

Getting There Was the Challenge! The Red River Expedition of 1870

by Major Gary Campbell, CD

The year 1870 would be full of challenges for the one hundred and fourteen officers and men of the Commissariat Department, Commissariat Staff Corps, Purveyors Department, Military Store Department, and Barrack Department who were stationed in Canada.¹ The first challenge was their reorganization under the Royal Warrants of 1869. The officers were formed into the Control Department while the other ranks were formed into the first Army Service Corps (ASC). The officers would perform Supply, Transport and Pay functions while the men were grouped into Transport and Supply Companies.² The second challenge was the redeployment of all the British Forces from Canada with the exception of the Imperial Garrison at Halifax, Nova Scotia. The withdrawal was to be completed before the end of the shipping season in October. There was a great deal of work to be done to accomplish this. Stores and equipment had to be returned to Britain or disposed of locally. The workload would be immense.³

To further add to their burden, the Fenians were threatening to invade Canada from the United States. The Fenians were an organization of Irish immigrants who dreamed of capturing parts of Canada and using this as a bargaining tool to free Ireland from British rule. They had many Irish veterans of the American Civil War in their ranks. The Fenian's previous invasions in 1866 had failed and by the spring of 1870, they were ready to try again. There was an invasion scare in April and then two small invasions of the Province of Quebec, south of Montreal, took place in May 1870. The Canadian Militia, reinforced by the British Regulars, was called out to defend the Canadian border from Windsor, Ontario to the Eastern Townships of Quebec during the period

from 11 April to 3 June 1870.⁴ Supporting this force would be the third challenge for the Control Department and the Army Service Corps.

The fourth challenge was the suppression of the rebellion that had occurred in the Red River district of present day Manitoba. A vast area, consisting of Western Canada, the North West Territories, and the northern parts of Ontario and Quebec, had been under the control of the Hudson's Bay Company (HBC) since it received its Charter in 1670. There was concern that this tract of land, known as Rupert's Land, could fall under American domination as Americans continued to follow their policy of "Manifest Destiny" and expanded westwards. The solution was to promote British settlement of the West, which could best be done under Canadian sponsorship. Thus the Canadian government, with the support of the British government, agreed to purchase Rupert's Land from the HBC for £300,000. The transfer was to take effect on 19 November 1869.⁵

The Red River area, centered on Winnipeg and Fort Garry, was the major centre of population in Rupert's Land. The inhabitants were the descendents of Scottish and English settlers, native Indians and Métis, who were the offspring of unions between the French fur traders and the Indian women. While the British settlers generally welcomed the coming of the Canadian government, the Indians and Métis were distrustful of the change. They had received no assurances that they would be able to retain their French language, their Roman Catholic religion, and their land rights. These fears were reinforced as Canadian surveyors laid their survey chains without regard to existing property boundaries. The result of this was a rebellion, which led to the formation of



Bring in the Canadian. Assistant Controller Matthew Bell Irvine was a Canadian brought from London and made responsible for moving the force from Thunder Bay to Fort Garry.

the Provisional Government of Red River, under Louis Riel. Significantly, one of Riel's deputies was William O'Donoghue, an Irish Fenian. The rebellion could have ended peacefully when the Métis sent a delegation to Ottawa to negotiate for their rights. This led to the passage of the Manitoba Act on 12 May 1870, which granted them most of their demands. Unfortunately, the heavy-handed way in which Riel dealt with the loyal British elements within the Red River settlement led to the "judicial" murder of Thomas Scott, a native of Ontario. The resulting uproar in Ontario sealed the political need for a military expedition to put down the rebellion and firmly establish the legitimate control of the Canadian government.⁶

A period of interesting "horse trading" ensued. The Canadian government wanted Britain to send a force of Regular troops while the British, who were trying to withdraw the troops from Canada, did not want to commit them, as they feared they could be delayed in the West and forced to



Alternate service delivery is not new. The American canal at Sault Ste. Marie showing the rented steamer *Chicora* passing through the canal.

winter over. Cost sharing was also a hotly debated issue, with the British and the Canadians finally agreeing to a 1:3 split. A compromise on the force composition was reached, by which Britain would prove the nucleus of the expedition with support from the Canadian Militia. The British troops had to be back in Central Canada before the shipping season closed in late October. The Canadian Militia would remain in the Red River as a garrison after the campaign was successfully concluded.⁷ The force finally agreed to consisted of:

- Royal Artillery – 20 personnel with four 7-pounder bronze mountain guns
- Royal Engineers – 20
- 1st Battalion 60th Rifles – 377
- Army Service Corps – 12
- Army Medical Corps – 8
- 1st Battalion Ontario Rifles – 378
- 1st Battalion Quebec Rifles – 378
- Staff – 21

Total – 1214 All Ranks⁸

Speed was critical, as this had to be a quick campaign. Selecting a route was the first priority. Civilians travelled to the Red River by rail, through the United States, and then north by road from St. Paul, Minnesota. This was not a suitable route for a military expedition. The other traditional route had been used by the 6th (Warwickshire) Regiment in 1846 and by the Royal Canadian Rifle Regiment in 1857. This was to go by ship into

Hudson's Bay and then south by boat along the Hayes River, across Lake Winnipeg and then up the Red River to Fort Garry. This route was not acceptable because of the late break-up of the ice in the Bay. The route selected was the old fur trading one that followed a series of lakes and rivers westward from Fort William (Thunder Bay) on Lake Superior to Lake Winnipeg. It would be a hard route, as many portages around rapids and waterfalls would be necessary, but it was the best one available.⁹

As the route was so critical to the success of the expedition, a description of it is in order. From the assembly base in Toronto, the force would go by rail to Collingwood where they would board steamships for the 544 mile journey to Thunder Bay where they would form a camp at a location named Prince Albert's Landing. The critical part of the voyage was the passage of the American canal and locks at Sault Ste. Marie. It was not known if the Americans would allow vessels carrying "war-like" stores to pass through the canal. From Prince Albert's Landing, they would carry the stores, equipment and boats 48 miles overland to Lake Shebandowan. From there, they would row, sail, pole and portage 532 miles over a series of lakes and rivers to Fort Garry.¹⁰ Then they would deal with Riel and his rebellion!

Plans were made to defend against the ever-present threat of Fenian interference with the expedition. A temporary garrison of four companies of the 1st Ontario Rifles was placed at Sault Ste. Marie until the expedition had passed through. A redoubt was built at Prince Arthur's Landing, which was garrisoned throughout the expedition by a company of the 1st Quebec Rifles and a detachment of Royal Artillery with two guns. A company of the 1st Ontario Rifles was temporarily garrisoned at Fort Francis, which was also established as an advance depot.¹¹ In addition, at least one Canadian gunboat patrolled Lake Huron to guard against any Fenian incursions.¹² As the expedition moved farther westwards, there was increased concern that Riel would stir up the local Indians against the force. Colonel Wolseley made great efforts to gain and keep the good will of these tribes.¹³

The Control Department was first officially advised on 5 April that they would be required to support this expedition. Colonel Garnet Wolseley was given command of the expedition on the same day. A period of intense planning followed as decisions about rations, stores and equipment had to be made and tenders for their provision made. This process was completed by the end of April. Lieutenant-Colonel Martindale, the Acting Deputy-Controller in Canada, coordinated this part of the expedition. He drew upon Control Department officers and the

Speed was critical, as this had to be a quick campaign.

Army Service Corps men stationed in Ontario and Quebec to do this. Deputy Commissary Wilkinson was placed in charge of the control arrangements at Toronto. The men and stores began arriving there during the second week of May. The sub-charge of the Control Department between Thunder Bay and Fort Garry was assigned to Assistant Controller Matthew Bell Irvine, a Canadian born officer who had been brought out from London especially for this purpose. Irvine had previously

served in Canada and he was familiar with its people and geography. He had ten Control officers plus the ASC (Army Service Corps) and AHC (Army Hospital Corps) detachments under his command.¹⁴ The ASC contingent mustered in Montreal on 10 May and reported to Toronto on the 11th.¹⁵

Some preparatory work had begun as early as January. Mr. S.J. Dawson, of the Canadian Public Works Department, had built a portion of a road across the 48 miles between

The expedition did not have a good start.

Thunder Bay and Lake Shebandowan the previous year. He was directed to try to have the road open before the start of the navigation season in early May. In addition, he appears to have let contracts for the construction of the 140 light boats that the expedition would need regardless of which route was chosen. He was also responsible for the purchase of the wagons that would be used to carry the stores and equipment over the Dawson Road, and the hiring of the teamsters, road workmen and voyageurs—some 800 men in total.¹⁶ The steamers *Chicora* and *Algoma* were chartered for the season and it was intended that they would run between Collingwood and Thunder Bay on a regular schedule.¹⁷

Meanwhile, the troops were training in Toronto and the stores were arriving daily. The rations would consist of biscuit, salt pork, sugar, tea, beans, preserved potatoes and pepper that would be augmented with fresh bread, vegetables and beef when available. Because the rations and other supplies would have to be man-packed over many portages and receive hard use, every effort was made to have them packaged in small, sturdy containers that could be easily carried. This was not entirely successful and the barrels of salt pork, for example, required constant re-coopering and re-brining. Minimal quantities of camp stores were taken in order to reduce the bulk and weight that had to be carried. The planning was quite exact and before leaving Toronto,

all stores and equipment were marked with an “X” (to be left at Prince Arthur’s Landing), a “Y” (to be left at Fort Francis), or a “Z” (to be taken to Fort Garry).¹⁸

Six Aldershot pattern field ovens were taken on the expedition and seven of the ASC men were bakers. Three of the ovens were used at Prince Albert’s Landing and two along the Dawson Road, with the sixth one being carried to Fort Francis. A very high quality of bread was produced which was a pleasant change for the troops from the usual biscuit.¹⁹ Small-tented hospitals were established at Prince Albert’s Landing and at Fort Francis. As it turned out, the health of the men was excellent and there were no serious injuries. The Control Officers performed the paymaster duties.²⁰ The HBC was contracted to provide the mail, using Indian couriers.²¹ With the logistics arrangements completed and the troops trained, the expedition was ready to depart by late May. As with most good planning, concurrent activity had occurred, and the civilian element of the force was already underway as soon as the ice had cleared and the Great Lakes were open for navigation.

The expedition did not have a good start. Wrangling over whether the military or civil authorities should charter the ships resulted in a week’s delay.²² The first ship to sail was the *Algoma*, which left Collingwood on 3 May. She carried a mixed load of stores plus voyageurs and workmen. She dropped off a work crew to improve the portage road at Sault Ste. Marie, passed through the American locks without difficulty, and arrived safely at Thunder Bay.

The *Chicora* sailed on 7 May with a load of boats, stores and more voyageurs and workmen. The anticipated problems with the American authorities arose when they denied the *Chicora* the use of the canal at Sault Ste. Marie. There were many reasons for the American position. One problem was the pro-Fenian sympathies amongst some politicians and officials. It was also an opportunity for the Americans to bring diplomatic pressure to bear on Britain. The negotiations for the compensation that Britain would pay the United States for the losses caused by the British-built Confederate commerce raiders during the Civil War, were reaching a critical stage.²³ It did not help that the *Chicora* had been a Confederate blockade runner during the war. Fortunately, this eventuality had been considered. The *Chicora*’s cargo was unloaded on the Canadian side, moved over the three-mile portage road and reloaded on the *Algoma*, which had been directed to remain in Lake Superior.

A small Land Transport Corps was formed that used civilian teamsters and wagons under the direction of Captain Nagle, a Control Department Transport Officer. Other Control Department officers and ASC men oversaw the



The Canada General Service Medal, obverse and reverse. After petition by veterans of the Fenian Raids and the Red River Expedition, this medal was awarded to those who took part in the events of 1866 and 1870. A total of 17,635 medals were awarded with three different bars indicating service. The rarest bar was “Red River 1870”.



The Route of the Red River Expedition in 1870.

movement of the stores and accounted for them. A considerable quantity of stores was lost during the portaging due to exposure to weather, rough handling and weak packaging. This procedure of off-loading and re-loading the ships would continue for the duration of the deployment. By 21 May, the American authorities had relaxed their position and ships were allowed through the canal as long as they were not carrying troops or military stores.²⁴ The hiring of five more ships, including an American owned one, alleviated the potential delay that this extra work could have caused. A "propeller" steamship, the *Shickluna*, was chartered to tow the schooners *Pandora* and *Orion* with loads of boats from Lake Ontario to Thunder Bay.²⁵ As they passed through the locks at Sault Ste. Marie, they picked up an escort of a company of the 1st Ontario Rifles.

The advance guard of the expedition began departing Toronto on 21 May and arrived at Prince Arthur's Landing on 25 May. The last part of the force did not arrive until 27 June. A large camp for the troops and a depot for the stores were quickly established. Due to the depth of water, the ships had to anchor a fair distance offshore. They were off-loaded using a scow named *Tiger Lilly*, which was under the command of Commissary

Mellish. The scow was moved to and from the ships by means of a tow rope or, when they were too far out, a small steam launch was used. The next step was to move the men, stores, equipment and boats over the 48 miles to Lake Shebandowan. The plan was to use the Dawson Road. A Land Transport Corps of 110 civilians with 150 horses, 36 oxen, 50 wagons and 30 carts was formed for this purpose. They would be under the direction on the Control Department Transport Officers. Interestingly, 65 horses from "K" Battery, 4th Brigade, Royal Artillery (RA) were seconded to this task as the battery was under orders to return to England and no longer needed their animals.²⁶

The expedition's difficulties continued. Just prior to their arrival, a large forest fire had swept through the area and destroyed some road culverts as well as a quantity of timber intended for bridge construction. There were the normal swarms of black flies and mosquitoes with which they had to contend! Then it began to rain and continued to do so for most of the time the force was moving over the Dawson Road. Instead of being completed, only the first 28 miles of the road, up to the Matawan Bridge, was open to wagons. The next nine miles, to the Oskondagee, was passable only by ox-carts and the remaining eleven miles

had not been started. A serious difference of opinion arose between Mr. Dawson, the senior Canadian Government official in the area, and Colonel Wolseley, about how to proceed. Dawson wanted to concentrate his civilian workforce, augmented by soldiers of the 1/60th, on road construction. Wolseley wanted to explore other options as well.²⁷ While this was happening, boats, stores and equipment began moving over the road up to the Matawan Bridge. It was difficult work due to the soft roadbed. Despite the corduroying, the horses often worked in mud up

to their bellies and they began to break down under the strain.²⁸ Wolseley was aware that the Kaministikwia River ran west from Prince Albert's Landing to the Kaministikwia Bridge (mile 22 on the road) where it met with the Matawan River. He conceived of the idea of relieving the burden on the land transport by trying to force boats up this river network as far as the Matawan Bridge. He was told that it could not be done and that the attempt would cause unnecessary damage to the lightly built boats. Not to be dissuaded, he assigned the task to Captain Young of the 1/60th and he succeeded! Subsequent efforts showed that the boats could be moved even farther up the Matawan. In its final form, the water and land routes met at the Oskondagee River (mile 38) where everything had to be moved by ox-cart to Ward's Landing and then by water for three miles to M'Neill's Bay on Lake Shebandowan.²⁹

As June progressed, the force made slow progress westwards. More wagons with drivers were brought in from Ontario to augment the Land Transport Corps. The Dawson road was extended and improved. The Control Department established depots at the various transfer points along the road in order to regulate and account for the movement of stores and equipment. The troops were spread out all along

the road and “much care and trouble were necessary to keep them well and fully supplied”.³⁰ Colonel Wolseley was appreciative of these efforts as he is quoted by Huyshe as saying “I have never before been with any force in the field so well fed as this one has been up to the present time”.³¹ A special relationship seems to have developed between Colonel Wolseley and Assistant Controller Irvine during this time. The first notice of this was on 6/7 June when Colonel Wolseley had Irvine accompany him on an inspection of the damage that another forest fire had caused at the western end of the road. Irvine became a trusted advisor and stayed close to Colonel Wolseley throughout the expedition.³² Meanwhile, the force was arriving at M’Neill’s Bay. Wolseley’s criterion for beginning the next stage of the trip was the stockpiling of 60 days of provisions there. This was achieved on 16 July when the first group left by boat.

Deputy Commissary Meyer was the Control Officer there and he was responsible for superintending the shipment of stores, the loading of boats, and the issuing of rations and stores.³³

The force was organized into 21 brigades numbered from “A” to “X”, less “J”, “U” and “W”.

There were usually six boats in a brigade, each with a crew of 10-12 soldiers of all ranks, plus 12 voyageurs and a pilot. Each boat carried each man’s personal kit, 60 days of provisions, an arms chest containing the Snider short rifles they had been issued, cooking utensils, blankets, and waterproof sheets. All told, each boat carried a load of over 7,000 pounds.

With each brigade was a carpenter’s toolbox for making repairs en route to the boats. There was also a “gig” for the staff and three birch-bark canoes. On a typical day, reveille sounded at 3 a.m. and they started soon afterwards. The stop for breakfast was at 8 a.m. with the one for dinner at 1 p.m. About one hour before dusk, they stopped for supper and made camp.³⁴

The 1/60th took the lead, followed by the two militia battalions with the boats of the other units interspersed amongst them. The first leg of the route would be across Lake Shebandowan, over the watershed at Height of Land portage, and then down a series of lakes and rivers to Fort Francis, 208 miles away. Colonel Wolseley, with Assistant Controller Irvine, Wolseley’s personal servant, and eight voyageurs ranged along the route in a canoe, often in the lead blazing the way.³⁵ Commissary Mellish, who



Tracking and poling up the Kaministikwia River.

was to be the Control Officer at Fort Francis, had the ASC and AHC men in his boat along with the tents for the field hospital, the field oven, and the medical comforts and stores. They formed part of “G” brigade and departed M’Neill’s Bay on 19 July.³⁶ Once the troops had departed M’Neill’s Bay, the remaining voyageurs were employed in moving a reserve stock of provisions to Fort Francis. Because they were under less time pressure, they moved a small steam launch onto Lake Shebandowan to tow the boats across it and used ox-carts at some of the portages to carry the stores.³⁷

The work they had done along the Dawson Road had put the soldiers in good shape for the portaging. The drill at each portage was fairly routine. The brigade would land and off-load the boats. The lead brigade would cut out the portage road, if it had not already been done, and lay rollers for the boats to go over. They would then move the stores and equipment across the portage.³⁸ The idea of carrying the barrels and crates on a pole between two men was soon abandoned in favour of the Indian “tumpline.” This strap went around the forehead and supported the weight of the load on the shoulders. The normal load was about 200 pounds although many carried more. Captain Redvers Buller “always took at least 200 pounds and sometimes 300 pounds at a trip.”³⁹ One voyageur could carry up to 530 pounds in a single load! Once this had been done, the boats would be manhandled, using only ropes and sheer muscle power, up the steep slopes, over rocks and any other obstacles to the end of the portage. All told, there were more than 42 portages to be made before they reached Fort Garry.⁴⁰



All Sir Garnet. Colonel Garnet Joseph Wolseley, commander of the expedition. Admiration for Wolseley was so great that he inspired popular culture. At the time, if things were going well, it was “All Sir Garnet”. He also inspired Sir Arthur Sullivan’s famous ditty “I am the Very Model of a Modern Major General” and the character Major General Stanley from “the Pirates of Pensance.” (Courtesy National Archives of Canada)

Colonel Wolseley arrived at Fort Francis early on 4 August. He planned to give his force a short rest and do any necessary reorganization before they began the final leg of their journey. They could stock up on fresh bread from the ASC oven and perhaps obtain a few vegetables from the HBC post. It also allowed Colonel Wolseley to hold a “palaver” with the local Indians in order to ensure their co-operation.⁴¹ He also met with Captain W.F. Butler who Wolseley had sent to the Red River settlement on an intelligence mission. Butler was quite bold in his scouting and had actually spoken with Riel. Colonel Wolseley welcomed the information as it allowed him to complete his campaign plan.⁴² There was some discussion about using the partially completed “Snow Road”, which ran across the North West Angle from Lake of the Woods to Fort Garry. Colonel Wolseley had had quite enough of unproven roads and he elected to continue with the water route.⁴³

The expedition left Fort Francis on 10 August. Their route would take them 280 miles across the Lake of the Woods, down the Winnipeg River to Fort Alexander, then across the tip of Lake Winnipeg and up the Red River to Fort Garry. More portages awaited them along the Winnipeg River and in places they could run the boats through the rapids. When Colonel Wolseley arrived at Fort Alexander, all of the 1/60th plus the gunners and engineers were already there waiting for him.⁴⁴ Conscious of the coming fall, and of the need for a quick conclusion of the campaign, he set out on 21 August for Fort Garry, which was only 80 miles away. After an overnight stop, the flotilla of 50 boats started up the Red River in battle order. Capt Butler and Assistant Controller Irvine, in Colonel Wolseley’s canoe, took the lead and had orders to report anything unusual or suspicious. The rest of the boats were drawn up in two lines behind them, with a mountain gun mounted in the first boat of each column. On the 23rd, they appropriated some horses and an advanced guard of Mounted Infantry

was deployed on each bank of the river. They camped that night in the rain and advanced on Fort Garry on the 24th.⁴⁵ Riel and his cohorts were aware of the approaching troops but were not certain of their location. Their entry into Fort Garry caught Riel by surprise. He quickly fled with his associates, leaving their breakfast behind on the table to be claimed by some officers of the 1/60th, including Capt Buller.⁴⁶

Colonel Wolseley quickly consolidated his control of the settlement. Lieutenant-Governor Archibald arrived on 2 September to assume civilian control of the area. The two militia battalions remained until 1874 as a garrison to ensure the peace until the newly formed North West Mounted Police replaced them. The regular troops began their return to Central Canada on 29 August with the last ones leaving on 3 September. Colonel Wolseley left on 10 September and by 18 October all of the force was safely back in Central Canada.⁴⁷ The weather on the return trip was good and the mosquitoes and blackflies had disappeared. Capt Buller’s company pioneered the “Snow Road” from Fort Garry to Lake of the Woods. They used carts to traverse the prairie and then switched to pack horses to cross the

The Red River Expedition is a largely forgotten campaign.

remaining 33 miles of swamp. At the lake, they met the company of the 1st Ontario Rifles, which had formed the garrison at Fort Francis. They exchanged packhorses for boats and each group continued on their way. Assistant Controller Irvine also returned via this road.⁴⁸ The troops were met by baggage wagons at M’Neill’s Bay, as the road had been completed, greatly easing their passage to Prince Albert’s Landing and onwards.⁴⁹ The control work continued during the redeployment. They had to dispose of the reserve stocks at Fort Francis—most were sold to the HBC. The stores and ammunition at Prince

Albert’s Landing had to be returned to Central Canada.⁵⁰ All of this was completed in good order.

The Red River Expedition is a largely forgotten campaign. It occurred in a remote area, with a small force, when the attention of Europe was on the Franco-Prussian War of 1870. Yet this campaign firmly secured Rupert’s Land for Canada and blocked any possible American expansion into the area. The recently formed Control Department and the Army Service Corps ably supported the expedition. To quote Irvine’s official report, “I believe the Control system has proved itself on this occasion to be a sound one; the Officers of the old Departments worked together under one head with the greatest unanimity, and undoubtedly there was much saving of time and trouble throughout in there being one Department instead of several”.⁵¹ This could well be said to have been the first operational test of an organizational concept that eventually developed into the logistics services of the British and Commonwealth armies, including Canada’s.

Colonel Wolseley was certainly influenced by this campaign. His experiences with the Canadian voyageurs led him to ask for a detachment of them to assist him during the Gordon Relief Expedition of 1884/5.⁵² Assistant Controller Irvine, who was awarded the Companion of St. Michael and St. George (C.M.G.) for his services, became a member of the “Garnet Ring” and was Wolseley’s chief Control Officer during the Ashantee Campaign of 1873.⁵³ As a veteran of the Crimea and the China War of 1860, Wolseley was certainly cognizant of the importance of a well functioning logistics system, as he was well aware of the consequences of having one that did not work properly!⁵⁴



ABOUT THE AUTHOR...

Major W.E. (Gary) Campbell holds a BA in History from the University of Western Ontario and is studying part time towards a Master's of Arts in War Studies through The Royal Military College of Canada. He has served as a transportation officer in each of the environmental commands and has had tours in the U.S.A. and the U.K. His interest in Lines of Communications issues derives from his service with both the Canada/U.S. ILOC and the U.S./UK Lines of Communications Arrangement. Major Campbell is presently serving as AITS (CSS) at the Combat Training Centre Headquarters in Gagetown, New Brunswick. A version of this article, entitled "With the Military Train in Canada", appeared in the *1997 Review of the Royal Logistics Corps* and was subsequently awarded the annual prize for best historical entry.

ENDNOTES

1. WO 73, *Distribution of the Army*, Horse Guards: 1 May 1870. pp. 54, 61 and 64; Hart's Army List for 1870.
2. Lieutenant-Colonel C.H. Massé, MC, *The Predecessors of the Royal Army Service Corps*, Aldershot: Gale and Polden, 1948, pp. 57 to 62.
3. Assistant Controller M.B. Irvine, CMG, *Report of the Red River Expedition of 1870*, London: Harrison and Sons, 1871, p. 2.
4. Edited by John Thyen, *Canada General Service Medal Roll 1866 – 1870*, Winnipeg: Bunker to Bunker Books, 1998, pp. ii to v.
5. George F.G. Stanley, *Toil & Trouble, Military Expeditions to the Red River*, Toronto: Dundurn Press, 1989, p. 48.
6. Stanley, pp. 64 and 65; Joseph H. Lehman, *All Sir Garnet: A Life of Field-Marshal Lord Wolseley*, London: Jonathan Cope, 1964, p. 34.
7. Stanley, p. 65.
8. Irvine, p. 3.
9. Stanley, p. 65; Lehman, p. 136.
10. Samuel J. Dawson, *Report of the Red River Expedition*, Ottawa, Times Printing and Publishing Company, 1871, pp. 7 to 11.
11. Capt. G.L. Huyshe, *The Red River Expedition*, London: MacMillan & Co., 1871, p. 33; Charles Rathbone Law, *A Memoir of Lieutenant-General Sir Garnet Wolseley, Volume 2*, London: Richard Bently and Son, 1878, p. 23; Lehman, p. 149.
12. Graham H. Neale and Ross W. Irwin, *The Medal Roll of the Red River Campaign of 1870 in Canada*, Toronto: The Charlton Press, 1982, pp. 27 and 35.
13. Irvine, *Standing Orders*.
14. Irvine, pp. 1 and 2.
15. Anonymous. *Red River Expedition No.1*. As provided from the RLC Archives by Dr. Anthony Morton. p. 1.
16. Dawson, p. 7.
17. *Ibid.*, p. 11.
18. Irvine, pp. 4, 5 and 12.
19. Huyshe, p. 92.
20. Irvine, p. 11.
21. *Ibid.*, p. 9.
22. Lehman, p. 140.
23. Dawson, pp. 11 to 14. The Treaty of Washington, which finally settled the reparations question, was signed in 1871.
24. Irvine, p. 4.
25. Huyshe, p. 44.
26. Law, p. 15.
27. Dawson, p. 17.
28. Law, p. 31.
29. *Ibid.* p. 20.
30. Irvine, p. 10.
31. Huyshe, pp. 92 and 93.
32. Stanley, p. 114.
33. Huyshe, p. 97.
34. Stanley, p. 133; Irvine, *Standing Orders*.
35. Lehman, p. 140.
36. Huyshe, p. 259; Law, pp. 37 and 38.
37. Dawson, p. 26.
38. Stanley, p. 136.
39. *Ibid.*, p. 163.
40. Irvine, p. 10.
41. Stanley, p. 150.
42. *Ibid.*, p. 151.
43. *Ibid.*, p. 150.
44. *Ibid.*, p. 165.
45. Huyshe, p. 189.
46. Stanley, p. 11.
47. Law, p. 73.
48. Huyshe, p. 201.
49. Dawson, pp. 33 and 34.
50. Irvine, pp. 8 and 10.
51. *Ibid.*, p. 11.
52. Stanley, p. 252.
53. Matthew Bell Irvine was born in Quebec City in 1832, served with the British Commissariat in a variety of locations and retired to Quebec City with the honorary rank of Commissary General (Major General equivalent) in 1881. His link to the Garnet Ring continued and he was instrumental in organizing the Nile Voyageurs in the late summer of 1884. He died in 1893. In addition to the Companion of St. Michael and St. George (C.M.G.), he was made a Companion of the Bath (CB) for his services during the Ashantee Campaign. Many of his personal papers, including his *Journal of the Red River Expedition*, are in the National Archives of Canada in Ottawa.
54. The dreadful state of the British logistics services at the start of the Crimean War resulted in a massive overhaul of these services. It also started a programme of improvement and reorganization that continued until the 1890s. The Second China War of 1860 was not well supported logistically. Wolseley served in both these campaigns and suffered the effects of poor support.