

## JAMES WICKES TAYLOR: A BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCH<sup>1</sup>

A recent monograph on the Canadian annexation movement of 1849-50 declares in its opening paragraph that although a most important influence on the course of Canadian history has been exercised by the United States, yet the mutual relations of the two countries have received but little attention from historians and political scientists.<sup>2</sup> In the rapid development of the Northwest during the latter half of the last century, the mutual relations and influences of Canada and the United States have been of vital significance. In commerce, immigration, and railroad expansion particularly, the interrelations of the two countries have been of far-reaching importance. But there are many other aspects—political, economic, and social—that have received but scant attention from historians.<sup>3</sup>

To no small degree the study of these interrelations is bound up in the activity of the men who took the initiative in making known the vast resources of the Northwest and in vigorously forwarding their development. The making of the Northwest was a task that demanded men of action—builders, drivers,

<sup>1</sup> Read in part at the stated meeting of the executive council of the Minnesota Historical Society, St. Paul, October 11, 1915. The sketch is based largely on hitherto unknown material—the Taylor Papers in the possession of the society. All manuscript material referred to will be found in this collection. The newspaper items cited can be found in the files of the Minnesota Historical Society, with the exception of the Winnipeg papers from 1889 to 1893, which were consulted at the provincial library in Winnipeg. *Ed.*

<sup>2</sup> Cephas D. Allin and George M. Jones, *Annexation, Preferential Trade, and Reciprocity*, preface, v (Toronto, n.d.).

<sup>3</sup> A summary of diplomatic and political relations is to be found in Sir John G. Bourinot, *Canada under British Rule, 1760-1900*, ch. 10 (*Cambridge Historical Series*—Cambridge, 1900). See also the monumental *Canada and Its Provinces: A History of the Canadian People and Their Institutions*, edited by Adam Shortt and Arthur G. Doughty (Toronto, 1914).

executives. Yet of almost equal importance was the work of writers and investigators. In a biography of a pioneer editor, Mr. F. F. Stephens writes: "It is recorded of American newspaper editors that in the Westward Movement they were always in the vanguard, setting up their presses and issuing their sheets before the forests had been cleared or the sod turned."<sup>1</sup> One can hardly overestimate the influence of the far-seeing pioneers who labored with the pen to advance the interests of the Northwest. The career of James Wickes Taylor illustrates strikingly the importance of that phase of "empire-building," although his activities were by no means limited to that phase. In the history of Minnesota and the American and Canadian Northwest, the labors of Taylor and men like Taylor were of considerable consequence. Taylor was one of those figures who, looking back on the history of the Northwest for half a century, with its amazing growth and development, might well have paraphrased the famous exclamation of Aeneas and said, "All of this I have seen; part of it I am."<sup>2</sup>

#### NEW YORK AND OHIO, 1819-56

James Wickes Taylor was born on the sixth of November, 1819, in Starkey, Yates County, New York. His father James Taylor was the son of an Englishman who had served in the army of Burgoyne, and Ruth Chappel, a native of Connecticut. The life of this James Taylor possesses great interest. As a youth he went to the lumber districts of Canada, working with lumber enterprises, and teaching school. He narrowly avoided the Canadian draft in the War of 1812, and returned to the United States. Taking up his residence in New York, he engaged in school-teaching and the study of law. In 1816 he was admitted to practice in the court of common pleas of Seneca County, New York. In 1823 he was admitted as an

<sup>1</sup> *Missouri Historical Review*, 9: 139 (April, 1915).

<sup>2</sup> Taylor delighted in quoting this phrase, an incorrect rendering of the well-known line: "Quaeque ipse miserrima vidi, et quorum pars magna fui." Vergil, *Aeneid*, book 2, verse 5.

attorney of the supreme court of the state, and nine years later to the court of chancery and the United States courts. For several terms subsequent to 1829 he was district attorney of Yates County, and often held commissions as master and examiner in chancery. At one time he was candidate for justice of the supreme court of New York, but failed of election. James Taylor married Miss Maria Wickes, January 19, 1819,<sup>1</sup> and of their five children, James Wickes Taylor was the oldest.<sup>2</sup>

James Taylor determined to give his son a good education, and he was, accordingly, sent to Hamilton College, Clinton, New York, entering as a freshman from Penn Yan, New York, and graduating in 1838. He took a prominent part in college activities and was a member of the Alpha Delta Phi and Phi Beta Kappa fraternities.<sup>3</sup> Two years after graduation, upon the death of a prominent classmate, Taylor was chosen to deliver a funeral oration. This address, given before the Hamilton Chapter of the Alpha Delta Phi Society, was later printed at the request of the chapter.<sup>4</sup> It is of considerable power, and reveals those decided gifts as a writer and speaker which Taylor possessed even then, though he was but twenty-one years old.

After leaving college, Taylor became interested in journalism, and, on his arrival in Cincinnati, Ohio, in 1842, he combined the study of law (in which he was associated with Salmon

<sup>1</sup> Maria Wickes was the daughter of Captain Silas Wickes, one of the first settlers of Steuben County, New York.

<sup>2</sup> These facts are taken from an undated manuscript, in the Taylor Papers, written by his son James W. Taylor. See also Lewis C. Aldrich, ed., *History of Yates County, N. Y.*, 173 (Syracuse, 1892), for an account of James Taylor, in which his integrity, his ability as a lawyer, and his gentlemanly deportment are highly commended. According to this account Taylor was district attorney of Yates County four years.

<sup>3</sup> Personal letter to the writer from President Stryker of Hamilton College, July 15, 1915.

<sup>4</sup> *Address on the Life and Character of George Langford Jr.* (Utica, 1840).

P. Chase,<sup>1</sup> afterwards secretary of the treasury under Lincoln) with the practice of journalism.<sup>2</sup> He soon attracted attention by his terse, vigorous articles on current topics, and by his eloquence and fluency as a speaker. A Cincinnati newspaper man, in his recollections of Taylor, refers to him as a "well educated young lawyer of fine talents, and possessing an exceedingly philosophic and inquiring mind."<sup>3</sup> As a Democrat he gave for a time voluntary assistance to Eliphale Case, the editor of the *Enquirer*. In 1845 Taylor married Chloe Sweeting Langford, a sister of the well-known Nathaniel P. Langford of St. Paul, Minnesota.<sup>4</sup> The following year he established a newspaper of his own, the *Cincinnati Morning Signal*, and through its columns began to take an active part in political affairs. His editorials attracted considerable attention. The paper was opposed to the extension of slavery, but was otherwise orthodox Democratic.<sup>5</sup> In 1847, through the editorial columns of the *Signal*, Taylor nominated General Zachary Taylor as an independent candidate for the presidency. In referring to this later, he declares that he did so

mainly on the ground that although a Southern slaveholder, he

<sup>1</sup> Albert B. Hart, writing of Chase, says: "From about 1834, when Chase had gained a reputation as a lawyer, he always had in his office one or more law students. . . Nothing more plainly speaks the real sanity and strength of Chase's character than the later success of many of these men in law and in public life." *Salmon Portland Chase*, 24 (*American Statesmen* series—Boston and New York, 1899).

<sup>2</sup> Taylor to Rev. P. C. Hastings, June 8, 1888. In this letter to a Hamilton College classmate Taylor very briefly tells of his career after graduation. See also *St. Paul Pioneer Press*, April 29, 1893, and "Old Times of the Press" in *Cincinnati Commercial*, June 27, 1881. The latter article is signed "J. P. O., Taylor's Falls, Minn., June 15, 1881." The writer was probably John Phillips Owens, a journalist who came to Minnesota from Ohio in 1849, edited the *Minnesota Register*, and later the *Minnesotian*, served as register of the United States land office at Taylor's Falls, and died there September 11, 1884. Upham and Dunlap, *Minnesota Biographies*, 572 (*M. H. C.*, vol. 14).

<sup>3</sup> *Cincinnati Commercial*, June 27, 1881.

<sup>4</sup> Upham and Dunlap, *Minnesota Biographies*, 421 (*M. H. C.*, vol. 14).

<sup>5</sup> *Cincinnati Commercial*, June 27, 1881.

[General Taylor] would still withhold the veto of a congressional prohibition of slavery in the territories. My language was—"The extension of the Ordinance of 1787 over our Pacific Empire present and future is an object too high and permanent to be baffled by Presidential vetoes," and the expression of his decided approval of the sentiments of the *Signal* editorial, nominating him as a candidate independent of existing parties made him for nearly a year the favorite of the anti-slavery democracy of New York and elsewhere.<sup>1</sup>

President Taylor's letter—the so-called "Signal letter"—attracted widespread attention.<sup>2</sup> Later, when General Taylor accepted the nomination of the Whigs, James W. Taylor, unwilling to ally himself with that party, gave his support to the Buffalo ticket of Van Buren and Adams, and the Free Soil Party. The *Cincinnati Morning Signal* ceased to exist.<sup>3</sup>

During this same period Taylor was giving serious attention to literary work, and in 1847 published his first book entitled *The Victim of Intrigue*. This had first appeared serially in the columns of his newspaper, and was a work of fiction dealing with the conspiracy of Aaron Burr. It was written, however, with a political and historical purpose, namely, "to vindicate the reputation of John Smith, the first Senator from Ohio, from the charge that he was implicated in Burr's Conspiracy."<sup>4</sup>

Taylor had acquired prominence in political circles, and recognition of this came in his election, as a representative of Erie County, to the state constitutional convention of 1849-50.<sup>5</sup> He took an important part in its proceedings. It was

<sup>1</sup> Taylor to Hastings, June 8, 1888.

<sup>2</sup> President Taylor's letter may be found in *Niles' National Register*, 72:288 (July 3, 1847); also in John R. Irelan, *History of the Life, Administration, and Times of Zachary Taylor*, 433 (*The Republic*, vol. 12—Chicago, 1888).

<sup>3</sup> *Cincinnati Commercial*, June 27, 1881; also Taylor to Hastings, June 8, 1888. Because of his agitations in connection with the *Cincinnati Morning Signal* Taylor received the soubriquet of "Signal Taylor."

<sup>4</sup> Preface. See also Peter G. Thomson, *Bibliography of the State of Ohio*, 338 (*Cincinnati*, 1880).

<sup>5</sup> Taylor to Rutherford B. Hayes, February 21, 1877; Taylor to Hastings, June 8, 1888; *St. Paul Pioneer Press*, April 29, 1893.

he who moved a provision for a commission to simplify and reform judicial procedure, a proposition that received strong support. Such a commission was established, and Taylor himself served as its secretary. Its report, advocating revision of the judicial code of Ohio, was substantially the Dudley Field code of New York, Ohio being the first state to follow New York in its adoption.<sup>1</sup>

Not long after the suspension of the *Cincinnati Morning Signal* Taylor removed to Sandusky, Ohio, where he edited a newspaper for a time.<sup>2</sup> In 1852 he was made state librarian (probably through the influence of Salmon P. Chase), a position which he held until his departure for Minnesota in 1856.<sup>3</sup> While in this position he began to take an interest in, and acquire a knowledge of, the northwest territories, first of the United States and then of Canada. Through the discussions

<sup>1</sup> Taylor to Hastings, June 8, 1888. For an account of the convention, see Emilius O. Randall and Daniel J. Ryan, *History of Ohio*, 4: 103-16 (New York, 1912). The constitution as adopted is to be found in Wilbur H. Siebert, *Government of Ohio*, 252-68 (*Handbooks of American Government* series—New York, 1904).

It is interesting to note that another prominent early citizen of Minnesota was a member of this convention. Colonel D. A. Robertson represented Lancaster County in the first session and attracted considerable attention by his advocacy of the abolition of the state senate. Before the convention had completed its labors, he resigned and moved to St. Paul. See his papers, recently presented to the Minnesota Historical Society by his son Victor Robertson; also J. Fletcher Williams, *History of St. Paul*, 283 (*M. H. C.*, vol. 4). *Ed.*

<sup>2</sup> "Chase had a keen sense of the influence of newspaper editors and of their inside knowledge of the currents of public opinion. Dozens of them corresponded with him, among them J. W. Taylor of the 'Sandusky Register,' one of Chase's former law students." Hart, *Salmon P. Chase*, 62. See also *St. Paul Pioneer Press*, April 29, 1893.

A collection of some of the more important Chase papers was published by the public archives commission of the American Historical Association in its *Annual Report* for 1902, volume 2. While there appeared in this published collection no mention of letters from Taylor to Chase, it is probable that many such letters are to be found in the Chase collection, which is now in the possession of the Library of Congress.

<sup>3</sup> Taylor to Hastings, June 8, 1888.

in the constitutional convention he had gained some knowledge of the resources of the Northwest, and now, with good library facilities at his disposal, he began a thorough study of the subject. Writing of his activity, he later said, "In 1854 I was State Librarian of Ohio (Columbus) and collected every thing then in print upon the Northwest."<sup>1</sup> He spent much of his time in research. At the request of the governor he made a trip to Harrisburg to search the Pennsylvania archives for historical data regarding the boundaries of the two states.<sup>2</sup> With very full sources on Ohio history at his disposal, he prepared and published in 1854 a *History of the State of Ohio, First Period, 1650-1787*, which was intended as a textbook for schools and had a large circulation throughout the state. Mr. Thomson characterizes it as "a very judicious and interesting collection of material already printed in one form or another."<sup>3</sup> An examination of the book shows, however, that Taylor has woven his sources into his narrative; that is, it is not purely a source-book, but a history with full and copious illustrative extracts from original sources, and is, on the whole, a scholarly piece of work.<sup>4</sup> In its preparation his information regarding the Northwest naturally broadened. The titles of the last two chapters of his history are of interest as indicating the foundations that were being laid for his future work: "Colonial Claims to Western Lands, and Their Cession to the United States" and "The Settlement of the North Western Territory—Ordinance of 1787."

At the suggestion of the commissioner of common schools in Ohio, Taylor prepared and published in 1857 a *Manual of the Ohio School System*. In the constitutional convention of

<sup>1</sup> Taylor to R. B. Angus, December 13, 1880.

<sup>2</sup> *St. Paul Pioneer Press*, April 29, 1893.

<sup>3</sup> *Bibliography of Ohio*, 338.

<sup>4</sup> Among the original narratives from which extracts are included are those of Christopher Gist, Major Robert Rogers, Colonel John Bradstreet, Colonel William Crawford, Colonel Bouquet, Colonel George Rogers Clark, and many others. A great deal of valuable illustrative material is contained in the appendix of the book.

1850-51 he had served upon the standing committee on education and through the report of that committee was instrumental in the forming of article six of the constitution, which relates to education.<sup>1</sup> The *History of Ohio* had been written for school use; Taylor had appeared before the teachers' association as a lecturer; and for a short time had been secretary of the state administration of schools. He was deeply interested in the development of the schools, and the *Manual* is a very complete historical study of the Ohio school system.

In the meantime, however, Taylor found himself becoming more and more absorbed in the investigation of the resources of the northwest territories of the United States and Canada. To questions relating to the climate and agricultural possibilities of the northwest region, particularly of the land northwest of Minnesota and west and northwest of the Selkirk settlement, he gave close study. During the winter of 1855-56 he delivered a series of lectures on the subject before the General Assembly of Ohio, in the hall of the house of representatives. The substance of these lectures was published in the form of a letter under the title "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." It is addressed to William R. Marshall, at that time chairman of the St. Paul Chamber of Commerce. The article is an able and interesting geographical analysis, and in it Taylor arrives at the conclusion that, while ultimately a railway must push through from Lake Superior to Puget Sound, yet it must accompany systematic settlement along the route, and tributary to that enterprise and to the river and lake transportation of the United States is the

extensive and hitherto unexplored Saskatchewan plain—an area ample for four large States—with a soil of extraordinary fertility, and summers long enough to mature all the hardy cereals and fruits—thronged by fur-bearing animals . . . skirted and perhaps traversed by coal deposits, compensating for any possible

<sup>1</sup> *Manual of the Ohio School System*, 211-15, 393.

deficiency of forests—in short, a region of health and physical development, which we are not at liberty to doom to steril[i]ty and solitude with the analogies of European geography and history so clearly indicating a hardy and populous settlement of this American Scand[in]avia at no distant period of time.<sup>1</sup>

During the same year an important article by Taylor was published with the title "The Southwestern or Neosho Route of a Pacific Railway—The Expediency of Legislation in Its Favor by the Cherokee, Creek and Choctaw Nations." This is in the form of a letter addressed to George W. Manypenny, commissioner of Indian affairs, and in it Taylor analyzes the geographical situation and argues for an extension of the southwest branch of the Missouri Pacific Railroad to the road following the parallel of thirty-two degrees in Texas, then uniting with the Texas Western and coming to the Pacific at San Diego.<sup>2</sup>

#### MINNESOTA, 1856-60

In 1856 Taylor's parents, himself and his family removed to the West.<sup>3</sup> Taylor established himself in a law office in St. Paul, Minnesota, and continued to study the resources of the Northwest, occasionally contributing articles to the press. He prepared a series of papers dealing with the Minnesota boundary question, going thoroughly into the matter, particularly from the geographical point of view. In January,

<sup>1</sup> *Cincinnati Railroad Record Supplement*, April 14, 1856. Commenting editorially, the *Record* says: "The map with which these lectures were illustrated, divides up the territories into twenty-nine new embryo states, which, in course of time, would make our Union consist of sixty States. . . . The names selected for the various divisions or states, are all derived from the aborigines, and are appropriate, mellow, and full of historic interest." The article appears under the caption "Opinions of the Press.—From the Ohio State Journal of January 9."

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, March 3, 1856, reprinted from the *Ohio Statesman*. The letter is dated Columbus, Ohio, February 16, 1856.

<sup>3</sup> Manuscript article on James Taylor by his son James W. Taylor. After one year's residence in St. Paul, his parents removed to Fort Leavenworth, where they later resided. *St. Paul Pioneer Press*, April 29, 1893; Taylor to Hastings, June 8, 1888.

1857, the first of these studies appeared in a St. Paul paper under the title "State Boundary Question—Description of the Country between Red River and Lake Superior." This was followed by an article on the "Valleys of the James and Sioux Rivers—The Missouri Slope of Minnesota," and later by one entitled "State Boundary Question—The Value of the North and South Line to Southern Minnesota."<sup>1</sup> Taylor's views, based largely upon the topographical features of the country, were, briefly, that the north and south line formed a natural division of the territory, and that the Coteau des Prairies, which made commercial communication between the Missouri and the Mississippi impracticable, should mark the line of political separation. He was strongly opposed, therefore, to the inclusion of the James River and the Missouri Valley in substitution for the Red River, Ottertail, and Rainy Lake region. In his opinion the advantages of being connected with the Red River Valley, the sources of the Mississippi, and the western extremity of Lake Superior, on the north, far outweighed those which would be gained by a union with the valleys of the Sioux and James, with a boundary upon the Missouri, to the west.<sup>2</sup> Taylor proved himself something of a prophet, especially in his discussions of the territory north of the international boundary. His statement in regard to Saskatchewan was particularly significant: "Ten years will not elapse before the beautiful valley of the Saskatchewan will be the scene of British and European colonization, instead of, as now, a preserve for a hunting and trapping monopoly; and the geography of the continent indicates, that Lake Superior in one direction, the channel of the Mississippi at a lesser

<sup>1</sup> *St. Paul Advertiser*, January 31, February 21 and 28, 1857. In introducing the first article, the editor wrote: "Mr. Taylor brings to the discussion of the subject a more intimate acquaintance, perhaps, with the Physical and Political Geography of the country than any other man, and a candor and ability in the treatment of the conflicting opinions of others, which entitle his own to profound respect."

<sup>2</sup> Editorial "The Coteau des Prairies—A Natural Division Line" in *ibid.*, April 4, 1857. See also *ibid.*, February 28, 1857.

angle, and a direct railway extension through Southern Minnesota to Chicago, will be the eager contestants for the route of this immense and fertile area to the markets of the World.”<sup>1</sup>

The discussion of the boundary question led him naturally to the problem of Northwest British America, and an elaborate discussion of the “Region of North America, Tributary to the Navigation of the Red River of the North, and to the Commerce of Minnesota” appeared in April, 1857. Special attention is given in this article to the capacity of the basin of the Saskatchewan for agricultural development.<sup>2</sup> It was about this time that Taylor was given the soubriquet of “Saskatchewan,” an indication of how far he had been instrumental in “familiarizing the public mind with the resources of the valley from which this geographical *soubriquet* is derived.”<sup>3</sup>

In the spring of 1857 Taylor was appointed secretary of the Minnesota and Pacific Railroad Company.<sup>4</sup> The company was organized by the legislature of Minnesota, and received a portion of the congressional land grant. This was given to aid in the construction of a main line to the Red River at Breckenridge from Stillwater by way of St. Paul and St. Anthony, with a branch to the international boundary line which was to be built from St. Anthony by way of Anoka, St. Cloud, and Crow Wing to a point later fixed at St. Vincent. The prospects for the road, which was later to expand into a trans-continental railway, were not bright at that time. Taylor’s services were needed in spreading information about the region which the proposed line would reach. There was considerable misunderstanding and misrepresentation of the territory,

<sup>1</sup> *St. Paul Advertiser*, February 28, 1857. Taylor had a broad view of the resources of the Northwest. Speaking of its development, he said: “Here is an object, which removes our 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.”

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, April 11, 1857.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, March 20, 1858; *St. Paul Pioneer Press*, April 29, 1893.

<sup>4</sup> *St. Paul Advertiser*, April 25, 1857, where the railroad is wrongly called the Northern Pacific.

and emigration was largely directed toward the far West. Taylor sought to convince the capitalists, he wrote later, "that the great trunk line of Northern Minnesota reached a country containing an arable district as large as European Russia and richly endowed with the bounties of Providence." He labored vigorously to direct the interests both of capitalists and settlers to the Northwest.

Great distress was occasioned in the West, and particularly to the Minnesota railroad companies, by the panic which came in the summer of 1857. The Minnesota and Pacific, like the other roads, found it impossible to secure money. The expedient of the "Five Million Loan" was devised.<sup>1</sup> Among the men who vigorously urged the passage of the legislation necessary to effect this loan was James W. Taylor. The *St. Paul Advertiser* of February 20, 1858, gives a full account of a speech delivered by him at a mass meeting on February 15, in which he ably discussed the need of the loan. A newspaper writer later declared that to Taylor's pen "was due the most impressive of the appeals to the public in behalf of the famous five million loan amendment of the constitution."<sup>2</sup>

During this period Taylor was active in local political affairs. He was especially interested in questions relating to the formation of the constitution of the state of Minnesota. The election of delegates to the constitutional convention was set for June 1, 1857. It was preceded by an exciting canvass, in which Taylor took an active part, though not from a partisan standpoint. "He has no other motive," declared a newspaper editor of the time, "than to advance the cause of Constitutional Reform."<sup>3</sup> The ideas advanced by Taylor are of considerable interest. In a speech delivered on May 22, 1857, he stated his chief constitutional theories. These were summed up by the same editorial writer as follows:

<sup>1</sup> William W. Folwell, "The Five Million Loan" in *Minnesota Historical Collections*, 15: 189-214.

<sup>2</sup> *St. Paul Pioneer Press*, April 29, 1893.

<sup>3</sup> *St. Paul Advertiser*, May 30, 1857.

He argued in favor of the following restraints upon the law-making power, however constituted; that no bill should pass unless a majority of *all* the members, not merely of the quorum in attendance, recorded their names in its favor; that the whole system of special incorporations should be abandoned, these associations whenever authorized, to be organizations under general laws; that no banking system should ever be established without the fullest guaranties for perpetual specie payments; that free schools should be a permanent policy, and all school funds made irreducible, but with no attempt in the Constitution to withhold the school lands from sale; that legislative sessions should be annual, but limited in duration; that the Constitution should contain a perpetual prohibition of public debt in all forms, and that great facility for future amendments should be engrafted upon the instrument.

Taylor advocated a concentration of power in the executive, making him auditor of the state, as well as governor, for a term of four years, with a provision that the legislature "might pass a vote declaring their want of confidence in the executive, the effect of which should be to submit the question at the next general election, whether he should longer be Governor"—a form of the recall for which Taylor could not get much support. The same writer in the *Advertiser*, in speaking of Taylor's address, said, "We are informed that Mr. Taylor, in the intervals of business engagements, will address the citizens at the prominent points of the Territory prior to and during the session of the Constitutional Convention."<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *St. Paul Advertiser*, May 30, 1857. There is also an editorial of two columns on "Mr. Taylor's Constitutional Scheme" in the *St. Paul Daily Pioneer and Democrat*, May 24, 1857. Special stress was also placed by Taylor "upon the duty of retaining the present generous policy of Minnesota towards European emigration."

Taylor took an active part in the canvass of 1858 for the election of Governor Sibley (Taylor to Kelly, July 6, 1885). At the state convention of Breckinridge Democrats, held in St. Paul, September 13, 1860, Taylor was appointed permanent secretary, and received, along with Judge A. J. Edgerton of Dodge County, the nomination for Congress (*St. Paul Daily Times*, September 14, 1860). In the subsequent election he received only 768 out of a total of 70,346 votes cast (Minnesota, Secretary of State, *Annual Reports*, 1861, p. 13). It is evident

While prospects for the railway line to the international boundary were discouraging, suddenly and most fortunately "gold broke out" on Frazer River, near the interlocking sources of the North Saskatchewan. Quick results followed. Most important was the announcement by Bulwer-Lytton of the policy of continuous colonies from Lake Superior to the Pacific, and the suggestion of a road across British America as "the most direct route from London to Pekin or Jeddo." In the Northwest this discovery of gold gave impetus to the movement for a railway to Selkirk and Saskatchewan.

On December 7, 1858, the common council of the city of St. Paul adopted a resolution requesting James W. Taylor to present a report to them upon the settlement of areas northwest of Minnesota, and the extension of steam, railroad, and telegraph communications westward from the navigable waters of the Mississippi and St. Lawrence, with the relations of Minnesota to the American and Asiatic coasts of the Pacific Ocean. The resolution pointed out that communications with the North Pacific between north latitudes forty-five and fifty-five must inevitably draw the trade of China, Japan, and Asiatic Russia along the line of the Great Lakes to the centers of European

that his political position during this period was changing and indefinite. The editorials which he published in the *St. Paul Daily Press* in 1861 (see below p. 184) show complete agreement with the attitude of the Republican administration toward slavery; and he retained his position as special agent of the treasury department under this administration. One writer says, indeed, "At the outbreak of the war in 1861 he naturally drifted into the Republican party" (*Cincinnati Commercial*, June 27, 1881). Taylor himself wrote in 1885: "I have never regarded myself as other than a Democrat of the school of New York. . . . As a war Democrat in 1861 and subsequently, my political position was somewhat indefinite, but on the questions of currency and trade I adhere to the traditions of Jackson Democracy" (Taylor to Kelly, July 6, 1885). It is perhaps only fair to add that this letter was written acknowledging Mr. Kelly's support in urging Taylor's retention in the Winnipeg consulate at the beginning of the Cleveland administration. The truth of the matter, however, appears to be that Taylor's interest in northwest development and railroad-building completely overshadowed his interest in political issues.

commerce, a movement that would contribute materially to the growth of Minnesota. Mr. Taylor was urged to accompany his report with "such statistics and description of Minnesota and its resources as will encourage emigration to this state."<sup>1</sup> The geographical phases of the subject had already been thoroughly discussed, especially at a meeting on January 3, 1859, held in St. Paul, to consider an overland mail route to Puget Sound,<sup>2</sup> and in the proceedings of the St. Paul Chamber of Commerce to promote steamboat navigation on the Red River of the North.<sup>3</sup> Therefore Taylor omitted that phase, and, in his report to the council, presented on March 31, 1859, dealt rather with the legislative and other aspects of the railroad system of the state.<sup>4</sup> The following topics were discussed: organization and progress of the territory of Minnesota; the railroad land grant to the territory and future state of Minnesota; the land grant railroad routes and the action of the Minnesota legislature in relation thereto; the extent of the land grant; the right to sell railroad lands; loan of state credit to railroads by the state of Minnesota; forfeitures; the pledge of net profits to the state; the conveyance to the state of two

<sup>1</sup> St. Paul Common Council, *Proceedings*, 1858-59, p. 157.

<sup>2</sup> The *St. Paul Daily Pioneer and Democrat*, January 5, 1859, prints a memorial to Congress which was drafted by James W. Taylor, petitioning for an overland mail route from St. Paul to Puget Sound. The memorial and resolutions were adopted at the meeting of January 3. In the spring of 1859 Taylor was made resident secretary of the Nobles' expedition for the exploration of the overland route from Minnesota to British Columbia. A geographical report by him on routes between the channels of the Red River of Minnesota and the Frazer River of British Columbia was published in the *St. Paul Daily Times* for April 24, 1859. In the same paper, May 17, 1859, he had an article on "Exploration of Central British America."

<sup>3</sup> See William R. Marshall's introduction to *Railroad System of the State of Minnesota with Its Railroad, Telegraphic, and Postal Connections*, 3 (St. Paul, Pioneer Printing Company, 1859).

<sup>4</sup> *Railroad System of the State of Minnesota with Its Connections* (St. Paul, George W. Moore, *Minnesotian* office, 1859). Taylor's report was also published as an appendix to St. Paul Common Council, *Proceedings*, 1858-59, and it appeared in the *St. Paul Daily Times*, April 3, 5, 6, and 7, 1859, and in the *St. Paul Daily Pioneer and Democrat*, April 5, 1859.

hundred and forty sections of land; the transfer of first mortgage bonds; further regulations for the payment of interest; general topics; the external relations of the Minnesota railroad system. Taylor also prepared an elaborate map, upon which he designated two proposed transcontinental routes: one through British Columbia and the valley of the South Saskatchewan to Pembina, there connecting with the branch line of the Minnesota and Pacific Railroad; and the other, on American territory, to Breckenridge, the western terminus of the main line of the Minnesota and Pacific.<sup>1</sup>

The interest in the Frazer River continued. The reconstruction and launching of the "Anson Northup" occurred in the spring of 1859. The steamer had been transported up the Crow Wing River by Mr. Northup, there taken to pieces and drawn by horses and oxen to Ottertail Lake, and thence westward to the point on the Red River opposite the mouth of the Cheyenne. In reconstructing the boat, Mr. Northup received aid from the St. Paul Chamber of Commerce. A journalist, writing in *Harper's Magazine*, said: "The success of the boat works a revolution in the Company's business.<sup>2</sup> Hereafter the annual outfit and returns will pass through the United States, instead of by the difficult and circuitous passage of Hudson's Bay, to York and Moose Factories."<sup>3</sup> With the extension of a stage line from St. Cloud to Abercrombie, connections with St. Paul were made. For the people of Selkirk this was an important event. In one of his reports Taylor wrote: "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 navigation of the Red

<sup>1</sup> *Railroad System of the State of Minnesota*, sec. 13.

<sup>2</sup> Hudson's Bay Company.

<sup>3</sup> Manton Marble, "To Red River and Beyond," in *Harper's Magazine*, 21: 307 (August, 1860). An account of the "Anson Northup" is also to be found in Alvin H. Wilcox, *Pioneer History of Becker County, Minnesota* (St. Paul, 1907). The account (p. 218) is written by R. M. Probsfield.

River by a steamboat during the summer of 1859, was universally recognized as marking a new era in their annals. This public sentiment was pithily expressed by the remark: 'In 1851, the Governor of Minnesota visited us; in 1859 comes a Steamboat, and ten years more will bring the Railroad!'"<sup>1</sup>

In this connection it is of considerable interest to note a statement by Thomas D'Arcy McGee, a prominent member of the Canadian parliament. Referring to the Red River settlement, he said:

No American community has ever undergone a sterner apprenticeship to fortune, or been so unwisely underrated by imperial and Canadian statesmen. The greater part, if not all that region was an integral part of Canada at the conquest, and to Canada the people of the Selkirk settlement most naturally looked for protection against the monopolizing policy of the Hudson Bay Company. It is not creditable to us to be forced to admit that hitherto they have looked this way in vain. No Canadian can have read with satisfaction the latest intelligence from that kindred community; no Canadian can learn with satisfaction that it was left for the infant State of Minnesota, with a census not exceeding altogether this little island of Montreal, to do for them 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. To be our leaders on our own soil, though creditable to them, is surely not in this case particularly honorable to us.<sup>2</sup>

On June 18, 1859, Governor Sibley of Minnesota requested Taylor, in the course of a visit to Selkirk settlement, to obtain "reliable information relative to the physical aspects and other facts connected with the British possessions on the line of the Overland Route from Pembina *via* the Red River Settlement

<sup>1</sup> *Northwest British America and Its Relations to the State of Minnesota*, 5 (St. Paul, 1860).

<sup>2</sup> Quoted in a letter from Taylor to Secretary of the Treasury Salmon P. Chase, July 10, 1861. 37 Congress, 2 session, *House Executive Documents*, vol. 10, no. 146, p. 19 (serial 1138).

and the Saskatchewan valley to Frazer's River," and to present it to the governor in a form suitable for submission to the legislature. He was also commissioned to convey congratulations to William McTavish, the Hudson's Bay Company's governor at Fort Garry.<sup>1</sup> The trip was made, and on March 2, 1860, the successor of Governor Sibley, Alexander Ramsey, communicated to the house of representatives a report by Taylor on *Northwest British America and Its Relations to the State of Minnesota*. In presenting this report, Governor Ramsey wrote: "The accompanying report relates to matters which are not merely a subject of interesting enquiry to all, but which concern, in a great degree, the future growth and development of our State, and to which the attention of Statesmen, both of this country and of England, is already considerably directed."<sup>2</sup> The report pointed out the agricultural possibilities of the territory west and northwest of the Red River, and, discussing political matters, urged, as an accompaniment to the then imminent extension of the British colonial system, the extension of the reciprocity treaty to the Pacific Ocean, renewed for a long period of years and enlarged in its provisions. Taylor urged in connection with this renewal of reciprocity relations that "all laws discriminating between American and foreign built vessels should be abolished, establishing freedom of navigation on all the intermediate rivers and lakes of the respective Territories." He argued that such a policy of free trade and navigation would give to the United States all the commercial advantages, without the political embarrassments, of annexation. "Who can doubt," he says, "that it would speedily be followed by overland mails and the telegraph on the Pembina and Saskatchewan route, and a Continental railroad, as advocated by Maury, which England would recognize as essential to her interests in Northwest America and the Pacific coasts?"<sup>3</sup> As a general

<sup>1</sup> *Northwest British America*, 5; *Winnipeg Daily Tribune*, December 20, 1890.

<sup>2</sup> Letter of transmittal in *Northwest British America*, 3. See also Minnesota, *House Journal*, 1859-60, p. 644, and appendix, p. 2.

<sup>3</sup> *Northwest British America*, 8.

statement of Taylor's views, the last sentence in his report is significant. He says: "Believing firmly that the prosperity and development of this State is intimately associated with the destiny of Northwest British America, I am gratified to record the rapid concurrence of events which indicate that the frontier, hitherto resting upon the sources of the Saint Lawrence and the Mississippi, is soon to be pushed far beyond the International frontier by the march of Anglo-Saxon civilization."<sup>1</sup>

SPECIAL AGENT OF THE TREASURY DEPARTMENT, 1859-69

In the spring and summer of 1859 Taylor, with the strong endorsement of Senator Rice, petitioned the president for an appointment as an agent of the government. His object was to proceed to the unorganized territory between Canada and British Columbia, and direct his efforts toward preventing any collision between the Hudson's Bay Company and American parties navigating the Red River or emigrating from Minnesota to the gold districts on Frazer and Thompson rivers; likewise, to investigate, with a view to a report, the revenue and mail service of the United States on or near the frontier between Lake Superior and Puget Sound. Senator Rice pointed out that such an appointment was desirable because of the continuous steamboat navigation which connected the region north of the boundary and east of the Rockies with Minnesota; because an American steamboat would shortly pass into British territory, greatly stimulating trade with Selkirk; and because

<sup>1</sup> The appendices which accompany the report are of considerable interest: Central British America by J. W. Taylor (*Atlantic Monthly*, 5: 103-8—January, 1860); Geographical Memoir of the Red River and Saskatchewan District of British America (extract from a report of a committee of the St. Paul Chamber of Commerce, January 22, 1859, written by Taylor); Exploration of the Rocky Mountains in British America by Captain Palliser (extract from the address of Sir Roderick I. Murchison at the anniversary meeting of the Royal Geographical Society, May 23, 1859); Itineraries of Routes from St. Paul to Pembina, Fort Garry, Fort Ellice, and Edmonton House (letter to Taylor from Alfred J. Hill, March 1, 1860); Increased Production of Cultivated Plants near the Northernmost Limit of Their Growth (extracts from an

many American emigrants to the Frazer River mines had passed the border. Furthermore, he felt that "the anomalous relations of the Hudson Bay Company to the vast country between Lake Winnipeg and the Mountains rendered it eminently necessary that the Government should be fully advised upon whatever is there transpiring."<sup>1</sup> Taylor was accordingly appointed a special agent of the treasury department by the Buchanan administration, being particularly charged with the investigation of reciprocal relations of trade and transportation between the United States and Canada.<sup>2</sup> With the beginning of the Lincoln administration Taylor's friend, Salmon P. Chase, became secretary of the treasury, and Taylor retained his appointment as special agent until 1869. His activity during a considerable portion of this period was transferred to Washington.

There was in progress at this time a considerable movement for the abrogation of the treaty which had been negotiated with Great Britain, June 5, 1854, commonly known as the reciprocity treaty. Taylor was occupied largely in an investigation of the practical operation of this treaty. On May 2, 1860, he communicated statistics and observations upon that subject to the treasury department. This report, together with that of Israel T. Hatch, was transmitted by the secretary of the treasury to

article upon the "Acclimating Principle of Plants" in the *Monthly American Journal of Geology*); Professor M. F. Maury and Pacific Railroads—The Physical, Commercial, and Military Necessity of Two Railroads, One North and One South (extracts from a letter to D. A. Robertson of St. Paul from M. F. Maury, superintendent of the Observatory at Washington, January 4, 1859, read at a special meeting of the St. Paul Chamber of Commerce, January 22, 1859); British Columbia (from the correspondence of the *London Times*, dated Victoria, Vancouver's Island, December 9, 1859); Pacific Ocean Telegraph between Northern Asia and America (from an article in the *Atlantic Monthly*, 5: 290-97—March, 1860, upon the "Progress of the Electric Telegraph"; also from the *New York Herald*, February 20, 1860).

<sup>1</sup> Taylor to Buchanan, June 13, 1859. He sums up a communication sent to the president by Senator Rice on May 25, 1859.

<sup>2</sup> Taylor to Hastings, June 8, 1888; Taylor to H. B. Payne, April 24, 1885. While Taylor's appointment was made in 1859, his services did not actually begin until 1860.

the House of Representatives on June 16, 1860.<sup>1</sup> Hatch declared his conviction that all the benefits of the treaty inured to Canada, and that it was greatly injurious to the United States. He asserted that not only was the treaty unequal and unjust in its operations, containing no element of reciprocity, but that it had actually been violated by Canada. Hatch did, however, endorse the principle of reciprocal free trade as a basis for the international relations of the United States and Canada. Taylor in his report, on the other hand, attempted to vindicate the treaty of 1854 by furnishing a statistical examination into its operations. He believed that the treaty conferred reciprocal benefits on both countries, and that it had not been violated. The general conclusion of Taylor may be put in his own words: "The records of the country, particularly the reports of the Treasury Department, are, without exception, a complete vindication of the treaty of June 5, 1854." "For the present I can safely aver that there is but one sentiment west of Buffalo on the line of the great lakes, and that is hostility to the abrogation of the reciprocity treaty. If any change is demanded it is in a different direction—in favor of its territorial extension to the new province soon to be organized northwest of Minnesota and British Columbia, and of its enlargement, as soon as practicable, so as to merit the designation of a *zollverein* or customs union."<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> 36 Congress, 1 session, *House Executive Documents*, vol. 13, no. 96 (serial 1057). Taylor's report occupies pages 48-60.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, 47, 60.

In 1860 the Oswego Board of Trade published an interesting pamphlet entitled *Reciprocity with British North America Vindicated*, a copy of which was found among the pamphlets accompanying the Taylor Papers. A committee had been appointed to investigate the reciprocity treaty, and the pamphlet, which is a report of their examination, is devoted to a refutation of the arguments brought forward by Hatch in the treasury department publication. It says (p. 4): "Your Committee concur in opinion with Mr. Taylor, and hope by a brief, but careful examination of the provisions and working of the Treaty, to establish the fact that its benefits are reciprocal and universal, so far as their operations extend."

Taylor's report of 1860 was preliminary to an elaborate study of *Relations between the United States and Northwest British America*, which was published by order of Congress in 1862. On May 20, 1862, the House of Representatives requested Secretary Chase to communicate information upon this subject, with particular reference to the central district of the Red River of the North and the Saskatchewan. Relations between England and the United States were strained. The Civil War had come, with British sympathy on the side of the South; and it was a grave period in American relations with British North America. The reply of Secretary Chase to the congressional resolution is a compendium of communications from Special Agent Taylor covering the period from July 10, 1861 to June 12, 1862.<sup>1</sup> On July 10, 1861, Taylor wrote to the department (from St. Paul) :

Having reason to believe that what is known to the English and Canadian people as the "Red River and Saskatchewan districts of British America" will be speedily organized, with the powerful co-operation of the Hudson Bay Company, as a crown colony of England, and that active measures for its colonization in the interest of a continental confederation of the provinces, and a railroad from Lake Superior to the Pacific, north of our boundary, will promptly follow, I am solicitous to present to the American government and people a full and satisfactory compilation of the natural resources, present civil and commercial organizations, and future relations of the interesting region in question, with which circumstances have made me familiar. In this connexion, I shall urge that no unnecessary restrictions shall be imposed upon the intercourse, already very considerable in extent, between the States of the northwest and this rising dominion of England upon the waters of Lake Winnipeg.<sup>2</sup>

Included in his report was a compendium of the revenue laws of Assiniboia, passed March 14, 1861; and some account of the operation of the Canadian reciprocity treaty, emphasizing

<sup>1</sup> *Relations between the United States and Northwest British America* (37 Congress, 2 session, *House Executive Documents*, vol. 10, no. 146—serial 1138).

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, 18.

the value and extent of the Canadian market for all forms of American industry, especially manufactures and agriculture. On December 17, 1861, he communicated a dispatch to the department in which he dealt with the "dissatisfaction of the Assiniboians with British inadequacy." How serious this movement was, in Taylor's opinion, is indicated by this statement: "The Americanization of this important section of British America is rapidly progressing. Unless 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."<sup>1</sup>

The relations with England had darkened, and it seemed as though war might not be avoided, a prospect that led Taylor to declare to the department the competency of Minnesota to "hold, occupy, and possess" the Red River to Lake Winnipeg.<sup>2</sup> Yet in the same communication Taylor wrote: "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." On June 12, 1862, he again wrote of the general dissatisfaction in the Red River settlement at the neglect of the home government, and indicated, writing of a customs union of British America

<sup>1</sup> *Relations between the United States and Northwest British America*, 43-45.

<sup>2</sup> Taylor's argument was summarized as follows (*ibid.*, 5):

1. The defenceless condition of the valley:
  - a. No British troops at Fort Garry;
  - b. Indians depredate with impunity;
  - c. The "Nor'wester" confesses weakness, demanding a "change" as "absolutely necessary."
2. Hardihood of the lumbermen and laborers of Minnesota.
3. Facilities for military operations:
  - a. Accessibility by way of the Minnesota and Pacific railroad route—commonly known as the "Wood Road."

and the United States, that the demand for reciprocity was continental. The *British Colonist* (of Victoria) declared on April 15, 1862: "Any scheme of reciprocity ought to include the whole British territory of the Pacific—even British Siberia."<sup>1</sup>

The tide was running against the reciprocity treaty, however. Taylor continued earnestly to advocate it, urging that enlarged and extended territorially, it should become a permanent continental policy.<sup>2</sup> In 1862 the St. Paul Chamber of Commerce submitted to Congress a memorial, drawn up by Taylor, "remonstrating against any action at the present session of Congress suspending the treaty between the United States and Great Britain of June 5, 1854, commonly known as the Reciprocity Treaty."<sup>3</sup> In this memorial it was admitted that a revision might become necessary, but it was urged that such revision, if unavoidable, should be in the direction of further

<sup>1</sup> *Relations between the United States and Northwest British America*, 43-45. The greater part of this document is devoted to a "Geographical Memoir of Northwest British America, and Its Relations to the Revenue and Commerce of the United States." The closing paragraphs of the memoir are of interest:

It would be an instance of well-directed legislation for the Congress of the United States and the Parliament of England to unite in a liberal subsidy, say of \$200,000 by each government, for the transmission of a weekly mail from the limits of navigation on the Mississippi river and the British coast of Lake Superior by an international route to the centres of the gold districts of British Columbia and Washington Territory.

Similar reciprocity of action has led to unity of interests and sentiments on the opposite coasts of the St. Lawrence and the great lakes, itself an effective bond of peace. Why not disarm the whole frontier of the north by constant multiplication of such ties and guarantees of international concord? The preceding exhibit of what nature has proposed in Northwest America is submitted with the hope and confidence that man will dispose of the future relations of adjacent and homogeneous communities upon a firm and lasting basis of mutual interest and good will.

The printed document read "natural interest"; in his copy, found in the Taylor Papers, Taylor has crossed out the word "natural" and inserted "mutual" in the margin.

<sup>2</sup> Taylor to C. J. Brydges, February 2, 1864.

<sup>3</sup> *Memorial of the Chamber of Commerce, St. Paul, Minnesota* (37 Congress, 2 session, *Senate Miscellaneous Documents*, no. 26—serial 1124).

freedom of commercial intercourse, not of additional restrictions. It is significant that this memorial was reprinted in the report of the Canadian minister of finance on the reciprocity treaty, a report which also discusses the United States government reports of Hatch and Taylor.<sup>1</sup> Taylor was also in communication with many Canadians on the subject at this time, particularly with the managing director of the Grand Trunk Railway of Canada, Mr. C. J. Brydges.<sup>2</sup>

A great commercial convention was held in Detroit in July, 1865. To this gathering came representatives from boards of trade and chambers of commerce of the United States and the British North American provinces. The purpose of the conference was to consider such subjects as commerce, finance, communications of transit from the West to the seaboard, and reciprocal trade between the United States and the provinces. James W. Taylor was present at this convention as the representative of the St. Paul Board of Trade. He was made a member of the committee on reciprocity, and a resolution drafted by him was adopted by the committee and presented to the convention. Though approving the notice of termination of the treaty of 1854, it requested that negotiations for a new, enlarged reciprocal commercial intercourse, including British Columbia, the Selkirk settlement, and Vancouver's Island, should be entered upon, asking also for the free navigation of the St. Lawrence and other rivers of British North America, and suggesting that improvements of rivers and canals be undertaken adequate to the needs of the West in communicating with the ocean. The resolution precipitated an unusually sharp debate on the question of reciprocity, chief among those opposing it being Hannibal Hamblin. Toward the end of the debate, however, a powerful speech in its favor was delivered by Joseph

<sup>1</sup> Canada, Minister of Finance, *Report 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. thereon*, 29-32, 38-40 (Quebec, 1862).

<sup>2</sup> See the correspondence of 1864 in the Taylor Papers.

Howe of Nova Scotia, who later became Canadian secretary of state, and the resolution was unanimously adopted.<sup>1</sup>

The House of Representatives passed a resolution on March 28, 1866, requesting an extensive report on the subject of commercial relations with British America, and James W. Taylor was asked by the secretary of the treasury, now Hugh McCulloch, to prepare it. One feature of this report, which was presented by the secretary on June 12, 1866,<sup>2</sup> attracted widespread attention and drew upon Taylor's head not a little censure. Taylor believed that the destiny of British America was involved in "the extension of an ocean coast to the western limits of the great lakes, and a railway from Halifax to the capital of the confederation, and thence exclusively on the soil of the confederation to the North Pacific coast." Feeling certain that England would assume no material portion of the obligations which such an undertaking would entail (he estimated improvements of the St. Lawrence and Welland canals at twenty million dollars and a St. Lawrence and Pacific railway at a hundred million in addition to liberal land grants), and believing that the federal government of the provinces would "doubtless regard the promised communication between Halifax and Quebec as the utmost possible limit of its railway

<sup>1</sup> *Proceedings of the Commercial Convention Held in Detroit July 11th, 12th, 13th, and 14th, 1865*, 8, 31, 98-195 (Detroit, 1865); *Winnipeg Daily Tribune*, December 20, 1890. The account in the *Tribune* of Taylor's participation in the convention is included in a short sketch of his career, which he had probably revised.

<sup>2</sup> *Commercial Relations with British America* (39 Congress, 1 session, *House Executive Documents*, no. 128—serial 1263).

An idea of the comprehensiveness of this report may be gained from Taylor's own summary of the subjects treated (p. 2):

1. "The trade of the provinces of British North America, especially Canada, in 1854 and 1865, respectively, the values being estimated in gold, and specifying what proportion of said trade was with the United States, and what articles, if any, were exclusively exported to the United States."

2. A summary of tariff legislation in Canada since 1854.

3. American commerce on the canals of Canada and by the route of the St. Lawrence river.

4. General information in regard to the commercial relations between the United States and British America.

liability, at least for this century," Taylor drew up and presented a proposal for a union of the United States and British America. This proposal was formulated as a bill entitled "An Act 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." The bill was, to use Taylor's own words, "analagous to the Resolution admitting Texas as a state and rested upon the constitutional authority of Congress to admit new states."<sup>1</sup> The conditions of the admission of the Canadian states were set forth in twelve articles, which were very complete in their details. Provision was made for territorial divisions, representation, the public debts, and the form of government. The most interesting articles, however, were those providing for the immediate construction of an international railway, and making liberal allowances for the improvement of watercourses. Article 11 proposed a payment by the United States of ten million dollars to the Hudson's Bay Company "in full discharge of all claims to territory or jurisdiction in North America." The concluding statement of the report is of considerable interest:

I will not extend this paper by any presentation of what I regard as the great preponderance of benefit to the people of the provinces. I only reiterate that they have a right to demand of their present rulers two great objects, a Mediterranean to Superior, and a railway to the Pacific ocean, and these before 1880; and I cannot believe these objects will be assured to this generation by a provincial confederation, or by the intervention of England. The United States may interpose, with the requisite guarantees; and if so, why shall we not combine to extend an American Union to the Arctic circle?

The chairman of the committee upon foreign relations in the House of Representatives, General N. P. Banks, made the proposition his own, and submitted it to the House. Because of demonstrations against the measure in Canada, it was thought expedient, after consultation with the secretary of state and

<sup>1</sup> Taylor to the Speaker of the House, n.d. (after January 12, 1871).

members of Congress, not to press the consideration of the bill. Reverting to the nature of the proposition in a speech before the National Board of Trade at Richmond in 1869, Taylor characterized it as "not the *annexation* of Canada to the United States,—the term is offensive,—but such a free and voluntary union between these people of the Northland of the continent and ourselves, as we entered into with the Republic of Texas, or as was effected in 1787 between the Independent Colonies which now compose the United States."<sup>1</sup> A writer in a Winnipeg newspaper said of the proposal, that "although unacceptable to Canada even more than to England, yet it proved a powerful motor in advancing Confederation and assuring the marvellous achievement of a Canadian inter-oceanic communication."<sup>2</sup> As an indication of the shaping of sentiment at Washington, it is not unlikely that the proposal, coming shortly after the abrogation of the treaty of 1854, had some influence.<sup>3</sup> Taylor did not soon give up his idea. On November 23, 1867, he wrote a long letter to Mr. Edward Cooper, urging the proposition. In this letter he declared that he had suggested to President Johnson the advisability of calling the attention of Congress to the measure in his message, believing that

<sup>1</sup> National Board of Trade, *Proceedings*, 1869, p. 139. The bill was introduced in the House by General Banks on July 2, 1866. 39 Congress, 1 session, *House Journal*, 945 (serial 1243).

<sup>2</sup> *Winnipeg Daily Tribune*, December 20, 1890.

<sup>3</sup> The treaty came to an end in April, 1866. See statement in Bourinot, *Canada under British Rule*, 303. For an extremely violent commentary on the introduction of this bill in Congress, see Sir Edward W. Watkin, *Canada and the States: Recollections, 1851 to 1866*, 227-47 (London, 1887). The author prints Taylor's bill in full, introducing it in the following gentle manner: "Here is this insulting document printed verbatim. I challenge the quotation of any similar outrage on the part of any civilized nation at peace with the Empire attacked" (p. 228). Had a similar bill, as applied to the Southern States, been introduced in the British House of Commons, Sir Edward declares that the United States ambassador to the court of St. James would have been promptly recalled (p. 227). He prints the bill as an illustration of the "consequences of vacillation and delay in the vigorous government of the Hudson's Bay territory, and in all distant parts of the Empire" (p. 227).

such an action would give an impulse to the movement "which might mark an epoch in our manifest continental destiny."<sup>1</sup>

A request of Congress in July, 1866, for the collection, by the secretary of the treasury, of "reliable statistical information concerning the gold and silver mines of the western States and Territories" was referred by Mr. McCulloch to J. Ross Browne, for the districts west of the Rocky Mountains, and to James W. Taylor, for the districts east of the Rockies.<sup>2</sup> The services rendered by Taylor in the course of this investigation were important, particularly in connection with the framing of the Mineral Land Act. In a private letter Taylor wrote :

Near the close of the war there was a proposition to raise revenue from a sale of the mineral lands—especially in the gold districts of the Rocky Mountains and the Pacific Coast. For seventeen years the gold and silver mines, with towns, cities, and ranches, had been developed on government lands—absolutely a trespass. Public sales were proposed on elaborate bills from the Finance Committees—by John Sherman in the Senate and George W. Julian in the House. Great excitement ensued in the mining states and territories. Mr. Chase placed me in communication with the Congressional representatives from the Pacific Coast and my draft of a "Mineral Lands Preemption Act" reconciled all interests. It was finally passed in 1866, and is the basis of title and occupation in all the mining districts of the country.<sup>3</sup>

Writing of the results of this act, he said, in his report to the secretary of the treasury :

By that act, freedom of exploration, free occupation of government lands for placer mining, a right to pre-empt quartz lodes previously held and improved according to local customs or codes of mining, the right of way for aqueducts or canals, not less essential to agriculture than to mining, and the extension of the homestead and other beneficent provisions of the public land system in favor of settlers upon agricultural lands in mineral districts,

<sup>1</sup> See below, p. 196.

<sup>2</sup> J. Ross Browne and James W. Taylor, *Reports upon the Mineral Resources of the United States*, 3, 323 (Washington, 1867).

<sup>3</sup> Taylor to A. B. Nettleton, April 15, 1883; also Taylor to Alexander Ramsey, June 14, 1869.

have been established as most important elements for the attraction of population and the encouragement of mining enterprises.<sup>1</sup>

The report prepared by Taylor was submitted to the secretary on February 8, 1867 (from St. Paul). It included information in regard to the production of gold and silver in the territories of New Mexico, Colorado, and Montana, in the Vermillion district of Minnesota, and upon the eastern slope of the Alleghany range in the states of Georgia, South Carolina, North Carolina, Virginia, and Maryland. It also referred to discoveries of gold in New Hampshire, Nova Scotia, and Canada. The second and third parts of the report are characteristic of Taylor's chief interest. They present a general review of the production of gold and silver in other portions of the world for the purpose of showing relatively the commercial and social importance of the treasure product of the United States; and a summary of the domestic commerce from the Missouri River westward to the interior or mining districts, with prospects of railway communication with the Rocky Mountains and the Pacific Coast. "There are two indispensable requisites to the development of the western mines," said Taylor, "security from Indian hostilities, and the establishment of railway communication to the Pacific coast on the parallels of 35°, 40°, and 45°"<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Browne and Taylor, *Mineral Resources of the United States*, 350.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, 324-50. Taylor's report was also printed separately as *Gold Mines East of the Rocky Mountains* (39 Congress, 2 session, *House Executive Documents*, no. 92—serial 1293).

The following year, 1868, Taylor's report, considerably expanded in form, and changed in name to *The Mineral Resources of the United States East of the Rocky Mountains*, was submitted again to the secretary of the treasury and to the House of Representatives (40 Congress, 2 session, *House Executive Documents*, no. 273—serial 1343). Browne's report was likewise expanded and printed as 40 Congress, 2 session, *House Executive Documents*, no. 202 (serial 1342). The two reports, with separate title pages and pagination, were also published in one volume as *Reports on the Mineral Resources of the United States* (Washington, 1868).

## MISCELLANEOUS ACTIVITIES, 1860-69

During the period 1860-69 Taylor engaged in a number of activities outside the sphere of his duties as special agent of the treasury department. He was a frequent contributor of articles to newspapers, being for a time officially connected with the *St. Paul Daily Press*.<sup>1</sup> In October, 1862, he contributed a series of papers to the *Press*, which were reprinted as a pamphlet entitled *The Sioux War: What shall We Do with It? The Sioux Indians: What shall We Do with Them?* He urged a vigorous offensive movement against the Sioux Indians, especially demanding the total expulsion of the Sioux and Winnebagoes from the state. Answering his second question, he proposed that Isle Royale, in Lake Superior, be made a penal Indian colony for the "confinement of all the Indian remnants of the States of Michigan, Wisconsin and Minnesota, and of the entire Sioux nation, wherever scattered in the Territory of Dakota."<sup>2</sup> Another pamphlet by Taylor relating to the Indian question, entitled *The Sioux War; What has been Done by the Minnesota Campaign of 1863; What should be Done during a Dakota Campaign of 1864*, was published in 1863. It was a reprint of papers contributed to the *Press* during August and September of that year. At the conclusion of this pamphlet he submitted a memorial to the national authorities, executive and legislative, in which the policies he advocated were embodied. These policies, which are of considerable interest and significance, may be stated briefly as follows: a vigorous prosecution of the campaign in the territory between Minnesota and

<sup>1</sup> "Soon after the civil war broke out he [Taylor] was employed for a short time as editor of the *St. Paul Press*. . . His editorials were marked by an earnest patriotism, which was in accord with the public feeling." *St. Paul Pioneer Press*, April 29, 1893.

<sup>2</sup> The divisions of the pamphlet form an outline of his argument. They are as follows: Is the war ended? The numbers and situation of the enemy; General Warren's views of a Sioux campaign; the removal of the Indians from the state; where shall the Minnesota Indians go? Isle Royale, in Lake Superior, as a penal Indian colony; the attractions of Isle Royale; a petition to the general government; an appeal to the Christian public.

the Rocky Mountains; the negotiation of a treaty with the Sioux Indians opening the Black Hills to the people of Dakota; the extension of Noble's wagon road from Fort Pierre westward to connect with Mullen's military road from Fort Benton to Walla Walla; the passage of Senator Doolittle's North Pacific railroad bill; the division of the territory of Idaho, the part east of the mountains to be known as Upsaroka; the establishment of a military post at the head of steamboat navigation on the Yellowstone River; and military colonization of the mountain districts by the soldiery on the termination of the Civil War.

Another series of *Press* articles, contributed during the month ending December 15, 1861, were gathered together and published in pamphlet form in 1862 under the title *Alleghania: A Geographical and Statistical Memoir Exhibiting the Strength of the Union, and the Weakness of Slavery, in the Mountain Districts of the South*. In them Taylor urged "immediate and effective support by a powerful military demonstration similar to Sherman's celebrated march to the sea in the latter stages of hostilities."<sup>1</sup> He believed that the key to the speedy and permanent restoration of the Republic was "counter-revolution" and he sought, by a careful geographical and statistical study, to show that the nation held

within the limits of the insurgent States, very important elements and instruments for a Counter Revolution of those States. The "Back Country," or Alleghany Districts of the States East of the Mississippi, the French and Creole population of Louisiana, and the German or grazing counties of Western Texas, will pronounce for the Union whenever the Army and Navy of the United States shall afford the protection against insurrection and the guaranty of Republican institutions which the Constitution enjoins upon the General Government. In those localities and in the dispositions of the inhabitants, the Rebellion has no firm foundation. On the contrary, they are ripe and ready to follow the instructive precedent established in West Virginia.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *Winnipeg Daily Tribune*, December 20, 1890.

<sup>2</sup> *Alleghania*, vi.

Taylor had been interested in schools in Ohio to a considerable extent. In Minnesota he served on the board of directors of the state normal school at the organization of that work and for several years subsequently. At a meeting of the normal board, August 16, 1859, Taylor was appointed one of a committee of three to attend the next meeting of the legislature and "secure such legislative aid as may be necessary to establish successfully this State Normal School."<sup>1</sup> The reports for the first few years following show that Taylor took a prominent part in the work of the normal directors. On June 28, 1861, at a meeting of the board in Winona, it was resolved, upon motion by James W. Taylor, that "the Prudential Committee is hereby authorized and directed to negotiate with the city authorities of Winona, and if by a disbursement of \$5,000, in connection with city aid, a suitable building for the use of the normal school, and a city model school can be constructed, then to proceed immediately with the construction of the same; and the sum of \$5,000 is hereby appropriated for the purposes aforesaid."<sup>2</sup> Taylor was present at the opening of the normal school at Winona in 1860, and made an address at a meeting which came together to consider the organization of a teachers' institute. "He went into a general review of the Teachers' Institutes, to show their importance as a means of awakening public interest and directing it toward the school system. He alluded to their success in the older States, and in Ohio, especially." His advocacy brought out considerable criticism, one gentleman, Mr. Burt, of the prudential committee, urging that Taylor made institutes too prominent a feature. Mr. Burt argued that a normal school would "remove the necessity of a Teachers' Institute."<sup>3</sup>

Taylor was interested in the work of the Minnesota Historical Society, having become an active member on May 6, 1858.

<sup>1</sup> Minnesota, State Normal School, *First Annual Report of the Board of Directors*, 4 (St. Paul, 1860).

<sup>2</sup> Minnesota, State Normal Board, *Annual Reports*, 1862, p. 17.

<sup>3</sup> *Addresses Delivered at the Opening of the State Normal School, Winona, Minnesota*, 45 (St. Paul, 1860).

He served as a vice-president of the society 1860-64, was a member of the executive council 1870-73, and was a corresponding member from 1885 until his death in 1893.<sup>1</sup> In this connection it is interesting to note that in 1860, on the occasion of Governor W. H. Seward's visit to St. Paul, an interview between him and the Bishop of Rupert's Land, Reverend David Anderson, at the rooms of the historical society, was arranged by Taylor.<sup>2</sup> The speeches of the two men, especially that of the bishop, attracted considerable notice. Describing this interview, a writer in a Winnipeg paper later said that the speeches were read, marked and inwardly digested by the press and politicians of Canada. Bishop Anderson and a large majority of the Selkirk settlers memorialized for a crown colony like British Columbia, and the astute statesmen at Toronto and Quebec (Parliament meeting concurrently at these capitals) and business men of Montreal, Toronto, and Hamilton determined that Canada must assume a vigorous continental policy, securing a West of "illimitable possibilities" and that every necessary concession must be made to break up the alliance of the Hudson's Bay Company with Minnesota projectors, or at least, by political and commercial co-operation to bring Selkirk, Saskatchewan, and Columbia into combinations equally close with the Eastern Provinces.<sup>3</sup>

About 1867 the name of Taylor was presented to the directors of the Northern Pacific Railroad Company for the office of secretary. Although he was well supported in this application, he failed to obtain the appointment. He did, however, secure a connection with the Northern Pacific by which he represented its interests at commercial conventions held in Boston, Portland, and Cincinnati.<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Minnesota Historical Society Manuscript Records, 1850-66, May 6, 1858, March 5, 1860, February 19, 1864; 1870-73, pp. 5, 231-35; Minnesota Historical Society, *Annual Reports*, 1869, p. 2; 1870, p. 2; 1871, p. 2; *Minnesota Historical Collections*, 5: 513.

<sup>2</sup> A complete account of this interview appeared in the *St. Paul Daily Press*, January 30, 1862, which, though unsigned, was undoubtedly written by Taylor. See *Minnesota Historical Collections*, 8: 57.

<sup>3</sup> *Winnipeg Daily Tribune*, December 20, 1890.

<sup>4</sup> Taylor to William Windom, July 20, 1869.

It was Taylor's desire, after his relations with the treasury department had been severed, to draw up a final report embodying all the subjects which he had investigated, and particularly the relations of the revenue service to Northwest British America, and the situation on the northern Minnesota frontier in connection with the transfer of the Hudson's Bay Territory to Canada.<sup>1</sup> The matter was taken up by Alexander Ramsey, but no appointment was forthcoming at the time.

The year 1869 was one of great activity for Taylor. No longer connected with the treasury department at Washington, he felt free to have his services employed in connection with western railway enterprises. In the spring of 1869 he was in communication with Jay Cooke, the financier, and in June of that year, on the recommendation of the latter, he was appointed an agent of the Lake Superior and Mississippi Railroad Company, under agreement to devote one fourth of his time to that organization. About the same time he entered into a similar engagement with the St. Paul and Pacific Railroad Company. His duties were to contribute articles to the press of the United States and Canada, and to aid, in so far as he was able, in connection with bills before Congress. The main topics on which he wrote were the Pacific lines of railroad, western immigration, and relations with British America. Taylor had become an authority on these questions, and as he wrote for papers of large circulation and influence, it is reasonable to believe that he exerted considerable influence on public sentiment. He commenced with a series of publications in the *Chicago Tribune*, the *Toronto Globe*, and the *New York Tribune*. The list was soon extended to include the *Philadelphia Press* and the *New York Times*, besides the St. Paul papers, the *Winnipeg Tribune*, and other western papers. His articles were widely copied in America and England.<sup>2</sup>

In December, 1869, Taylor represented the St. Paul Cham-

<sup>1</sup> Taylor to Ramsey, June 14, 1869.

<sup>2</sup> Taylor to W. B. Ogden, June 12, 1869; to Horace White, September 18, 1869; to F. H. Clarke, January 12, 1871.

ber of Commerce at the second annual meeting of the National Board of Trade, held at Richmond, and was elected a vice-president and member of the executive council of that body for 1870.<sup>1</sup> He took a prominent part in its proceedings, serving on several important committees,<sup>2</sup> and delivering several addresses, particularly one on internal improvements.<sup>3</sup>

#### THE RED RIVER REBELLION OF 1869-70

On June 14, 1869, Taylor, having learned of the form of the provisional government which Canada proposed for the Selkirk and Saskatchewan districts, and feeling certain that it would prove unsatisfactory to the people of the districts, wrote to Alexander Ramsey asking him to use his influence in securing a commission from the state department for Taylor by which his services could be used in connection with the Northwest question.<sup>4</sup> In the latter part of 1869 a series of events occurred which culminated in the first so-called "Riel Rebellion," and which incidentally led to the appointment of James W. Taylor as a secret agent of the state department at Washington.

The Hudson's Bay Company, by an agreement made in 1868 with a Canadian delegation consisting of Sir George Cartier and William McDougall, had agreed to give over their domain to the Canadian government upon the payment of three hundred thousand pounds, and the reservation of certain lands and rights for the company. The Canadian parliament gave its assent to these terms in 1869, and made provisions for the temporary government of Rupert's Land and the Northwest Territory when it should be transferred to Canada. In the fall of that year William McDougall was made lieutenant-governor

<sup>1</sup> National Board of Trade, *Proceedings*, 1869, p. xiii (Boston, 1870).

<sup>2</sup> Committee on trade statistics and reports (*ibid.*, 19); committee to wait on the governor of Virginia (*ibid.*, 49); committee on uniform conveyances of land (*ibid.*). He served also as a member of the committee upon water communications between the Mississippi Valley and the Atlantic Coast (Taylor to J. J. Porter, October 26, 1869).

<sup>3</sup> National Board of Trade, *Proceedings*, 1869, pp. 87-91.

<sup>4</sup> Taylor to Ramsey, June 14, 1869.

with the understanding that he was to assume his official position on the legal transfer of the territory.<sup>1</sup> The population of the district comprising the province of Manitoba consisted at this time of from twelve to fourteen thousand inhabitants. Oscar Malmros, consul of the United States at Winnipeg, in a letter to the secretary of state at Washington declared that of this number one half were French half-breeds, belonging to the Catholic Church, and the other half were descendants of Scotchmen, English half-breeds, and a few Americans.<sup>2</sup> These people had been living under the government of the Hudson's Bay Company, at the head of whose governing body, the Council of Assiniboia, was William McTavish.<sup>3</sup> In September, 1869, McDougall left for Fort Garry.<sup>4</sup> On September 11 Mr. Malmros wrote to the state department: "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."<sup>5</sup> The causes of the discontent were complex, and can not be discussed fully in this biography. Sir John G. Bourinot writes:

The cause of the troubles is to be traced not simply to the apathy of the Hudson's Bay Company's officials, who took no steps to prepare the settlers for the change of government, nor to the fact that the Canadian authorities neglected to consult the wishes of the inhabitants, but chiefly to the belief that prevailed among the ignorant French half-breeds that it was proposed to take their lands from them. Sir John Macdonald admitted, at a later time, that much of the trouble arose "from a lack of concilia-

<sup>1</sup> Bourinot, *Canada under British Rule*, 227. See John Lewis, "The New Dominion" in Shortt and Doughty, *Canada and Its Provinces*, 6: 31-45, for an account of the Red River Rebellion.

<sup>2</sup> Malmros to J. C. B. Davis, acting secretary of state, September 11, 1869, in 41 Congress, 2 session, *Senate Executive Documents*, no. 33, p. 2 (serial 1405). See also Lewis in *Canada and Its Provinces*, 6: 32; Bourinot, *Canada under British Rule*, 228; Taylor to Hamilton Fish, January 20, 1870, in 41 Congress, 2 session, *Senate Executive Documents*, no. 33, p. 19.

<sup>3</sup> Lewis in *Canada and Its Provinces*, 6: 32.

<sup>4</sup> Bourinot, *Canada under British Rule*, 227.

<sup>5</sup> 41 Congress, 2 session, *Senate Executive Documents*, no. 33, p. 3.

tion, tact and prudence shown by the surveyors during the summer of 1869." Mr. Macdougall also appears to have disobeyed his instructions, for he attempted to set up his government by a *coup-de-main* on the 1st December, though he had no official information of the transfer of the country to Canada, and was not legally entitled to perform a single official act.<sup>1</sup>

Another historian writes :

The British North America Act provided means for the admission into the union of Rupert's Land and the North-West Territory, and in the first session of the new parliament resolutions were adopted asking that the power should be exercised. In view of the difficulty which afterwards arose, it should be noted that these resolutions evinced an inclination to deal fairly with the people of the West. They were to have political institutions bearing analogy, as far as circumstances would admit, to those which existed in the provinces of the Dominion. Similar good intentions were shown in the agreement with the Hudson's Bay Company, which provided that the rights of Indians and half-breeds should be respected, and in the instructions given by Howe as secretary of state to William McDougall, when the latter was appointed lieutenant-governor of the new country.<sup>2</sup>

Yet a little later, the same writer declares, in speaking of the negotiations with the Hudson's Bay Company :

The prime mistake was that while these negotiations were being carried on with the company in England, no one was treating with the inhabitants of the country. Their consent to the momentous change was taken for granted. Again, an act for the temporary government of the country, passed by the parliament of Canada in 1869, was criticized because it did not recognize the political rights of the people and their right to a voice in the formation of the government. That this charge was well founded was afterwards admitted by William McDougall, one of the chief actors in the drama.<sup>3</sup>

An interesting point for investigation is the part played in connection with these disturbances by American influence. So

<sup>1</sup> *Canada under British Rule*, 227.

<sup>2</sup> Lewis in *Canada and Its Provinces*, 6: 31.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, 32.

early as March 6, 1868, the legislature of the state of Minnesota, in a memorial to the president and Congress of the United States, declared :

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.<sup>1</sup>

A declaration by the *New York Times* is of interest :

A mistake will be committed if, in considering the causes and scope of the insurrection, some allowance be not made for the variety and strength of the American influences which have long been in operation in the Red River region. Separated from Canada by a vast wilderness of rock and swamp, the inhabitants of the Territory have no communication with the outer world, save through the United States. They have been accustomed to carry their products to St. Paul for sale, and have derived thence their supplies. Their country was all but inaccessible until Minnesota enterprise established the means of communication. Minnesotians gave them stage coaches and a steamboat, with their attendant mail and commercial facilities;<sup>2</sup> and the marvelous progress of the Minnesota railroad system holds out to them prospects of cheap and rapid intercourse with the market on which they mainly depend. All these are powerful agencies in Americanizing the people. They know Canada only as a far-off

<sup>1</sup> Quoted in a letter from Taylor to Fish, January 20, 1870, included in President Grant's message to the Senate, February 2, 1870, in 41 Congress, 2 session, *Senate Executive Documents*, no. 33, p. 24. Taylor discusses the relations of Minnesota and the United States to the whole situation.

<sup>2</sup> In 1864 a United States government report estimated the imports of Central British America, for the use of the Hudson's Bay Company and the Selkirk settlers, at a value of five hundred thousand dollars annually, and the average annual exports at not less than one million dollars. *Ibid.*, 23.

country, which has never done anything for their benefit, and which proposes to make a purchase of the Hudson's Bay Company's possessions a pretext for inflicting upon them an authority having no sympathy with their wants or wishes. On the other hand, they know Americans as their neighbors and friends, as their co-workers and customers, with whom they are identified in all that relates to the future of the Northwest.<sup>1</sup>

The general outlines of the story of the rebellion are well known. McDougall, traveling to assume his governing duties, went by way of St. Paul, and on the route from St. Paul to Pembina was told of hostile actions by the Métis. At Pembina a half-breed gave the governor formal notice not to enter the territory. McDougall ignored this warning and continued on to the Hudson's Bay post, two miles from the American border. On November 2 a body of insurgents, armed and mounted, surrounded Fort Pembina, and ordered McDougall to recross the boundary. Having no adequate means of resistance, he was forced to return. On the same day the insurgents took Fort Garry. When Sir John Macdonald learned of the situation on the Red River he

determined not to accept from the Hudson's Bay Company the territory in its disturbed state, held back the payment of the money due to the company, notified the British authorities of what he proposed, and warned McDougall not to try to force his way into the country, nor to assume the functions of government prematurely. Such an assumption, he said, would put an end to the authority of the Hudson's Bay Company. Then, if McDougall were not admitted, there would be no legal government, and anarchy must follow. . . . The warning was given too late. The letter was written nearly a month after Riel<sup>2</sup> was in possession of Fort Garry and only a few days before December 1, when McDougall supposed that the transfer would take effect.<sup>3</sup>

The story of the government set up by Louis Riel, the young leader of the insurrection, can not be detailed here. Suffice it

<sup>1</sup> 41 Congress, 2 session, *Senate Executive Documents*, no. 33, p. 41.

<sup>2</sup> The leader and most interesting personality of the rebellion.

<sup>3</sup> Lewis in *Canada and Its Provinces*, 6: 35.

to say that a provisional government was established, a popular convention was summoned, the authority of Governor McTavish broken down, and a formal declaration of independence of Canada was made. On the first of December McDougall issued two proclamations, one giving notice of his assumption of the office of lieutenant-governor of the northwest territories, the other conferring upon his lieutenant, John Dennis, 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. Extremely arbitrary powers were given him to enable him to carry out these instructions. The campaign failed signally, the Canadians in Winnipeg were captured, Dennis was forced to flee to Pembina, Louis Riel and his associates received almost complete support in their government, and, after lingering until the eighteenth of December, the would-be governor, McDougall, gave up and left for Canada.<sup>1</sup>

The American state department was watching the situation with keen interest. On December 30, 1869, a secret commission, signed by Hamilton Fish, secretary of state, was issued to James W. Taylor, appointing him special agent of the state department for a period of six months, with instructions to investigate and report upon the following subjects:

1. Full details of the revolt of 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 improvements in this respect are proposed.
5. The political relations of the several British possessions between Minnesota and Alaska.

<sup>1</sup> *Ibid.*, 35-37; Taylor to Fish in 41 Congress, 2 session, *Senate Executive Documents*, no. 33, pp. 18, 26-29.

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.<sup>1</sup>

Taylor accepted the commission and made an investigation of the situation north of the boundary. As a part of his services in this connection he was at Ottawa during the discussions which preceded the organization of the province of Manitoba in 1870,<sup>2</sup> and informed the state department fully of events connected therewith.<sup>3</sup> On December 8, 1869, the Senate of the United States had passed a resolution requesting the president to communicate information to them "relating to the presence of honorable William McDougall at Pembina, in Dakota Territory, and the opposition by the inhabitants of Selkirk settlement to his assumption of the office of governor of the Northwest Territory." On February 2, 1870, President Grant, in compliance with this resolution, submitted a message dealing with the matter, the main part of which was a comprehensive letter from James W. Taylor to the secretary of state, dated January 20, 1870, with a large number of inclosures consisting of documents relating to the insurrection.<sup>4</sup> All of these official actions are significant of the attitude of mind at Washington.

In connection with Taylor's services as agent there is an interesting point brought out with reference to Louis Riel. The delegates sent by Riel to Ottawa were treated as authorized representatives of the people of the Northwest. In the recently published *Canada and Its Provinces*, John Lewis writes: "Richot and Scott [the delegates] afterwards claimed

<sup>1</sup> Fish to Taylor, December 30, 1869.

<sup>2</sup> Taylor to James D. Porter, assistant secretary of state, November 3, 1885.

<sup>3</sup> Taylor to Jay Cooke, November 22, 1871.

<sup>4</sup> 41 Congress, 2 session, *Senate Executive Documents*, no. 33. This document is an exceedingly valuable source of information on the Red River Rebellion. Taylor's appointment was for six months, but his communications after January 20 (which were many) have never been published.

that . . . an amnesty was promised to Riel, but this was denied by Macdonald and Cartier. The government took the ground that they had no power to grant an amnesty, or to deal with the crime at all,<sup>1</sup> because it had been committed in a territory which was not then part of Canada."<sup>2</sup> In 1885, at the time of the second Riel Rebellion, Taylor wrote to the state department at Washington :

I held a commission as Special Agent of the State Department to report upon all the circumstances connected with the Red River insurrection of 1869-70. I was at Ottawa during the discussions which preceded the organization of the Province of Manitoba. There was present a delegation from Red River, appointed by a Convention of the people called with the concurrence of all parties—especially the English and Canadian governments—and both to them and to Archbishop Tache, a pledge of unqualified amnesty, distinctly including Louis Riel was given and communicated to the Provisional Government at Fort Garry.<sup>3</sup>

Conditions in the Red River settlement were soon altered. Donald Smith (afterwards Lord Strathcona) was sent out as one of three commissioners; Scott was executed; Bishop Taché, at the request of the Canadian government, agreed to act as peacemaker; Colonel Wolseley, with a force of twelve hundred men, was sent out to restore order; Riel fled over the frontier; peace was restored, and the Canadian parliament of 1870 provided for the government of the new province of Manitoba.<sup>4</sup>

#### UNITED STATES CONSUL AT WINNIPEG, 1870-93

In September, 1870, James W. Taylor was appointed consul of the United States at Winnipeg. His commission was signed September 21, and, having been confirmed by the Senate, was

<sup>1</sup> Referring to the execution of Thomas Scott, an Ontario man, by order of Louis Riel, whom he had defied. See Bourinot, *Canada under British Rule*, 229.

<sup>2</sup> *Canada and Its Provinces*, 6: 42.

<sup>3</sup> Taylor to James D. Porter, November 3, 1885.

<sup>4</sup> Bourinot, *Canada under British Rule*, 228-30. There is considerable information about the Red River Rebellion in *Reminiscences of the Red River Rebellion of 1869*, by G. T. D. (Toronto, 1873).

forwarded to him on December 22.<sup>1</sup> His name had been brought forward for the position by Alexander Ramsey. In addition to his interest in the Canadian Northwest and his very great knowledge of its resources, no less than his long period of service in connection with northwest affairs, there were certain special reasons which influenced Taylor in accepting the consulate. He was identified with northwestern railway interests, and was urged to accept the Winnipeg position by Jay Cooke, who had undertaken to build the Northern Pacific; indeed, his services were financially acknowledged by Cooke.<sup>2</sup> Later, as an inducement to retain the consulate, he was paid an allowance by Sir Donald A. Smith, Norman W. Kittson, and others representing the Red River Navigation Company; and when the railway superseded steamboat navigation, this allowance was continued by the Canadian Pacific Railway.<sup>3</sup> His interest in the subject of union, commercial and possibly political, with British North America was another incentive. On November 24, 1870, he wrote to General Banks from Winnipeg: "I have accepted the Winnipeg Consulate, believing that I can advance the Annexation policy with which you are identified more effectively here than elsewhere." On December 17, 1870, Banks replied: "I shall be glad to renew the proposition for the admission of the British Provinces to the Union, which you propose, and do not doubt that it may produce a good effect upon the public mind, both in the Provinces and in this country."<sup>4</sup>

During the first part of his consulate Taylor was occupied in "obtaining reliable information for the State Department of the situation in Manitoba, and the Saskatchewan and Mackenzie

<sup>1</sup> Fish to Ramsey, September 21, 1870; Department of State to Taylor, December 22, 1870.

<sup>2</sup> Taylor to Sir George Stephen, July 24, 1889.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*; see also Taylor to J. J. Hill, September 15, 1891.

<sup>4</sup> See also Taylor to W. K. Rogers, May 14, 1877. In 1885—fifteen years later—Taylor still clung to his belief in the practicability of a union of the United States and Canada. Taylor to Henry H. Sibley, April 23, 1885; to H. B. Payne, April 24, 1885.

districts to the Northwest,"<sup>1</sup> and in addition to the routine duties of the office, corresponded widely in regard to railway matters, particularly with Jay Cooke and Company on questions relating to the Northern Pacific Railway.<sup>2</sup> He was also in communication with Lieutenant-Governor Archibald of Manitoba, who suggested that the Northern Pacific should deflect to the north and pass westward through British territory. Archibald was also interested in the subject of an international railroad from Montreal to Sault Ste. Marie, and thence by way of Duluth to Manitoba and the valley of the Saskatchewan River.<sup>3</sup>

Taylor remained United States consul at Winnipeg from 1870 until his death in 1893. During this period of twenty-three years he was occupied in the discharge of the routine consular duties, in continuing his investigations of the resources of the Northwest, and in publishing—largely in the form of newspaper articles—the fruits of his researches. His consular reports deal largely with the commercial relations of the two countries, but cover also, of course, all phases of Canadian Northwest development that were of significance to this government. A considerable number of these reports are to be found in the congressional series of government publications in the volumes entitled *Commercial Relations of the United States*. They were confined in their scope to Manitoba, and the complete series constitutes a valuable summary of the development of that province during the period of Taylor's consulate.<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Taylor to Banks, November 24, 1870.

<sup>2</sup> Correspondence of 1870 and 1871.

<sup>3</sup> Archibald to Taylor, January 3, 1871. This letter with Taylor's reply of February 8 was published, probably with the title *International System of Railways*, at Ottawa for private circulation (Taylor to Archibald, April 24, 1871). See also Taylor to F. H. Clarke, president of the Lake Superior and Mississippi Railroad Company, January 12, 1871, in which he writes of his relations with Archibald.

<sup>4</sup> The reports of Consul Taylor are to be found in manuscript in his letter-books. The printed reports are in the congressional series as follows: 42 Congress, 2 session, *House Executive Documents*, vol. 18, pp. 649-57 (serial 1523); 43 Congress, 1 session, *House Executive Docu-*

Taylor succeeded in identifying himself thoroughly with the business and social life of the Canadian Northwest, and of Winnipeg more especially. The newspapers of that period contain the record of his intimate relations with Canadians. Always enthusiastic in his faith in the Northwest, but ever temperate and judicious in his utterances, he was much in demand as a speaker at Canadian public gatherings, and his views, through the medium of the newspapers, were widely circulated and discussed. On matters relating to railway expansion and the geographical features of the West, as well as upon all phases of Canadian-American relations, he was a recognized authority. The *Report* of the minister of agriculture of the province of Manitoba for the year 1880 contained as an appendix: "Central British America—Its Physical and Natural Resources. Extracts from the Publications of Mr. J. W. Tay-

*ments*, vol. 13, pp. 581-84 (serial 1611); 44 Congress, 1 session, *House Executive Documents*, vol. 15, pp. 953-60 (serial 1692); 44 Congress, 2 session, *House Executive Documents*, vol. 12, pp. 580-90 (serial 1759); 45 Congress, 2 session, *House Executive Documents*, vol. 22, pp. 515-24 (serial 1814); 45 Congress, 3 session, *House Executive Documents*, vol. 18, pp. 649-55 (serial 1860); 46 Congress, 2 session, *House Executive Documents*, vol. 25, pp. 400-408 (serial 1926); 46 Congress, 3 session, *House Executive Documents*, vol. 30, pp. 485-91 (serial 1980); 49 Congress, 1 session, *House Executive Documents*, vol. 34, pp. 620-28 (serial 2402); 49 Congress, 2 session, *House Executive Documents*, vol. 26, pp. 862-66 (serial 2485); 50 Congress, 1 session, *House Executive Documents*, vol. 31, pp. 533-36 (serial 2563); 51 Congress, 1 session, *House Executive Documents*, vol. 44, pp. 26-29 (serial 2759); 51 Congress, 2 session, *House Executive Documents*, vol. 29, pp. 289-93 (serial 2859); 52 Congress, 1 session, *House Executive Documents*, vol. 37, no. 204, p. 301 (serial 2957). The nature of Taylor's brief consular reports may be indicated, for example, by the topics treated in the report for 1877-78 (serial 1814): commerce with the United States, exports, imports, navigation, government expenditures, population and settlements, and the outlook (in which he treats of prospects of Manitoba development). Usually there is also a summary of railway development for the year covered by the report.

In *United States Consular Reports*, 30: 199 (May-August, 1889—Washington, 1889), there is an article by Consul Taylor on "American Agricultural Implements in Manitoba."

lor, United States Consul at Winnipeg."<sup>1</sup> In August, 1882, Taylor read an elaborate paper on "Forest and Fruit Culture in Manitoba" before the board of agriculture of that province. This paper, reprinted "from the Report of the Department of Agriculture and Statistics for Manitoba," was published in pamphlet form.<sup>2</sup>

In 1879 the government authorities of Manitoba tendered a reception to Mr. Reade and Mr. Pell, two members of the British Parliament on commission to investigate the resources of western Canada with reference to the future supply of bread and meat for the English market. At this banquet Consul Taylor made a speech widely reported in the press of the two countries, which not only evoked considerable criticism, but also endangered his relations with the state department. Discussing the theory of three great zones of production on this continent, particularly in its central district—cotton, maize, and wheat—he asserted that three fourths of the wheat belt, or the districts where wheat is destined to be the leading staple of agricultural products, is north of the international boundary of forty-nine degrees, and "within the same area there would be a similar appreciation in the profitable production of domestic animals, in accordance with the climatic law that the perfection in quantity and quality of plants and animals is found near the most northern limit of their successful growth."<sup>3</sup> Taylor's position was attacked in influential quarters. One attack, in the *St. Paul Pioneer Press*,<sup>4</sup> he replied to in its own columns, finding confirmation of his views in the editor's own writings

<sup>1</sup> Appendix B, 94-111 (Winnipeg, 1881).

<sup>2</sup> *American Journal of Forestry*, p. 95 (November, 1882). At the request of the Manitoba minister of agriculture this paper was published also in the proceedings of the first annual meeting of the American Forestry Congress held in Montreal, August 21-23, 1882; the proceedings appeared in two special numbers of the *Montreal Herald* (*ibid.*, 64). The special number containing Taylor's article is one of the newspapers accompanying the Taylor Papers.

<sup>3</sup> *Winnipeg Daily Tribune*, December 20, 1890; Taylor to Ingersoll, February 7, 1888.

<sup>4</sup> *St. Paul Pioneer Press*, October 11, 1879.

of 1860.<sup>1</sup> The matter, however, was taken to the authorities at Washington. Mr. Hind of Nova Scotia, who had formerly been connected with G. M. Dawson in an exploration of the Red River and Assiniboine districts, attacked Consul Taylor's reports and speeches, and urged that he should be censured or discharged. The state department forwarded the communications of Mr. Hind to Taylor without comment, giving him an opportunity to defend his position. Taylor made an elaborate statement of his case in a letter to Assistant Secretary of State Davis, and the whole correspondence was referred to Spencer F. Baird of the Smithsonian Institution. This authority sustained Taylor fully against Mr. Hind, and the matter was thereupon dropped.<sup>2</sup>

There are a number of outstanding services which Taylor rendered to Canada and the United States during his consulate that proved to be of considerable significance. Early in September, 1871, he learned that a Fenian attack or raid from the United States upon Manitoba was being planned. He at once informed Lieutenant-Governor Archibald and his cabinet, and was assured that the Manitoba and Canadian government would have no objection if the United States, in suppressing the Fenian movement, should send troops across the boundary. On September 11 Taylor communicated the facts of the matter to the state department, and eight days later Brevet Colonel Loyd Wheaton of the Twentieth United States Infantry, the commandant at Fort Pembina, was ordered by Washington to arrest the Fenians, even though it involved crossing the frontier. Steps were at once taken by Colonel Wheaton to check the movement, and "General" O'Neill and some thirty of his followers were captured at the Hudson's Bay post of Fort Pem-

<sup>1</sup> Taylor to Sir George Stephen, July 24, 1889.

<sup>2</sup> Hind to Blaine (copy), December 12, 1881; Taylor to Davis, January 23, 1882; to Sir George Stephen, July 24, 1889. Taylor's defense was not published, except a portion of it which was incorporated in a paper on the "Resources of the Great Mackenzie Basin," in *Appendices to the Twenty-second Volume of the Journals of the Senate of Canada*, 150-55 (Ottawa, 1888).

bina. On the fifth of October Colonel Wheaton sent the following communication to Consul Taylor: "I have captured and now hold 'General' J. O'Neill, 'General' Thomas Curley and 'Colonel' J. J. Donnelly. I think further anxiety regarding a Fenian invasion of Manitoba unnecessary."<sup>1</sup> The prompt action of the American government in the matter led the English government, through Sir Edward Thornton, to express its thanks to Colonel Wheaton and Consul Taylor for their action in the case.<sup>2</sup> In discussing the Fenian raid before the Historical and Scientific Society of Manitoba, May 11, 1888, Consul Taylor declared: "An additional circumstance, relating to the personal intervention of Gen. Grant . . . was his transmission of a despatch to Lord Lisgar, Governor-General of Canada, permitting the movement of British troops if necessary through American territory."<sup>3</sup>

Political complications of a more serious nature came on in 1885, in connection with which Taylor rendered valuable service. In March of 1885 the half-breeds of the Saskatchewan district in the Northwest were in rebellion against the Dominion government. The causes and circumstances of this rebellion can not be detailed in this paper.<sup>4</sup> Suffice it to say that Riel was again the leading spirit of the revolt, having returned to Canada in 1884 from the United States, where he had fled

<sup>1</sup> Gilbert McMicken, *The Abortive Fenian Raid of Manitoba* (Historical and Scientific Society of Manitoba, *Transactions*, no. 32—Winnipeg, 1888). Consul Taylor was present at the reading of this paper before the society, May 11, 1888, and took an active part in the discussion which followed. A report of his remarks is given on pages 10 and 11. The Taylor Papers are incomplete for the fall of 1871, and his communications to Washington are missing. On this outbreak, see also Lewis in *Canada and Its Provinces*, 6: 43.

<sup>2</sup> W. Hunter, second assistant secretary of state, to Taylor, January 9, 1872.

<sup>3</sup> McMicken, *The Abortive Fenian Raid of Manitoba*, 10. See also Taylor to Ramsey, May 3, 1872; to President Grant, May 6, 1872.

<sup>4</sup> See Lewis, "Canada under Macdonald, 1878-1891," in *Canada and Its Provinces*, 6: 99-106, for an account of the causes which led to this uprising and its progress; also Bourinot, *Canada under British Rule*, 249-55.

after the first rebellion. Riel declared the troubles in Saskatchewan to be but a continuation of the uprising of 1869-70.<sup>1</sup> The revolt lasted three months, and cost Canada about five million dollars, besides a large number of casualties. Riel himself was arrested, tried at Regina, sentenced to death, and, despite strenuous efforts by the French-Canadians to secure his reprieve, was executed on the sixteenth of November. Canada was deeply stirred. "For some time after his [Riel's] death," writes Sir John G. Bourinot, "attempts were made to keep up the excitement which had so long existed in the province of Quebec on the question. The Dominion government was certainly weakened for a time in Quebec by its action in this matter."<sup>2</sup>

While the rebellion was in progress, the preservation of neutrality along the border between the United States and Canada, and the prevention of the participation against the Canadian government of American Indians, more particularly of the Blackfeet and the Métis of Montana, among whom Riel had lived for some years, were serious problems. As a result of the strong representations of Consul Taylor, the frontier from Pembina to the Rocky Mountains was under surveillance in the spring of 1885, by a mounted patrol in the service of the United States government, "involving a large expenditure, but effectual for the repression of any hostile movement in aid of the Saskatchewan insurgents by the Indians of Dakota and Montana." So long as the situation remained critical, Consul Taylor, by authority of the state department, was placed in direct communication with the military and other officials near the frontier.<sup>3</sup>

The whole rebellion was the subject of many and voluminous reports to the state department at Washington, and Consul Taylor himself had a considerable correspondence with Louis

<sup>1</sup> Louis Riel to Taylor, n.d. (after August 1, 1885), in 51 Congress, special Senate session, *Senate Executive Documents*, no. 1, p. 4 (serial 2613).

<sup>2</sup> *Canada under British Rule*, 255.

<sup>3</sup> *Winnipeg Daily Tribune*, December 20, 1890.

Riel.<sup>1</sup> Riel claimed to have been made an American citizen "about the 16th day of March, 1883, at Helena, Lewis and Clark County, Montana," a circumstance that complicated the situation.<sup>2</sup> Riel himself applied to Consul Taylor on July 21, 1885, and again in the first part of August, and finally prepared and submitted, through Consul Taylor, a petition to President Cleveland, asking for diplomatic intervention by the government of the United States to prevent the execution of the sentence pronounced upon him by the Canadian court. In the United States, too, there were movements in his favor. On August 16, 1885, 410 citizens of Lawrence, Massachusetts, petitioned the president to take action in Riel's behalf. On August 18, 65 citizens of Wayland, Massachusetts, did likewise, asserting that Riel had been denied rights to which he was entitled as an American citizen. On August 29, 69 citizens of Rochester, New York, petitioned in his behalf, declaring that at his trial "under the then existing political excitement in Canada, resulting in a measure from questions bearing upon the rights of the people for whom he was contending, he was deprived of the means of making his best defense, and that his trial was unfair, partial, and unjust."<sup>3</sup> The petition of Louis Riel to the president is a curious document. After recounting in much detail the causes of the revolts and the incidents connected with them, making a special point of the promise of amnesty, he declares that the British government has forfeited all right to the "state and government of the Northwest," and that they are his "as they were intrusted to me by the people's voice, at Fort Garry, the 11th of February, 1870, and such as recognized to me by the four commissioners of the Crown who have invited me to treat, and by the Crown itself, which

<sup>1</sup> See the letter-books and correspondence for 1885.

<sup>2</sup> Petition of Louis Riel to President Cleveland in 51 Congress, special Senate session, *Senate Executive Documents*, no. 1, p. 6. Riel's claim to citizenship was fully substantiated, the naturalization certificate having been made out March 16, 1883 (*ibid.*, 11).

<sup>3</sup> Riel's application to President Cleveland and the petitions presented by various bodies of citizens were published in *ibid.*, 6-11.

has treated with my delegates through the Vice-King of Canada." He then petitions for protection, and requests "that the international line between the United States and the Northwest be blotted out from Lake Superior to the Pacific Ocean, that the Hon. James W. Taylor, United States consul at Winnipeg, be appointed governor-general of those vast territories," and that he, Louis Riel, be made "first minister and secretary of the Northwest under Hon. James W. Taylor."

On February 11, 1889, more than three years after the death of Louis Riel, the Senate of the United States passed a resolution requesting the president "to communicate to the Senate such knowledge or information as may be in his possession or under his control relating to the case of one Louis Riel, otherwise Louis David Riel, with copies of all documents, papers, correspondence, and evidence bearing on the subject." A message was transmitted by President Harrison on March 11, 1889, in response to this resolution. The message contained considerable material communicated by Consul Taylor, together with other documents bearing on the case.<sup>1</sup> At the time of the presentation of the petitions of Riel and his sympathizers the attitude of the United States was, briefly, that United States citizenship did not give Riel immunity from Canadian laws for offenses committed within their jurisdiction and that it had been definitely certified to the state department that the offense of Riel was committed wholly within British jurisdiction.<sup>2</sup>

Consul Taylor retained his consulate during several administrations. When Cleveland became president, Taylor expected removal, but citizens of both parties urged his retention; members of the St. Paul Chamber of Commerce even petitioned the president to retain him, and no successor was appointed.<sup>3</sup> Again, in 1889 the governor and state officers of Minnesota, Senators Davis and Washburn, Secretary Windom, and ex-

<sup>1</sup> 51 Congress, special Senate session, *Senate Executive Documents*, no. 1.

<sup>2</sup> Letter of T. F. Bayard, secretary of state, to the president, *ibid.*, 2.

<sup>3</sup> Taylor to P. H. Kelly, July 6, 1885.

Governors Ramsey and Marshall united in urging his retention as consul.

Taylor's interest in railway expansion continued during his later years, and he devoted much attention to schemes for further railway development after the transcontinental northwest lines were accomplished facts. On February 14, 1889—a man almost seventy years of age—he presented in a lecture at Winnipeg an elaborate plan of railway expansion which was commented on extensively by the press of the United States and Canada. It was nothing less than a proposal to construct a railway to Norton's Sound, on Bering Strait, through British Columbia and Alaska, contemporaneously with the extension of the Russia-Siberia line, and a "traverse of the straits separating the continents of America and Asia by ferry or tunnel of thirty miles."<sup>1</sup> A writer in a Canadian newspaper, discussing the details of the proposition, says:

Mr. Taylor favored a line from the frontier in Kootenay Valley near Spokane, in Washington, along the western flank of the Rocky Mountains, from valley to valley of rivers, concurring to afford favorable roadbed to the navigable channel

<sup>1</sup> *Manitoba Daily Free Press*, February 16, 1889. Among other papers the lecture was reproduced in the *Inland Sentinel* (Kamloops, B. C.), March 2, 1889. It is discussed in the *Winnipeg Tribune*, December 20, 1890. The lecture was later expanded into an article, "International Railway to Alaska," a manuscript copy of which is to be found in Taylor's letter-book, undated, following a letter dated November 28, 1889. It was published in the *Vancouver World* between November 28 and January 21, 1890, probably on December 25, 1889 (Taylor to W. F. Wharton, January 21, 1890; to J. T. Baker, January 24, 1890). On March 12, 1889, the *Montreal Herald and Daily Commercial Gazette*, in an editorial entitled "A Great Scheme" discussed Taylor's plan. The editorial concludes as follows: "Time has shown that the predictions and theories of Consul Taylor on questions affecting that portion of the continent have been well thought out and singularly correct, and his enthusiasm for the development of civilization in barren places, and his entire disinterestedness in the scheme which he foreshadows give great weight to, and command serious attention for, his opinions on all that affects the northwestern portion of the American continent." See also an editorial entitled "A Railroad of the Future" in the *Utica Morning Herald*, March 15, 1889.

of the mighty Yukon, and thence to the Pacific Ocean. The land subsidies by the governments of British Columbia and the United States supplemented by a guarantee of 4% by the United States upon \$50,000 per mile for a period of 25 years; and the commerce and railway dividends sure to result from opening to the world 1,500 miles of continuous gold fields, consisting of the districts successively of Kootenay, Cariboo, Omineca, Cassiar, and Yukon, were claimed to be an ample warrant for the feasibility of the scheme in question with the great advantage that the southern terminus of the proposed line would be as convenient of access from Portland and San Francisco as from Chicago.<sup>1</sup>

Taylor was now an old man. Although he suffered considerable inconvenience in the last two years of his life from "an affliction incidental to his advanced age," he was unwilling to give up his work;<sup>2</sup> his letter-books are well kept up to the summer of 1892. On April 18, 1893, Taylor was stricken with partial paralysis; he died on the afternoon of April 28, almost seventy-four years old.<sup>3</sup> Fitting honors were paid to the dead consul, officially, and by great numbers of friends and admirers; flags on Dominion government buildings flew at half-mast during his funeral services as a token of the respect and mourning of Canada. The remains of Taylor were removed to Utica, New York, where they were interred beside the graves of Mrs. Taylor and two daughters.<sup>4</sup> The East that is East and the West that is West had met in the life and services and death of James W. Taylor.

<sup>1</sup> *Winnipeg Daily Tribune*, December 20, 1890.

<sup>2</sup> An article of Taylor's on the "Wheat Area of Central Canada" appeared in the *New York Sun* in the summer of 1891. Erastus Wiman, discussing this article in *Harper's Weekly*, 36: 174 (February 20, 1892), refers to Taylor as a man "whose knowledge of the great Northwest has been for many years a national possession." See Taylor to Wiman, May 20 and June 13, 1891; to C. A. Dana, June 13, 1891; to J. J. Hill, September 15, 1891.

<sup>3</sup> *Manitoba Daily Free Press*, April 29, 1893; *St. Paul Pioneer Press*, April 29, 1893; Taylor to Hastings, June 8, 1888.

<sup>4</sup> Mrs. Taylor died in 1882; one daughter, Harriet Taylor, died in 1880, and another, Alice (Mrs. Charles L. Monfort), in 1887. Taylor

## CHARACTER AND PERSONALITY

Taylor was preëminently a speaker, a writer, a scholar. Of a judicious temperament, with a love for research and with great skill with the pen, he was a man whose writings carried weight. He did things thoroughly and conscientiously. Possessed of a striking personality, Taylor was a gentleman of great charm and magnetism. In all the tributes that were paid him after his death, the emphasis was invariably upon the attractiveness and kindliness of his personality, and upon his uniform courtesy and gentleness. The tribute of Archbishop Fortin was representative of scores of appreciations. He said of Taylor :

He was in a strange land, but not long a stranger among us, for the geniality of his disposition, the urbanity of his manner, the broad, generous catholic spirit which always guided his words and actions soon gathered around him a large number of friends and admirers. There was about him a charm, an attractiveness, a magnetism which no one could resist. I think I am safe in saying he had not a single enemy ; all respected him and very many loved him. A man of first rate abilities, of keen observation, of wide reading, he had gathered vast stores of useful and practical knowledge. Few will fail to recollect the delight of his conversation, which was always instructive and elevating. His knowledge of modern history was astonishing. There was not a fact connected with the settlement of this country or the development of the great American Republic with which he was not perfectly familiar, and the cheerfulness with which he would entertain his friends by his recital of his early experience endeared him to them all. He was always the polished gentleman. There was in him a grace and ease of manner, a winning courtesy of deportment, a natural superiority altogether befitting a prince among men.<sup>1</sup>

The praise of Taylor is echoed in all the comments that his death drew forth. A St. Paul paper said of him :

was survived by two daughters, Mrs. Charles L. Alden, of Troy, New York, and Elizabeth Taylor, who was studying art in Paris. *St. Paul Pioneer Press*, April 29, 1893.

<sup>1</sup> *Manitoba Daily Free Press*, May 1, 1893.

His unalterable gentleness and courtesy in all his business and social intercourse with strangers or his neighbors made him a popular favorite at Winnipeg, as it had won the affection of his friends in every community where he had lived. Above all things he was at all times and in all respects a gentleman; a gentleman not in demeanor only, but in thought and speech and feeling and taste; a kind-hearted, courteous, modest gentleman every inch of him and every day and hour of his life.<sup>1</sup>

In personal appearance Taylor bore a resemblance to Stephen A. Douglas. A large portrait of him, painted by V. A. Long in 1893, was placed in the city hall of Winnipeg by the city council. The portrait is of Taylor as he appeared in his later years: with gray hair, a smooth-shaven face, blue eyes, a broad, intellectual forehead, fine features—withal a kindly, attractive, powerful face.

Taylor was a true nature-lover, fond of wandering on field and road, having, indeed, something of a roving, almost a vagabond, spirit.<sup>2</sup> He was particularly fond of flowers, and took great delight in picking prairie flowers, especially early in the spring. It afforded him greater pleasure to share his flowers with others; he was often seen on the streets of Winnipeg with a great basket filled with nosegays carried unconventionally upon his arm, distributing them among his delighted friends. To what extent this custom of Taylor's endeared him to the people of Winnipeg may be seen from an incident described by Charles E. Flandrau, writing in 1899:

Having spoken of my dear old friend James W. Taylor I cannot omit to mention a most touching tribute paid to his memory by the people of Winnipeg. The municipality has placed upon the walls of its City Hall a fine portrait of the faithful consul, under which hangs a basket for the reception of flowers. Every spring each farmer entering the city plucks a wild flower, and puts it in the basket. The great love of a people could not

<sup>1</sup> *St. Paul Pioneer Press*, April 29, 1893.

<sup>2</sup> Personal interview of the writer, July 26, 1915, with Mr. C. N. Bell of Winnipeg, a gentleman who knew Taylor as a friend.

be expressed in a more beautiful and pathetic manner, and no man was more worthy of it than Consul Taylor.<sup>1</sup>

Absolutely unconventional, and of unassuming nature, Taylor was content in his position as United States consul. An editorial writer declared of him that "he had the qualities which would have rendered him conspicuously successful in politics, law or in any career he had chosen, if he had not lacked the stimulus of ambition. Of this he was so utterly destitute that he was more than content with small employments which gratified his fondness for research and literary activity while withdrawing him from the harsh strifes and bitter struggles of parties and the greedy competitions of business ambition."<sup>2</sup> The fine unselfishness of his nature and the broad generosity of his spirit are revealed in almost all the records of his activity, but more especially in his letters.

Perhaps the most striking of all Taylor's characteristics was his unconquerable faith in the West, and it is largely by this faith and enthusiasm, and by the work which he did in advancing the interests of the West, that he must be judged. A writer in a Canadian newspaper said of him at his death: "Many years may yet pass before the full meaning of what he said and wrote will be realized."<sup>3</sup> Another said: "So closely . . . had Consul Taylor been identified with the history and development of our country, and so earnest a friend did he prove himself of it, that he attracted to himself an amount of respect and genuine love on the part of the public which few men ever accumulate even in their own land."<sup>4</sup> The *Manitoba Free Press* declared that there was no parallel of a citizen of one country laboring by tongue and pen so long, so disinterestedly, so enthusiastically and persistently for the welfare and development of another and, in some sense, a rival country. "In thus loving the Canadian Northwest," the editor writes, "Con-

<sup>1</sup> *St. Paul Globe*, October 8, 1899.

<sup>2</sup> *St. Paul Pioneer Press*, April 29, 1893.

<sup>3</sup> *Manitoba Daily Free Press*, April 29, 1893.

<sup>4</sup> *Winnipeg Daily Tribune*, April 29, 1893.

sul Taylor did not love his own country the less. He realized that the prosperity of this country and that of his own were inseparably connected, or that the American Northwest would share along with Canada the results of anything that he might do with tongue or pen to cause the latter to be appreciated and developed in a worthy manner."<sup>1</sup>

An account of the life of James Wickes Taylor and of his writings and their influence is the true summary of his contributions to the development of the Northwest. It is certain that his part, if inconspicuous, was of no little importance in the westward movement; that he was one of that band of pioneers to whose clear vision, steadfast purpose, and fearless faith the wonderful Northwest owes its progress.

#### WRITINGS OF JAMES W. TAYLOR

So large a part of Taylor's work was done with the pen that it seems desirable to append to the sketch of his career a bibliography designed to include all books and pamphlets written by him and some of his more important newspaper articles. The list contains thirty-three items arranged in chronological order, copies of most of which are to be found in the library of the Minnesota Historical Society. A few additional items were located in the Manitoba Provincial Library at Winnipeg and one in the Library of Congress, while a few are known to the compiler by reference only. All such cases are indicated in the notes.

Address delivered before the Hamilton Chapter of the Alpha Delta Phi Society, in the college chapel, Clinton, October 22, 1840, on the life and character of George Langford Jr. Utica, Bush, pr., 1840. 11 p.

The victim of intrigue; a tale of Burr's conspiracy. Cincinnati, Robinson & Jones, 1847. xvi, 120 p.

Thomson, *Bibliography of Ohio*, 338. Copy in the Library of Congress.

<sup>1</sup> *Manitoba Daily Free Press*, April 29, 1893.

History of the state of Ohio, first period, 1650-1787. Cincinnati, Derby, 1854. 557 p.

Thomson, *Bibliography of Ohio*, 338.

The southwestern or Neosho route of a Pacific railway—the expediency of legislation in its favor by the Cherokee, Creek, and Choctaw nations. *Cincinnati Railroad Record Supplement*, March 3, 1856.

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

A manual of the Ohio school system; consisting of an historical view of its progress, and a republication of the school laws in force. Cincinnati, Derby, 1857. 413 p.

State boundary question—description of the country between Red River and Lake Superior. *St. Paul Advertiser*, January 31, 1857.

The greater portion of this article is found also as appendix 3 of Minnesota, *Report from a Select Committee of the House of Representatives on the Overland Emigration Route from Minnesota to British Oregon*, 47-53 (St. Paul, Goodrich, pr., 1858).

The valleys of the James and Sioux rivers—the Missouri slope of Minnesota. *St. Paul Advertiser*, February 21, 1857.

State boundary question—the value of the north and south line to southern Minnesota. *St. Paul Advertiser*, February 28, 1857.

Region of North America, tributary to the navigation of the Red River of the North, and to the commerce of Minnesota. *St. Paul Advertiser*, April 11, 1857.

[Report on an overland route from Minnesota to British Oregon.] *St. Paul Daily Pioneer and Democrat*, July 10, 1858.

Mr. Taylor's report forms a part of the proceedings of a meeting of citizens held in St. Paul, July 7, 1858, appearing under the heading "Frazer River Gold Mine! Overland Route through Minnesota and the Saskatchewan Valley." Also in Minnesota, *Report from a Select Committee of the House of Representatives on the Overland Route from Minnesota to British Oregon*, 9-21 (St. Paul, Goodrich, pr., 1858); and in appendix to Minnesota, *House Journal*, 1858-59, pp. 7-19, and appendix to Minnesota, *Senate Journal*, 1858-59, pp. 7-19.

The railroad system of the state of Minnesota with its connections; reported to the common council of the city of St. Paul, March 31, 1859, in pursuance of a resolution of the city council. St. Paul, Moore, pr., 1859. 22 p.

Also as appendix to St. Paul Common Council, *Proceedings*, 1858-59 (St. Paul, Daily Minnesotian official print, 1858). Also in *St. Paul Daily Times*, April 3, 5-7, 1859, and in *St. Paul Daily Pioneer and Democrat*, April 5, 1859. Reissued with the addition of an introduction by W. R. Marshall as *The Railroad System of the State of Minnesota with Its Railroad, Telegraphic, and Postal Connections*. St. Paul, Pioneer Printing Company, pr., 1859. 24 p.

Communication to Messrs. W. H. Nobles and S. B. Olmstead. *St. Paul Daily Pioneer and Democrat*, April 24, 1859.

One of the documents accompanying the communication from Nobles and Olmstead to the city council of St. Paul, appearing under the heading "Exploration of the Northwest." Also in *St. Paul Daily Times*, April 24, 1859, under the heading "Exploration of the Valleys and Sources of the South Saskatchewan and Columbia Rivers." Also in St. Paul Common Council, *Proceedings*, 1858-59, pp. 223-26.

Taylor's communication deals with "routes between the channels of the Red River of Minnesota and Frazer River of British America."

Northwest British America and its relations to the state of Minnesota; a report communicated to the legislature of Minnesota by Governor Ramsey, March 2d, and ordered to be printed. St. Paul, Newson, etc., pr., 1860. 42 p., map.

Also, with the exception of appendices B and H, in the *Daily Minnesotian and Times*, March 11, 15, 16, 21-24, 1860. Another edition "Printed as a Supplement to the Journal of the House of Representatives, Session of 1859-60." St. Paul, Newson, etc., 1860. 54 p. On appendix A, see the following item. Appendix B, entitled "Geographical Memoir of the Red River and Saskatchewan District of British America," is also by Taylor.

Central British America. *Atlantic Monthly*, 5: 103-8 (January, 1860).

Evidence as to Taylor's authorship of this article can be found in the index volume, pp. 10, 100. It appears also as appendix A to the preceding item.

Canadian reciprocity treaty—some considerations in its favor. 36 Congress, 1 session, *House Executive Documents*, vol. 13, no. 96, pp. 47-60 (serial 1057. [Washington, 1860]).

The document as a whole is a letter from the secretary of the treasury, dated June 16, 1860, communicating reports of Messrs. Hatch and Taylor, in reference to the operations of the reciprocity treaty.

The Sioux war: What shall we do with it? The Sioux Indians: What shall we do with them? St. Paul, Press Printing Company, pr., 1862. 16 p.

A reprint of articles appearing in the *St. Paul Daily Press*, October 21-25, 1862.

Alleghania; a geographical and statistical memoir, exhibiting the strength of the Union, and the weakness of slavery, in the mountain districts of the South. St. Paul, James Davenport, 1862. viii, 24 p.

A reprint of a series of papers communicated to the *St. Paul Daily Press*, November 23, 24, 27, 28; December 3-5, 11, 12, 1861, with the addition of a dedicatory note and preface.

Relations between the United States and Northwest British America. [Washington, 1862.] 85 p., map, diagram. (37 Congress, 2 session, *House Executive Documents*, vol. 10, no. 146—serial 1138.)

Accompanied by a letter of transmittal from the secretary of the treasury, dated June 20, 1862. The document consists of letters from Taylor to Secretary Chase from July 10, 1861 to June 12, 1862, with accompanying inclosures, and a communication (also Taylor's), dated May 1, 1862, entitled "Geographical Memoir of Northwest British America, and Its Relations to the Revenue and Commerce of the United States" (pp. 45-85). The letters are preceded by an outline summary of their contents (pp. 2-18).

Saint Paul letters, numbers 1-5. *St. Paul Daily Press*, January 26-March 16, 1862.

Mrs. Swisshelm, January 26; Minnesota Historical Society—Incidents of September 18, 1860—The Red River Bishop and the New York Senator—Seward on the "Transverse Axis," January 30; Stanton and Chase—A Reminiscence of Ohio Politics, February 8; The Saskatchewan Gold Fields, February 16; The Alleghany Campaign of General Fremont, March 16. The letters were unsigned, but Taylor, through his undoubted authorship of the second letter, may be credited with the entire series. See *Minnesota Historical Collections*, 8: 57.

The goldfields of the Northwest; to the Cariboo and Saskatchewan mines through Minnesota and Selkirk. *St. Paul Daily Press*, April 10, 1862.

The Sioux War; what has been done by the Minnesota campaign of 1863; what should be done by a Dakota campaign of 1864; with some general remarks upon the Indian policy, past and future, of the United States. St. Paul, Press Printing Company, pr., 1863. 16 p.

A reprint of papers communicated to the *St. Paul Daily Press* of August 29, September 2, 9, and 12, 1863.

Commercial relations with British America. [Washington, 1866.] 36 p. (39 Congress, 1 session, *House Executive Documents*, no. 128—serial 1263.)

Accompanied by a letter of transmittal from the secretary of the treasury, dated June 12, 1866.

Gold mines east of the Rocky Mountains. [Washington, 1867.] 28 p. (39 Congress, 2 session, *House Executive Documents*, no. 92—serial 1293.)

Accompanied by a letter of transmittal from the secretary of the treasury, dated February 13, 1867. The document is also to be found in J. Ross Browne and James W. Taylor, *Reports upon the Mineral Resources of the United States*, 323-50 (Washington, 1867).

Mineral resources east of the Rocky Mountains. [Washington, 1868.] 72 p. (40 Congress, 2 session, *House Executive Documents*, no. 273—serial 1343.)

Accompanied by a letter of transmittal from the secretary of the treasury, dated May 2, 1868. Also as *Report on the Mineral Resources of the United States East of the Rocky Mountains*. Washington, 1868. 72 p. This is bound with J. Ross Browne, *Report on the Mineral Resources of the States and Territories West of the Rocky Mountains* (Washington, 1868. 674 p.) in a volume entitled *Reports on the Mineral Resources of the United States*.

[Two letters and supplementary papers relating to affairs on the Red River.] 41 Congress, 2 session, *Senate Executive Documents*, no. 33, pp. 7, 17-52 (serial 1405. [Washington, 1870]).

The document as a whole consists of "information relating to the presence of the Honorable William McDougall at Pembina, in Dakota Territory, and the opposition by the inhabitants of Selkirk settlement to his assumption of the office of governor of the Northwest Territory," communicated by the president, February 2, 1870.

## [Consular reports, 1871-92.]

These reports to the state department are included in the House executive document entitled *Commercial Relations of the United States* for the sessions of Congress during the period covered by Taylor's consulate at Winnipeg, and in *United States Consular Reports* issued by the state department. For a more complete statement of these citations, see note 4, page 197.

Central British America—its physical and natural resources; extracts from the publications of Mr. J. W. Taylor, U. S. consul at Winnipeg. Manitoba, Minister of Agriculture, *Reports*, 1880, appendix B, pp. 94-111 (Winnipeg, 1881).

Copy in the provincial library, Winnipeg.

Forest and fruit culture in Manitoba. Winnipeg, 1882. 19 p.

According to the *American Journal of Forestry*, p. 95 (November, 1882), a reprint "from the Report of the Department of Agriculture and Statistics for Manitoba." A careful search in the library at Winnipeg failed to locate this report. The article was printed also in the proceedings of the first annual meeting of the American Forestry Congress, Montreal, August 21-23, 1882, published in two special numbers of the *Montreal Herald*; see the *American Journal of Forestry*, p. 64.

Resources of the great Mackenzie basin. Canada, *Report of the Select Committee of the Senate Appointed to Enquire into the Resources of the Great Mackenzie Basin*, 150-55 (Ottawa, Chamberlin, pr., 1888. 310 p., maps).

The report forms number 1 of the *Appendices to the Twenty-second Volume of the Journals of the Senate of Canada*. Copy in Minnesota State Library.

[Three letters and supplementary papers relating to Louis Riel.] 51 Congress, special Senate session, *Senate Executive Documents*, no. 1, pp. 2, 3-5, 6-9 (serial 2613. [Washington, 1889]).

The document as a whole is a "report of the Secretary of State, with accompanying papers, in regard to the case of Louis Riel," communicated by the president, March 11, 1889.

An international railway to Alaska. *Vancouver World*, 1889.

A manuscript copy of this article is to be found in Taylor's letter-book, undated, following a letter bearing the date of November 28, 1889. That the article appeared in the *Vancouver World* between that date and January 21, 1890, probably on December 25, is con-

firmed by letters from Taylor to W. F. Wharton, January 21, 1890; to J. T. Baker, January 24, 1890. A file of the *World* was not accessible.

Wheat area of central Canada. *New York Sun*, 1891.

That this article appeared in the *New York Sun* during the summer of 1891 is confirmed by letters from Taylor to Erastus Wiman, May 20 and June 13, 1891; to C. A. Dana, June 13, 1891; and to J. J. Hill, September 15, 1891. It has not been possible to consult a file of the *Sun* for the exact date of its appearance.

### THE TAYLOR PAPERS

Shortly after the death of James W. Taylor in 1893, a trunk containing his papers, together with a number of books, pamphlets, newspapers, maps, and pictures, was deposited with the Minnesota Historical Society. This trunk remained untouched in a storeroom until the spring of 1915, when it was discovered by Mr. Kellar, who was investigating the condition of the state archives in the Old Capitol. A hasty examination of the material soon disclosed its value, and the trunk was removed at once to the vaults of the society in the New Capitol. The books and pamphlets have been catalogued and placed in the society's library; the newspapers, not including clippings, have been turned over to the newspaper department, and the printed maps and pictures have been filed with the society's collections of similar material. The remaining material in the trunk, consisting of letters received by Taylor, letter-books, manuscripts of articles, speeches, etc., scrapbooks, and newspaper clippings, has been arranged and filed as the "Taylor Papers" in the society's manuscript collection.<sup>1</sup>

The value of these Taylor Papers lies largely in the original material which they contain on various phases of the history of the American and Canadian Northwest. Light is thrown upon the commercial and political relations of the United States and Canada, many of the documents in the collection dealing with such subjects as the settlement of the Northwest, imports and

<sup>1</sup> See *ante*, 134. Two ledgers also were found in the trunk, but they are not Taylor's and seem to be of little importance.

exports, annexation, reciprocity, railroad building, the Red River rebellion of 1869-70, the Fenian disturbance, and the Saskatchewan rebellion of 1885. Other documents relate to the internal political affairs of Minnesota, the United States, and Canada. Geography, exploration, and the agricultural capacity and development of the American and Canadian Northwest are dealt with extensively, and there is much valuable material on the subject of railway development in the West, particularly on the Minnesota, Canadian, and trans-continental routes. The collection contains also valuable material upon the affairs of the province of Manitoba and upon the routine of the American consulate in Winnipeg.

The letters to Taylor number approximately seventeen hundred, and date from 1859 to 1893, although for the first ten years of this period they are not very numerous.<sup>1</sup> These letters came, in the main, from the state, treasury, and war departments at Washington; from governors and other officials of Minnesota, Manitoba, and Canada; from railway officials, among whom may be noted Jay Cooke, George L. Becker, C. J. Brydges, and Donald Smith (Lord Strathcona); from congressmen; from persons who had business dealings with the Winnipeg consulate; from newspaper men; and from personal friends.

The letter-books date from 1869 to August, 1892. Down to 1885 they are in the form of scratch tablets of a poor quality of paper upon which the letters were written with lead pencil, and in the earlier of these, many of the pages are badly torn, and some are missing entirely. What is left, however, can usually be deciphered. After 1885 bound notebooks were used, and from 1890 on the copies were written in ink in separate books for official and unofficial correspondence. There are ten of these bound notebooks, and ten tablets, in all twenty

<sup>1</sup> Some of the early letters are very valuable, however; for example, two letters from Donald Gunn to Taylor, the one probably written in 1859, the other March 26, 1860, which describe in considerable detail the Red River settlement and country.

letter-books containing copies of about sixteen hundred letters. These deal with practically every phase of American-Canadian relations during the period covered, and are the fruits of careful investigation and observation. Taylor was particularly well informed on questions relating to railway development, commercial relations, the natural resources of the Canadian Northwest, and the political relations of the two countries. What he wrote on these subjects is authoritative. In addition to his numerous letters and reports to Washington<sup>1</sup> and his correspondence as consul, there are letters to such men as President Buchanan, Edward Cooper, Hugh McCulloch, Thomas McGee, Joseph Howe, C. J. Brydges, Jay Cooke, Norman W. Kittson, Alexander Ramsey, William Windom, W. B. Ogden, Horace White, George L. Becker, James J. Porter, Hamilton Fish, J. Gregory Smith, Nathaniel P. Banks, A. B. Nettleton, F. H. Clarke, President Grant, J. C. Bancroft Davis, Donald Smith, James J. Hill, Governor Archibald of Manitoba, and John Jay Knox, to mention only a few. These letter-books are a valuable source for the history of the Northwest during the period which they represent, and on the whole they form the most important part of the Taylor Papers.

There are over fifty manuscripts of speeches, essays, newspaper articles, and fragments in the collection, in all about four hundred and sixty manuscript pages.<sup>2</sup> Their value may be indicated by a few representative titles: Selkirk, The Canadian Northwest, Minnesota, Northwest Affairs, Central British America, Union with Canada, Inward Transportation from Bayfield to the Mississippi Valley, Western Railroads and the Navigation of the Red River, The Northern Pacific Railroad, Railroads and Immigration, Agriculture and Population, The Northern Boundary of Minnesota, The Hudson's Bay Company, A Road from the Mouth of the Montreal to the Mouth

<sup>1</sup> Some of these reports have been published, but many of the most valuable ones have not. The rebellion of 1885 is reported in elaborate detail, contemporaneously with the events of that uprising.

<sup>2</sup> Many of these were published in newspapers or pamphlets.

of the Yellowstone, The Reciprocity Treaty, Public Lands, Fruits of the Northwest, The Overland Route to the Pacific, Indian Affairs, The Manitoba Railway.<sup>1</sup> Of the several manuscript maps in the collection, the most interesting is a sketch drawn in 1888 of the proposed location of the Alaska, British Columbia, and California International Railway.

Two large scrapbooks of newspaper clippings cover the period from 1856 to 1870, and there is also a considerable number of loose clippings, many of which are gathered together in envelopes under a general subject heading. These clippings are mainly from papers published in the western part of the United States and Canada,<sup>2</sup> and the greater number of them fall between the years 1858 and 1863. Besides Taylor's own newspaper articles they contain a mass of material dealing with the Hudson's Bay Company, Selkirk and Saskatchewan, railways, the Northwest, exploration, the Canadian and English parliaments, an overland mail route, and Minnesota politics.

THEODORE C. BLEGEN

MILWAUKEE, WISCONSIN

<sup>1</sup> A manuscript of seven pages on his father James W. Taylor contains valuable biographical material.

<sup>2</sup> There are some southern and New York clippings on the slavery question.



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