside from other reasons I believe this all the more as I have been credibly informed that at different times between the date of the surrender of the Canadian party December 7th 1869 and the end of that month, propositions were made to Riel on behalf of a majority of the english speaking population, who are friendly to the H. B. Co. for an active co-operation with the french party on the basis of inde-pendence and of receiving a fair share in the management of the Government, particularly insisting on placing Gov. Mactavish at the

³³⁸ USNA, Consular Reports.

³³⁹ The List of Rights as proposed with the debate on each item is in the *New Nation*, February 4, 11, 1870. See also W. L. Morton, *op. cit.*, pp. 291-294.

³⁴⁰ W. B. O'Donoghue came to the Red River Settlement in 1868; taught in St. Boniface College; an American annexationist and possibly a Fenian.

³⁴¹ James Ross (1835-1871), graduate of St. John's College, Red River Settlement, and the University of Toronto; editor and proprietor of the *Nor'Wester* 1860-1864; supporter of the movement to annex the North West Territories to Canada.

head of the Executive Department. These propositions were not acceded to by Mr. Riel, or at least he delayed their acceptance sometimes on one, sometimes on another pretense showing that he did not mean to accept them in good faith, and I suspect that one at least of the reasons for which Mr. Riel rejected those proposals was that he knew that the english part of the population would not sanction his opposition to the interests of the H. B. Co. in regard to unsettled lands in the Territory. It is not probable that, with the opposition of the H. B. Co., the Prov. Government will succeed in uniting the people to forcibly resist the Dominion, although such resistance is still contemplated, as the proposal to join the Dominion provided she accepts the Bill of Rights is not made in good faith. . . .

Taylor, Washington, to Hamilton Fish, Secretary of State, January 25, 1870.³⁴²

In reply to your note of January 13, enclosing a communication of the Consul of the United States at Winnipeg, I submit the following views of the probable policy of the Hudson Bay Company, on the question discussed between Govr. McTavish, and Gen. Malmros.

Hon. William McTavish is Chief Factor of the Hudson Bay Company at Fort Garry and Governor of the "Colony of Assinniboia", which is the official designation of Selkirk Settlement. He has occupied the latter position for twelve years under very difficult circumstances. It devolved upon him to conduct the business of the corporation at that central point of distribution to fifty interior stations scattered over a region as large as European Russia: and also to administer the local government of Selkirk, assisted by a Council of the inhabitants appointed by the Company on his nomination. He has found great embarrassment in combining these [tasks]. It often happened that the interest of the Company, and his own, was directly affected by his action as Governor and Chief Magistrate. He is a man of great integrity and discretion, but has not escaped censure, to which he is very sensitive.

I have known Gov. McTavish since 1859, and have observed that his aversion to Canada and Canadians has been constantly increasing.

³⁴² USNA, Special Agent State Department Papers.

The persistent agitation in the Canadian Parliament, and by the press of the Western Province, against the charter, organization and policy of the Hudson Bay Company, has annoyed him; but he has often said to me that its worst result has been to make turbulent citizens of all Canadians emigrating to Red River. One of them, especially - a Dr. John Schultz - has openly defied his authority on several occasions, and being a person of unusual talent and force of character, although represented to be entirely unscrupulous, he has made himself the centre of a Canadian party - small in numbers, but very active and violent. The only newspaper in the country, the "*Nor'Wester*", has been owned by Canadians, and has waged open and acrimonious war not only against the Company but against McTavish personally. I have no doubt that all the officers of the Hudson Bay Company in the Northwest have been embittered against political connexion with Canada by the same causes. As an independent English Colony, much more as a Territory of the United States, these men, by their culture, experience and habits of ascendancy over their dependents and the Indians, would be the leaders in all public affairs. They might be such under the Confederation: but Mr. McDougall's programme was evidently inspired by jealousy and hostility to the officers of the Hudson Bay Company. The latter were well aware of this, and have submitted to the insurrection against Canadian authority, rather than make any strenuous effort to resist it.

So much for the local feeling against Canada. Then it must be remembered, that the relations with the people of Minnesota have always been of the most satisfactory character. There has been no crusade against the Company at St. Paul. The press, recognizing its admirable police over the Indian tribes, and the perfect organization of its business, has always spoken of the Hudson Bay Company with courtesy and respect. The whole Northwest - not only the people of Selkirk, but the most remote trading stations on the Saskatchewan and the Mackenzie, have depended upon Minnesota routes for their mails: the trade of that immense interior, exceeding \$2,000,000 annually, has been almost entirely directed to the route,³⁴³ partly by waggons and partly by steamers on the Red River of the North, from St. Paul to Fort Garry: pleasant social relations have attended business intercourse; the rapid advance in wealth and population of the State of Minnesota has suggested the probabilities of a change as great

³⁴³ See note 17, March 29, 1860.

and beneficent, if the Red River country could be organized as a Territory of the United States: and I have long been aware that a strong feeling in favor of Annexation pervades the entire body of the Hudson Bay Company officials.*

The imagination of all classes at Red River is now excited by the prospect of Railroad extension from the South. The St. Paul and Pacific Railroad Company has completed financial arrangements in Holland by which their line will be constructed to Breckenridge, the head of navigation on the Red River of the North, by next July: and the Amsterdam correspondents of the Company are willing to advance eight millions of dollars on the basis of a Congressional grant of land for the extension of that road to Pembina - 200 miles north and within 70 miles of Fort Garry. This last section of seventy miles will also be constructed at once, if a similar basis of credit can be obtained. A bill is pending in Congress, making the usual land grant for this Pembina extension of the Minnesota railroad system, which, if enacted this winter, would be decisive for the political association of the Red River people.

But there is an additional reason for the dissatisfaction of the representatives of the Hudson Bay Company in the Northwest Territories with the recent attempt to transfer the country to Canada. That arrangement, and the action of the London shareholders of the company, is justly a subject of great complaint by the "Wintering Partners."

I proceed to explain. The shareholders of the Company in London are not the only persons who hold a beneficial interest in the profits of the Company's trade. There are resident in Rupert's Land a considerable number of "wintering partners," as they are usually called, who were altogether unrepresented at the meeting of the shareholders at the Hudson's Bay House, in March, 1869, when the terms offered by Lord Granville were accepted. The relation of these wintering partners (technically called "chief factors" and "chief traders") to the stockholders in England is of a somewhat peculiar character, being a special partnership in which one set of

* Prof. S. F. Baird of the Smithsonian Institution informs me, that one hundred boxes of collections in natural history, have been received, within the last three years, from the different posts of the Company.

partners contributes capital and another their labor, experience, or special knowledge. The wintering partners hold no stock and furnish no capital, but in return for their services in conducting the trade are entitled to two fifths of the aggregate profits of the business - each chief trader getting 1/85th of this aggregate and each chief factor 2/85ths. Their position in reference to the company is defined by a formal instrument termed a "deed poll" and the connection is one that cannot be summarily severed by the shareholders in England. Even after their retirement (which occurs at the age of fifty) the wintering partners retain an interest in the profits of the concern for a period of seven years, equal in amount to one half of their original shares.

The ground of complaint to which I have referred is, that the London stockholders refuse to assign any portion of the sum of £300,000, proposed to be paid by Canada to the Hudson Bay Company for the surrender of their territorial rights in Rupert's Land, to the Wintering Partners.

The legality of this proceeding is doubtful. The Hudson's Bay Company, besides their great staple of furs, trade, or in the course of their history have traded, in oil, in feathers, in fish, in timber, in tallow, in agricultural produce of all kinds, in copper, in gold, in land (at the Red River Settlement and possibly elsewhere) - in the profits of all which the wintering partners have participated. They are now selling land to Canada on a larger scale than they have ever done before, but they are not selling either their stock or plant, or any of the ordinary means of carrying on their trade, which will be conducted exactly as it was before, and possibly quite as profitably. They are simply selling a large extent of land, of which they neither make or can make any use for the purposes of their general business, and the whole transaction is simply a trading operation, differing in no respect, except in its magnitude, from other operations in which the Company have already engaged, and in the profits of which the wintering partners have always been admitted to share.

I am of the impression that no measures have been taken to rectify this act of injustice to an estimable class of men, whose faithful and laborious service has been vital to the commercial success of the Company.

An opinion prevails among parties interested in the Hudson Bay Company, both in England and on this continent, that the acquisition of the Northwestern Territories by the United States, while in no degree impairing the efficiency of the present organization for the prosecution of the fur trade, would be followed by a liberal indemnity in money for the one twentieth part of the lands in the "Fertile Belt", which are reserved to the Company by the terms of Lord Granville's settlement. I estimate the quantity of these lands at ten million acres, for which the stockholders would greatly prefer to receive one or two millions of dollars in United States bonds. Gen. Banks' proposition of 1866³⁴⁴ and Senator Ramsey's modified scheme of 1868,³⁴⁵ for the cession of British territory on this continent to the United States, provided for such an indemnity: and its benefits to the Company would be tangible and appreciable - in England even more than by the resident partners in Rupert's Land.

I propose to resume, at an early day the consideration of the question how far the interests of the Hudson Bay Company may facilitate such a political arrangement.

For the present, Canada has declined to pay the purchase money for the territory: the Hudson Bay Company sends its representative to Fort Garry, as if to assert again the jurisdiction of the charter of 1670, and the whole subject might readily be remanded to the domain of diplomacy.

Taylor, Washington, to Hamilton Fish, Secretary of State, February 16, 1870.³⁴⁶

When I last had the honor of a personal interview, I referred to a bill presented by Senator Ramsey of Minnesota granting lands to secure the *immediate* construction of a railroad from Breckenridge on the Red River of the North - the terminus of the St. Paul and

³⁴⁴ See USNA, *ibid*, Taylor to Cooper, November 23, 1867.

³⁴⁵ See MHS, Taylor Papers, Taylor to Treasury Department, November 13, 1868.

³⁴⁶ USNA, Special Agent State Department Papers.

Pacific Railroad - to Pembina on the international frontier: and I added that I desired to "forward that legislation."³⁴⁷

Having taken measures to be informed at Washington of events in Winnipeg and Canada, I have been of the opinion that I could be more useful to the Department during the months of January and February by a residence in this city, than elsewhere.

The Dominion Parliament assembled at Ottawa yesterday (15th inst). I shall receive full reports of the proceedings: and if I have reason to believe that I could advance the public service by attendance at Ottawa, I will advise you, and ask for instructions.

At present, I am strongly of the opinion that the provision for railroad extension to the Winnipeg frontier, as proposed by the Senate bill, is of great practical importance. The Company now constructing the line from St. Paul to the Red River valley, and to which the grant is proposed to be given, has assurances of ten millions of European capital for the purposes of an extension to Pembina: Senator Ramsey will assure you and the President, that every section of the distance of 180 miles would be immediately put under contract. 2000 laborers would be employed next summer, while the cars would connect St. Paul and Pembina by the close of 1871, perhaps sooner. The measure will thus be seen to have a political significance. I feel that I could not be employed more directly in the interest of the Government, and of the extension of American institutions in the Northwest, than by aiding the Senator of Minnesota in his efforts to secure the passage of this bill.

If it was passed now, and the word could reach Red River, it would exert a marked influence upon the deliberations of the Convention which was to assemble (and did assemble) on the 25th ult. Whenever passed, it will do more than all other agencies to determine the future relations of Northwest British America.

When Senator Ramsey addressed the Senate on the 1st inst., in support of a resolution asking the mediation of the United States in Red River affairs, Mr. Sumner made an ineffectual effort to obtain the

³⁴⁷ Ramsey introduced his resolution in the Senate on February 1, 1870. *Congressional Globe*, 41 Cong., 2 Sess., pp. 931-933; *the New Nation*, March 4, 1870. See also, Joint Resolution of the Minnesota Legislature in support of this legislation March 5, 1870, MHS, Taylor Papers.

floor, and has since assured the Minnesota senator that he intended to follow up his line of remark. I see obstacles to any direct intervention of the Government: but there can be no reasonable objection to the encouragement asked of the Railroad line through Northern Minnesota. The Committees on Foreign Relations and Military Affairs might well unite with the Committee on Public Lands, in urging such a measure. The Senate Committee on Public Lands will report in favor of Mr. Ramsey's bill on Friday next (18th), when there will be a vigorous effort to press the measure to an early vote.

The bill was drawn by me: I have aided in its progress so far: and I should be gratified if the Secretary of State could give his influence in favor of its passage.

Malmros, Winnipeg, to J. C. B. Davis, Acting Secretary of State, February 22, 1870. No. 26.³⁴⁸

On the 16th and 17th inst. events occurred which seemed to threaten civil war but finally ended without bloodshed and in strengthening the Provisional Government.

At the close of the late convention President Riel promised the immediate discharge of the rest of the prisoners taken December 7th 1869. The prisoners refusing to take the oath prescribed on the ground that, in their opinion, it bound them to take up arms, if required, against Canada and therefore remaining in confinement, their armed liberation was resolved upon in part of the Lower Settlement. On the 16th inst. there were collected for that purpose about 200 Swampy Indians, abundantly plied with whiskey by the notorious Dr. Shultz, about 160 english halfbreeds and 80 men from the Canadian Settlement and vicinity near Portage la Prairie on the Assiniboine River. The latter however deny having ever had the intention of attacking the forces of the Provisional Government alleging that they came to the Lower Settlement to take part in a mass meeting petitioning for the discharge of the prisoners. This armed force also notified Mr. Riel that they did not recognize the authority of the Provisional Government,

³⁴⁸ USNA, Consular Reports.

demanded at the same time a general amnesty and did not state under what government they proposed to live. There is no other government at present in the Territory claiming to exercise authority except Riel's Government.

On the evening of the 16th inst. the prisoners took, in a slightly modified shape, the oath required of them & were released, where-upon the Portage men resolved to return home. On their way to the Portage a detachment of 48 of them were taken prisoners most of whom will soon be released. The Swampy Indians have dispersed and Dr. Shultz has fled the Country & is now on his way to Canada. All the Parishes have given in their adhesion to the Riel Government and will elect members of the Council in a few days.³⁴⁹

Greatly exaggerated accounts of this affair have and will no doubt be published. The turn public affairs may take here in the future depends in a very great measure on the view Bishop Tache may take of them who has returned from Rome and is now in Canada.³⁵⁰ Sometime ago his vicar³⁵¹ here told me that the Bishop had written that he would not help Canada in the settlement of the difficulties here, but unless in his opinion the chances of forcibly resisting Canada or England are very good he may prefer to counsel compromise. The Bishop's advice in this respect to his parishioners, would I am convinced, be followed.

Taylor, Washington, to Hamilton Fish, Secretary of State, February 24, 1870.³⁵²

I lately forwarded the proceedings of Mass Meeting of the Red River people held at Fort Garry on the 19th and 20th January, before which appeared an envoy, Mr. Donald Smith, who presented the overtures of England and Canada for the adjustment of existing difficulties. The meeting, on motion of Mr. Louis Riel (who had become President of the Provisional

³⁴⁹ This is substantially the same account given by Alexander Begg. See, Morton, *op. cit.*, pp. 307-315; the *New Nation*, February 18, 1870. Schultz was not released. He escaped January 23, 1870. Morton, *op. cit.*, p. 281.

³⁵⁰ Tache returned to Red River March 9, 1870.

³⁵¹ Rev. J. M. Lestanc.

³⁵² USNA, Special Agent State Department Papers.

Government on the resignation of Mr. John Bruce) at length provided for the election of a Convention consisting of twenty representatives of the French population and an equal number of English delegates. Arrangements were immediately made for the apportionment and election of the members. The Convention assembled on the 25th of January, and subsequent days, and after an animated discussion, resolved to present to Canada a bill of rights, as conditions precedent to union with the Dominion. A Committee of six was appointed to draft such a fundamental instrument.

I now enclose a summary of the debate and proceedings of the Convention upon the Report of the Select Committee.³⁵³

News received at St. Paul from Pembina to Feb. 7 is that the Bill of Rights has been adopted.

Further intelligence, to Feb. 10, mentions the arrest and imprisonment of Governor McTavish and another officer of the Hudson Bay Company, on a charge of "tampering with the members of the Provisional Council in order to defeat the final adoption of the bill of rights": that the Postmaster at Winnipeg, having threatened to raise a force and liberate Mr. McTavish was also placed in confinement:³⁵⁴ and that great excitement prevails, with a prospect of "serious trouble" on account of Canadian attempts "to corrupt the representatives of the people."

Notwithstanding the recognition of the Provisional Government by Mr. Donald Smith, who bore credentials from Earl Granville, Colonial Secretary of England, and from Sir John Young, Governor General of Canada, as well as from the Directory of the Hudson Bay Company,³⁵⁵ and the deliberate negotiation lately in progress, on his invitation, I observe that active preparations for a military expedition in May are announced. I invite the attention of the Secretary of State to the following telegrams from Canada published this morning:³⁵⁶

Toronto, February 23 - The *Daily Telegraph*, of to-day, says it has the most reliable authority for stating that a dispatch

³⁵³ See, the *New Nation*, February 4, 11, 1870.

³⁵⁴ A. G. B. Bannatyne was made a prisoner February 6, 1870. Morton, *op. cit.*, p. 298.

³⁵⁵ See note 320, January 20, 1870; note 420, May 24, 1870, 356 Newspaper clipping.

has been received from the Imperial Government, recommending that the money for the purchase of the northwest Territory be paid over to the Hudson Bay Company, and a military force, consisting of a battery of artillery and the Royal Canadian rifles, be sent into the Territory in May, and proceed by way of Lake Superior. ³⁵⁷ Also that the American authorities were asked to allow the troops to pass through their territory, and refused. ³⁵⁸ The cost of sending the troops out are [sic] to be borne by the Imperial Government.

Ottawa, February 23 - In the Dominion Parliament an address in reply to the Governor General's speech, which has been debated four nights, was agreed to without division.

General Lindsay ³⁵⁹ has been appointed commander of the forces of the British North America.

If the alternative to the reasonable demands of the Red River People is such a campaign, as is above indicated, I submit that the resolution of Senator Ramsey, proposing the mediation of this Government, desires the immediate consideration of the Senate Committee on Foreign Relations, and which, I doubt not, it will receive from the State Department. ³⁶⁰

I am, very respectfully, etc.
James W. Taylor

P.S. The only copy of the New Nation of Feb. 4, containing the full debates of the Red River Convention on the Bill of Rights, which has been received in this city (to my knowledge), is in the possession of Senator Ramsey, and will be forwarded to the State Department soon.

T.

³⁵⁷ In January, the Canadian Government asked S. J. Dawson, Superintendent of the Lake Superior section of the Red River Road, to report on the construction of tramways over the portages between Lake Superior and Lake of the Woods so as to admit the passage of horses and wagons by May 1st, the opening of navigation on Lake Superior. Plans for sending a military expedition were then underway. CSP, 1870, *op. cit.*, pp. 64-66.

³⁵⁸ In November, Hamilton Fish, Secretary of State, had expected a request would be made for permission to send troops over United States Territory. LC, Hamilton Fish Diary, November 23, 1869. He later intimated to Sir Edward Thornton, the British Ambassador in Washington, that if a request were made it would be refused. Aid, April 1, 1870.

³⁵⁹ Lieutenant-General Sir James Lindsay (1815-1874) appointed Commander of the British forces in Canada to succeed Sir Charles Windham who had died early in February.

³⁶⁰ See February 16, 1870.

Malmros, Winnipeg, to J. C. B. Davis, Acting Secretary of State, March 12, 1870. No. 29.³⁶¹

Monseigneur Tache, the Catholic Bishop of this Colony arrived here from Ottawa on the 9th inst. and immediately on his arrival was by the Prov[isional]. Government placed under guard in his own palace. No person except on a pass issued by the Prov[isional]. Gov't is allowed access to his Lordship. Yet knowing the almost absolute power of the Bishop over the Catholics, the real active supporters of Riel's government, I can not help believing that the Bishop does not find it too inconvenient being placed under guard and that he has no great difficulty in seeing all persons that he really cares to see. The Bishop may find it expedient to impress the outside public with the belief that his influence with the insurrectionists is not as great as generally supposed. From a conversation I have just had with the Bishop I have received the impression that in view of the actual strength of the revolutionary party in the settlement he thinks it best that the bill of rights adopted by the late convention should be submitted to the Ottawa Government in good faith, while the secret plan of the Prov[isional]. Government was to make new demands and raise new objections to a union with Canada even after that bill had been granted. In case the bill of rights should not be acceded [sic] to by Canada the Bishop may I think, unless the prospects of the revolutionary party should unexpectedly soon improve, incline to the erection by the people of a provincial government with a view as such to claim admission in the Canadian Confederation. The Bishop's wishes in this respect may in my opinion be considered equivalent. The Prov[isional]. Gov't has given another evidence of hostility to the Hudson Bay Co. by taking a t Ft. Garry into the Governm'ts custody £35,000 St[e]r[lin]g worth of furs belonging to the company. These goods are held as a kind of security for the good conduct of the company and also I presume to force the company into loans of money to the Governm'ts.³⁶² As the Company continues to be rather popular this act of the Prov. Governm't has not strengthened the latter in public opinion.

The article in the "New Nation" newspaper of the 4th inst. headed "The winterers joining the movement" is so far without any foundation

³⁶¹ USNA, Consular Reports.

³⁶² On March 1, 1870 Riel was reported to have opened the Company's warehouse and counted the furs. On March 3rd it was stated the French were taking the Company's goods away "by the bale." Morton, *op. cit.*, pp. 325-327.

in fact, no such news have [sic] arrived by the Northern Packet of the 25th ult. Governor Mactavish has received by the Packet letters from all the posts of the company in the regions referred to in that article & none of the letters mention [sic] that such a movement was even expected.

I beg the Departm[en]t to instruct me whether in my official intercourse with the officers of the so-called Provisional Gov't I shall recognize them as de facto officers or not.³⁶³

Malmros, Winnipeg, to J. C. B. Davis, Acting Secretary of State, March 16, 1870.³⁶⁴

I herewith respectfully apply for a leave of absence from my post of duty for the period of 2 months.

The reasons which induce me to make this request are of a two-fold nature, first to enable me to confer verbally and in person in regard to the present complication of affairs in the Hudson Bay Territory, and secondly to attend to important private business in the United States which does not admit of delay.³⁶⁵ I shall feel under great obligations to the Department in case the latter should deem it consistent with the interests of the public service to grant my request.

³⁶³ The State Department replied that as to recognizing the Provisional Government, in his official intercourse Malmros was to continue to maintain the same attitude as hitherto borne. USNA, Despatches of the Secretary of State, Despatches to Consuls. Vol. 58, p. 127, J. C. B. Davis to Malmros, April 8, 1870. A copy of this despatch is in, MHS, Taylor Papers.

³⁶⁴ USNA, Consular Reports.

³⁶⁵ The reasons were quite different, as Malmros wrote to Senator Ramsey. He left Fort Garry hurriedly when statements in his despatches were published in the Senate Executive Documents and made his position "untenable." See, September 11, 1869. Leave of absence was granted. See State Department to Malmros, April 11, 1870, copy in MHS, Taylor Papers.

H. M. Robinson, Vice-Consul, Winnipeg, to J. C. B. Davis, Assistant Secretary of State, April 2, 1870. No. 32.³⁶⁶

I have to report the arrest and imprisonment upon March 31st of Messrs. R. C. Burdick³⁶⁷ and H. S. Donaldson,³⁶⁸ United States citizens, upon the order of Mr. Riel, President of the Provisional Government.

Upon being placed in confinement they immediately demanded of Mr. Lepine³⁶⁹ - Ad'j't Gen'l of the Provisional Government - the reasons of their arrest, and also to be at once placed upon trial for any alleged misdemeanor [sic] or infraction of the laws of the Provisional Government. After being confined some hours, without trial, or explanation vouchsafed, they were informed that before their liberty would be granted them, they would be compelled to take the following oath, which they did under protest.

"I, A.B. do solemnly swear to respect the Provisional Government, and not to disturb the public peace, order or tranquillity."

They were then at once released.

I have further to report my own arrest upon April 1st., by the order of W. B. O'Donoghue, Secretary of the Treasury of the Provisional Government. After some hours confinement, no reason being given for my arrest, I was released.

No charges having been made in any of the above mentioned cases, the arrests appear to have been made merely as a show of power, some talk having arisen concerning the escape of United States citizens from arrest thus far.

I have also to report a raid of one hundred & twenty five Sioux Indians,

³⁶⁶ USNA, Consular Reports.

³⁶⁷ Richard C. Burdick (1834-1902), Representative in the Minnesota Territorial Legislature 1855; an American employed by the Hudson's Bay Company; arrested with H. S. Donaldson by Riel March 29, released the same day. Morton, *op. cit.*, p. 346.

³⁶⁸ H. S. Donaldson, an American, came to Fort Garry as agent for Norman W. Kittson's transportation line in 1865; an annexationist; see note 367 above.

³⁶⁹ Ambrose Dydime Lepine (1840-1923); presided at the court martial which condemned Thomas Scott in March 1870; arrested and tried in 1873-1874 for complicity in the execution of Scott, sentenced to death; sentence commuted to two years imprisonment and loss of civil rights.

made in the early part of last week, for the avowed purpose of killing the United States citizens in the Town of Winnipeg.³⁷⁰ They were met however by Mgr. Tache, Bishop of St. Boniface, at Lanes Fort,³⁷¹ distant some twenty four miles from this place, and persuaded to return to their encampment at Portage la Prairie.

Some trouble may arise with the Sioux in the spring, should they come into collision - as is probable - with the Red Lake Chippewas on their annual visit to Fort Garry during May, in which event they would undoubtedly retaliate upon the United States citizens resident in this Settlement.

A military force stationed at Pembina and St. Joseph, D. T. sufficiently strong to prevent the Chippewas from crossing the line, would contribute materially to lessen the danger, and also exercise a salutary influence for the prevention of arrests, and general safety of citizens in this Territory.³⁷²

H. M. Robinson, Vice Consul, Winnipeg, to J. C. B. Davis, Assistant Secretary of State, April 4, 1870. No. 33.³⁷³

... I have the honor to submit for your consideration an enclosure, being a copy of the conditions upon which the Hudson Bay Company will be permitted to resume business in this district, by the Provisional Government.³⁷⁴

The Company have for some time past been striving to regain possession of Upper Fort Garry, and the conditions upon which they can now do so are very much modified from those first demanded. This has been effected by Bishop Tache, virtually, although not in name, the Government of the country.

³⁷⁰ See, Morton, *op cit.*, p. 347; the *New Nation*, April 8, 1870.

³⁷¹ Hudson's Bay Company post west of the present St. Francois Xavier, Man.

³⁷² Extracts of this despatch were forwarded to the Secretary of War on May 9, 1870. USNA, Despatches of the Secretary of State, *op. cit.*, p. 208.

³⁷³ USNA, Consular Reports.

³⁷⁴ The letter of Louis Riel to William Mactavish dated March 28, 1870, out-lining the conditions is in the *New Nation*, April 2, 1870.

I have received reliable information that Governor McTavish in the name of the Hudson Bay Company will accept the offered terms.³⁷⁵

The political agitation which has kept this Settlement in turmoil during the past winter, has almost entirely disappeared; partly owing to the influence of Bishop Tache, and partly to the majority of the people being willing to submit to any line of action the Provisional Government may take for the present, trusting that the advent of troops may restore the old order of affairs, and release them from the state of anarchy they are now in.

Enclosure: Copy of letter from Louis Riel to William McTavish Governor of the Hudson Bay Company in the North West

In reference to our interviews regarding the affairs of the Hudson Bay Company in this country, I have the honor to assure you that my great desire is to open as soon as possible, in the interest of the people, free and undisturbed, the commerce of the country.

The people in rallying themselves to the Provisional Government with unanimity prescribes to such of us our respective conduct. The Provisional Government established upon the principles of justice and reason, will fulfill its work.

By the action of the Hudson Bay Company, its commercial interests may be saved to a certain extent; but that is entirely for your consideration, and depends upon the Company itself. I have had the honor to tell you that arrangements were possible, and the following are the conditions.

1st. That the whole of the Company in the North West shall recognise the Provisional Government.

2nd. That you, in the name of the Hudson Bay Company, do agree to loan the Provisional Government, the sum of three thousand pounds sterling.

3rd. That on demand by the Provisional Government, in case arrangements with Canada should be opposed, you do guarantee a supplement of two thousand pounds sterling to the above mentioned sum.

³⁷⁵ Mactavish accepted the terms referring to the loan of money and the Company resumed business. Morton, *op. cit.*, pp. 124, 354.

4th. That there shall be granted by the Hudson Bay Company, for the support of the present military force, goods and provisions to the value of four thousand pounds sterling at current prices.

5th. That the Hudson Bay Company do immediately put into circulation their bills.

6th. That the Provisional Government shall also retain an additional specified quantity of goods in the store of the Hudson Bay Company. In accepting the above conditions, the Hudson Bay Company will be allowed to resume its business, under the protection of the Pro-visional Government.

Fort Garry will be open, but in the meanwhile, it being the seat of Government, a small guard of fifty men will be retained. Only the buildings now occupied by the Government will be reserved for Government purposes.

Such, Sir, are the conditions which the situation imposes upon us. I have a duty to perform from which I shall not retreat. I am aware that you fully possess the knowledge of your duty, and I trust that your decision will be favorable.

Allow me here to express my deep feeling of sympathy for you in your continued illness, and to sincerely trust that your health may be speedily restored.

Becker, St. Paul, to Taylor, Washington, April 7, 1870³⁷⁶

Col. Rankin³⁷⁷ who lives at Windsor, Canada, and who passed through here in February on his way to Fort Garry, returned to St. Paul yesterday. I have had a call from him this morning. I do not wish to make public what he told me, but send it to you in confidence. He says that Riel is the instrument of the priests: that Bishop Tache on his return was put under guard by Riel: Rankin says that this was done by the Bishop's connivance, that he might be able to report to the Canadian Government that the affair had reached such

³⁷⁶ MHS, Taylor Papers.

³⁷⁷ Colonel Arthur Rankin, MP for Essex 1854-1856, 1858-1862; expelled by Riel from the Settlement. Morton, *op. cit.*, p. 323n.

proportions that he could not control it. Rankin came down with two of Riel's commissioners: he thinks they dare not go to Canada direct: that they will go to Buffalo and perhaps to Ogdensburgh [sic] and wait for assurances from the Canadian Government of safety. Rankin further says that he does not think Riel can sustain himself long: he has all the Hudson's Bay Company's furs: thinks he will sell them, fill his pocket and make off. Rankin says further that the ultimate fate of that region is annexation to the United States: says that if the Government of Canada does not take a liberal and just view of the situation he shall go to Washington and endeavor to arrange for an American emigration over the border which will settle the whole question peacefully.

He bears a petition to the Canadian Parliament circulated secretly in Red River, signed by about twenty leading men asking for a charter and a land grant from the Boundary line in Red River valley to the Pacific: proposing, in so many words to avail themselves of our Minnesota system of railways for an Eastern outlet: says he was compelled to secrete this petition in a sack of flour to get it through Riel's lines: thinks Riel would not allow a petition to be addressed to Parliament.

Rankin goes direct to Canada: to Ottawa to get such a charter: thinks it doubtful whether he gets it this session but will try hard: intends to put four Canadians and three Americans in as provisional Directors: asks me to be one to which I assented and have written him a letter in favor of the general subject....

Taylor, Washington, to Hamilton Fish, Secretary of State, April 11, 1879.
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A dispatch from Ottawa, of April 9 announces that the Government of Canada has determined to receive Rev. Mr. Richot [sic]³⁷⁹ and

³⁷⁸ USNA, Special Agent State Department Papers; see also, MHS, Taylor Papers.

³⁷⁹ Rev. Noel-Joseph Ritchot(18?5-1905), came to the north west in 1862, founded a mission at Qu'Appelle, became parish priest at St. Norbert in 1865 where he remained till his death, a sympathizer with the *metis* cause in 1869-1870 and a confidant of their leaders, appointed delegate to Canada February 10, 1870. His account, in French, of his visit to Ottawa was published in *La Revue d'Histoire de l'Amerique Francaise*, Vol. 17, No. 4, March 1964, pp. 540-564; the English version is in Morton, *Manitoba: Birth of a Province*, pp. 131-160.

Mr. Alfred H. Scott³⁸⁰ as delegates from Red River, and will make propositions based on the Bill of Rights lately adopted by the Convention of the Winnipeg people.

A large public meeting held at Toronto on the 6th of April adopted a resolution denouncing the reception of these delegates, both of whom are known to be warm supporters of President Louis Riel, on account of the recent military execution of a Canadian, Thomas Scott,³⁸¹ who is charged with having violated his parole not to bear arms against the Provisional Government, and who was taken prisoner in the recent attempt of Major Boulton³⁸² and the Canadian party to depose Riel. Great excitement prevails in Canada in regard to this event: it is denounced by the press and public assemblies as a wanton murder: and an opposition member of Parliament on the 6th inst.³⁸³ called on the head of the Government, Sir J. A. Macdonald, to repulse the Red River deputation. In reply, the Premier referred to the facts, that the Convention which accredits Messrs. Richot and Scott was called and elected, at the instance of the Canadian Commissioner, Mr. Donald Smith: that its proceedings were deliberate, and the Bill of Rights adopted was entitled to respectful consideration. It is probable that the Home Government has insisted upon this course as a condition precedent to preparations for the dispatch of a military expedition to Red River.

On the 16th of February, Hon. Joseph Howe, Secretary of State for the Provinces, addressed Mgr. Tache, Bishop of St. Boniface, asking for his interposition in the adjustment of Red River affairs, and referred to the Convention then sitting at Fort Garry to collect the views of the people as to the powers of a Local Legislature. Bishop Tache was assured that the

³⁸⁰ Alfred H. Scott, reputed annexationist, representative of the American party, appointed delegate to Canada February 10, 1870; he was said to be an American but denied this saying he had been born in London, Eng. and was a British subject. Alexander Begg, *The Creation of Manitoba*, Toronto, 1871, pp. 320-321.

³⁸¹ Thomas Scott (1844-1870), a Canadian employed on the Lake of the Woods - Fort Garry Road, arrested February 17, 1870, executed March 4, 1870.

³⁸² Charles Arkoll Boulton (1841-1899), came to the Red River Settlement in July 1869 with the Dennis survey party, imprisoned by Riel, condemned to death, later released, organized a corps known as Boulton's Scouts during the North West Rebellion 1885; appointed to the Senate 1899; author of, *Reminiscences of the North West Rebellions*, 1886.

³⁸³ John Hillyard Cameron, a Conservative MP (Peel), spoke against receiving the delegates and was supported by Alexander Mackenzie, the Liberal opposition leader.

proceedings of that Conference would be considered by the Privy Council, and meanwhile he was invited to communicate his own opinions.³⁸⁴ On arrival at St. Paul, the Bill of Rights, was received by the Bishop, and his approval of its terms was forwarded, as I am credibly informed, to the Ottawa authorities. In reply, Hon. Joseph Howe telegraphed the Government's acquiescence in its leading provisions.³⁸⁵ With this assurance, Mgr. Tache continued his journey to Red River.

Then followed the news of the execution of Scott, and for some days it seemed unlikely that the Ottawa administration could withstand the public clamor against the reception of the Red River deputation, who were denounced as "Riel's ambassadors." But the Ministry have assumed the risk of their reception, and openly announce a purpose to make the Bill of Rights a basis of negotiation.

I therefore enclose the full proceedings of the Convention which passed that instrument, and proceed to repeat its articles with some intermediate comments. . . .³⁸⁶

The Convention declined to adopt a proposition that "the military force required in the country should be composed of natives of the country during four years." Another article "that all bargains with the Hudson Bay Company for the transfer of the Territory be considered null and void" - referring to the late negotiations at London with the Hudson Bay Company for a cession to Canada - was lost after an animated discussion. In these instances the majority decided adversely to the views and wishes of Riel.

Towards the close of the proceedings, the Canadian envoy, Mr. Donald Smith "on the part of the Dominion Government, and as authorized by them, invited a delegation of the residents of Red River to a conference at Ottawa," assuring them of a very cordial reception. Judge Black,³⁸⁷ Rev. Mr. Richot and Mr. Alfred H. Scott were accordingly appointed such

³⁸⁴ The letter is published in CSP, 1870, *op. cit.*, pp. 128-129; see also Canada, House of Commons, *Report of the Select Committee* . . . 1874, Tache deposition, p. 17.

³⁸⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 20.

³⁸⁶ See, the *New Nation*, February 11, 1870; Morton, Begg's journal pp. 291-295, 515-519; Begg, *op. cit.*, pp. 325-329. See, Enclosure.

³⁸⁷ John Black (1817-1879), came to the Red River Settlement in 1839 as a legal adviser, entered the service of the Hudson's Bay Company, became a Chief Trader; Recorder of Rupert's hand 1862-1870; one of the delegates from the Provisional Government.

delegation, and the two gentlemen last named are now en route for Canada.

The last act of the Convention was to provide for the election of a Legislative Assembly, consisting of twelve representatives of the French parishes and an equal number from the Scotch and English districts, and to inaugurate a Civil Government in lieu of the military regime of November. The latter consisted of Louis Riel, President, James Ross, Chief Justice, Thomas Bunn,³⁸⁸ Secretary of State, Louis Schmidt, Assistant Secretary of State, and W. B. O'Donoghue, Secretary of the Treasury.³⁸⁹ With the suppression of a second attempt at counter-revolution, led by Maj. Boulton, the authority of the new government was fully established.

Among the prisoners on the recent occasion, several were condemned to death by court martial, all of whom with the exception of Thomas Scott, were respited. The theory of the anti-ministerial press of Canada for the execution of Scott is, that Riel was willing to raise a wall of separation from Canada, and anticipated that the popular excitement in Canada, thence resulting, would not allow the government of the day to receive the Red River embassy or accept the terms prescribed by the Convention of February. It remains to be determined, whether the action of the ministry, now announced, will precipitate a parliamentary crisis.

No other course would appear to be consistent with the antecedents of the present Canadian administration upon the situation at Red River. By a communication from the Secretary of State for the Provinces, dated [December 24, 1869]’y° and herewith enclosed, the action of Mr. McDougall in assuming the office of Lieutenant Governor, was emphatically disavowed: by the omission to pay ^300,000 in Lon-don, Canada forfeited the succession to the title of the Hudson Bay Company, which remained in full force within the limits of the charter: there is a considerable mass of evidence that the officers of that company, if not explicitly recognizing the Provisional Government, have so far acquiesced in its control of the country, as to give it a well defined authority: while Canada by the

³⁸⁸Thomas Bunn (c1830-1875), member of the Council of Assiniboia; chairman of the public meeting at Fort Garry January 19, 1870 when Donald A. Smith presented his credentials; appointed Secretary of State in the Provisional Government February 10, 1870; later MLA, St. Clement’s.

³⁸⁹See, the *New Nation*, February 11, 1870.

³⁹° CSP, 1870 *op. cit.*, pp. 83-86.

appointment of three successive agencies of negotiation - the commission of [December 4, 1869]³⁹¹ to Messrs. Thibault and De Salaberry; that of [December 10, 1869]³⁹² to Mr. Donald Smith; and a third to Mgr. Tache³⁹³ of St. Boniface - cannot, without a gross breach of faith, now draw back from a Conference with the accredited delegates of the Red River people. I regard these overtures of the Canadian Government as of so much importance that I enclose them in connection with the record of the Convention, which might not otherwise have been held, and which was largely influenced by their tenor.

Upon the action of Canada in response to the charter demanded for their rights and interests by the people of Red River Settlement, consequences of the gravest character will depend.

I am,
Very respectfully, etc.
James W. Taylor

POSTSCRIPT

Since the above was written, I have information from St. Paul that judge Black is on his way to Ottawa.

His colleagues, Richot and Scott, precede him, and at this date have passed via Buffalo to Ogdensburg, where they will await assurances from the Government of safety on Canadian soil.

This precaution was wise, for as the party of Dr. Schultz left Toronto on the 8th inst. for Ottawa, an improvised meeting at the station adopted a resolution "that no minion of the murderer Riel, no representative of a conspiracy which concentrates in itself every thing a Briton detests, shall be allowed to pass this platform (if he gets so far) to lay insulting proposals at the foot of a throne which knows how to protect its subjects and has the means and never lacks the will to do it."

³⁹¹ *Ibid*, pp. 45-46.

³⁹² *Ibid*, p. 48; Smith was appointed to McDougall's Council December 17, 1869, *ibid.*, p. 81.

³⁹³ *Ibid*, pp. 128-129.

A large public meeting was held at Montreal on the 7th inst., which is reported to have “howled at the idea of the Canadian Government receiving otherwise than as petitioners those parties now on their way from Red River to Ottawa, who should not for a moment be recognized as holding any official position.”

In addition to the papers bearing on the negotiation between the Canadian Commissioners and the Red River Convention, I deem it pertinent to the present situation to enclose all the published statements in my possession, in regard to the execution of Scott: (2) the parliamentary debate at Ottawa on the 7th inst: (3) the comments of the Toronto Globe of April 8: and (4) the material contents of the Winnipeg New Nation of March 11.

J. W. T.

Taylor, Washington, to Hamilton Fish, Secretary of State, April 18, 1870³⁹⁴

I enclose extracts from the Canadian press, which exhibit the progress of the Red River complication.

The excitement in Ontario or Canada West upon the execution of Scott at Fort Garry, continues to be expressed by public meetings. Even at Kingston, the residence of Sir J. A. Macdonald, a resolution was carried on the 12th inst., “that in the opinion of the meeting, the blood of the murdered Scott rests, to a great extent, upon the head of the present government, and more especially upon the heads of two of its members, viz. Joseph Howe and John A. Macdonald, who have been the most prominent actors in the Red River bungling.”

I append the full proceedings of the meetings at Toronto and Montreal to indicate the tenor of similar assemblages in other parts of Ontario.

The bitter spirit manifested at the second Toronto meeting toward the Catholic clergy produces reaction in Quebec or Lower Canada. The following is from a Quebec despatch of April 13 to the Toronto Globe.

³⁹⁴ USNA, Special Agent State Department Papers.

Le Journal, Cauchon's³⁹⁵ organ, characterizes the Toronto indignation meeting, in relation to events at Red River, as an assemblage of Orange fanatics brought together not so much to deprecate poor Scott's murder as to give free vent to their bad passions and irritation - if possible to cause a war of extermination against the French race in the North-West.

Another French paper, *Le Canadien*, publishes a gross and unprovoked insult to the British people of Canada, in the shape of a blasphemous string of doggerel verses in praise of the scoundrel Riel, written it is said by an employee of the Local government.³⁹⁶

Judge Black has joined his colleagues of the Red River deputation, Richot and Scott, at Ottawa. As he passed through Toronto he is reported to have expressed himself to a correspondent of the Toronto Globe in the following guarded manner.

The delegation, of which he is a member, left Fort Garry on the 24th of March. The departure of the delegation seemed to have a tranquillizing effect on the people, as they were in hopes that they would be enabled to make a peaceable adjustment of the difficulty with the Canadian Government. Upon Bishop Tache's arrival, he lent his energies to the release of the prisoners at the Fort, and the result of his efforts was the release of one half of them. Subsequently the remainder of the prisoners were released in twos and threes, until the day before the leaving of the delegation the last of the prisoners were released. Their release was brought about by various influences. The judge himself did everything in his power to obtain the release of the prisoners, and he understands that the condition of their release was strict neutrality. It was felt by all that the fact that no prisoners were held in dungeon would strengthen the hands of the delegation at Ottawa.³⁹⁷

³⁹⁵ Joseph Edouard Cauchon (1816-1885), journalist and politician, Commissioner of Crown Lands 1855-1857, Commissioner of Public Works 1861-1862, Speaker of the Senate 1867-1872, Lieutenant-Governor of Manitoba 1877-1882; editor of *Le Canadien* 1841-1842, founder of the *Journal de Quebec* in 1843 and editor until 1874.

³⁹⁶ Newspaper clipping.

³⁹⁷ Newspaper clipping.

With reference to Scott's execution, he stated that he knew or heard nothing about it until the act had been committed. The judge regrets that the action now being taken by our Government was not taken at the beginning of the trouble, as such action would undoubtedly have prevented the whole difficulty.

The whole population of the country, half-breeds included, are entirely opposed to Annexation, and none are [sic] more strongly of this mind than the half-breeds themselves.

To his mind it is a matter of the utmost importance that Canada should come into peaceable possession of the country, and he thinks no stone should be left unturned to gain this end. With this point in view, at the eleventh hour, he had consented to form part of the delegation.

Regarding the Bill of Rights, he refused to give further information than that it was not the original Bill of Rights agreed to at the Convention, but one concocted by Riel and his party, after the arrival of Bishop Tache. As to a Clergy Reserve principle contained in it, there was nothing *direct* on this point.

Father Richot and A. H. Scott were subjected to arrest at Ottawa on a charge of being accessory to the murder of Scott. The administration is embarrassed by the popular clamor, which denounces any recognition of the representatives of Riel's government, although there seems no alternative but to receive them after the arrival of judge Black - the credentials of the three delegates being identical. Meanwhile the views of Father Richot are thus reported by a correspondent of the *Toronto Leader*.

A friend of Father Richot called on him to-day and obtained his views respecting the state of affairs in the Red River Territory. He is very confident in his assertion that the people, French as well as English, with the exception of a few American traders who wanted to bring about annexation to the United States, were in favour of union with Canada, but they wanted to be admitted with all their rights guaranteed and on the same footing as the other Provinces, and not bought and sold like the public lands.

Riel also, he says, is well disposed towards Canada. The last time he saw Riel, Riel told him that all he did was for the sake of the

people, and if he stood in the way of a peaceful settlement with Canada, he was willing to leave the Territory and leave a clear field for the establishment of an organized government under a governor from Canada. Father Richot is positive Riel would do any thing Bishop Tache wished him to do. Father Richot is confident that if an English Governor were sent out, if he were a man of tact and ability and were accompanied by a few French Canadians and if the people were assured that their local rights would be respected, all the trouble could be peaceably settled and a permanent Government could be established in connection with Canada. He was sure of that, but until that was done he was equally sure the people would stick to the Provisional Government now established. He says in the present state of affairs the entire people, English as well as French, are in favour of Riel's Government, and so sure is he of this that he says if Major Boulton contradicts this he is willing to be publicly branded as a liar; but at the same time he is confident that the Provisional Government would give way and allow a regular Government under a Governor from Canada to be established if the course he mentioned was followed.

He believed the Government could not do a more disastrous thing than to send out troops. Such a course would arouse the public against Canada and make them believe that their rights were to be trampled upon. With regard to the cost of such a course, he added, that might he inferred from the fact that though he had travelled in a plain way, it had cost him \$248 to get to Ottawa.

With regard to himself, Father Richot says that at first he did all he could to prevent the insurrection and the establishment of Riel's government, but when he could not prevent it he thought it best to go with the people and endeavour to content them as much as possible, as he had considerable influence among them, but in taking an active part in the movement he acted all along against the orders of his ecclesiastical superiors.

He believes that the troubles would have been easily allayed at first if Mr. McDougall's party had exercised tact and prudence, and paid any deference to the feelings of the people. When Mr. Provencher went forward from Pembina to him, a party with those who had been sent to meet Mr. McDougall, he was taken to Father Richot's house, about 30 miles from Fort Garry, and well treated

there. He was sent back to Mr. McDougall accompanied by ten or 12 residents of the Territory who took with them a letter to Mr. McDougall containing a series of resolutions passed at a public meeting, setting forth their apprehension respecting the doings of the surveyors that had been sent out before, and respecting the intentions of Mr. McDougall and his party, and also setting forth what they considered their rights. Father Richot thinks if the matter contained in this letter had been attended to the fears of the people might easily have been allayed and future trouble prevented, but when the letter was handed to Mr. McDougall he, observing that the envelope was sealed, tore it to pieces without reading it. Those who had brought it were of course indignant at this and left at once without further parley. Such are the views of Father Richot as expressed to the friend of his who called on him to-day.³⁹⁸

The Canadians just returned from Red River concur that Riel can now command 1500 to 2000 men: that he has ample supplies and munitions: that he counts confidently on Fenian support: and that a considerable force is necessary to make the success of a hostile expedition certain. Maj. Boulton expressed the opinion lately at Toronto "that it will be a blunder to send fewer than four or five thousand men," and another Canadian refugee, vouched for as a reliable and intelligent person by the Toronto Telegraph, asserts a necessity for a force of five to six thousand men.

Probably the most important publication of the week in connection with the Northwest is the correspondence of the Canadian and Home Governments, which followed the expulsion of Mr. McDougall in November last.³⁹⁹ The Colonial Office gives weighty reasons for the opinion that the payment of £300,000 to the Hudson Bay Company should not have been postponed - a step now universally regarded as a blunder, which disables Canada from asserting a claim to jurisdiction in the Winnipeg country.

³⁹⁸ Newspaper clipping.

³⁹⁹ i.e. CSP, 1870, Vol. 5, No. 12.

A review of this official correspondence by the leading opposition journal, the *Toronto Globe*, is also annexed. Also, a telegraphic announcement of the arrival and first reception of Messrs. Richot and Scott at Ottawa.

Very respectfully, etc.
James W. Taylor

P.S. The latest intelligence of the arrest of the Red River delegates is also communicated as an enclosure.

T.

H. M. Robinson, Vice Consul, to J. C. B. Davis, May 10, 1870. No. 35.⁴⁰⁰

The Legislature of the Provisional Government, which convened upon the 26th day of April closed its session yesterday the 9th inst. The work which it performed has been mainly upon various Bills relative to the Colony, such as the Code of Laws, Reports of Committees, and other matters of more trivial import.⁴⁰¹

Upon the 6th inst., however, Presd't Riel gave notice, in consequence of the Canadian action against the Delegates⁴⁰² from this Colony, of his intention to place before the Legislature, for their approval, the Bill of Rights as it was sent to Canada.⁴⁰³ This was to be accompanied by a Protest - also subject to the approval of the Legislature - against the sending of British troops into the Territory, also protesting against the idea, prevalent in Canada, of this people being divided in their allegiance to the Provisional Government, declaring them a unit in its support, and approving the killing of Thos. Scott

⁴⁰⁰ USNA, Consular Reports. (Taylor's reports from Ottawa as Special Agent of the State Department are published in the first volume of the Manitoba Record Society series, W. L. Morton, *Manitoba: The Birth of a Province*, 1965.)

⁴⁰¹ See, PAM, Sessional Journal of the Legislative Assembly of Assiniboia; the *New Nation*, April 29, May 6, 13, 20, 27, 1870.

⁴⁰² Rev. Ritchot and A. H. Scott, on their arrival in Ottawa, had been arrested and released on April 21, 1870. Morton, *op. cit.*, pp. 126-127.

⁴⁰³ The List of Rights adopted by the Convention between January 29 and February 3, 1870 (See, Morton, *op. cit.*, pp. 291-295) was altered by the French members of the Executive of the Provisional Government. (See the List in, *ibid*, pp. 515-519, it was the latter list which the delegates presented in Ottawa. *Ibid*, pp. 120-121. Riel's defence of the changes is in the, *New Nation*, May 6, 1870.

as a necessary act, the justice [of which ?] was admitted by the whole people.⁴⁰⁴ Upon the 7th inst. the Bill of Rights, together with this Protest, to be sent the Canadian Gov't, was presented for the approval of the Legislature. The English portion of that Body, upon the reading of the Bill of Rights at once refused to pass it, upon the ground of the very radical changes made in it by the Executive since its adoption by the people.

The President was further informed that if the question of the Protest was urged, the entire English portion would vote against it, being much more disposed to welcome English troops than drive them back; regarding the declaration of unity in support of the Provisional Gov't as a falsehood; and the killing of Scott as murder.

After a useless trial to intimidate them into action [. . . ? . . .] the matter, the Bill of Rights and Protest were held over until the 9th inst. for further consideration. Upon that day, however, the determination of the English Representatives being stronger than ever, the question was finally dropped.

President Riel then endeavoured to pass a Bill creating an Upper Legislative Assembly, composed of the Protestant and Catholic Bishops, and representatives from the various Parishes of the Settlement. This move, however, being regarded as an effort to increase a semblance of unity was voted down. Adjournment followed.⁴⁰⁵

The excessively bitter tone of the Canadian Press, and the action taken by that Government, has induced Pres[i]d't Riel to use every

⁴⁰⁴ Neither the *Sessional Journal* under the date of May 5th or 6th nor the *New Nation*, reporting the meeting of the 6th, in its issue of May 20, 1870 mentions this incident in as full detail as Robinson who appears to be reporting a speech made by Riel on the 5th. See, the *New Nation*, May 6, 1870. On the 6th the question of a Protest was postponed. *Ibid*, May 20, 1870.

⁴⁰⁵ The *New Nation*, May 20, 1870 printed only part of the deliberations of May 7th intending to conclude its report in the following issue. The concluding part did not appear. The question of a Senate was considered again on the 9th. *Ibid*, May 27, 1870. The 9th was the last day of the Session and on that day the question was postponed until the next Session. At the meeting on the 9th Thomas Bunn read the Minutes of the Executive Meeting held on the 7th at which it was resolved that it was expedient to form a Senate. *Ibid*, May 20, 1870. Neither the *Sessional Journal* nor the *New Nation* refers to the other matters reported by Robinson. With reference to the Protest, however, see, PAM, "Protestation des Peuples du Nord-Ouest" signed by Riel, May 14, 1870.

means to criminate as much as possible the entire population - naturally desirous, of course, to saddle the public representatives with at least a portion of the odor of his past actions - and their refusal to become particeps criminis, leaves him to bear most of the brunt alone.

The majority of the English members have returned home, with no intention of again meeting in Assembly.

The Canadian portion of the population are either crossing the line or seeking the outskirts of the Settlement, fearful of being again imprisoned, or retained as hostages.

The flag of the Provisional Gov't was taken down on [April ?] 23rd, and the British "Union Jack" hoisted by Riel. O'Donoghue cut down the British flag and hoisted the Provisional flag, which was taken down in turn by Riel and the "Union Jack" again run up. Quite a war of words ensued between the two leaders, and the two flags alternated with great rapidity for some days, the matter being finally compromised by the hoisting of both flags. The dispute between them, however, has not yet healed, and their friendship is very Platonic....⁴⁰⁶

Taylor, Washington, to Hamilton Fish, Secretary of State, May 23, 1870⁴⁰⁷

I observe that Sir Clinton Murdoch⁴⁰⁸ was presented to the President on the 21st inst., by the English minister.⁴⁰⁹ This gentleman, as I was informed at Ottawa, has represented the Colonial office during the negotiations and

⁴⁰⁶ Incidents regarding the flags are noted by Alexander Begg in his journal April 23 -May 1, 1870. Morton, *op. cit.*, pp. 362-365.

⁴⁰⁷ USNA, Special Agent State Department Papers.

⁴⁰⁸ Sir Thomas William Clinton Murdoch (1809-1891), entered the British Civil Service in 1826 as a clerk in the Colonial Office; served in Canada between 1839 and 1842 under Sir George Arthur and Lord Symdenham; became Chairman of the Colonial Land and Emigration Commissioners in 1847; visited Canada in 1870 on a mission connected with grants of land to settlers and was asked by the Colonial Office to observe and advise the Imperial Government on the negotiations with the Red River delegates. See, MHS, Taylor Papers, Taylor to Hamilton Fish, April 29, 1870, printed in Morton, *Manitoba: The Birth of a Province*, p. 54.

⁴⁰⁹ Sir Edward Thornton (1817-1906), diplomatist, served at a number of British posts in South America, appointed British Minister at Washington in 1867 where he remained until 1881 when he was transferred to St. Petersburg.

discussions which led to the passage of the Manitoba act, although some weeks elapsed after his arrival in Canada, before the fact was mentioned in the newspapers. He was Secretary to Lord Sydenham, the first Governor General of Canada after the union of the Upper and Lower Provinces: and has had charge for many years of the Bureau of Emigration in the Colonial Office.

I beg leave to suggest that Sir Clinton Murdoch can communicate, definitely, whether the Imperial Government will recognize the action of the Provisional Government at Red River - at least so far as to protect Riel and his associates from Canadian outlawry.

A Montreal French paper, the editor of which is a relative of Sir George Cartier - *L'Evenement* - is reported by telegraph (May 18) to the Toronto Globe to the effect "that the Imperial Government *will shortly proclaim an amnesty for the Northwest.*"

I had reason to believe that some assurance of the kind was given by Canadian ministers to Messrs Richot and Scott, the Red River delegates who were supposed to represent Riel's interests.

In this connection, I refer to the statements made in the English Parliament (May 5 and 6) in regard to the organization of the Province of Manitoba. The London Spectator of May 7, thus reports the Colonial Secretary (May 5) in the House of Lords.

"Lord Granville explained on Thursday night the steps which the Government have taken in relation to the Red River insurrection. When it broke out, the transfer of the Hudson's Bay Company to the Dominion had not yet been effected, and the Government of the Dominion declined to accept it in so critical a condition of things without a promise of help from home in restoring order. Our Government then decided that it would be essential to procure the hearty cooperation both of the Dominion and of the Hudson's Bay Company in restoring order, which was given, the Dominion, however, declaring that though they were most anxious to conciliate the inhabitants of the Red River Settlement, it was absolutely necessary that at the time of taking possession a military force should be present in order to maintain tranquility, and to prevent possible collisions between the different races and creeds in the settlement: and they demanded the help of an Imperial force to cooperate with their own for this purpose.

To this Lord Granville consented on these conditions: - 1, that the transfer of the territory should be accomplished as originally agreed on: (2), that the Dominion should supply at least two-thirds of the men and expenses of the expedition: (3), *that the Dominion should previously come to an amicable understanding, on terms which Her Majesty's Government could approve, with the settlers of the Red River.* These conditions were accepted and the telegraph had announced that the amicable understanding had been arrived at. The only condition which invites any comment is the third. *What does this compulsory 'amicable settlement' mean? Not surely that Scott's murder is to remain unpunished, and Riel to be amnestied. If there is to be a policy of wise conciliation towards the people there should be stern justice to the rebel leaders.*"⁴¹⁰

I have placed in italics the sentences which bear on the question of the immunity of the Red River leaders: and also repeat the closing sentences of an article in the London *Times* of May 6 - on the day following Lord Granville's statement.

"We wait with some curiosity to learn whether the reconciliation will go so far as to recognize the authority of the chief of the revolutionary government 'General' Riel. Strange things have happened, and this certainly would be strange enough. It would be another instance of that prosperous treason, which as the epigram tells us, none calls by that name. Riel evidently expects to be recognized, for the latest American papers contain a proclamation by him, granting an amnesty to his opponents on condition of immediate obedience, declaring he has been elected by the grace of Providence to the highest position in the government of his country, and informing the Settlement 'that Canada invites the Red River people to an amicable arrangement.' 'She wants' he continues 'to guarantee our rights and give us a place in the Confederation equal to that of any other province.' Yet we cannot forget that this half-breed President has not only levied war against the existing authority in the territory, and imposed his rule by force on the loyal subjects of the Queen,

⁴¹⁰ Reported in the *New Nation*, June 17, 1870.

but is responsible for the death of the unhappy man Scott, who was shot at Fort Garry. If the Dominion be eventually compelled to tolerate the leader under whose authority such an act was perpetrated, it will receive a lesson on the necessity of dealing cautiously and skillfully [sic] with the people of these almost inaccessible regions.”

I add two other illustrations of the pacific professions, which attended the Manitoba Act. Lord Granville read the following telegram

“Sir Francis Hincks to Sir J. Rose

Ottawa, May 4

Rupert’s Land Bill passing Commons. Concurred in by delegates and Canadian party. Expedition will be one of peace.⁴¹¹

while Mr. Monsell,⁴¹² Under Secretary of State for the Colonies used this language, on the 6th inst., in the House of Commons.

“The negotiations between the Government of Canada and the Red River delegates have closed satisfactorily, and a Bill to give effect to the arrangement between the two parties, as we learn by a telegram received yesterday, has passed through the House [of Commons at Ottawa] with the general consent of all parties. An expedition was about to proceed to Red River, *which it was expected would be an expedition of peace.*”

I enclose an article from the St. Paul Press,⁴¹³ which will indicate that public opinion in the Northwest will exact from Canada an explicit declaration, as to the policy to be pursued, on the arrival of the expedition at Fort Garry, towards the men whom history, and the public action of Canada, united to recognize as the founders of the Province of Manitoba.

Of a similar purport is an article from the Washington Chronicle, also enclosed.⁴¹⁴

I venture to suggest that no representations as to the peaceful character of

⁴¹¹ *op cit.*

⁴¹² William Monsell, Baron Emly (1812-1894), a member of the British House of Commons 1847-1874; Under-Secretary of State for the Colonies, December 1868-1870.

⁴¹³ *St. Paul Press*, May 18, 1870.

⁴¹⁴ *Washington Chronicle*, May 19, 1870.

the expedition now passing into Lake Superior can be adequate, which do not give assurance of a Proclamation of unqualified amnesty, explicitly negating the proposed proscription of Louis Riel and his associates.

There is important intelligence from London, which indicates pro-found dissatisfaction in England with the attempt to transfer the Red River Settlement to Canada by order- in-council, without reference to the wishes of the people. On Friday night (May 20) the following proceedings occurred, as reported by the “American Press Association” to the *New, York Standard*.

The Red River Rebellion

“London, May 20 - Midnight - In the House of Commons, to-night, the policy of the Government in reference to the settlement of affairs in the Red River country gave rise to a protracted and excited discussion. The Conservative members severely attacked the Government policy, contending that Canada had unjustly acquired possession of the Red River settlement. The rights of the people of that territory had been overlooked by the Government in its anxiety to concede the demands of the Dominion of Canada, and a proper hearing had not been given to their representatives.

The Right Hon. Wm. Monsell, Under-Secretary for the Colonial Department, replied to these attacks on the part of the Government. He contended that the fact that peace and good order now prevailed in the Red River country, where anarchy and revolution was threatened a few weeks ago, was sufficient justification of the soundness of the policy which had been adopted. It had been the object of the Government to award justice to all parties, and by listening to the representations of law abiding citizens, they had secured quiet to the district disturbed.

A vote was taken on a measure of censure, and the House sustained the policy of the Government.”⁴¹⁵

The objection raised is fundamental, and includes the bill which has just passed the Canadian Parliament (notwithstanding its extra-

⁴¹⁵ *New York Standard*, May 21, 1870.

ordinary concessions), as well as the abortive legislation of June 22, 1869, under which Mr. McDougall attempted to impose a government on the Red River people without their consent.

The ground taken by the opposition in the debate of Friday night fully justifies Riel: while the reply of Mr. Monsell is a recognition of Riel's Provisional Government. Otherwise, what does he mean by the statement that "*peace and good order now prevailed in the Red River country?*" Taylor, Washington, to Hamilton Fish, Secretary of State, May 24, 187a=e

If the debate in the British Parliament on the 20th inst. is correctly reported by the telegram in the New York Standard of May 21, the opposition attacked the Government for the attempt to transfer the colony at Red River to Canada, without due regard to the wishes and interests of the people. The Legislature of Minnesota, as early as March 6, 1868, raised a similar objection, when by joint resolution they characterized as "an unwarrantable interference with the principle of self-government", the "purpose to transfer the territories between Minnesota and Alaska to the Dominion of Canada by an order in council at London, without a vote of the people of Selkirk and the settlers upon the sources of the Saskatchewan river." "This fundamental error in the proceedings for the incorporation of the Northwest Territories with Canada, will explain the unwillingness of the English and Scotch residents at Red River, to take up arms against Louis Riel. Notwithstanding the prejudices of nationality and creed, they secretly recognized him and his companions in arms, as defenders of the common rights of all classes of the population. Other causes of dissatisfaction were capable of explanation, but the act under which Mr. William McDougall proposed to assume irresponsible administration of the Red River Settlement, was as explicit as it was indefensible. Subject to the orders of a Governor General

+18 USNA, Special Agent State Department Papers. 1117 See January 20, 1870.

and his privy Council at Ottawa, Mr. McDougall was appointed “lieutenant governor of the Northwest Territories,” with authority “to make provision for the administration of justice therein, and generally to make, ordain and establish all such laws, institutions and ordinances, as may be necessary for the peace, order and good government of Her Majesty’s subjects and others therein.” A council “to aid the lieutenant governor in the administration of affairs” was to be appointed by Canada: but such a council could not be regarded in any just sense, as a body representative of the Red River people.

It was against the installation of a mere personal government without the consent of the governed, that a popular tumult was excited, and resulted in the expulsion of Mr. McDougall and his staff in November 1869.

What was the political situation, at that juncture, in Rupert’s Land or the Territory covered by the charter of the Hudson Bay Company? I beg leave to refer to Executive Document (Senate) No. 33, of February 2, 1870 for the documents which establish the following facts.

1. Her Majesty, the Queen of England, was enabled by act of Parliament (July 31, 1868) to accept a surrender of the “lands and territories, rights of government, and other rights, privileges, liberties, franchises, powers and authorities” of the Hudson Bay Company, with the avowed purpose of transferring the same to the Dominion of Canada.
2. After much discussion of the terms of transfer, the Earl of Granville, Colonial Minister, submitted articles of an adjustment on the 9th of March 1869.
3. On the 24th of March, the stockholders of the Hudson Bay Company definitely accepted the Earl of Granville’s proposition. It is a grave question, whether this action of the stockholders was not the “surrender” contemplated by “Rupert’s Land Act 1868” above mentioned.
4. This statute (Sec. 4) provided that “*upon the acceptance by her Majesty of such surrender, all rights of government and proprietary rights, and all other privileges, liberties, franchises, powers and authorities whatsoever granted or purported to be granted by letters patent to the said governor and company within Rupert’s Land, and which shall have been so surrendered, shall be absolutely extinguished Provided that nothing herein contained shall prevent the said governor and company from continuing to carry on, in Rupert’s Land or elsewhere, trade and commerce.*”

5. The representatives of the Hudson Bay Company in the Northwest might well doubt whether any formal "acceptance" by Her Majesty was contemplated. Certain it is, that Gov'r McTavish had doubts whether his authority as Chief Magistrate of Assiniboia, or the Red River Settlement, had legal existence after the action of the stock-holders of the Hudson Bay Company on the 24th of March, 1869.
6. It will be seen from the Declaration of the People of Rupert's Land, issued by the Provisional Government on the 8th of December 1869 (See Senate Document of Feb. 2, 1870, No. 33), that they allege, as a reason for assuming authority, that the Hudson Bay Company had surrendered the government of the country in March, 1869.
7. Admitting such abdication by the Company, it is easy to establish that Canada has not succeeded to any jurisdiction in the North West Territory. To this day, the conditions precedent (particularly the payment of £300,000 to the Hudson Bay Company) have not been performed.⁴¹⁸ Mr. McDougall proceeded as a private individual, anticipating an order in council at London on the 1st of December, 1869, when his commission would take effect. That order would have issued, and the transfer of the country to Canada would have been effected, except for the refusal of the Dominion to pay over the purchase sum of £300,000. With that default, was postponed indefinitely any right or claim by Canada to the dominion of the territory or the allegiance of the inhabitants in Rupert's Land. Thus the Red River people were instinctively logical in all their resistance to Canadian authority. As I observed, in a communication to the Department of January 20, they claimed that the attempt of the Hudson's Bay Company to transfer the territory was an abdication of their right to govern it. They protested against the Canadian legislation as an usurpation, and asserted that the people were justified in resuming the authority necessary to vindicate their rights.

It is evident that if any authority existed at Red River, it was the *regime* of the Hudson Bay Company. Great Britain had not established a

⁴¹⁸ It had been paid May 10, 1870. Rich, *op. cit.*, Vol. III, p. 935.

Crown Colony: the Dominion had refused to perfect its jurisdiction under the “Rupert’s Land Act, 1868” and the terms prescribed by Earl Granville, and although the Company had made a formal surrender of its franchises in March, 1869 yet it may be claimed that the civil administration of Gov’r McTavish continued by the sufferance of the Imperial government. If so, it soon gave way to the popular system inaugurated by the insurrection against Canada. Fort Garry was captured on the same day that the Canadian candidate for Governor was expelled. The Hudson Bay Council has never attempted to assemble. Indeed, Mr. McDougall and the Canadian party in the Settlement have bitterly denounced the Company’s officials, as in sympathy with the insurrection, at least in its earlier stages, when some show of resistance was practicable.⁴¹⁹ There has certainly been no rebellion in Red River - meaning by the term hostility to an existing government - except against the Hudson Bay Company, and that corporation succumbed promptly and completely to the new authority of the Provisional Government. The latter has carefully avoided all antagonism to the Queen’s authority. The logic of Riel’s position was, as previously intimated, that the surrender by the London stockholders was an abdication of civil authority: that Canada had thrown away its right of succession, and that the Provisional Government, representing the people was *de facto* and *de jure* a province of England, demanding the protection of the British constitution.

On this basis Canada was invited to a negotiation, and the English ministers, as we now are informed, insisted that [a] conference for an amicable arrangement should be held.

The Colonial Minister, Earl Granville, has recently (May 5) communicated to Parliament the extent of the intervention by the Home Government, for the purpose of pacification. Three conditions were imposed, in reply to the suggestion of the Canadian Government, that an expedition, including English troops, should be despatched to the Red River - (1) that the transfer of the territory should be accomplished according to the terms originally agreed on: (2) that the government of the Dominion should supply at least two thirds of the men and of the expenses of the expedition (the proportion finally determined was three fourths) and (3) that the Dominion should

⁴¹⁹ See for e.g. McDougall to Howe November 13, 1869, CSP, 1870, *op. cit.*, p.37; McDougall to Mactavish, December 16, 1869, *ibid*, pp. 97-98.

previously come to an amicable understanding, on terms which Her Majesty's Government could approve, with the settlers of the Red River.

Every possible influence was invoked to make the negotiation successfully [sic]. Canada had forwarded in December two envoys, Rev. Mr. Thibault and Col. de Salaberry, for the purpose of placating the insurgents, but they received very little consideration. Mr. Donald A. Smith, a prominent officer of the Hudson Bay Company was next despatched, and his credentials represented the English and Canadian Governments, as well as the administration of the Hudson Bay Company.⁴²⁰ In this three-fold capacity, and aided by great sagacity and dexterity in his intercourse with the people, he secured a hearing. Riel joined in a summons of a mass meeting at Fort Garry, which closed a two days session, by the call of a delegated convention. This body consisted of forty members, elected from as many districts,⁴²¹ and representing equally the French and English populations. It was in session fifteen days, and I have already forwarded to the Department the full text of its deliberations. They constitute a complete vindication of the intelligence and capacity for self government of the Red River community, and compare favorably with the discussions in American territories which attend the organization of a State Government. Lately in the Canadian Parliament, Sir George Cartier remarked that the debates of the Fort Garry Convention were not inferior to those of the Quebec Conference which framed the draft of the Canadian Confederation Act. The practical results of the Convention were (1) The Adoption of a Bill of Rights, embracing the terms upon which the people would consent to incorporation with Canada: (2) the appointment of three delegates (Messrs. John Black, Pere Richot and A. H. Scott) to negotiate on that basis with the Canadian Ministry: and (3) the full installation of a civil government, under the presidency of Louis Riel, for the administration of affairs pending the action of the English and Canadian governments upon the overture of the Convention.

⁴²⁰ Smith had a "Commission" from the Canadian Government and a letter from Governor-General John Young to William Mactavish which enclosed a message from Earl Granville, the Colonial Secretary, Beckles Willson, *The Life of Lord Strathcona & Mount Royal*, London, 1915, pp. 204-205.

⁴²¹ Twenty-one districts not forty were represented. Morton, *Begg's Journal*, pp. 285-286.

The Canadian Ministry were in conference with the Red River delegates during the month of April and on the 2d of May, the Minister of Justice and leader of the Government⁴²² introduced a bill to “amend and continue the Act 32 and 33 Victoria, Chapter 3; and to establish and provide for the province of Manitoba.” An animated discussion followed but on the 12th of May, the measure received the concurrence of both Houses and the assent of the Governor General. I enclose the Parliamentary debates.

I proceed to an analysis of the Manitoba Act in connection with the proposition, a Bill of Rights, of the Fort Garry Convention. . . .

These provisions were accepted by the Red River delegates as an advance of the demands made by the Fort Garry Convention. The grant of 1,400,000 acres to the children of the halfbreed residents was regarded as an equivalent for the “control by the Local Legislature of the public lands within a circumference around Fort Garry, of which the distance to the American line was the radius”: the money appropriations were much greater than the Bill of Rights stipulated: and the autonomy of a small province, in which the French population would be likely to predominate was understood to be Riel’s latest revision of the Red River protocol. The opposition in the Canadian Parliament was fruitless and the second reading of the bill was announced by Sir Francis Hincks in a telegram to London, as a measure of pacification - “concurred in by the delegates and the Canadian party, by *all in the Territory*.” On a recent occasion the English Minister emphatically asserted the accord of all parties in the measure as an “amicable adjustment.”⁴²³

The concessions of the Manitoba Act were forced upon the Ministry. While a storm of indignation prevailed in Ontario, on account of the course of Riel - his imprisonment and banishment of Canadian emigrants, and the military execution of one Scott - yet the Home Government resolutely refused to be a party to a military expedition against the Provisional Government, until “the Dominion should previously come to an amicable understanding in terms which Her Majesty could approve with the settlers of the Red River.” [Then]

⁴²² John A. Macdonald.

⁴²³ Sir Edward Thornton on May 14, 1870 assured Hamilton Fish, American Secretary of State, that the difficulties between Canada and the Red River people had been settled amicably, that the military expedition was one of peace, and that Canada had granted an amnesty. LC, Hamilton Fish Diary, May 14, 1870.

the repugnance of the French population, and their representatives at Ottawa, to the resort to force, was very strongly expressed. A French representative, as early as April 21, gave notice of an amendment to a supply bill that there should be no expedition "in supplying troops or militia of the Dominion for the purpose of acquiring by force of arms possession of the said Territory." While the British districts of Canada were wrought to the highest pitch of indignation against Riel, yet it was soon evident that the dispatch of any other than an expedition of peace would precipitate a ministerial crisis at Ottawa.

Accordingly, there have been elaborate efforts in Parliament and through the press, to represent the force of 1500 men now passing through Lake Superior on their march to Fort Garry, as a constabulary or police establishment - designed for the defence of the Settlement and *the preservation of order*. The latter phrase is a generality, which leaves in doubt the course of procedure towards the Provisional Government and the leaders in the events of the last six months. On this point I can add nothing to the tenor of recent communications - verbal and written. It will be very remarkable, if the parties who have secured, by their intervention, the proposed organization of Manitoba, with all its rights and privileges, should be placed beyond the pale of their protection.

Fortunately there are few Canadians who now insist that Louis Riel is in any sense an offender against Canada or Canadian law. They only demand that he shall be arraigned and punished, under a commission from England for offences against the Queen's authority. It is reasonable to expect therefore, that the royal amnesty will soon be proclaimed, with no exclusion of the first citizen of Red River.

Until the personal immunity of Riel and his associates, shall thus be assured, there is no prospect of peace in the Northwest and there seems to be a public necessity that the Government of the United States should ask for a statement of policy proposed by England and Canada on the arrival of the expedition at Fort Garry.

Allow me to add that the mediation of President Grant in behalf of Louis Riel, has not been forfeited by the conduct of that individual. The course of Gov'r McDougall and his few followers in the Settlement last December, has exposed the Provisional Government to a constant hazard of Indian war, in addition to the other perils of the situation and a very resolute, almost

unscrupulous, administration of affairs, became a public necessity on the part of President Riel. His success in combining very discordant materials is quite remarkable and no one can peruse the proceedings of the public meeting, called to hear Mr. Donald Smith, and of the Convention which followed, without the recognition of unusual qualifications for the position which Riel has assumed and sustained at this critical period in the history of his native country. Whatever his errors history will not deny to him the distinction of being the founder of the Province of Manitoba - a fact which England should have the magnanimity to acknowledge.

In regard to the execution of Thomas Scott, so generally admitted to be unnecessary to the maintenance of the Provisional Government and therefore criminal, I have the authority of Mr. Donald A. Smith, the Canadian Commissioner, that Riel placed the sentence and its execution on the ground exclusively, that it was necessary to avoid bloodshed. The rising under Maj. Boulton, after Canada had become a party to the negotiation with the Convention, and that negotiation was on the point of being transferred to Ottawa was a breach of faith by the Canadian party, and is admitted by Mr. Smith to have been "rash and unfortunate" its pretext was the release of certain Canadians, held as prisoners but the promise made by Riel to the Convention that those prisoners would be released was well known, and was partly carried out. Mr. Smith says explicitly that within two days after the adjournment of the Convention six or eight of the prisoners were released, and he is certain that all would have been discharged in a day or two. The movement under Boulton was dispersed, without a collision but such was the exasperation of the troops - seven hundred strong - that had rallied at the summons of Riel, that several of the insurgent leaders were condemned to be shot.⁴²⁴ These were at length respited, and Riel promised Smith that all the prisoners, taken in arms under Boulton, should be spared and soon released. So unwilling had Riel been to take life, during the commotions of the winter and especially during the great provocation of the Boulton insurrection that an idea prevailed among the prisoners - shared fully by Scott - that under no circumstances would he take such a step. Scott was a man of violent temper and Riel informed Commissioner Smith that, while in prison, "he was rough and abusive to the guards, and that

⁴²⁴ Charles A. Boulton, Thomas Scott, John Taylor and George Parker were condemned to be shot. Morton, *op. cit.*, p. 316, 316n.

his example had been productive of the very worst effects on the other prisoners, who had become insubordinate to such an extent, that it was difficult to withhold the guards from retaliating.” I asked Mr. Smith whether the fact that Scott had broken into a house, where Riel was supposed to be lodging at two o’clock in the morning, with an avowed purpose of assassination, had not influenced his sentence but he thought not. In all his conversation with Smith, Riel only referred to the necessity of Scott’s execution to prevent bloodshed.⁴²⁵

Mr. Smith’s report is herewith enclosed. In conversation, he bears testimony to the great energy and shrewdness of Riel. Although not abstinent, he says that he never saw him unfit for business, in the dispatch of which he is indefatigable. He was educated at a French college in Canada:⁴²⁶ is an impulsive and eloquent speaker: and combines audacity and caution very effectively in the management of men and assemblies. An attempt to proscribe him will be perfidious and impolitic.

I have limited the present communication to an analysis of the “amicable arrangement” in question and which will certainly fail of its purpose without full amnesty to all the people of Red River.

Taylor, Washington, to J. C. B. Davis, Assistant Secretary of State, June 1, 1870⁴²⁷

Sir Stafford Northcote, Governor of the Hudson Bay Company, sailed from Montreal to England on the 29th ult. His purpose to visit Red River has been relinquished. It was supposed that he would bear to Riel definite assurances of his security from Canadian or English persecution.⁴²⁸

⁴²⁵ These statements are based on Smith’s report to Joseph Howe, April 12, 1870, which Taylor enclosed with his despatch, and on conversations Taylor had with Smith in Ottawa, CSP, 1870, Vol. 5, No. 12.

⁴²⁶ *Le College de Montreal*. Stanley, Louis Riel, p. 23.

⁴²⁷ USNA, Special Agent State Department Papers.

⁴²⁸ See, the *New Nation*, June 17, 1870. Northcote had been in Ottawa to safeguard Hudson’s Bay Company interests at the time the delegates from the Provisional Government were meeting with the Canadian Government.

A. H. Scott, one of the delegates, was in New York last week, and informed a gentleman of my acquaintance that the first demand made of the Ottawa ministers, was amnesty for all connected with the Provisional Government: and that a solemn promise to that effect was given.

I enclose the latest telegraphic intelligence from Fort Garry⁴²⁹ - Also, a letter from Thunder Bay, Lake Superior, describing the Canadian waggon road, a recent disastrous fire, the arrival of the "Chicora"⁴³⁰ and other incidents.

H. M. Robinson, Vice Consul, to J. C. B. Davis, Assistant Secretary of State, June 7, 1870. No. 39.⁴³¹

. . . The Provisional Government have been, for some days past, agitating an armed resistance to the Canadian troops en route for this point, upon the grounds of no amnesty having been granted to political offenders, and the control of public lands assumed by the Ottawa Government.

The question was brought before the Provisional Council for final disposition upon the 3rd inst. but was postponed until the arrival (which is daily expected) of Rev. Mr. Richotte, one of the Delegates to the Dominion Gov't. There is a strong disposition evinced by many members of the Provisional Gov't to commence hostilities upon any pretext whatever.⁴³²

⁴²⁹ Newspaper clipping from the Toronto Globe, May 30, 1870.

⁴³⁰ The ship carrying troops of Wolseley's Red River Expeditionary Force. ⁴³¹ USNA, Consular Reports.

⁴³² The second session of the Legislative Assembly of Assiniboia adjourned May 9, 1870. The third session opened June 23rd. Robinson is referring undoubtedly to meetings of the Executive Council and not the Assembly.

Taylor, Washington, to Hamilton Fish, Secretary of State, June 15, 1870.⁴³³

The Montreal Gazette,⁴³⁴ edited by B. Chamberlin Esq.,⁴³⁵ lately member of Parliament, and who is just appointed Queen's Printer of the Dominion of Canada, contains the following significant article (June 10) :

We notice from papers received by the last mail that the Edinburgh Scotsman states the Government is quite satisfied with the conduct of the American Government as to the Red River Settlement, also that a complete amnesty will be granted to RIEL and his accomplices.

If this is authentic, and it very likely is, it settles the question as to what shall be done with RIEL, for the Imperial Government had alone jurisdiction before the transfer to Canada.

We commend this fact to the consideration of some of the more excited of our Ontario contemporaries.

The stupid telegrams from Washington, published in our last impression, stated that a Minnesota delegation to that city had given it out as their belief that there would be war in Manitobah [sic], because the recent Act of Parliament did not contain a general amnesty; and they called on President GRANT to protect their frontier.

The Canadian Parliament had no power to pass an amnesty bill, because there was no offence committed when it had any jurisdiction.

We have no doubt that RIEL might be indicted for murder if the Imperial Government chose to send out a commission. But it is altogether more likely from the whole tenor of what has taken place that they will send out an amnesty instead, as announced by our Scottish contemporary. It is a pity that the authors and participators in an useless and wanton murder should escape unwhipt of justice.⁴³⁶

⁴³³ USNA, Special Agent State Department Papers.

⁴³⁴ A marginal note refers to the Gazette as asemi-official organ of the Canadian Government.

⁴³⁵ Brown Chamberlin (1827-1897), Conservative MP 1867-1870; Queen's Printer 1870-1891.

⁴³⁶ Published in part, in the *New Nation*, July 1, 1870, "The Amnesty."

I am of the impression that Sir George Cartier, Minister of Militia, is an incorporator of the Montreal Gazette Printing Company. At all events, no journal in Canada is more likely to be informed of the tenor of the Manitoba negotiation, than the Gazette.

I enclose the Washington telegram, to which reference is made above, with the comments 'of the New York Tribune.'⁴³⁷

Taylor, Washington, to Hamilton Fish, Secretary of State, June 24, 1870.⁴³⁸

The Postmaster General of Canada, Hon, Alexander Campbell, has gone to England, to represent the duty of the English Government to assume the defence of Canada against Fenian invasion.⁴³⁹ The newspapers, commenting on the withdrawal of troops at this juncture, speak with unwonted emphasis to this effect - "Either England must assume the defence of the Provinces or the Provinces must be no longer encumbered with England's quarrels."

As no favorable response to this demand is anticipated, the movement for independence has received a great impulse. I enclose an article from an Ontario paper showing its progress. Especially is the French press moved by the discussion. The *Minerve* of Montreal, referred to, is a Conservative journal, quite in the interest of Sir George Cartier, Minister of Militia - while the journal *de* Quebec also proclaiming for independence, is edited by no less a person than the Speaker of the Dominion Senate, Mr. Joseph Cauchon, and is understood to be the organ of the authorities of the Catholic Church at Quebec.

Very Respectfully
James W. Taylor

P.S. On referring to the enclosed article from the London Free Press, I observe that it does not mention the attitude of the Montreal

⁴³⁷ *New York Tribune*, June 9, 1870.

⁴³⁸ USNA, Special Agent State Department Papers.

⁴³⁹ A small group of Fenians had attempted an invasion of the Eastern Townships of Quebec in May 1870.

Minerve. That influential journal speaks most explicitly in favor of Independence.⁴⁴⁰

T.

Taylor, Washington, to Hamilton Fish, Secretary of State, June 27, 1870⁴⁴¹

The following Ottawa dispatch (June 24) relates to the progress of the negotiation for the admission of British Columbia to the Confederation of Canada.

Another statement is that there will be no material change in the Constitution of the new Province, and that the Legislative Council will consist of nine elective and six nominated members: I am satisfied that this will not meet the demand of the people for representative institutions. If this attempt to perpetuate Executive which means Canadian influence in British Columbia, is made, a new impulse to the annexation movement will result.

The reference to the Pacific Railroad will arrest attention. The language is indefinite, but it suggests forcibly the passage of Senator Ramsey's bill, now pending in the House, for aid to a railroad down the Red River valley in Minnesota to the international frontier. With the extension of the Railroad System of the United States to Manitoba during 1871, no Canadian scheme could prevent the Americanization of the Northwest.

⁴⁴⁰ *London Free Press*, June 17, 1870, At the end of his letter, following this newspaper clipping, Taylor added, "There can be no mistake as to the drift of the tide."

⁴⁴¹ USNA, Special Agent State Department Papers.

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