

Guide to a Microfilm Edition of

*The James Wickes Taylor Papers*

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*This pamphlet and the microfilm edition of the James Wickes Taylor Papers which it describes were made possible by a grant of funds from the National Historical Publications Commission to the Minnesota Historical Society.*

## *Introduction*

THE PAPERS of James Wickes Taylor, author, publicist for railroads and for the Canadian Northwest, United States secret agent, and American consul at Winnipeg, have been selected by the Minnesota Historical Society as the third of its collections to be microfilmed under a grant of funds from the National Historical Publications Commission. Many persons assisted in the preparation of this microfilm edition of the Taylor Papers. Co-operation and support in all phases of the project have come from Robert H. Bahmer and Oliver W. Holmes, the commission's chairman and director, respectively, from the latter's assistant, Fred Shelley, and from Lucile M. Kane, curator of manuscripts at the society.

Constance J. Kadrmas studied the collection, prepared the roll notes, and wrote this guide. Assisting her in the work were staff members Maureen Leverty and Jane S. Davis. Editorial assistance in preparing the pamphlet for publication has been contributed by June D. Holmquist, managing editor, and two members of her staff, Rhoda R. Gilman and Sue E. Holbert. Reference aid and secretarial help have been supplied by other departments of the society. The filming was done by Dakota Microfilm Service of St. Paul under the direction of Douglas Moberg. The microphotographer was David Miller, assisted by Constance Kadrmas and Maureen Leverty.

We are particularly grateful to Walter Pilkington, librarian of Hamilton College, Clinton, New York, for allowing copies of manuscripts in that library's possession to be included in the microfilm edition. We wish to thank James Taylor Dunn, librarian of the Minnesota Historical Society and great grandson of Taylor, for loaning papers from his private collection to film and for much helpful information about Taylor and his family.

The society gratefully acknowledges the assistance of these persons and organizations in making the Taylor Papers available to the public at a reasonable cost.

HELEN M. WHITE, Project Director  
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*JAMES WICKES TAYLOR (1819-1893). This painting by V. A. Long (1893) once hung in the Council Chamber of the Winnipeg City Hall.*

## *The James Wickes Taylor Papers*

THE JAMES WICKES TAYLOR PAPERS in the Minnesota Historical Society measure six linear feet and consist of correspondence and miscellaneous papers (1834-1957), including oversize items, and twenty-seven volumes (1842-92), of which the first twenty-one are letter books.

The few early manuscripts for the period 1834-59 concern Taylor's activities as a student at Hamilton College, Clinton, New York; a law clerk in Ohio; and a resident of Minnesota after 1856. The bulk of the collection, containing official and unofficial correspondence, covers the period of Taylor's career, from 1860 to 1893 as a special agent of the United States Treasury Department, a secret agent of the United States State Department, and United States consul in Winnipeg, Manitoba. The papers from 1931 to 1957 are largely the correspondence of James Taylor Dunn, great grandson of Taylor, concerning his research on Taylor's life and his editing of Taylor's 1842-44 diary, published in 1950 under the title *A Choice Nook of Memory*.

The manuscripts have been copied, in the order in which they are arranged at the society, on ten rolls of microfilm. The film includes the full collection of papers in the possession of the society. In addition there are five pamphlets by Taylor (1840-68); *A Choice Nook of Memory* with accompanying manuscript notes; an annotated biographical sketch of Taylor by Theodore C. Blegen; a scrapbook of newspaper clippings; and fifteen miscellaneous manuscripts. All of these were loaned for copying by Mr. Dunn.

Correspondence and miscellaneous papers are copied on Rolls 1-7. The volumes are filmed beginning at the end of Roll 7 through Roll 10. A brief general description of the papers appears on each microfilm roll. It is followed by a selected chronology of significant events in Taylor's life; a list of sample citations to the papers; a roll note for each of the two groups of papers in the collection; and a list of the rolls in each of these groups. On Roll 10 are copied catalog cards listing other manuscript collections in the society relating to Taylor and the library's holdings of printed works by and about Taylor.

The 2-B film format has been used in microfilming the Taylor Papers. A running title beneath each film frame gives the name of the institution and collection, roll and frame numbers, and the reduction ratio of the image when it differs from the standard 14 to 1 ratio. Special targets indicate incomplete or defective manuscripts, enclosures, or other technical information helpful to the reader. Sometimes a manuscript was filmed more than once at different camera settings if the writing was faded or blurred. In this case a target indicating intentional duplication has been used. Undated items appear on the film before dated ones,

and a chronological order has been followed whenever possible in the arrangement and filming of the papers within the separate groups. When an item found to be out of place was inserted into a film sequence, it has been identified with frame numbers followed by a letter (as 163A).

This guide, designed to accompany the microfilm edition of the Taylor Papers, provides biographical data on Taylor, information on the Minnesota Historical Society's acquisition of the papers, and an analysis of the content of the collection. It also includes an inventory of the microfilm rolls, a selected bibliography of manuscript and published sources on Taylor, and a list of author and subject entries used by the society in cataloging the papers.

## BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCH

James Wickes Taylor was born in Eddytown, Starkey Township, in Yates County, New York, on November 6, 1819. He was the eldest of five children born to James and Maria Wickes Taylor. His father, a lawyer, was the son of an Englishman who had served with General John Burgoyne. Taylor's mother was the daughter of Captain Silas Wickes, one of the early settlers of Steuben County, New York.

Taylor attended an academy in Penn Yan, New York, and went on to Hamilton College in Clinton. While at Hamilton he was one of the early members of the Alpha Delta Phi fraternity. After graduation in 1838 Taylor returned to Penn Yan, studying law under his father until 1842 when he moved west to Cincinnati, Ohio. There he worked as a clerk in a law office, studied for his bar examination, and was admitted to the Ohio State bar in 1844. He later was associated with the law firm of Salmon P. Chase and Flamen Ball.

Taylor married Chloe Sweeting Langford of Utica, New York, in 1845. Five daughters, Mary, Helen, Alice, Harriet, and Elizabeth were born to them. Mary married Charles L. Alden of Troy, New York; Helen died in childhood in 1850; Alice married Charles J. Monfort of St. Paul; Harriet remained with her parents; and Elizabeth became an artist, author, and traveler.

Taylor entered the newspaper field in 1846 when he established the *Cincinnati Morning Signal*, a Democratic paper. He became known as "Signal" Taylor after publishing editorials in support of General Zachary Taylor for the presidency. When the general accepted the nomination of the Whig party instead, Taylor became a Free Soiler and before long his newspaper failed.

His first book, *The Victim of Intrigue*, a novel dealing with the Aaron Burr conspiracy, was published in 1847. Taylor moved to Sandusky, Ohio, in 1849, and in 1850 he became editor of the *Sandusky Daily Mirror*. Elected a representative from Erie County to the second Ohio state constitutional convention (1850-51), he was a member of the committee to reform judicial procedures. From 1854 to 1856 he served as state librarian in Columbus and worked on his *History of the State of Ohio, First Period, 1650-1787*, which was published in 1854. It was at this time that he first became interested in Northwest British America and began research on its history and resources.

In 1856 Taylor with his family and his parents moved to Minnesota. After

setting up a law office in St. Paul, he began writing articles for St. Paul newspapers on such topics as the Minnesota boundary question and Northwest British America. Because of his persistent interest in the latter, he received the popular nickname "Saskatchewan" Taylor. He became secretary of the Minnesota and Pacific Railroad Company in 1859 and in this position worked for passage by the legislature of a measure popularly known as the "Five Million Loan," which was intended to finance railroad construction in Minnesota.

In the same year he reported to the St. Paul City Council on the Fraser River region in what is now British Columbia, where gold had recently been discovered. Later in 1859, as secretary of William H. Nobles' expedition to the gold fields, he traveled as far as Pembina, where he left the party and ventured to the Red River Settlement, also known as the Selkirk Colony, near the present site of Winnipeg.

Appointed special agent of the Treasury Department by President James Buchanan in 1859, Taylor was instructed to supply information on trade relations between the United States and Canada. His report, *Relations between the United States and Northwest British America*, was published by Congress in 1862. Taylor continued his association with the Treasury Department until 1869. During this time he reported on commercial relations with Canada in 1866 and on the gold, silver, and other resources east of the Rocky Mountains. He was also a representative of the St. Paul Board of Trade and later of the Northern Pacific Railroad Company at commercial conventions in Detroit, Boston, Portland, Cincinnati, and Richmond.

In 1860 Taylor became secretary of the group of Minnesota Democrats who supported John C. Breckinridge for the presidency. They nominated Taylor for Congress. However, the state's Democratic voters were overwhelmingly behind Stephen A. Douglas. Taylor's political career came to an end when he received only 768 votes out of a total of more than 70,000 cast in the 1861 congressional elections. He stayed clear of political involvements from this time on, preferring to work for the extension of railroads and the opening of the British Northwest by nonpolitical means.

Alarmed by the Sioux Uprising in 1862, Taylor wrote a series of letters to the *St. Paul Daily Press* calling for the removal of the Sioux and Winnebago Indians from Minnesota. He also proposed that Isle Royale be designated an Indian penal colony for all the tribes of Minnesota, Michigan, Wisconsin, and Dakota. In 1863, in another series of newspaper articles, he called for a vigorous campaign into Dakota to pursue the Indians.

More intensive railroad activity began for Taylor in 1869 when he was appointed a publicity agent for both the Lake Superior and Mississippi and the St. Paul and Pacific railroad companies. He wrote newspaper articles, gave speeches, and lobbied in Washington for land grants and railroad charters. His interest in railroads continued throughout his life, and when he was almost seventy years old he presented plans and ideas for an international railroad system linking the United States, Canada, and Alaska.

In 1869 during the Red River Rebellion in Manitoba, Taylor became a secret agent of the United States State Department and reported on all the activities



surrounding the disturbance. At this time he was an advocate of American annexation of Northwest British America and his reports strongly reflect this point of view.

Late in 1870 Taylor was appointed United States consul at Winnipeg. He retained this position for twenty-three years, until his death in 1893, serving under both Republican and Democratic administrations. As consul, Taylor promoted the economic interests of the United States, represented Americans and American interests in Manitoba, and reported to Washington on Manitoban political situations, such as the Fenian invasion of 1871 and the Riel Rebellion of 1885. His career as consul, author, and promoter was significant not only for contributions to the growth of Manitoba, but also for the strengthening of cultural and commercial ties between Canada and the American Midwest. Canadians considered him a true friend of their country, and his death, while almost unnoticed in the United States, was greatly mourned in Winnipeg.

## ORIGIN OF THE COLLECTION

In 1915 the James Wickes Taylor Papers now in the Minnesota Historical Society were discovered quite by accident during an investigation of the state archives in the old Capitol on Wabasha Street in St. Paul. The trunk containing Taylor's papers was then removed to the vaults of the society in the new Capitol, where the contents were arranged and cataloged by Theodore C. Blegen.

Later that year, when Taylor's oldest daughter, Mrs. Charles L. Alden, visited the society, she explained that after her father's death in April, 1893, all of the papers from his Winnipeg office had been sent to her in Troy, New York. William R. Marshall, a former governor of Minnesota and Taylor's brother-in-law, suggested to Mrs. Alden that the papers be donated to the society, of which he was then secretary. Before the end of 1893 she went over the papers, destroying items which she considered personal or unimportant. Packing the remaining manuscripts in a trunk, she shipped them to Marshall for presentation to the society. Through some oversight, no accession record was made for them in the institution's files. The next year Marshall moved to California and the trunk was forgotten until 1915.

A large number of the Taylor Papers now in the society were in this trunk, but over the years James Taylor Dunn has added the following items to the collection. The Cincinnati diary and eleven letters were given in 1936; an annotated copy of the reminiscences of Harriet Brace, Taylor's sister, entitled *Grandmother Brace's Story*, written by her daughter Maria Kimball, was presented in 1938. A manuscript entitled "The Taylors in Penn Yan, New York" came to the society in 1941. Photostatic copies of two newspapers and copies of four letters written in 1892 by Elizabeth Taylor came in 1948. A typed copy of an 1871 letter from Taylor to his mother followed in 1949, and the correspondence dealing with the publication of Taylor's diary by Mr. Dunn was given in 1950. Fifty miscellaneous items were donated in 1953. Photocopies of five letters from Taylor to John L. Lewis also added to the collection at this time are reproduced with the permission of the Hamilton College Library, which owns the

original manuscripts. Some fifty other manuscripts were given in 1967. These items, original letters as well as photocopies of manuscripts still in Mr. Dunn's possession, include a chapter from the reminiscences of Taylor's granddaughter, Alice Monfort Dunn.

## DESCRIPTION OF THE PAPERS

The collection begins with genealogical data which traces Taylor's family to Colonial times. There are also genealogical notes and charts of the family and descendants of James Wickes and Chloe Langford Taylor. These charts and additional biographical notes were compiled by James Taylor Dunn.

Undated materials include a biographical sketch of Taylor's father from *History and Directory of Yates County* (1873) by Stafford C. Cleveland, miscellaneous manuscript notes, and clippings collected by Taylor from midwest and Canadian newspapers.

Family letters, although not numerous, are scattered throughout the collection. They consist of letters to Taylor, originals and copies of letters he wrote, and letters written by other members of his family. Those dating from 1857 to 1892 contain news of family births, marriages, illnesses, and deaths. Four letters written in 1871 by Chloe Taylor to her daughter Mary deal with Alice Taylor's wedding to Charles J. Monfort. They describe the social scene of St. Paul and offer information on the preparation of Alice's trousseau. There is only one letter (1882) from Chloe Taylor to her husband. In 1892 there are copies of four letters written by Elizabeth Taylor to Professor Joel A. Allen of the American Museum of Natural History in New York about her trip to the Mackenzie River in Canada, and letters to her father while on this trip. In vol. 21 are copies of letters that Taylor wrote arranging for the trip. There are seven letters (1886-92) from Taylor to his granddaughter Alice Monfort.

### 1834-1859

The earliest dated manuscripts in the collection are photocopies of five letters that Taylor wrote to his boyhood friend, John L. Lewis, in Penn Yan, New York. Dating from September 19, 1834, a few days after the fifteen-year-old Taylor entered Hamilton College, to 1836, they are characterized by a florid style of writing in which Taylor comments on the woes of college life, his homesickness, and the current political scene.

The first pamphlet in the collection is an address by Taylor delivered before the Hamilton chapter of the Alpha Delta Phi Society in Clinton, New York, in 1840. It is entitled *The Life and Character of George Langford Jr.* Langford, who had died at the age of twenty-four, was Taylor's friend at college and the brother of Chloe Langford, who later became Taylor's wife. There is a long poem by Taylor addressed to Chloe two years before their marriage (1843). *The Useful and the Beautiful — Their Relations and Their Harmony* is the title of the second pamphlet — an address delivered before the Alpha Delta Phi Society

at its twelfth anniversary meeting in 1844. The third pamphlet is a speech given before the Erodolphian Society of Miami University, Oxford, Ohio, in 1845.

Between 1845 and 1856 there are no papers in the collection. In 1857, after moving to Minnesota, Taylor contributed articles to the *St. Paul Daily Press* on the Minnesota boundary question. An outline of one is included in the papers.

There is an interesting collection of eight letters (1856-61) from Spencer F. Baird of the Smithsonian Institution to Donald Gunn of the Selkirk Colony, concerning specimens of plants and animals that Baird wanted Gunn to collect. It is not clear how Taylor obtained the letters, but he corresponded with Gunn (1860), and Gunn's letters to Taylor contain full descriptions of the Red River Settlement. There is also correspondence between Baird and Taylor (1874-89). Taylor worked with the Smithsonian in its scientific studies, arranging for plant and animal samples to be sent to the institution and for American scientists to study in Canada. After 1884, when Baird became United States commissioner of fish and fisheries, he authorized Taylor to handle requests for free stock from the fish hatcheries. Some forty letters came from Canadians asking for carp to stock their ponds.

Taylor's first opportunity to see the British Northwest, about which he had already written and talked widely, came in 1859, when he was appointed secretary of the Nobles expedition to the Fraser River gold fields. He traveled from St. Cloud to Fort Abercrombie as a guest of the Minnesota Stage Company on its maiden run over the route; there he joined other members of the expedition and pushed into Dakota. At Pembina he left the group and went north to the Red River Settlement. A few members of the Nobles expedition went on to the Pacific Coast, but Taylor was among those who returned to St. Paul. Filed among the papers for 1859 are notes for a report on the trip, with a list of vegetables and grains grown in the settlement, and sketches of several acquaintances made on the journey, including James Bird and J. H. Harriott, retired factors of the Hudson's Bay Company, and the Reverend James Hunter and Bishop Alexandre A. Taché.

#### TREASURY AGENT AND STATE DEPARTMENT SECRET AGENT, 1860-1870

A copy of Taylor's petition to President Buchanan requesting appointment as a special agent of the Treasury Department is among the papers for 1859. His assignment to investigate the reciprocal relations of trade and transportation between the United States and Canada took him temporarily to Washington, D.C., where he worked under his former Ohio associate Salmon P. Chase. There is little information in the papers on the reports he prepared and submitted to Congress between 1860 and 1869 on the economic, geographic, and political relations of the two countries and on mineral resources of the United States east of the Rocky Mountains.

Taylor's correspondence from 1860 to 1866, particularly with Charles J. Brydges, manager of the Grand Trunk Railway, and his memoranda and manuscript notes reflect his view that despite strained Canadian-American relations growing out of the Civil War, the Reciprocity Treaty of 1854 should be renewed

and extended to create a customs union between the two countries. After 1867 and the failure to gain reciprocity agreements, Taylor's thoughts turned to annexation. A letter to Edward Cooper written on November 23, 1867, discusses a bill which provided for admitting as states Nova Scotia, New Brunswick, and other areas of eastern Canada, and for organizing as United States territories the districts of Selkirk, Saskatchewan, and Columbia. The bill, drafted by Taylor, was introduced in the House of Representatives by Nathaniel P. Banks of Massachusetts, but it died in committee. Other papers dealing with the measure include copies of letters supporting annexation; manuscripts such as "Union With Canada" (1868); numerous newspaper clippings in the correspondence files and in vols. 24-26; and a resolution authored by Taylor and passed by the Minnesota legislature on March 6, 1868, expressing disapproval of the transfer of the Selkirk Colony to the Dominion of Canada.

The papers for 1860-69 also include notes on Senator William H. Seward's "Manifest Destiny" speech of 1860 in St. Paul and two newspaper series written for the *St. Paul Daily Press* on the Sioux Uprising: "The Sioux War: What Shall We Do With It? The Sioux Indians: What Shall We Do With Them?" (vol. 27) and "The Sioux War: What Has been Done By the Minnesota Campaign of 1863? What Should Be Done By the Dakota Campaign of 1864?" reprinted as a pamphlet and filed with the 1864 correspondence. Also included is a memorandum (1867) of an interview with President Andrew Johnson about the reconstruction of the South.

A communication dated December 30, 1869, announces Taylor's appointment as a secret agent of the State Department. He was assigned to investigate the revolt of the inhabitants of the Red River Settlement and the expulsion of Governor William McDougall; he was to give information on the geographical features of the area, the existing routes of communication, the character and disposition of the colony's population, and its political and commercial relations with the United States. He was also to report on the political relations between the Dominion of Canada and the several states and provinces composing it.

The Red River Rebellion involved the large population of métis, or mixed-bloods, descendants of Indians and French voyageurs brought to the area during the century of fur trade activity centered there. When an agreement was reached by which the Hudson's Bay Company sold to the Canadian government the huge private domain known as Rupert's Land, which included the Red River Settlement, the inhabitants were not consulted. The métis, feeling that their entire way of life was threatened by the resulting changes, rose in arms under the leadership of Louis Riel, expelled the representatives of the Canadian government, and proceeded to hold and rule the colony. Parliament sent commissioners to hear the grievances of the métis, and by the end of January, 1870, an agreement was reached. In June, 1870, the Manitoba Act was passed, and the area which had so long been known as the Red River Settlement or the Selkirk Colony became a part of the Province of Manitoba in the Canadian Confederation.

Taylor and his fellow annexationists saw this period of unrest as a golden opportunity and lobbied intensively in Washington and Winnipeg for the annexation of the colony to the United States. In the correspondence files are State

Department dispatches to Taylor's predecessor, Oscar Malmros, which suggest that the two men agreed in their views on the subject. There are also letters from Nathaniel Pitt Langford reporting Riel's ratification of the Manitoba Act and drafts of letters dated November, 1869, to August, 1870, from Taylor to Secretary of State Hamilton Fish, giving detailed accounts of events during the Red River Rebellion and pleading for annexation.

#### RAILROAD PUBLICIST AND PROMOTER, 1859-1889

Shortly after Taylor went to Minnesota in 1856, he became interested in railroad development. Like many other Northwest expansionists, he dreamed of a railroad system that not only would connect the United States from coast to coast but also would tie the United States to the fertile prairies of western Canada.

From 1857, when he was appointed secretary of the Minnesota and Pacific Railroad Company, until his death in 1893, but particularly in the years 1869-73, Taylor's papers contain much detailed information on the railroads of Minnesota, the Northwest, and Canada. There is correspondence with many important persons connected with railroad development in the United States and Canada, twenty drafts of newspaper articles, and numerous newspaper clippings both in the correspondence files and in vols. 24-26.

Early railroad materials include an 1859 report by Taylor on the Minnesota railroad system presented to the St. Paul City Council, correspondence with Thomas D'Arcy McGee of Canada about the effect of railroads on immigration to the Northwest, and an 1868 petition signed by Taylor and other citizens of Minnesota calling for the construction of a railroad to the Pacific Coast over a northern route.

In 1869, when his association with the Treasury Department was ended, Taylor returned to the promotion of railroad interests. After failing to find a position with the Northern Pacific, the Grand Trunk, or the Great Western railroad companies, he was named publicity agent for the Lake Superior and Mississippi and for the First Division of the St. Paul and Pacific, devoting a quarter of his time to each concern. Accordingly, in April, 1869, he began writing articles designed to gain public support for railroad measures. These appeared in the *Chicago Tribune*, *Toronto Globe*, *New York Tribune*, *New York Times*, and *London Times*. After Taylor's appointment as United States consul in Winnipeg in late 1870, he continued to represent American railroad interests in Canada. His clients included the Northern Pacific and after 1879 the Red River Transportation Company, as indicated by correspondence with James J. Hill. Later he also represented the Canadian Pacific Railway.

In the 1869-73 correspondence files, vols. 1-21, and scattered correspondence from 1874 to 1893 are drafts of letters to and letters from such railroad officials as Electus B. Litchfield, Henry M. and Edmund Rice, Norman W. Kittson, William B. Ogden, J. Gregory Smith, A. B. Nettleton, George B. Wright, Andrew De Graff, Joseph Howe, Charles J. Brydges, and Jay Cooke. They include information on routes, construction, financing, and progress in building the railroads that Taylor represented. George L. Becker, the most frequent correspondent,

discusses Taylor's lobbying activities for the St. Paul and Pacific Railroad in 1870, progress on the completion of the St. Paul and Pacific line from St. Anthony to Breckenridge in 1871, and information on the consolidation of the St. Paul and Pacific and Northern Pacific railroads in 1872.

Other miscellaneous railroad materials include a plan for a railroad terminus at Bayfield, Wisconsin; six circulars from the Northern Pacific publicity department (1871); and an act to incorporate the Western Railway Company of Manitoba, of which Taylor was a stockholder and director.

Taylor's last significant railroad activity occurred in 1889. After receiving letters, plans, and maps from Walter Moberly, pioneer surveyor for the Canadian Pacific Railway, for a proposed international railroad to Alaska, Taylor delivered a lecture in Winnipeg giving information and statistics on the rich mining and agricultural areas through which the line would pass. Once again he attempted to demonstrate, as he had in the 1870s, that the progress and growth of the entire Northwest was linked to its railroad construction program.

#### UNITED STATES CONSUL, 1870-1893

Taylor was appointed United States consul at Winnipeg on September 21, 1870. The official notice that his appointment was confirmed by the Senate is dated December 22, 1870. Also in the correspondence files is a letter of congratulation from Governor Adams G. Archibald of Manitoba and a letter from Benjamin Morain of the United States consulate in London conveying the queen's approval of the appointment.

Recommended for the post by Senator Alexander Ramsey, Taylor stated his reasons for accepting the position in November, 1870, when he wrote to Nathaniel P. Banks, saying, "I have accepted the Winnipeg Consulate, believing that I can advance the annexation policy with which you are identified more effectively here than elsewhere." He was also urged to take the post by railroad interests, and his government salary of \$1,500 annually was supplemented by allowances paid by the railroads he represented. The correspondence files and letter books indicate that he did not receive these allowances regularly and that he was dependent on them for maintaining residences for himself in Winnipeg and for his family in St. Paul, to pay for his daughters' education, insurance premiums, and family travel expenses.

As consul, Taylor's function was to promote the national economic interests of the United States by creating a favorable situation for the importation and sale of American goods. He was also required to submit periodic reports and advise American citizens on trading procedures and opportunities. Copies of Taylor's reports in the letter books contain statistics on exports, imports, duties, and fees and a yearly summary of economic activities in Manitoba. Included is detailed information on the Canadian fur trade, lumber sales, agricultural production, and railroad construction and other internal improvements.

Taylor's interest in the agricultural development and natural resources of Manitoba and the Canadian Northwest is also evident in letters (vols. 1-21) that cite the possibilities for growing bountiful crops on the plains. He sent samples

of wheat and other crops to expositions and fairs to prove that bumper crops could be grown north of the forty-ninth parallel. When attacked by the explorer, Henry Y. Hind, for stating that three-fourths of the wheat belt of North America lay north of this parallel, Taylor reviewed his own facts and statistics (vol. 9, January, 1882) and upheld his theory. Letters to the Department of Agriculture and numerous acquaintances (vols. 1-21) describe his interest in forest and fruit cultivation, tree planting on the plains, and botanical gardens. He himself opened an experimental farm at Fort Douglas near Winnipeg, where he planted grapes, currants, gooseberries, and raspberries.

Supervising the consular agencies and custom offices that were located along the international border in his district and nominating agents for the posts were among the other important duties Taylor performed as consul. Between 1870 and 1892 the number of customs offices increased from two to twelve. Customs officials were required to certify invoices for the shipment of goods to the United States on which duties of more than \$100 were levied. About half of the total collection of papers is comprised of consulate correspondence, much of it devoted to tariffs, fees, customs duties, and warehouse, transportation, and bonding regulations. There are many letters to and from Canadian customs officials about violations of Canadian customs regulations, and letters from Americans charged with various types of infractions.

Taylor's many miscellaneous duties as consul are evident in the correspondence and letter books. There are requests from United States citizens for jobs, for funds to go home, or for other assistance. Frequent "whereabouts" cases are represented in letters from people who were searching for lost relatives or lost articles. There are also letters notifying relatives of Americans who had died in Manitoba and dealing with the settlement of their estates. Affidavits and depositions sworn before Taylor in his capacity as notary public cover a variety of situations and are numerous in the papers. Fees from this service were used for the support of the consulate. The consul's service to veterans of the United States Army is documented in the many requests for pensions and applicant medical examination forms found in the papers after 1882. From 1889 to 1892 in vols. 17-21, are lists of applicants and names of doctors to whom they were referred. Americans employed by Canadian companies such as the Canadian Pacific Railway sought his aid in collecting back wages and on two occasions (1874, 1887) in arbitrating disputes with Manitoba officials.

More than once Taylor found himself embroiled in highly controversial situations. There are thirty letters, telegrams, and affidavits, for example, in the 1873 correspondence files about the "Bogus Lord Gordon Gordon Affair." Gordon, a mysterious Englishman, had been arrested in New York in a swindling attempt. A. F. Roberts of New York, who had put up bail for Gordon, and George A. Brackett, mayor of Minneapolis, hired two Minneapolis detectives to go to Winnipeg and return with Gordon. The detectives and two other Minnesotans were arrested by Manitoba officials for kidnapping Gordon. They were jailed, not allowed bail, and forced to wait two months for trial. Before the case was finally settled there was correspondence with many prominent Minnesotans, including Governor Horace Austin, Senator Ramsey, former Congressman William S. King,

Eugene M. Wilson, lawyer for the men, Charles M. Loring, Joseph A. Wheelock, editor and publisher of the *St. Paul Pioneer Press*, and Mayor Brackett. Other correspondence indicates that the Manitoba attorney general objected to Taylor's handling of the case and demanded his recall.

Between 1875 and 1879 there are affidavits and depositions about the death of some Assiniboin Indians in the Cypress Hills region of the Northwest Territories. Ten men, most of them Americans, were indicted for the murders, and Taylor attempted to have them freed. Three of the Americans were brought to trial and acquitted; charges against the rest were dismissed.

Other information in the papers concerns the region around Lake of the Woods in northern Minnesota. In 1875 Taylor attempted to stop the illegal sale of liquor to United States Indians; in 1890 he was notified that Canadians were cutting timber on United States government land in northern Minnesota; and in 1891 there are reports from residents stating that both American and Canadian fishermen were taking so many fish from the lake that the Indians who depended on the fish for their livelihood were starving.

In the 1870s Taylor was the only official American representative stationed in that part of Canada. His duties therefore included keeping the State Department informed of political happenings in his district—not usually a consular function. Manuscripts dealing with the Fenian invasion of Manitoba in 1871 include a few letters from Enos Stutsman, Governor Adams G. Archibald of Manitoba, and Captain Loyd Wheaton of the United States Army at Pembina. In vols. 1 and 2 are copies of letters to President Ulysses S. Grant and Senator Ramsey in which Taylor summarizes the events of the invasion and relates how he and Captain Wheaton gathered information sufficient to halt the raid before it really began. There are affidavits and depositions from Norman W. Kittson, Joseph Rolette, Jr., Wheaton, and Stutsman objecting to the arrest by Manitoba officials of one Louis L'Entendre for complicity in the Fenian attack.

Information about the Riel Rebellion of 1885 is contained in two letters from Louis Riel (1883–84); daily telegrams addressed to the State Department during the critical days of the three-month insurrection; correspondence with Major George M. Brayton, United States Army, Pembina; and numerous copies of dispatches relating full details and circumstances (vol. 12). Taylor, who since the Red River Rebellion, had warned both American and Canadian officials of possible further unrest among the métis, notified the State Department of imminent trouble after he received the second letter from Riel in 1884. Through quick action by the State Department, Taylor was put in direct communication with United States military personnel on the international border, and the border officials succeeded in preventing métis and Blackfoot Indians living in the United States from crossing the border to join Riel. After the defeat of the uprising and the sentencing of its leader, there were pleas for clemency on behalf of Riel by Taylor and others. Taylor also reported on Indians such as Sitting Bull and his band who crossed the international border, on whisky trading, horse stealing, and the general terror that was common in such border spots as "Fort Whoop Up."

Correspondence in 1884 and 1889 reveals Taylor's concern that he would be



replaced as consul. There are copies of letters in 1884 to Oliver H. Kelley, founder of the Patrons of Husbandry, and Henry H. Sibley, first Minnesota state governor, asking for support in Washington and correspondence in 1889 with Hans Mattson, Minnesota secretary of state; Solomon G. Comstock, congressman from Moorhead; William R. Merriam, governor of Minnesota; Joseph A. Wheelock of the *St. Paul Pioneer Press*; William Windom, secretary of the treasury; the two Minnesota senators, Cushman K. Davis and William D. Washburn; and Alexander Ramsey and William Marshall, former Minnesota governors and old friends. All agreed to write or speak to Secretary of State James G. Blaine on Taylor's behalf.

Miscellaneous correspondence between 1880 and 1893 includes letters from Sir Joseph Hickson of the Grand Trunk Railway (1880-84); Alfred J. Hill, the archaeologist (1882-90), about Indian mounds in the Red River Valley and about his search for the papers of William W. Mather, who traveled with George W. Featherstonhaugh in the Northwest in 1835; a letter from Lorin Blodget, the climatologist, recalling his travels and explorations in the Northwest (1890); scattered correspondence with Donald A. Smith (Lord Strathcona) and Dr. John C. Schultz; with Archbishop Taché and Ignatius Donnelly about origins of the Cree and Chippewa alphabets (1891); with Erastus Wiman of New York (1887-89) on reciprocity and tariff reductions with Canada; with Charles Hallock about the commissioning of a cyclorama of the Northwest to be painted for the Paris Exposition (1888); and two letters from General William T. Sherman about a watch found on the Custer battlefield in Montana (1880).

In 1892, filed with a letter from Gertrude Whittier Cartland, is a copy of a letter from John Greenleaf Whittier to Archbishop Taché. This along with notes by Elizabeth Taylor and James Taylor Dunn and a typed manuscript fragment, "Bells of St. Boniface," relate to the story of the bells in the cathedral tower in St. Boniface, Manitoba.

After Taylor's death in 1893 the papers are largely the correspondence files of James Taylor Dunn dealing with his research (1930-50) about his great grandfather.

## A SELECTED BIBLIOGRAPHY

Theodore C. Blegen's essay, "James Wickes Taylor," in *Minnesota History*, 1:153-219 (November, 1915) (Roll 7) contains a biographical sketch, a list of Taylor's publications, and a brief description of the papers. It was written after Mr. Blegen had arranged and studied the collection. A shorter biographical note is in the *Ohio Archaeological and Historical Quarterly*, 28:102 (January, 1919).

A number of other articles published in *Minnesota History* have drawn on Taylor's papers and deal with his railroad interests and other aspects of his career. Among them are Grace Lee Nute, "New Light on Red River Valley History," 5:568-569 (November, 1924); James Taylor Dunn, "The St. Croix Valley Welcomes the Iron Horse," 35:363-364 (December, 1957); Willoughby M. Babcock, "Gateway to the Northwest: St. Paul and the Nobles Expedition of 1859," 35:249-262 (June, 1957); Bertha L. Heilbron, "Manifest Destiny in Minnesota's

Republican Campaign of 1860," 37:52-57 (June, 1960); and Helen M. White, "Minnesota, Montana, and Manifest Destiny," 38:53-62 (June, 1962).

Paul F. Sharp in "The Northern Great Plains: A Study of Canadian-American Regionalism," in *Mississippi Valley Historical Review*, 39:61-76 (June, 1952), stresses Taylor's schemes for railroads that would "link the Minnesota capital and the Great Lakes to the Saskatchewan country." The same author discusses some of Taylor's consular activities in a book entitled *Whoop-Up Country* (Minneapolis, 1955).

Taylor's involvement in Canadian-American relations is discussed in various works. Two articles documented by the Taylor Papers appear in the *Canadian Historical Review*. They are: Reginald G. Trotter, "Some American Influences upon the Canadian Federation Movement," 5:213-227 (September, 1925), and John P. Pritchett, "Origin of the So-called Fenian Raid on Manitoba in 1871," 10:23-42 (March, 1929). Alvin C. Gluek, Jr., writing in the same journal about "The Riel Rebellion and Canadian-American Relations," 36:199-221 (September, 1955), and in his book, *Minnesota and the Manifest Destiny of the Canadian Northwest* (Toronto, 1965), tells of Taylor's role in the American annexation movement. An unpublished work which notes Taylor's annexation activities is "The Red River Settlement and the St. Paul Route, 1859-1870," by Henry C. Klassen, a master's thesis submitted to the University of Manitoba in 1963. *Manitoba, Birth of a Province*, by William L. Morton (Winnipeg, Manitoba Record Society Publications, 1965), contains a selection of letters written by Taylor to Secretary of State Hamilton Fish in 1870.

Hartwell Bowsfield has written an article on "The United States and Red River Settlement," in the *Papers of the Historical and Scientific Society of Manitoba* (23:33-55), and is preparing a volume of Taylor correspondence for publication by the Manitoba Record Society.

## THE MICROFILM

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- Roll 9. Vols. 12-21 Letter Books, April 3, 1885-August 8, 1892
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