THE NORTHERN YUKON: A HISTORY
by Ken Coates
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Introduction

With only a few scattered exceptions, historians of the Yukon have traditionally focussed on the Klondike Gold Rush. Understandably drawn by the appeal of that event, they have left virtually untouched a great deal of the historical development of the territory. This is particularly true with respect to the northern segment of the Yukon. Several articles and books have touched on isolated aspects of the history of that region, but there has yet to be an attempt to draw these developments together.

The area under study, the northern Yukon, is defined as comprising that section of the Yukon Territory north of the Peel and Ogilvie Rivers. This section is remarkably diverse geographically, including within its borders the Ogilvie and Richardson Mountains, Eagle Plains, Old Crow Flats and Herschel Island. Until very recently, there has been no perception of the northern Yukon as a separate or distinct region within the territory as the small permanent population and the limited development in the area has meant that the region has largely been ignored. Recent developments, including the completion of the Dempster Highway, the Mackenzie Valley and Alaska Highway Pipeline Inquiries and, especially the land withdrawal of the area north of the Porcupine River have, however, brought the area to public notice and raised questions about its future development.

The present study is an attempt to isolate significant historical developments within the northern Yukon. Given the diverse nature of the area and the natural affinity of sections of the northern Yukon for contiguous geographical re-
regions, however, it would be inappropriate to focus too nar-
rowly on the area as defined by its boundaries. An attempt
has been made, instead, to discuss the northern Yukon and its
development within the region's wider geographic setting. In­
deed, it is the strategic location of the area, situated be­
tween the Yukon and the Mackenzie Rivers and bordered on the
north by the Arctic Ocean, that has stimulated the greatest
activity.

The basic framework for this study is an assessment of
the major themes in the history of the northern Yukon. Although
such an approach leads inevitably to frequent overlapping,
as the various groups active in the area were very inter-de­
pendent, it does provide the best possible means of illus­
trating the major historical developments.
I The Pre-Contact Period

Prior to the first Europeans entering the northern Yukon the region was inhabited by a small, dispersed indigenous population. The native peoples in this area fit into two groupings, the Kutchin or Loucheux Indians (Athapaskans) on the interior, and the coastal Eskimo, or Inuit.

The Eskimo inhabited the region from Shingle Point to Demarcation Point (and possibly as far as Barter Island) and had an estimated pre-contact population of between two and three hundred. Despite their isolated position, these natives had successfully established trading ties (through a string of native intermediaries) with European traders long before the first white men ventured into their region.

The first such trading contact was with the Russian traders, who were active along the west coast of Alaska and on the lower reaches of the Yukon River. For the Eskimos, the most reliable supply route lay to the west, from which direction they regularly received iron, knives and beads. To carry on the trade, the coastal natives sent "their young men every spring with furs, seal-skins and oil, to exchange for those articles." Their trading partners, also Eskimo, were a "great distance" to the west, probably in the vicinity of Point Barrow.

An additional source of European manufactures was to be found to the south. The interior Indians from the Yukon River basin often crossed the mountains to trade with the Eskimo. Leaving their canoes and families several miles from the ocean, the Indian men, fearing possible attack as relations
between the groups were not altogether friendly, arrived to trade alone. These natives, in turn, took furs and other goods of the Eskimo back to the Russian traders.3

The northern Yukon Eskimo population, which is now non-existent, was never very large. They were primarily sea-oriented and lived off their fishing, whaling and seal-hunting, turning to the resources of the interior only as a final resort. Within fifty years of the arrival of the white man, the indigenous population had been all but eliminated and replaced with immigrant Eskimos from the Alaskan interior. Shortly thereafter, these natives, who had been attracted to the area by the whaling fleet, were also gone, succumbing to disease or migrating further east.

In European terms, the Eskimos were in a poor economic position, and were ill-prepared and ill-adapted for the onslaught of whalers and fur traders. Their subsistence economy did not provide them with either the skills (the whalers required trained caribou hunters) or the furs to trade (the traders wanted fox and marten) which would have placed a premium on their services. Unlike their southern neighbours, who anticipated and were prepared for the expansion of the Europeans, the Eskimo of the northern Yukon were in an extraordinarily vulnerable position.

The Kutchin Indians, who were called Loucheux or "slant-eyes" by the fur traders and who inhabited the Porcupine and Peel River watersheds, were a much more diverse group. Four major Kutchin bands have been identified in the northern Yukon; Peel River, Upper Porcupine River, Crow River and Black River (see map 1). Although no accurate count of the pre-contact Kutchin population exists, the leading ethnographer of these Indians, C. Osgood, estimated that it was approximately twelve hundred. It should be noted that this number includes four bands, Mackenzie Flats, Birch Creek, Chandalar and Yukon Flats, whose habitats fell outside the boundaries of the northern Yukon.4
Like the Eskimo, the Kutchin had developed strong intertribal trading networks prior to European expansion into their area. These networks largely followed an east-west line, reaching down the Porcupine and Yukon Rivers to the Russian traders. An additional, though less reliable, source of supply was established with the Han Indians, located near the present site of Dawson City, who received their goods from the Chilcat Indians (Tlingit), a group of coastal natives trading in the vicinity of Lynn Canal.

With the arrival of the North-West Company at Fort Good Hope on the lower Mackenzie River in 1804, the trade patterns of these networks were generally reversed, with the Upper Porcupine and Peel River Kutchin acting as middlemen for other natives lower down the Porcupine and Yukon Rivers. Supplies continued to flow in the opposite direction, however, and even after the opening of the Peel River Post in 1840, Russian trade goods continued to find their way into the northern Yukon. Prior to the entrance of Europeans into the interior, therefore, the Kutchin Indians were both familiar with the white man's trade, and using this knowledge, capable of controlling it.

Unlike the Eskimo, who had received only a small number of European trading goods before the whites arrived, the Kutchin had been exposed, either directly or indirectly, to the entire range of British and Russian trading merchandise. Their familiarity with the content and, more importantly, the nature of European trade put them at a distinct advantage when the Hudson's Bay Company finally succeeded in crossing the Richardson Mountains. Aware of their own role in producing the trader's profits, the Kutchin were in a position to control the fur trade for their own benefit.

Prior to European contact, relations between the two groups were generally poor. Kutchin and Eskimo animosity, especially in the Peel River and Mackenzie River area, is well documented, and there a number of recorded incidents
involving violence between them. These conflicts, however, were principally to the east of the mountains, and generally did not involve the northern Yukon Eskimo nor the interior Kutchin. The importance of trade to both these groups ensured that contact would continue despite the less than amiable relationship. Partnerships were formed between leading men from both groups and, to ensure that war-time conflicts did not interfere with exchange, there were native taboos against the harming of one's partner.

Long before the first white men entered the northern Yukon, extensive trading networks had dispersed European trading goods along the Arctic coast and throughout the interior. Yet the Kutchin and the Eskimo had vastly different pre-contact experiences. The Kutchin had readily learned the techniques of European trade and were fully versed in how to use the fur traders to their own advantage. The Eskimo, insulated by distance from any meaningful introduction to European customs, were much less prepared for the arrival of the whalers and fur traders. The eventual response of the natives of the northern Yukon to European expansion was very much a function of this pre-contact period.
The initial contact between the native population of the northern Yukon and Europeans occurred in 1826, when John Franklin, on his second Arctic expedition, explored the northern coastline to the west of the Mackenzie River. In the fall of 1825, the expedition, aided by the Hudson's Bay Company in the person of Peter Warren Dease, established a winter camp named Fort Franklin on the west end of Great Bear Lake. The following summer, on June 28, two parties left their winter quarters to begin a northern tour of exploration. Franklin and his crew of fourteen men were to head west of the Mackenzie in an attempt to meet with Lieutenant Beechey, who was heading east from Bering Strait. The second half of the expedition, under John Richardson, was to explore the coastline between the Mackenzie and Coppermine Rivers.¹

On July 4, the two groups parted near the mouth of the Mackenzie River. Franklin's party continued slowly downstream, running aground frequently in the shallow waters of the delta. Soon after reaching tidewater, the party came across a large group of Eskimos encamped on the shore. Franklin, who had earlier declared his "intention of opening the communication with the Esquimaux by landing amongst them, accompanied only by Augustus his interpreter "² now attempted to do just that. The Eskimos, however, quickly realized the wealth hidden in the two boats and pressed anxiously forward. Franklin ordered the vessels out to sea, a task made difficult by the ebbing tide. The natives once again swarmed around the boats, this time brandishing knives. Fortunately, Franklin
and his second in command, Lt. Back, were able to control their men and, with Augustus' timely intervention, violence was prevented.³

Leaving the name Pillage Point to commemorate the site of the near fatal altercation, Franklin continued on. Sailing through the aptly named Shoalwater Bay, the expedition was halted on a number of occasions by pack ice or shallow water. By the 13th of July, they had reached King Point, there they again found themselves locked in by the ice. Travelling intermittently due to ice conditions and irregular weather, the expedition continued westward, with Franklin naming prominent geographical features after notables and friends (Kay Point, Herschel Island, Babbage River, Phillips Bay, Buckland Mountains, etc). Unable to land on Herschel Island, Franklin put in on the opposite shore near the mouth of the Mountain Indian (later the Firth) River, where he met a large band of friendly Eskimos.⁴

On the 19th of July, once again stopped by ice, the expedition camped along the coast in the vicinity of Mount Conybeare. Accompanied by two men, Franklin ascended the mountain on the 21st, erecting a cairn in which he placed notes concerning his excursion.⁵

For an additional twenty-six days, Franklin and his crew fought the ice and the incessantly poor weather. On August 16, having reached as far west as Return Reef, they turned back, leaving an "annoying gap" of about 160 miles on the map between Franklin's "farthest" and Point Barrow, reached by Lt. Beechey that same year.⁶

On his otherwise uneventful return voyage, Franklin made one final discovery which was to play an important role in the westward expansion of the fur trade almost fifteen years later. While heading up the Mackenzie River, Franklin inadvertently travelled a short distance up the Peel River, which he believed to be the west branch of the Mackenzie. Realizing their error, the party retraced their path to the Mackenzie
River and reached Great Bear Lake on September 21, 1826.  

More than a decade was to pass before another attempt was made to cover the entire distance from the Mackenzie River to Point Barrow. On this occasion, the Hudson's Bay Company took an active role in purely scientific exploratory ventures for the first time, although, as will be seen later, some benefit did accrue to the Company from the discoveries made by this expedition. Between 1819, when John Franklin made his first land-based excursion in the Arctic and 1836, when Peter Warren Dease and Thomas Simpson were selected to head the Hudson's Bay Company's voyages, the Company had become increasingly active in northern exploration. Franklin's fateful first attempt to chart the Arctic coast, which resulted in the death of the majority of his crew, failed largely because the two major fur companies, the Hudson's Bay Company and the North-West Company, were unwilling to assist the expedition. On Franklin's second foray to the Arctic coast in 1826, the Hudson's Bay Company assigned P.W. Dease and a party of hunters to Franklin to assist in the provisioning. With the Simpson and Dease expedition, the Hudson's Bay Company was assuming a full role in the charting of the northern wilderness.

This is not to suggest that the Company had purely altruistic motives for organizing and funding an Arctic expedition. At the same time that Simpson and Dease were completing much of the map of the Arctic coast of North America, the Hudson's Bay Company monopoly of the fur trade in British North America was the subject of a British parliamentary inquiry. In defense of the Company, it is clear that the expedition was more than just a public relations gimmick, for they remained very active in Arctic exploration, especially in the search for the missing Franklin expedition, long after their monopoly had been renewed.

Governor Simpson, in selecting the men to lead the exploration, made two very judicious choices. Peter Dease, a
long-time and well-respected Company employee, had an excellent rapport with the Company's labourers and acted as a calming influence on the more impetuous Thomas Simpson. Simpson, a cousin of the Governor, had been educated at King's College in Aberdeen, receiving the degree of Master of Arts in 1828. His training in mathematics and natural history were to prove invaluable during his years in the north. Although eminently qualified on an academic basis, Simpson had a mercurial temperament, a strong distaste for natives and half-breeds, and a rather immense ego. He never really forgave Governor Simpson appointing him as second in command, for he felt he was far more qualified than Dease, whom he characterized as "a worthy, indolent, illiterate soul." Despite Thomas Simpson's objections, the arrangement worked out well, since Simpson's enthusiasm and Dease's conservatism acted as effective counterbalances, producing astonishingly successful results.

The first phase of the exploration was intended to fill in the blank left on the map after Franklin's voyage to the west of the Mackenzie River in 1826. Leaving Fort Chipewyan on June 1, 1837, the party quickly descended the Mackenzie. A small party was detached from the group at the mouth of the Great Bear River with instructions to build a small post (Fort Confidence) on the north-east shore of Great Bear Lake. On the ninth of July, the expedition reached the ocean and proceeded westward.

Like Franklin, they soon ran into a large party of Eskimos, on this occasion just off Tent Island. The small presents from Simpson and Dease appeased the men only temporarily, and they made repeated attempts to enter the camp. Anxious to get on their way, the explorers fired a shot over the heads of the Eskimos, which had the desired effect and allowed the party to proceed.

Simpson and Dease also found travel very slow as they were often forced ashore by ice or poor weather. Drawing a
lesson from Franklin's misfortunes, the party circled well out to sea to avoid the difficult waters of Shoalwater Bay. On July 14, the party succeeded in landing on Herschel Island, where they found a large native encampment.

By July 23rd, a full month earlier than Franklin's arrival in 1826, the party reached Return Reef. Five days later, however, they found themselves blocked by ice and were unable to proceed further by boat. Thomas Simpson then struck out on foot, carrying a canvas canoe which he used to cross rivers and bays, and, with the assistance of some Eskimos, he reached Point Barrow on August 4th. The return voyage was made without incident and on the 17th of August, the party reached the mouth of the Mackenzie River.

Simpson and Dease were to continue their Arctic explorations for another two years, eventually mapping the Arctic coast from the Coppermine River to the Boothia Peninsula. Their contribution to the history of the northern Yukon, however, was not limited to the rather uneventful trip of 1837. Although they made no startling discoveries nor added much new information on the area, an incidental remark made by the explorers on their return voyage was to stimulate intense interest in the northern Yukon and was to lead to a Hudson's Bay Company decision to explore the region west of the Rocky and Richardson Mountains.

When returning from Boat Extreme, where Dease had waited with the boats while Simpson went ahead on foot, the party recrossed the mouth of the recently discovered Colville River. The force and amount of water expelled from the river was so great that the party was forced well out to sea in order to avoid the current. Commenting on the river, which was two miles wide at the mouth, Simpson wrote:

The Colville separates the Franklin and Pelly Mountains, the last seen by us; and probably flows in a long course through a rich fur country, and unknown tribes in the west side of the Rocky Mountains. Simpson and Dease's discovery of the Colville and their
remarks concerning the potential wealth of the region elicited an immediate response from the Hudson's Bay Company. The Governor and Committee in London, who had seen the expedition as intended merely for "the acquisition of scientific knowledge and information, and unconnected with a view towards advantage from Trade" when their sudden venture into public relations also held out the prospect of financial return.

Relying entirely on Simpson's very tentative comments about the Colville River, the Governor and Committee ordered the Governor and Council of the Northern Department to conduct an immediate exploration on the interior region between the Mackenzie and Colville Rivers, and if the prospects for the trade seemed favourable, to open trading posts in the new territory.

The initial exploration of the region was to occur along "any of the Rivers that fall from the westward into the Mackenzie near Fort Good Hope." Under direction from the Governor and Committee in London and the Northern Department Council, Murdoch McPherson, then in charge of the Mackenzie River District, wrote to John Bell at Fort Good Hope that he was "appointed to the command of an Expedition designed to explore Peel's and to select an eligible situation for an Establishment on its banks." This accomplished, his "utmost endeavours must be directed towards ascertaining whether a practicable communication exists between the Peel and Colville Rivers." Leaving Fort Good Hope in mid-June 1839, Bell reached the mouth of the Peel River on June 28. After spending a month near the mouth, he then commenced the actual exploration of the river. For three days Bell was able to travel with fully loaded boats, covering approximately 80 miles. After lightening the boats, he continued on for a further eight days before being forced to stop by the strong river current. Bell pressed on by foot, portaging around a large canyon, but was then blocked from proceeding by a large, un-
passable river. He returned to the other end of the portage, picked up a small canoe and returned upstream where he passed "another Fine river" flowing from the Rocky Mountains. Ten miles above this second river, his progress by water was permanently arrested by a long series of rapids. Leaving his canoe, Bell continued on foot until he reached a point where, he believed, the river turned sharply south. Actually Bell had mistaken the Snake River, which came from the south, for the Peel, which flowed from the west, by reason of the large number of islands at the junction of the two streams. He ended his two hundred mile excursion at that point and returned down the Peel River, and to Fort Good Hope.14

Bell was well pleased with the prospects for trade in the area, commenting that "The Country by Indian report is not destitute of Beaver" and that "I had...the pleasure to see many large animals in my excursion, both Moose and Rein Deer are not scarce along the River." He did sound one cautionary note relating to the site he had selected for the new post. He was concerned that

The proximity of the barbarous and savage Esquimaux may prove vexatious in the beginning, as they shall no doubt visit the Establishment sometime or other. They generally come up once a year to the mouth of the Peel, and on these excursions they invariably quarrel with their neighbours the Loucheux Indians.15

In his first two years at Peel's River Post (later named Fort McPherson), Bell devoted himself largely to the consolidation of his trade and to the survey of the immediate vicinity. Alexander Isbister, who accompanied Bell, retraced the latter's path up the Peel River and explored extensively in the Rat River region in the winter of 1840-41. Both Isbister and Bell, on separate occasions, were on the verge of discovering the best pass through the Richardson Mountains, only to turn away before they had located the route. Ultimately, the discovery would be made by another Hudson's Bay Company employee, James McDougall, but not for another thirty years.16
The Company, still very much interested in pushing westward, was very intrigued "by a native of a strange and distant tribe" who visited the Peel River post in 1840. The Indian gave highly lauditory accounts of the prospects for trade in the area to the west of the mountains. The natives of Peel River and the bands immediately to the west of the mountains (Peel River and Upper Porcupine River Kutchin), however, had found themselves in a highly profitable position vis-a-vis the tribes to the west, and they did their best to discourage the Company's expansion plans. They assured Bell that no water route offered passage to the west, and that it "takes 20 days to cross the Mountains." 

The Hudson's Bay Company, however, was determined to investigate Simpson and Dease's vision of the Colville River. Robert Campbell, who had joined the search for the Colville in 1840 had, it was believed, reached the headwaters of that river when he crossed from the Liard River watershed to the banks of a large river he named the Pelly. Spurred on by the reports he had received from the few "distant" Indians who had reached his post and by the fact that even the Indians in the vicinity of Peel River were carrying Russian trade goods received through inter-tribal trade, Bell undertook the first major exploration of the area to the west of the Richardson Mountains in the summer of 1842.

Taking five arduous days to cross the mountains, Bell eventually reached a small river flowing westward. With his crew of two men and two Indians, he had attempted to carry a canoe across the mountains, but the rough nature of the terrain forced them to abandon it. Building a raft, the party then began a slow descent of the river. On the third day, they found three Indians canoes, which they quickly expropriated. Tying two canoes together for stability and sending a hunter ahead in the third, they continued on. Bell's guide left them on the fourth day after leaving the portage, saying that he had to go inland to visit some relatives. Instead of
returning as promised, he sent another man in his place. After only two days of travel, the second guide decided that he would go no further, arguing that winter would descent before the party could return. All attempts to change his mind went unheeded and the expedition was forced to return. Abandoning their canoes, the men struck out across the country, thus avoiding the circuitous route followed by the rivers they had descended. On the 24th of July, Bell and his party reached Peel River Post.20

This unsuccessful voyage marked the beginning of what was to become a regular occurrence, namely the desertion of native guides. The local Indians clearly recognized the economic importance of locking the Company out of the west side of the mountains, and for the next three years they were successful in twarting its westward expansion.21 Bell became pessimistic concerning the prospects for expansion, and he noted that throughout his voyage he had not noticed one site suitable for a trading post owing largely to a shortage of sizeable timbers. He also felt "that the transport of goods across such a long portage of mountainous country will prove an insurmountable obstacle in the way of Establishing from P. River."22

The following year, under direction from Chief Factor John Lee Lewes, Bell sent Mr. Pruden, a junior clerk at Peel River, to continue the exploration.23 In replying to Lewes' instructions, Bell reiterated his belief that such an exploration was likely to fail unless a proper vessel could be placed on the far side of the mountains and dependable guides could be secured.24 As if to prove Bell's contention, Pruden's guides deserted him even before the party had succeeded in crossing the mountains and he was forced to return.25

Governor Simpson, who took a particularly active interest in this phase of the Company's expansion,26 was upset that Bell had allowed a subordinate officer to take on such an important task. He ordered Bell to conduct all further explorations
personally. He also suggested that the explorer no longer rely exclusively on Indian guides and that he should be prepared to continue without them if they should once again desert. Bell, who had been forced to cancel plans to explore to the west in 1844 in order to accompany the post's returns to Fort Simpson, heeded Simpson's advice.

The following summer, Bell once again crossed the mountains. Circumventing the previous guide difficulties by hiring Indians who knew nothing of the area to the west and who had no self-interest conflicting with the aims of the voyage, Bell left Peel River Post on May 28, 1845. Carrying all the necessary materials for the construction of a large canoe, the party succeeded in crossing the portage in five days. Taking six days to construct their vessel, the group left the portage on June 8, assisted in their progress by the high spring run-off feeding the Porcupine River. Eight days later, they reached the "Youcon" or "White Water" River. After surveying the area around the mouth of the Porcupine for five days, the party commenced their return voyage. Fighting a strong current and stopping frequently to hunt for provisions, the expedition did not reach the western end of the portage until July 9th.

Although Bell assured Governor Simpson that the newly discovered area was "a rich field for future operations" he still felt that the "long chain of barrier mountains is a great impediment in the way of extending trade, but I have no doubt that with perseverance this obstacle may be overcome." With Bell's discovery of the "Youcon" River, the primary exploratory phase of the history of the northern Yukon was complete.

Franklin, Simpson and Dease had deliniated the Arctic Coast west of the Mackenzie and had prompted the exploration of the interior. John Bell, followed shortly thereafter by Alexander Isbister, had travelled well up the Peel River before the former turned his attention to the west. Although impeded
in his efforts by the uncooperative local native bands, Bell succeeded in crossing the Richardson Mountains and exploring the region to the west of that formidable barrier. With the major routes in the region charted, the process of development could now begin.
III The Fur Trade

With the discovery of the "Youcon" River in 1845 by John Bell, the stage was set for the development of the resources of the northern Yukon. Not surprisingly, it was the fur trade which first expanded into the area west of the Richardson Mountains. From the time of the Hudson's Bay Company's initial expansion into the area up to the present day, the fur trade has assumed a major role in the economic life of the northern Yukon and, equally important, has constituted the principle medium of interaction between the Europeans and the indigenous population.

The Hudson's Bay Company
Until 1821 and the merger of the Hudson's Bay Company and its Montreal-based rival, the North-West Company, the former firm had undertaken little exploration or fur trade expansion. Competitive traders from Montreal, including independent traders the N.W.C. and the YX Company, had initiated exploration and had gradually pushed back the fur trading frontier. Although the inland mobility of its rivals awoke the Hudson's Bay Company from its "sleep by the frozen sea," the Company was content to copy the inland movements of its competitors, relying on its vastly superior transportation network to provide it with a competitive advantage.

The North-West Company, the Hudson's Bay Company's most formidable rival, therefore, was forced to look further and further afield for new and profitable areas for trade. Alexander Mackenzie, a partner in the firm, laid the groundwork for much of this expansion when he descended the river
that now bears his name to the Arctic Ocean in 1789. The Canadian company slowly followed up Mackenzie's explorations, opening a post at the mouth of the Liard River in 1803 and at the mouth of the Hare River in 1804. Competitive trade to the south and the extremely high costs of transporting supplies to these isolated posts forced the N.W.C. to abandon their Mackenzie River operations in 1815, although the firm did return three years later and remained active in the region until the amalgamation with the Hudson's Bay Company in 1821.1

The re-organized Hudson's Bay Company which took over the fur trade of British North America after 1821 bore little resemblance to its immediate predecessor. Under the guidance of the tight-fisted and profit-minded George Simpson, the new organization was to undertake a vigorous and extensive expansion of the trade that would, within twenty years, reach into the Yukon River basin, the Oregon territory and the interior of Labrador. The Company's expansion into the northern Yukon, therefore, was but one branch of the Hudson's Bay Company's burgeoning fur trade operations.

Immediately upon learning of Bell's successful exploration to the "Youcon" River in 1845, the Council of the Northern Department authorized the establishment of a trading post on the banks of the newly discovered river.2 The Company, and particularly Governor Simpson, had great expectations for this new branch of the firm's trade. Simpson stated that the Company had:

> every reason to believe that the increase in trade in this valuable and extensive district will keep pace with & make amends for the falling off in out home districts, which, from having been long and closely hunted, are becoming exhausted.3

Believing that the new region held "out the prospects of becoming highly productive," Simpson directed Murdoch McPherson in 1846 to undertake an immediate westward expansion.4

Anticipating the desires of his superior officers, McPherson had laid plans the preceding winter for the construction of a small outpost at the west end of the Stony Creek Pass, the portage route across the Richardson Mountains which connec-
ted the Peel River with Bell River. The post, named Lapierre House, probably after a guide active in the north, Louis Lapierre, was completed by the spring of 1846. During the winter of 1846-47, an outfit for the "Youcon" River post was carried out across the mountains and left at the entrepot. Preparations were then made for the establishment of the new trading post and Alexander H. Murray was appointed to the task.

Edward McGillivray and four men were sent from Peel River to pass the winter at the new station, and were kept busy squaring timbers for additional buildings and collecting wood for the construction of a boat needed for the expansion of trade. When Murray finally arrived at the outpost after a difficult journey over Stony Creek Pass in June 1848, he found the work completed and the boat, which he named the Pioneer, ready for launching. On June 18th, Murray left Lapierre House and headed downstream to the confluence of the Porcupine and "Youcon" Rivers.

Selecting a site two miles above the junction of the two rivers, Murray erected Fort Youcon and commenced the Company's trade along the Yukon River. The actual trade in furs then by-passed the northern Yukon. Lapierre House existed for a single purpose—to aid in the transfer of goods from Peel River to Fort Youcon, and no attempt was made to attract Indians to the site for trade. When McPherson was instructing William Hardsity prior to the latter's assuming control of the station, he wrote:

There is a small outfit of goods sent down partly to trade provisions with, and partly for the use of the Post, but you will bear in mind that not a single Mbr [Made Beaver] is to be traded in Furs, on any account whatsoever.

Although this regulation was bent on several occasions to accommodate starving natives, it remained in effect until the Hudson's Bay Company was forced to withdraw from Fort Youcon in 1869.
The Fort Youcon trade, which got off to a relatively slow start, soon expanded into one of the most lucrative branches of the Mackenzie River District. Initially, the local natives had spawned considerable anxiety amongst the Company's traders by their frequent references to Russian traders, reported to be only a short distance downstream. Murray was particularly concerned about the prospect of an untoward incident between the Russians and the Company's officers who, it was unofficially recognized, were trading on Russian territory.

These fears were actually groundless as the Indians were merely fabricating a competitive situation in order to improve their own bargaining position. Between 1863 and 1867, traders of the Russian American Fur Company, however, began to encroach on the Hudson's Bay Company's trading hinterland. In response to the increased competition, James McDougall of the Hudson's Bay Company had, in 1864, begun the practice of making annual boat excursions downstream, as far as the Tanana River, to trade with the natives. These voyages, which were continued even after American traders had replaced the Russians following the sale of Alaska to the United States in 1867, led to a surge in the Company's returns, and for a short period, Fort Youcon was the most profitable post in the Mackenzie River District.10

As anticipated, however the Company was soon removed from their lucrative position on the banks of the Yukon River. In 1869, Captain Raymond of the U.S. Navy ascended the river as far as Fort Youcon. After ascertaining that the fort was indeed on American soil, Raymond ordered the Hudson's Bay Company to vacate the site and, exceeding his rights, claimed ownership of the Company's buildings.11 Due to the lateness of the season, the abandonment of the post was deferred until the following spring, although the Company was required to refrain from fur trading.

The dual occupation of the site in the winter of 1869-70 by the Hudson's Bay Company and employees of the Parrot and
Company, was usually seen as a rather tranquil affair, but it bordered somewhat on the absurd. Americans, unable to procure provisions from the local Indians who refused to trade, took to stealing meat from the canoes of natives who had come with provisions for the Hudson's Bay Company. Every Sunday Westdohl, an employee of Parrot and Company, took great delight in raising an American flag, "that ugly rag" according to a Hudson's Bay Company employee, a ceremony which he continued until the rope on the flagstaff was mysteriously cut one evening. Red Leggings, Chief of the Black River Indians, who much preferred the Company to the Brash Americans, asked James McDougall to "take all our property out of the fort so that he and his people might burn it."\(^{12}\)

While the expulsion from Fort Youcon meant that the Hudson's Bay Company was losing a valuable branch of their trade, it also marked a turning point in the development of the northern Yukon. Prior to 1870, the area had been a mere by-way for the fur trade. The majority of the Indians in the region had moved toward either Fort Youcon or Peel River. For their part, the Hudson's Bay Company had exhibited little interest in the resources of the northern Yukon. The Fort Youcon trade was centered around the marten trapping regions of the lower Yukon River, while the majority of the Peel River's furs came from the Mackenzie River delta. The Old Crow Flats muskrat fields went unexploited because the Company refused to trade for the bulky, low value furs on the west side of the mountains and, while some other furs were taken, the Hudson's Bay Company did not consider the trade of this region a high priority. But the removal from Fort Youcon and the expansion of American traders into the vacated areas, forced the Company to re-orient its trade to suit the resources and geography of the northern Yukon.

Initially, the Hudson's Bay Company decided to withdraw only part way up the Porcupine River, to a site selected 25 years earlier by Alexander Murray. Fearful that the fort on
the Yukon River would be dislodged by the Russians, Murray had located an alternative site which he believed was well within British territory. With this in mind, James McDougall sent five men in October 1869 to construct a small post at the foot of the ramparts (high embankments just west of the 141st Meridian) on the Porcupine River. Originally it was intended to give the trade in that area an extended trial, but by November 1870, it was believed that American traders were drawing too much of the local trade for the post to be profitable. McDougall was ordered to abandon the site and remove the trade goods to Lapierre House. Learning from their error at Fort Youcon, where the Company's decision not to destroy the post had meant that the buildings were turned over to the Americans intact, the firm had McDougall burn down the Rampart House establishment before he departed.

Lapierre House, which was moved from its initial location to a new site at the confluence of the Bell and Water Rivers in 1851, had had a very placid existence between 1847 and 1870. Active primarily as a transportation depot and only occasionally as a trading post, the station was perhaps most notable for its share of visitors. In its first year of existence, its meagre buildings were home to Mrs. Alexander Murray and the first white baby born in the Yukon was delivered at the post. Missionaries visited the site regularly after 1862, and various northern travellers stopped briefly at the outpost. The most distinguished visitor, Robert Kennicott (see Chapter 8), a young American naturalist, spent much of the winter of 1861-62 at Lapierre House. His insightful scientific observations and delightful personal comments provide an excellent picture of the life of the fur traders in the north.

With the destruction of Rampart House, Lapierre House became, briefly, the only Company establishment west of the Richardson Mountains. Believing that no location existed
between the two sites for the construction of another post, W. Hardisty, now in charge of the Mackenzie River District, hoped that the Indians would remain loyal to the Hudson's Bay Company and would trade at Lapierre House.  

In 1872, the Hudson's Bay Company made two major decisions which affected the future of the fur trade in the northern Yukon. Firstly, it was clear that Lapierre House was not serving the needs of the Indians and that increasing numbers were trading with the Americans along the Yukon River. It was widely believed within the Company that "most of the trade in the Youcon valley will eventually fall into our hands..if we can supply them with their wants." For this reason, it was decided to re-establish Rampart House, this time at the upper end of the ramparts.

The Company also decided to undertake a survey of the area between Peel River and Lapierre House with a view to locating a new portage route across the mountains. In the summer of 1872, James McDougall, previously in charge of Rampart House, discovered the pass which now bears his name, a feat which exceeded all expectations. McDougall, whose instructions had been to locate a route suitable for a cart track, found a trail of 35½ miles, half the length of the previous portage, over a comparatively flat terrain.

Hardisty enthusiastically endorsed McDougall's suggestion that a cart track be built to assist in the transportation of goods. A seemingly innocuous clause inserted in the 1871 Treaty of Washington between Britain and the United States on the urging of Donald A. Smith, Chief Commissioner of the Hudson's Bay Company, allowed British subjects freedom of passage along the Yukon and Porcupine Rivers. It was Hardisty's intention to use this route to bring in supplies for the entire Mackenzie River District. By using steamers along the Yukon, Porcupine and Bell Rivers, and then crossing the mountains over the recently discovered McDougall Pass, the Company could achieve considerable savings both in time and expense.
over the canoe brigades from Winnipeg to the Mackenzie River. For a short time, before the idea was vetoed by the same Donald Smith and the London Committee, who cited high start-up and construction expenses, it appeared as though the northern Yukon was to become the by-way for the entire northern Canadian fur trade.\(^{23}\)

With the rejection of the McDougall-Hardisty plan, the Company's attention was once again directed to the logistics of the fur trade in the area. The fierce competition between the Hudson's Bay Company and the various American traders, especially those employed by the Alaska Commercial Company which was incorporated in 1868, meant that the Company had to resort to previously unnecessary methods to attract trade. The most obvious avenues for competitive trade, the adjustment of the tariff and the granting of gratuities, were not, however, available to the Company. The proximity of Peel River to the northern Yukon trade and the fact that frequent communications were made across the mountains made it imperative that the Hudson's Bay Company not take any actions at Lapierre House or Rampart House which would antagonize the Peel River Indians and jeopardize that lucrative branch of the trade. When the Americans had first appeared at Fort Youcon and had freely distributed their lavish wares among the local Indians, the natives at Peel River post had threatened to take their furs across the mountains to trade.\(^{24}\) Although the threat was never carried out, the Company was aware that their actions, especially concerning the adjustment of the tariff, were being monitored by the Indians to the east of the mountains. By this time, the Peel River trade was far more renumerative than that conducted along the Porcupine and it was not likely that the Company would risk losing a major portion of the trade at the former post to gather a few extra furs at Rampart House.\(^{25}\)

Barred from the use of certain fiscal techniques to battle foreign competition, the Company resorted to the procedure of
meeting the various bands in their native habitats before they had an opportunity to take their furs to the American traders. Such expeditions were conducted informally and there is no record of the areas affected by this trade. It is known, for example, that John Firth, a trader at Rampart House, made a journey to the Arctic coast in 1891 to trade with the Eskimos, but no details are available concerning the route followed or the success of the venture.²⁶

The Americans, for their part, were under no such constraints in the competitive techniques they could employ. Their most frequently used tactics were the adjustment of the tariff, or the shifting of the price structure of furs and goods in favour of the native traders, and the granting of larger gratuities of tea, sugar, tobacco and ammunition at the commencement of trade.²⁷ On one occasion, they hired an Indian to circulate amongst the "Hudson's Bay Company's Indians," trading them goods on credit and thus forcing them to resort to the American traders.²⁸ Nevertheless the Company held one major advantage, the fact that many of their trade goods were considered superior to those sold by the Americans. But in 1891, the Alaska Commercial Company introduced English goods into their trade, charging only one-half the Company's price for the same item, thus eliminating one of the last Hudson's Bay Company levers into the northwestern trade.²⁹

For their part, the natives of this region used the competitive situation to their utmost advantage. The growing demand for their services in the period after 1870 by missionaries, rival fur traders, whalers, miners, surveyors and travellers, put a premium on their efforts. By playing the trading firms off against one another, which they did by keeping them informed of each other's prices and tactics, the Indians were able to secure the best possible deal for themselves. The Company had two remaining inducements to attract the natives to their post. The first was the supply of certain
goods, principally tobacco and "fine cloths" unavailable in the same quality elsewhere in the region, and the second was the possibility of long-term employment with the firm. Previously the Company had restricted the hiring of Indians to specific tasks, such as accompanying the annual boats, but after 1870 they came to rely increasingly on part-time or full-time native employees. The natives were in the fortunate position of being able to choose between a number of attractive alternatives. They had one additional advantage in that their selection did not have to be final, and trading arrangements were frequently altered depending on the competitive situation.

Two major disruptions were to occur between 1889 and 1893 which were found the death knell for the Company's trade in the northern Yukon. In the fall of 1889, J. Henry Turner, a U.S. government survey found, much to the Hudson's Bay Company's astonishment, that Rampart House II was on American soil. A new location was selected for Rampart House III several hundred yards east of the United States/Canada border and for three years, the Company attempted to establish a profitable trade. That they failed was not so much a consequence of American competition from the Yukon River, but of the appearance of American whalers off Herschel Island.

In 1889, the first whaling ships made their way into the rich whaling grounds off Herschel Island (see Chapter V). Starting the following year several ships, either by choice or circumstance had to pass the winter in Pauline Cove, a sheltered bay on the eastern side of the island. The whalers began to trade with the local natives, but not according to established procedures. Neglecting the customs and traditions which had governed the fur trade for decades and in contravention of Canadian law, the whalers traded alcohol, repeating rifles and fixed ammunition with the Eskimos, offering far better prices than either the Hudson's Bay Company or the American traders of the interior. The Herschel Island trade
also drew the Indians away from the region north of the Porcupine River, where they had provided the bulk of the Rampart and Lapierre House trade. John Firth, in charge of Rampart House at the time, commented that he did "not so much mind the opposition from down the river, but it is difficult to oppose the trade from the coast as they are giving higher prices than ever." 31

By 1890-91, it was freely admitted within the Company that the Yukon trade held out no further prospect for immediate or future profit. Rampart House was considered to be a "frontier" post, blocking American access to the rich Mackenzie River valley, and as such was not expected to return a profit. 32 The opening of the southern Mackenzie River at this time, however, rendered even this purpose invalid, as the once impregnable Hudson's Bay Company monopoly along that river now lay in a shambles. After giving the local natives several months notice of the Company's intention to vacate the area, Rampart House and Lapierre House were abandoned in the summer of 1893.

It was hardly an auspicious end for the Company's trade, which had begun in the region nearly a half century earlier. Opened with the highest of expectations, the Yukon trade had not lived up to its promise, and there was little regret within the firm when the last two posts were finally closed.

The Post-1893 Interior Fur Trade
With the departure of the Hudson's Bay Company in 1893, the fur trade in the interior of the northern Yukon went through a period of sharp decline. With no trading post to act as a focal point for their efforts, the local natives broke off their traditional Company trapping and trading practices and attempted to re-orient themselves around existing trading facilities. The net result was a dispersal of the Indians in three directions: west toward the Americans trading along the
Yukon River, east toward the Hudson's Bay Company post at Fort McPherson, or north toward Herschel Island and the lucrative trade with the American whalers.

The Klondike Gold Rush further de-emphasized the importance of the fur trade to the natives of the northern Yukon. The effect of the gold rush was felt particularly among the Peel River Kutchin, who came in direct contact with a large number of gold seekers attempting to reach the Klondike through the northern Yukon (see Chapter 6). The allure of Dawson City was not lost on the Peel River Indians. By 1901, a majority of the natives from Peel River were trading at Dawson City and passing at least part of the year in that area. This re-orientation of the Peel River Kutchin, brought on by the high prices offered for furs and provisions in Dawson and by the lively atmosphere of that northern centre, lasted until ca. 1915. By that time most of the so-called "Dawson Bays" had found their way back to the vicinity of Fort McPherson. 33

For the natives along the Porcupine River system, the effects of the gold rush were not so traumatic. The Herschel Island trade, however, acted as a magnet, drawing them north from their traditional habitats. By 1897, the Anglican missionary at Rampart House were so distressed by the depopulation of that region that they considered permanently closing their mission station. 34

The loss of the Hudson's Bay Company's trade had led to a major reorganization of the northern Yukon for trade. It was not until the arrival of Dan Cadzow in 1905 that the trade was re-established on anything resembling its former footing. 35 Cadzow moved onto the former Hudson's Bay Company site at Rampart House, and within a short time had developed a profitable trade. Unfortunately, very little information is available concerning the interior trade in the 20th century, and the development of that trade can only be sketched from isolated Royal Canadian Mounted Police and government reports.
The trade along the Porcupine River after the Hudson's Bay Company departure was very confused, with natives resorting to either the Yukon River, Fort McPherson or Herschel Island. With Cadzow's arrival, however, orderly trade was reinstituted, an achievement made possible, in no small way, by the Scottish fur trader's adoption of Hudson's Bay Company attitudes and practices. Thomas Riggs, who visited the post in 1911, wrote of Cadzow's operation:

The place was run as closely to old Hudson's Bay practise as possible. Practically all material was traditional Hudson's Bay, such as the old-time axe shapes, the Assomption sashes, blankets, etc. I think Dan liked to think of himself as a Hudson's Bay factor.36

Cadzow also enjoyed an excellent relationship with the local natives, partially due, no doubt, to the fact that he was reputed to pay "much more for fur than any other trader in the north."37 He was also the first trader to establish himself permanently in the region, building a substantial and, in contrast to other homes in the area, elegant house for himself and his native wife. In addition to his trade with the Indians, he also opened a fox farm to take advantage of the high prices being paid for the furs of that animal.38

As a British subject, Cadzow felt that he deserved government protection from encroachment on his trade by American rivals. His competitors, he argued, were receiving an unfair advantage in that the lack of a customs officer at Rampart House allowed them to "take in United States goods to trade with the natives and pay no duty." The Canadian Commissioner of Customs, who noted in 1913 that more than $35,000 in furs had been taken out of the region in "last years" without having duty paid on them, agreed with Cadzow's remonstrations. In that year, the Customs Department and the Royal North West Mounted Police agreed to send Corporal Dempster to open a Police detachment at Rampart House with an additional commission to serve as a customs agent.

The competition for furs in the area was fairly substan-
tial, as a number of trading operations were active along the Porcupine River in this period. O. Schultz and B. Johnson opened a post at Old Crow in 1912, marking the first white settlement on that site and an attempt to corner the market on muskrat furs from Old Crow Flats. When the demand for these furs fell in the 1920s, they closed their store and left the area. The Northern Commercial Company (formerly the Alaskan Commercial Company, one of the Hudson's Bay Company's first competitors) also entered the trade during the century's second decade. They were soon joined by the Jackson Brothers, who traded at Lapierre House from 1925 to 1935 before moving to the growing community of Old Crow. Several other minor operations, including many disenchanted miners and a small outpost of Fort McPherson that was built just west of the Richardson Mountains in 1956, also contested the trade. 40

Little data is available on the monetary value of the interior trade (it was usually recorded with the Herschel Island figures). The Hudson's Bay Company's returns in 1892, their final year of operations, were close to $4,000. In 1929, owing to increased fur prices and more intense trapping activities (it will be remembered that muskrats were not traded for in this area by the Hudson's Bay Company), the value of the trade stood at $9,672. 41

A number of accommodations were reached between the whites, represented by the Canadian government, and the natives to preserve the trapping resources of the northern Yukon. In 1923, a major block of land, the Peel River Preserve, was set aside for the exclusive use of the natives. As often happened on such occasions, the natives were not consulted when the boundaries were drawn, leading to problems in later years. In addition, the preserve straddled the boundary between the Yukon and the Northwest Territories, and the Indians were forced to observe two separate sets of regulations. For a period, the Peel River Indians, who were nominally residents of the North West Territories, were actually excluded from
hunting in the western segment of the preserve. An accommodation was reached in 1951 which allowed them to hunt and trap in the area as long as they observed game laws. In the late 1940s and early 1950s, Old Crow Flats, which had been designated as a Group Trading Area, and was therefore closed to all but the Old Crow natives, was divided by the R.C.M.P. into individual trapping areas. The most important cultural adaptation, however, was the closing of the federally-run school during the muskrat season to enable women and children to assist in the hunt.42

Following the closure of Lapierre and Rampart House by the Hudson's Bay Company in 1893, the interior fur trade had suffered a brief hiatus. For slightly more than a decade, a period interrupted by the disruptive influence of the Klondike Gold Rush, the natives were left without a local trader and were forced to resort to distant stations to carry on their trade. After the arrival of Cadzow in 1905, the interior trade rapidly expanded, reaching a peak in the 1920s. The various government agencies involved with the area, especially the R.C.M.P., readily accommodated themselves to the needs of the fur trade and played an important role in preserving that economic activity for the natives. To the present day, the fur trade, especially the "ratting" in the Old Crow Flats, has performed a vital role in the economy of the northern Yukon.

The Fur Trade of the Arctic Slope
The fur trade along the Yukon's Arctic coast had its origins in the eastward expansion of the whaling industry in the late 1880s and early 1890s. In the winter of 1890-91, two ships, the Grumpus and the Mary D. Hume, wintered at Herschel Island, and undoubtedly conducted the first sustained fur trade with the local Eskimo population. Although their primary business was the whale hunt, the ships' officers and men soon realized that there was considerable profit to be
made in furs.

Unaccustomed to the niceties of "traditional" trade, the whalers did not hesitate to break conventions whenever it suited their immediate purposes. The principle effect of this uncontrolled trade was to draw Indians away from interior posts, like Rampart House, to the Arctic coast. By the turn of the century, one whaling captain could write:

Arctic whalers were trading ships as well as whalers, and it was quite on the cards that a good profit might be made in trade even if very few whales were taken. There had always been some trading, but I think the trading developed to a new high level at about this time, owing to the increased knowledge among the whalers and likewise among the natives. 43

All the costs of conducting the trade were charged to the whaling end of the business and, as a result of this and their considerably cheaper supply routes, the Americans were able to vastly undersell the Hudson's Bay Company and other interior firms. Equally important, however, was the range of goods supplied to the Eskimo and the Kutchin. Whereas the inland firms, following the time-honoured patterns, traded such standard items as muzzle-loading rifles, tobacco, tea and blankets, the whalers were able to offer repeating rifles, alcohol, canned foods, and even whale boats. As one historian has written, the fur trade of the Western Arctic was "characterized by individual enterprise, competitive trade, and an abundance of material goods." 44

Very quickly, however, the whale and fur resources in the area around Herschel Island were seriously depleted as a result of the Americans' exploitive policies, and the whalers headed east in search of newer fields, although Pauline Cove did remain a favoured wintering site. By 1910, the decline in the whale bone market meant a further reduction in activity along the northern coast, although several whaling vessels were converted into floating trading posts and continued to trade furs with the Eskimos.

The decline of the ocean-based fur trade only temporarily
halted the expansion of the fur trade on the Arctic slope. Within five years "traditional traders" had opened establishments along the coast. Fur prices, especially for the white fox, had climbed dramatically in the second decade of the 20th century and, in response, the fur trade expanded further north.

The first known post to be opened in the northern Yukon was located just to the east of the Canada/U.S. boundary, and was operated by a man named Martin Anderson. K.G. Chipman, who visited Anderson's cabin in March 1914, commented that:

His attitude toward the natives is interesting. He considers them from a business standpoint and neither mixes with them outside business nor is dependent on them as do and as are so many people up here.

His rather unorthodox approach was obviously successful, for Chipman reported that he had collected more than $25,000 in furs. Very little is known of Anderson and there is no record of when his post was closed. From Chipman's observations, it seems that Anderson was a transient trader and did not remain long in the district.

Nevertheless, the benefits of the coastal trade were becoming obvious, and the Hudson's Bay Company decided to expand into the region. In 1914, two Hudson's Bay Company ships, the Ruby and the Fort McPherson, left Vancouver with supplies to open a trading post on Herschel Island. The vessels were unable to reach the island that year, but a second attempt in 1915 was successful. The new post was to serve as the western terminus for the Canadian Western Arctic fur trade for more than 20 years.

Two years later, a second northern Yukon post, owned by H. Lieves and Co. of San Francisco, was opened at Shingle Point. To meet the competition, the Hudson's Bay Company expanded to that site in 1920, and within one year their American rival was forced to retire from the trade. The final expansion of the coastal fur trade in the region was made in 1921, when the Hudson's Bay Company opened a third post, this
time just to the east of Demarcation Point near the Canada/U.S. border; but the latter post lasted only three years before it was closed permanently.47

The northern Yukon branch of the western Arctic fur trade was never highly remunerative to the Hudson's Bay Company. Herschel Island was maintained primarily as a transportation depot to assist in the shipment of supplies from coastal ports along the Pacific, like Vancouver and San Francisco, to posts farther east. Shingle Point lasted for less than a decade, finally closing in 1929. The Company's buildings on that site were leased to the Anglican church and were used for the Anglican mission school.48

Unlike the Hudson's Bay Company, the Eskimos, for the most part, found the fur trade of the 1920s and 1930s highly profitable. Prices for the white fox went as high as $35 each and, in a good season, which generally occurred in three out of every seven years, a trapper could count on gathering close to 300 skins. There were reports of individual Eskimos earning as much as fifteen to twenty thousand dollars for a single year's work. One of the principle items of trade demanded by the Eskimos was an ocean schooner, reflecting the profitability of the trade.49

By 1937, the fur trade along the Yukon's Arctic coast had all but ended. The Company's trader at Herschel Island noted that there was "No Fur this year. Mostly cash sales."50 Interestingly, among the Hudson's Bay Company's most regular customers at Herschel Island and Shingle Point in the last years were Kutchin Indians from Old Crow, who resorted to the coast when trading goods along the Porcupine River were either too costly or in short supply.51 The end of the Hudson's Bay Company's operations on the Arctic slope came in 1937 when the Point Barrow-Herschel Island supply route for the Arctic fur trade was finally shut down. A government official, commenting on the closure of the commercial route, wrote:

The new routing of the Western Arctic freight by
way of Mackenzie River has meant the desertion of Herschel Island as there is no longer any shipping by Point Barrow. The Hudson's Bay Company and the R.C.M.P. have left there. Captain Pedersen, who had brought in supplies around by Alaska for the past 42 years has this year shipped everything by the H.B.C. boats down the Mackenzie.\textsuperscript{52}

With the closing of Herschel Island, the fur trade along the Yukon's Arctic coast ground to a halt. Occasional Eskimo trappers from the Mackenzie River delta would find their way into the area for a season, but when the permanent Eskimo population moved completely out of the region, the trapping base required to sustain a profitable trade disappeared. In 1962-63, for example, only eight Eskimo trapping licenses were issued for the area, and in the following year, this dropped to only four.\textsuperscript{53}

The fur trade on the Arctic slope had gone through two periods of sustained activity. The American whalers had first exploited the area's resources, only to move on quickly when they were depleted. The Hudson's Bay Company lasted for more than twenty years at Herschel Island, but it must be remembered that the activities of that station, much like Lapierre House in the previous century, revolved around its role as a transportation depot. When that function was removed through the modernization of transport facilities along the Mackenzie River, the post was soon abandoned and the fur trade along the Arctic coast of the Yukon quietly came to an end.
IV Missionary Activities

The 1860s saw a second surge of European activity in the northern Yukon, although the attraction on this occasion was not furs, but heathen souls. Approximately ten years earlier, missionaries had begun to expand their operations throughout the vast reaches of Rupertsland. While they followed fur trade routes and generally established their missions near Hudson's Bay Company posts, the missionaries were not primarily concerned with the religious needs of the employees of that firm. They saw in front of them an enormous field for missionary work among the native population, and it was to this large, diverse group that they directed their attention.

The early years of missionary activity were not unlike the days of fur trade competition between the Hudson's Bay Company and the North West Company, although, of course, there was no recourse to violence. Along the Mackenzie River and subsequently in the Yukon River valley, two rival organizations, the Church Missionary Society (C.M.S.) and the Oblates of Mary Immaculate (O.M.I.), the former representing the Church of England while the latter was a branch of the Roman Catholic Church, vied for pre-eminence among the natives. It was the desire of both these organizations to open new fields for missionary endeavours while at the same time restricting the success of their rival that led to a rapid expansion of the "frontier of Christianity" northward and brought both the C.M.S. and the O.M.I. into the northern Yukon.
Interior Missions 1861-1900
Missionary work among the Kutchin Indians of the northern Yukon began shortly after the fur traders had entered the area. The Reverend W.W. Kirkby of the Church of England was the first to arrive. Crossing over the Stony Creek Pass in the summer of 1861, a journey plagued by "the badness of the walking, intense heat of the sun - and myriads of the most voracious mosquitos that I have ever met with in the country," Kirkby descended the Porcupine River to Fort Youcon. Staying only a week, the missionary was sufficiently encouraged by the natives' response to his visit that he returned the following season. Although his subsequent excursion was not as profitable as the first, his initial report had spawned considerable interest in the Yukon River basin among both the Church Missionary Society in London and St. Andrew's Parish in Red River.

The members of the latter organization had, after Kirkby's first voyage to the Yukon, located a young man, Robert McDonald, who was willing to go to the area as a missionary, and provided funds for his journey. When Kirkby returned to Fort Simpson after his second trip to Fort Youcon, he was met by the eager McDonald, who was dispatched forthwith to the Yukon.

When McDonald arrived at the post he found, to his great consternation, that Father Sequin of the O.M.I. had commenced work among the local natives. The Anglican missionary was soon able to report, however, that Sequin "had not been able to effect anything, the preference of the Indians being for pure Christianity." The Catholic clergy had other explanations for the failure of their mission to the Kutchin. According to Sequin, traders and preachers at both Lapierre House and Fort Youcon had attempted to ostracize him, with a Hudson's Bay Company employee threatening "never to give or sell any tobacco to such as would continue to show their preferences for Catholicism." While at Lapierre House, the
priest claimed, Reverend Kirkby had even made a number of slanderous allegations concerning the sexual promiscuity of the Catholic missionaries.  

Sequin and McDonald both arrived at Fort Youcon in the fall of 1862. With the traders supporting his efforts, the Anglican missionary was able to win over the entire Fort Youcon native population, and Sequin was forced to pass the winter excluded from the social and religious life of the post. The following spring, he departed from the area and many years were to pass before the Catholic Church would successfully open a mission among the Kutchin of the northern Yukon.

Nevertheless, competition between the Church of England and Rome continued apace throughout the 19th century, but the practical alliance of the Hudson's Bay Company and the Anglican missionaries ensured that the Catholic priests would not penetrate the northern Yukon. The Mackenzie River delta remained the scene of intense confrontation and on numerous occasions, the C.M.I. workers reported that they were in danger of losing their converts to the "Papists." It is clear, however, that the Anglican clergy used the spectre of Catholic domination primarily as a means of encouraging the Church Missionary Society to provide greater assistance in manpower and extra funds for the northern stations.

After two years at Fort Youcon, Robert McDonald became seriously ill and was forced to withdraw from the area. W.W. Kirkby, still active at Fort Simpson, wrote to the C.M.S. asking for additional workers, claiming that "A Roman Catholic priest at Fort Good Hope declares that the moment McDonald leaves the field he will enter it." William Carpenter Bompas answered the call, and on Christmas Eve, 1865, he arrived at Fort Simpson. By this time, McDonald had completed a remarkable recovery and was also ready to return to the field. The McKenzie River mission, usually short of men, now had an extra missionary. While McDonald returned to Fort Youcon,
Bompas was given a commission as "priest-at-large," spending much of his time in the Mackenzie River delta.\(^7\)

When the Hudson's Bay Company was forced to remove from Fort Youcon in 1870, McDonald remained behind for two years, finally establishing a station at Rampart House in 1872. In 1874, McDonald was joined in the mission by his brother Kenneth, although the latter remained with the church for only two years before joining the Hudson's Bay Company.\(^8\) The existence of an additional missionary in the area combined with Bompas' roaming presence in 1873 allowed Robert McDonald to return to Fort McPherson, where he ran the mission until his retirement in 1904.

Upon the resignation of his brother in 1875, McDonald was once again faced with the difficult task of serving the entire Yukon River basin. He now used Fort McPherson as a base of operations, requiring annual excursions across the mountains to meet with natives. These journeys took him as far as two or three hundred miles below Fort Youcon along the Yukon River.\(^9\) By 1881, another missionary, V.C. Sim, had been recruited to serve in the northern Yukon and, under McDonald's direction, re-opened the Rampart House station. After four years of extensive travel in the area, Sim died at Rampart House on May 11, 1885.\(^10\)

Bompas, who had been consecrated Bishop of the diocese of Athabasca (covering the Yukon and much of the Northwest Territories) in 1874, found a replacement for Sim in G.O. Wallis, who arrived at Rampart House in 1886.\(^11\) Apparently the mission work was not proceeding well, and when the post was discovered to be on American soil in 1889, Bompas hesitated before moving it, thinking that the C.M.S. might want to discontinue efforts in the area. With the arrival of the whaling fleet off Herschel Island that same year and with the closing of the Hudson's Bay Company's posts in the region in 1893, the natives of the northern Yukon began to disperse and the value of the region's missions declined rapidly.\(^12\)
While the northern Yukon missions were suffering through a series of traumatic dislocations, the administrative structure of the Anglican dioceses was once again altered. A new diocese, Selkirk (later Yukon) was created in 1892 and placed under Bompas. Appalled at the amount of liquor entering the area both along the Yukon River and from Herschel Island, he wrote a number of letters to the Canadian government asking for police protection. Bompas' remonstrations, along with the realization that goods were being imported without duty and exported without tax, played a major role in the government's decision to send Inspector Constatine of the N.W.M.P. on a reconnaissance of the area. Subsequently, the detachment at Forty-Mile was opened in 1894, but nothing was done to prevent the flow of alcohol and other contraband items from the Arctic coast.\textsuperscript{13}

To further complicate the church's affairs, the Klondike Gold Rush began in 1896, placing a further strain on the limited resources of the Selkirk diocese. The missionaries had "always dreaded the incoming of a mining population but did not think it would touch...[them] so closely."\textsuperscript{14} The attractions of Dawson, the Yukon River transportation industry and the Herschel Island trade all served to draw the native population away from the Anglican missions. Rampart House was closed for the winter of 1896 when the supplies failed to arrive and, although there was a missionary available to serve at the station, serious consideration was given to closing the mission.\textsuperscript{15}

T.H. Canham, working with McDonald out of Fort McPherson, had attempted to maintain the mission after Wallis' departure in 1895, but his task was made difficult by the fact that the "Indians have become scattered by the removal of their trading post from the mission."\textsuperscript{16} By the end of the century, the once-active interior missions of the Anglican church had all but ceased to exist. Rampart House was closed for approximately ten years, and a missionary made only periodic trips from
Fort McPherson to visit the natives at Lapierre House.

Some of the missionaries of the northern Yukon, for all their good intentions, held rather low opinions of their native charges, W.W. Kirkby, on the occasion of his first visit to the area, referred to the Indians as "treacherous, savage and cruel." Bompas wrote, after visiting the area in 1873, that "These mountain Loucheux seem 'the lowest of all people' But I cannot help hoping that that area a 'chosen race.'" Robert McDonald, in contrast, held no such opinions, and in 1877, he married a woman from the Peel River Kutchin band.

Focussing too closely upon the actual Anglican missions in the interior may be somewhat misleading. Although the church did maintain mission stations to serve the larger concentrations of population, the missionaries spent a substantial portion of their time visiting Indian bands in their own habitats. These visits entailed extensive travel throughout the northern Yukon and were conducted on a very informal basis. The missionaries left no record of where they had been or how they had travelled beyond such vague references as "I have also visited at their camps the whole of the Loucheux Indians connected with this post," and "The work of the itinerating has been performed chiefly by my brother Kenneth McDonald, who in order to reach four tribes of Indians travelled last year over a thousand miles on snowshoes."

The visits were memorable occasions for the isolated natives and, as Bompas related, "Each day I spent in the Indian camps was like a Sunday as the Indians were clustered around me from early morning till late at night learning prayers, hymns and Scripture lessons." Several of these excursions were remarkable affairs, particularly Bompas' 1872 journey to "a tribe of Esquimaux encamped on the sea coast about 2 or 300 miles west of Mackenzie River," and Sim's trip in 1884 which took him within "a day or two" of the Arctic sea.
Through the efforts of these travelling missionaries, virtually every native in the northern Yukon was contacted and then visited on a semi-regular basis. More than any other part of their northern Yukon venture, these excursions to the Indians' camps were responsible for the continued good relations between the Anglican church and its native congregation.

Herschel Island Mission
As early as 1901, one year after the whaling fleet first reached Herschel Island, Bishop Bompas learned of the American's intrusion from the Rampart House Indians. Fearing that "the Americans are inclined to offer them liquor," Bompas wrote to the Church Missionary Society, asking for manpower and funds to establish a mission on the island. The rapid depopulation of the Porcupine River area as a result of the lucrative trade being conducted by the whalers lent urgency to Bompas' pleas, and the missionary organization quickly acceded to his request.

Isaac O. Stringer, a young man from Toronto, volunteered to review the prospects for establishing a mission amongst the Eskimo. Arriving at Fort McPherson in July 1892, Stringer passed the winter there, acquainting himself with native customs and languages and acclimatizing himself to the weather north of the Arctic Circle. The following spring, after a three week detour to visit Reverend Wallis at Rampart House, the new missionary set out for Herschel Island.

Stringer was warmly welcomed by the whalers at the island, something of a surprise owing to his stated opposition to many of their practices, and he spent three weeks visiting the various ships, although for some reason, he did not hold religious services. His reception among the Eskimo was somewhat cooler, and he despaired "of doing any good among these Eskimos." His stay was very short and on May 18 he departed
for Fort McPherson. A second visit to Herschel Island was made in November 1893, and on this occasion he enjoyed better success with the natives, although they exhibited little appreciation for Christian preachings. The more immediate concerns of the Eskimos came to light when, during a service in an Eskimo shelter, a woman "wanted to know if they used tobacco in heaven!"^26

In August 1894, Stringer once again made the journey to the island, this time armed with a petition signed by himself, Robert McDonald, and two Hudson's Bay Company traders, J.S. Camsell and John Firth, which called upon the whalers to refrain from further trade in alcohol with the natives.^27 The missionary had hoped to find supplies for a mission station, but the ships carrying the goods had failed to arrive. After securing a whaleboat from one of the ships, Stringer once again returned to Fort McPherson. The entire project was delayed, and the missionary did not even deliver the petition to the whalers.

In June 1895, Bishop Reeve and Charles Whittaker, a new recruit for the Eskimo mission, arrived at Fort McPherson, and later in that month, the two joined Stringer on his excursion to Herschel Island. On this occasion, the whalers, although upset at the missionaries' petition and threatened interference in their trade, nonetheless made subscriptions to the mission totalling over six hundred and fifty dollars. A sod house and a small store were purchased from the whaling companies to serve as temporary accommodation for the mission. With the arrangements for the Herschel Island mission thus finally completed (three years after Stringer first visited the area), Bishop Reeve and Whittaker returned to Fort McPherson and Stringer, due for furlough, left the island aboard one of the sailing ships.^28

Whittaker returned in the fall to run the mission during Stringer's absence. The latter missionary returned to his Arctic post in the summer of 1896, accompanied by Sadie, his
recent bride. Upon arrival at Herschel Island, where lumber had arrived for the construction of a proper station, it was decided to delay the building program as the whaling industry was showing signs of decline. After a short stay, the Stringers returned to Fort McPherson where they passed the winter. In the spring of 1897, first Whittaker and then the Stringers, accompanied by W. Young, a lay worker, set out for the island. After preparing the buildings for their expected fall return, Stringer and his wife once again left for Mackenzie River.

That fall, as planned, Stringer moved his family, including a recently born baby girl, to Herschel and opened the first "permanent" mission to the Eskimos. The Stringers were kept busy ministering to the 50 whites and 100 natives on the island. Sadie Stringer opened a school, specializing oddly enough in shorthand, but it did provide some diversion for the whaling crews during the long and lonely winter. The Stringers remained at the island, with periodical voyages to Fort McPherson and to the Eskimos of the Mackenzie River delta, until the summer of 1901, when he turned the mission over to C.E. Whittaker and William Young. Stringer was to remain active in northern missionary work for much of his life, becoming Bishop of Selkirk in 1905. In 1909, during a visit to the northern part of his diocese, Stringer and a companion became lost while crossing from Peel River to Lapierre House. Almost starving before they found their way, the two clergy-men were forced to eat parts of their clothing in order to survive. It was from this episode that Stringer earned the epithet that was to follow him for the rest of his days - "The Bishop Who Ate His Boots." Begun with such urgency by the Church Missionary Society, the Herschel Island mission had taken a rather long time to establish. For four years, missionaries made only short excursions to the island, hardly long enough to develop a profitable relationship with the natives or to counteract the
influence of the whalers. The real work of the Herschel Island mission was just beginning as Stringer and his family left the area after only three full years of residence.

Arctic Missions After 1901
With Isaac Stringer's departure, the leadership of the Anglican missions along the Arctic coast fell to C.E. Whittaker. Although he was to remain active in the region until 1916, Whittaker was not particularly suited for his northern posting. Stationed at Herschel Island for most of this period, the missionary had a great deal of difficulty with the whaling fleet and was constantly applying to the Canadian government for police protection. After his first visit to the island in 1903, Sergeant Fitzgerald of the N.W.M.P. wrote of the missionary:

This man is so much disliked by the whalers that some of them tried to make the natives believe that Mr. Whittaker was the cause of Leviauke [a local Eskimo] being arrested.31

His success with the natives was not much greater than that which he enjoyed with the ships' crews and officers.

Whittaker was such an acerbic character that he also succeeded in the rather difficult task of alienating the N.W.M.P. In 1907, while at Herschel Island, the missionary attempted to intercede in the internal affairs of the force. Sergeant Fitzgerald, also stationed at the island, was cohabiting with a native woman and had requested headquarter's approval so that he could be married. According to Whittaker, his commanding officer, who did not object to the informal arrangement, wrote that "he would prefer reporting to Ottawa that Fitzgerald had blown his brains out rather than that he had married a native woman." The missionary did not stop after the initial rebuff for later, after Fitzgerald had died, he applied to the R.N.W.M.P. for "compassionate consideration" regarding the support of the off-spring for the relationship.
His appeal was rejected on the grounds that there were no legal documents to support the claim. Despite the apparent moral validity of Whittaker's argument, the police did not appreciate external intervention in what was considered an internal matter.32

The missionary's most grievous error, however, occurred in 1911 in the aftermath of the discovery of the bodies of the "Lost Patrol." When the corpses of the four men lost while on a regular police patrol were returned to Fort McPherson, Whittaker somehow got hold of Fitzgerald's diary. Based on the comments of that volume, he then wrote a highly critical letter on the patrol, claiming that they were ill-prepared, ill-guided, and had relied on poor dogs to pull their sled.33 To the image conscious R.N.W.M.P., concerned with preserving the honour of their dead comrades, such commentary was akin to heresy. Whittaker's career in the north was marred by such poorly-timed and ill-chosen actions, and he succeeded in alienating most of those with whom he came in contact. In his defence, it does appear that he was committed to his work and, despite his poor inter-personal skills, he was devoted to his native charges.

The Anglican church opened a total of three missions along the coast west of the Mackenzie River. Herschel Island maintained on an irregular basis after the gradual departure of the whaling fleet after 1906, with the missionaries resorting to their earlier pattern of making periodical visits to the island to maintain contact with the natives. W.H. Fry, who had worked with Whittaker at Herschel Island for several years, opened a mission on Escape Reef in 1910. The location was very poorly chosen as it was not a traditional wintering site for the Eskimo and in the first winter, Fry shared the reef with only three or four families. The station was closed the following year.34

In 1922, a major re-orientation of the church's coastal
work occurred when a mission house and church were constructed at the fur trading centre of Shingle Point. William A. Geddes, later Bishop of Mackenzie River, who had replaced Whittaker at Herschel Island two years earlier, was responsible for the direction of the new station. Seven years later, in 1929, a residential school for Eskimo children was opened on that same site. After only six years of service, the school was closed and the entire operation was moved to Aklavik. With the termination of the Shingle Point mission, the Anglican Church's missionary work along the Yukon's Arctic coast ended.

The closing of the Arctic missions actually preceded, and in some ways aided, the de-population of the area. The majority of the native population, however, had moved to the Mackenzie River delta by this time, and the financial crisis faced by the Rupertsland Diocese in 1932 (resulting from the embezzlement of the church's endowment fund) precluded any additional expenses in this area for a time.

It is of interest to note that the missionaries of the Arctic coast were not held in particularly high esteem by other whites active in the region. While this is readily explainable in the case of Charles Whittaker, it also holds true for Isaac Stringer and other Anglican church workers. V. Stefansson, for example, deprecated the efforts of the missionaries, claiming that the wave of Eskimo conversions which swept through the area during the second decade of the 20th century was more a "fad" than a religious conversion, and that the Anglican apostles had had little impact on the native population.

Another indictment of the missionaries came from K.G. Chipman, a geographer with the Canadian Arctic Expedition. In his diary, Chipman noted that W.H. Fry had been provided with an outfit with which he was to attempt to reach Stefansson's "Blond Eskimos." Unable to do so, he sold his supplies for twenty-eight hundred dollars, an amount, according to
Chipman, which never found its way back to the Church's coffers. A more telling criticism, however, related to the missionaries' christening practices.

Most of the natives have what is known as a "fox skin" name, Pete, Harry, Elias, Carry, Tommy, etc. These names they are proud of and consider them as a mark of distinction. It seems that Bishop Stringer and Mr. Whittaker christened the natives, big and little, and gave to them names. For this service they received a fox skin for each person. That is a good business.39

Whether or not these statements are accurate, they do reflect a much wider phenomenon, namely the consistently low regard whalers, policemen, and Arctic travellers had for the coastal missionaries.

The missionaries were not prepared to concede that their efforts had been in vain. Whittaker replied vigorously to Stefansson's accusations, stating that "this epidemic, or fashion, had its roots in many years of hard labour on the part of the mission."40 With some pride, Bishop Stringer wrote in 1927:

Gradually they [the Eskimos] were brought to a knowledge of God in spite of all the severest kinds of temptations through the whalers and other white people along the Arctic coast. Now the majority of the Eskimos along five hundred miles of the Arctic coast from the Alaska boundary have been baptized, and most of the adults confirmed.41

Indeed the mission did enjoy some success. In 1909, Stringer returned to Herschel Island briefly to join in the first Eskimo baptisms in the region. Less than 20 years later, in 1927, the missionary, now Bishop of the Yukon, once again visited the island, this time to officiate at the ordination services of the Reverend Thomas Umaok, one of the six Eskimos baptized by Stringer in 1909.42 The Anglican Church's efforts along the coast, highlighted by the Herschel Island mission, the first among the Eskimo, and the Shingle Point Residential School, the first aimed solely at Eskimo children, was not without its triumphs. Although aided financially in their
endeavours by the various commercial interests in the region (whalers and fur traders), the missionaries did not establish completely amicable relations with other whites, and throughout the history of their Arctic efforts, they suffered rather harsh criticism from other residents and travellers.

The experience along the coast stands in stark contrast to the interior missions. Inland, the missionaries were actively aided by the major commercial operation, the Hudson's Bay Company, and the latter's efforts on the Church's behalf played a major role in the missions' success. The whalers, however, for both personal and commercial reasons, resented the intrusion of the church and, although they never took over actions against the missions, did not provide support similar to that offered by the Hudson's Bay Company.

Shingle Point Residential School
The single most important mission in the northern Yukon was unquestionably the Shingle Point Residential School. The Anglican Church had decided in 1928 to establish a boarding school for Eskimo children in the Mackenzie River delta and, to that end, had received a grant of $10,000 from the department of the Interior.\(^{43}\)

Shingle Point was selected as a temporary site for the school for two reasons. First, it was a natural meeting place for the Eskimo, and had good fishing and caribou hunting close by. Secondly, there were a number of buildings available on the site. These structures, formerly used by the Hudson's Bay Company as a trading post, were purchased from that firm in 1929.\(^{44}\)

Under the auspices of the Arctic Mission Committee and with the Reverend H.S. Shepherd in command, the school was opened in 1930 with an initial enrollment of between thirty and forty children. To staff the new facility, four single teachers from Ontario, Miss Shepherd, Miss Quirt, Miss Hirst
and Miss Lathen, were recruited. Difficulties in transportation and communication and the lack of medical facilities almost guaranteed that the life of the school would be short. In the spring of 1935, Bishop Archibald Fleming, the first Bishop of the Arctic, received permission from the Minister of the Interior to move the school to the more central location of Aklavik. The new facilities were opened in the fall of 1936, and the Shingle Point Residential School was unceremoniously closed.

Church Activities in the Twentieth Century
Before the turn of the century, the Anglican Church had found it increasingly difficult to recruit men and women to serve in the isolated missions of the northern Yukon. The church was forced to rely on native clergy and native catechists or lay workers, and in 1893, the first ordination of a native north of the Arctic Circle took place at Fort McPherson, with John Ttssiettla being named as deacon. The main field of the new clergyman's endeavours was the Peel River-Mackenzie River delta area, although he did make frequent trips to visit the natives at Lapierre House.

In 1911, a second native ordination took place for Amos Njootla. Njootla was assigned to Rampart House and together with his wife, the daughter of John Ttssiettla, he served that community until his death in 1923. Additional Kutchin appointments which affected the northern Yukon included those of Julius Kendi (1918), Richard Martin (1926), Thomas Umaok (1927) and John Marten (1924). With these selections, and the judicious assignment of the men, the Anglican Church was paying close attention to the special religious needs of the Kutchin Indians.

All the clergymen active in the area, both white and native, continued to travel extensively to maintain contact with the Indians outside the principle settlements. To further
accommodate the widely-dispersed population, the church also appointed a number of native catechists to search out the Indian bands in their traditional habitats and offer them religious services between visits from a clergyman. In 1911, for example, Joseph Kunizza was assigned to the headwaters of the Peel River, Julius Kendi the headwaters of the Porcupine, and John Tizya assisted Amos Njootla at Rampart House.

The Anglican Church has maintained its traditional interest in the northern Yukon to the present day, although current activities are restricted to the community of Old Crow (the mission was moved from Rampart House to this site in 1926). As late as 1949, the region was served primarily by native clergy, with Julius Kendi replacing Amos Njootla, although white missionaries have since taken over. In the past 30 years, however, the Anglican Church had been joined at Old Crow by a Catholic mission.

In 1862, Father Sequin had attempted to establish a Catholic mission in the northern Yukon. He was unsuccessful on that occasion and subsequent endeavours, in 1870 by Father Petitot and 1872 by Coadjutor Bishop Clut, had similar results. Two missionaries of the Oblate order opened a mission at Old Crow in 1950 and it has been active ever since. The most interesting undertaking of the Catholic Church in the area was the introduction of cross-country skiing. In 1955, Father Mouchet, a former member of the French Olympic team, came to the community. Believing that the motivation inculcated through competitive skiing would provide the native children with a sound basis upon which to enter the "outside" world, Father Mouchet launched a major training program. Later called the Territorial Experimental Ski Training (T.E.S.T.) and expanded to include native residential schools in Inuvik and non-native schools elsewhere in the Yukon, the program was a major success.

The Catholic church has been uniformly unsuccessful in penetrating the Anglican "monopoly" in the northern Yukon.
That this is so is attributable not to the superiority of one religious order to another, but to the accommodating nature of the Anglican missionaries in the region. Throughout the history of the church in the area, the Anglican missionaries endeavoured to serve the natives as the latter's needs dictated. In the early days, this included the process of "itinerating" or visiting the natives in their own camps. Later adaptations included the appointment of native clergy and catechists.

The Anglican Church's efforts along the Arctic coast were not, however, as successful. The principle reason for the two vastly different experiences, beyond the obvious point that two different native groups were involved, was the poor relations between the church and coastal commercial interests. In the interior, the church and the fur trade (the Hudson's Bay Company and Dan Cadzow) worked very closely together and guarded one another's interests. Along the coast, the missionaries established no such relationship, and in several ways, their efforts were seen as antithetical to the prosecution of business. For example, the restriction of the sale of liquor and the fact that the church was partially responsible for the arrival of the N.W.M.P. at Herschel Island obviously did not endear the missionaries to the whalers. That no such an accommodation was reached was partially the consequence of the nature of the whaling industry and its apparent immorality, and partially attributable to the personalities involved, like C.E. Whittaker.

For the most part, the efforts of the Anglican Church and the Church Missionary Society, which remained active until 1903, were attended with considerable success. The natives of the interior were quickly convinced to abandon their traditional religious values and readily adopted those of the Christian church. The coastal natives, their ranks decimated by disease, were much slower in their conversion. In fact, the Eskimos who finally turned to Christianity after 1909 were primarily
immigrants from Alaska, a group of natives who had been exposed to missionaries for a much longer period than those who originally inhabited the coast between the Mackenzie River and the Alaska boundary. With the exception of the Shingle Point Residential School, which catered largely to the delta Eskimos, therefore, the success of the missionaries with the original native population of the northern Yukon was restricted to the interior, where the Anglican Church was preeminent.
V Whaling in the Western Arctic

After Thomas Simpson and Peter Warren Dease had visited Herschel Island in 1837, more than 50 years were to pass before the area was given more than a cursory examination. The first major investigation of the region, made in 1899, would usher in a new era for the Arctic slope with the appearance of the famous Arctic whaling fleet. When the two Hudson's Bay Company employees had stopped at the island, they had noticed "the skull of a whale eight feet in breadth; and whalebone is everywhere an article of extensive use among the natives." These remarks, however, went unheeded by the whaling industry.

The first whaling in the western Arctic began in 1848, when the Superior, an American vessel, happened upon a large herd of whales north of the Bering Strait. Whalers gradually expanded eastward, reaching Point Barrow in 1854. Afraid of being entrapped in the ice and unsure of the likelihood of locating new whaling grounds, the whaling ships, most of which were steam-powered, hesitated to push further east.

In 1888, however, a little known whaler, Joe Tuckfield, was sent by whaleboat to investigate claims made by the Eskimos that large herds of whales were to be found off Herschel Island. After passing the winter along the coast and at Fort McPherson, Tuckfield returned to his employers, the Pacific Steam Whaling Company, with news that "the whales were just as plentiful as the eskimo reported them to be." He also opened the first ocean-based fur trade with the Eskimos in the area, returning with a large bundle of furs he had traded near the mouth of the Mackenzie River.
That same year, seven ships headed for the new field and on August 11, 1889, they anchored off Herschel Island. The U.S.S. Thetis, a Navy vessel, followed the whalers to the island. Under Lieutenant Commander C.H. Stockton, a quick survey of the area was conducted and prominent geographical features such as Thetis Bay and Pauline Cove were named. The Thetis soon departed, leaving the island, the whales and the natives to the whaling ships.

The winter of 1890-91 saw the first permanent development of the Herschel Island whaling grounds. Two ships owned by the Pacific Steam Whaling Company, the Grumpus and the Mary D. Hume, were sent to winter at the island. Carrying enough supplies to last two winters and with sufficient lumber to construct a warehouse, the vessels barely made the harbour before being frozen in. Their catch the following year, however, more than compensated for the initial year's lack of success. Between the two ships, 48 whales were caught. Heavily loaded with whalebone and oil, the Grumpus returned to San Francisco, leaving the Mary D. Hume, to pass a second winter along the coast. The success of this venture signalled the commencement of the short-lived Herschel Island whaling boom.

After the return of the Grumpus, her holds carrying almost a quarter of a million dollars in cargo, large numbers of whaling ships headed for Arctic waters. From 1892 to 1910, the last year of the Western Canadian Arctic whaling industry, as many as fifteen ships wintered annually at Pauline Cove. The whaling "rush" to the northern Yukon were largely unnoticed as the Klondike Gold Rush, centered only a few hundred miles to the south, garnered most of the headlines. Herschel Island, which remained the principle wintering port throughout the period, very quickly lost its importance as a whaling ground. By the mid-1890s, the whalers had forsaken the depleted resources around the island for richer waters to the east, especially the mouth of the Mackenzie River and the waters off Pullen and Baillie Islands.
The owners of the vessels which swarmed into Arctic waters after 1891 stood to make remarkable profits from the whaling industry, even when the high costs of wintering in the north and the risk of being crushed in the ice were taken into account. The object of the whalers' efforts, the one hundred ton bowhead whale, provided both whalebone and whale oil in vast quantities, each one supplying up to one ton of the former and twenty to thirty tons of the latter. With whalebone selling for $5 a pound and oil for $100 a ton, each whale caught could return between eight and ten thousand dollars. Ironically, the principle use of the whale bone was for the manufacture of corsets. The fur trade, often criticized for being dependent on the hat styles of Europe, at least did not have to rely, as did the whaling industry, on the unshapely figures of American women.

Before synthetic substances replaced whalebone and petroleum had superseded whale oil, whales valued at more than $13,450,000 were taken out of the waters of the western Canadian Arctic. In addition, the whalers' ocean-based fur trade had realized in the vicinity of 1.4 million dollars. In the seventeen years from the origin of the Herschel Island whaling industry until its demise, almost fifteen million dollars in whales and furs were exported, almost entirely duty free, from Canadian waters.

In addition to the high return from the sale of whale products, the companies involved padded their profits further by paying their crews abnormally low wages. There were no salaries for any of the ships' complement, each man being paid instead a percentage of the ship's take, or a "lay." For example, Captains (who received a $500 advance) got from 1/12 to 1/15, boatheaders 1/12 to 1/35, and cooks and firemen 1/25 of the returns. A further inequity arose from the calculation of the value of the catch. The "lays" of the Captain, boatheaders and first mate were computed on the basis of the market price for whalebone (average $5 per pound), while second, third,
fourth, and fifth mates' percentages were calculated at a basic rate of $2.50 per pound. The remainder of the crew had their "lays" based on a rate of $1.50 per pound. The crew members were also charged exhorbitant prices for their supplies and often found upon returning to their home port that their labours had been in vain, for they owed the Company as much as they had earned.\(^8\)

In order to secure crews for the dangers and poorly paid work, the whaling firms resorted to rather nefarious methods in their recruiting of men. The most common procedure was to locate a drunk man, often pointed out by a tavern keeper who received a bounty for each man signed up, and to entice him to sign on for a two to five year stint.\(^9\) Needless to say, many men were less than satisfied with their circumstances, and a number took drastic measures to avoid having to complete their "contracts." A number of men deserted from their ships while at Herschel Island, intent on either escaping to "civilization" or, after 1896, reaching the Klondike Gold Fields. The majority of these men believed that "a day's march or so would bring them to a railway, or a settlement."\(^10\) Most either returned of their own accord or were found dead a short distance from the harbour. The biggest "break-out" occurred in 1895. Ten men stole supplies and dog teams and headed south. Their employers, aided by some Eskimos, tracked them down, and in the ensuing gun battle, several men were killed.\(^11\)

The most infamous aspect of the Herschel Island whaling industry was the relationship between the ships' crews and the local natives. The annual arrival of the whalers at Pauline Cove signalled a week of debauchery. As one historian has written:

Liquor flowed freely and soon the whaling crews and the Eskimos were staggering, laughing, howling and fighting. Eskimo women were caught up in the arms of the wild whalers and willingly disappeared into sod huts ashore or into the depths of the dank fo-c-les of the fleet in the harbour.\(^12\)
The whales quickly taught the Eskimos the technique of making "home-brew," a task at which they proved themselves to be particularly adept, thus extending the impact of the debauch over the rest of the year.

The first "stabilizing" force to reach Herschel Island, "the world's last jumping off place where no law existed and no writs ran, a paradise of those who reject all restraint upon appetite and all responsibility for conduct," was the young Anglican missionary, Isaac Stringer, who arrived in 1893. Much to his surprise, Stringer was heartily welcomed by the whales. When he returned two years later armed with a petition demanding that they refrain from trading liquor to the Eskimos, the whales went out of their way to accommodate the missionary. Stringer and his wife, who he brought to the island in 1895, proved to be welcome additions to the settlement's social life, although their mission to the Eskimos did not succeed as expected.

Winter life at Herschel Island, despite its image as an icy resort, was hardly the mecca, as it has been traditionally portrayed. Weather conditions were often unbearable and there were a number of mental breakdowns during the endless winters. The captains of the vessels, several of whom brought their wives, constituted the social elite of the settlement who maintained a non-stop series of dances, parties and dinners throughout the winter.

For the majority of the men on the island the winters were much more difficult. Several of the captains' wives and the missionaries did organize such activities as schools, and singing and theatrical clubs for as many as four hundred crew men, but for the most part the men were left to their own devices. Even outdoor activities could only be conducted with the utmost caution, for the unreliable weather threatened to engulf any person caught unaware. In December 1893, on a bright clear day, a number of men were playing baseball on the ice. They were caught in a sudden blizzard and several
of them died during the attempt to return to the ships.\textsuperscript{15} In these difficult conditions, it is understandable that many of the seamen turned to alcohol for escape and to native women for solace.

The Anglican missionaries complained frequently about the abuse of alcohol and the debauchery of the native population by the whalers. Their remonstrations to the Canadian government did not go unheeded, and in 1903, Sergeant Fitzgerald of the North West Mounted Police was sent from Edmonton to establish a police presence in the western Arctic. The Canadian government was anxious not only to stop the liquor traffic, but also to establish Canadian sovereignty over a previously ungoverned area. When the whalers arrived in August of 1903, they found, much to their surprise and chagrin, that Fitzgerald had established Canadian control over Herschel Island: he had restricted the liquor trade; demanded that all whalers observe Canadian laws; and required them to refrain from unnecessary contact with the Eskimos. As was typical for the N.W.M.P., Fitzgerald and his one man support staff were forced to deal with whaling captains backed by more than 260 men, but as had happened in similar situations elsewhere, the whalers acquiesced and attempted to reach an accommodation with the new local authorities.\textsuperscript{16}

Interestingly, Fitzgerald and his successors held rather favourable opinions of the whalers, especially concerning their relations with the natives. Whereas the missionaries had characterized such inter-racial relations as inherently evil and claimed that they worked to the detriment of the natives, Inspector Jennings wrote in 1910 that "Since their (the Eskimos) associations with the whalers our coast natives have never lived or dressed so well."\textsuperscript{17} The whalers, Jennings noted, took relatively good care of their concubines and their offspring, returning to the same woman each year and sending in supplies if they themselves were not returning.\textsuperscript{18}

At the same time, the N.W.M.P. did move quickly to end
the more overt breaches of the law, especially concerning the liquor trade and the "trading" or "loaning" of wives by the Eskimos. The police were able to control the actions of the local natives, and prevented them from boarding any of the ships. Most of the vessels, however, circumvented the latter regulations by bringing "in women from the American side."\textsuperscript{19}

In the winter of 1905-06, one of the last years of major whaling effort on the Arctic coast, five ships were unexpectedly frozen in for the winter. Short of the supplies, the ships' captains pooled their stores, agreeing that all game brought in by the natives would be shared. As so often happens in such an arrangement, one captain withdrew and attempted to procure his own supplies. Further disagreements ensued, and in April, Captain McGregor refused to allow his ship's doctor, the only one in the settlement, to visit other vessels. After the doctor deserted to another ship, the whole problem was resolved when Inspector Howard interceded to point out the foolishness of the situation.\textsuperscript{20}

By 1906, the market for whalebone had seriously weakened and the price, formerly above $5 a pound, plummeted to 40¢ per pound.\textsuperscript{21} Most of the whaling vessels vacated the waters of the western Arctic, although occasional excursions were made for another four years. In 1909, the Karluk killed 11 whales worth an estimated $85,000. The cost of that particular expedition had only been $32,000, meaning a profit in excess of $50,000.\textsuperscript{22} By 1911, however, Constable Wissenden, stationed at Herschel Island, was able to report that he had passed the winter without seeing a single white man, and that no whalers were wintering along the coast.\textsuperscript{23} Several of the vessels formerly employed in the whaling industry were converted into floating trading posts and continued to ply the coastal waters of the northern Yukon. The whaling era was over and Herschel Island's days as a northern "resort" came to an abrupt end. Within a short time, fur companies had replaced the whaling fleet and Herschel Island once again became
the focal point for the development of the western Canadian Arctic.

Prior to 1889, an estimated 250 Eskimos inhabited the coast between Shingle Point and Barter Island, and an additional one thousand lived in the Mackenzie River delta. These Eskimos were primarily sea-oriented, and lived mainly off fishing and the whale, seal and walrus hunt. The whalers, however, brought very large demands for provisions, especially caribou and moose, products the local Eskimos were not in a position to provide. When the whalers arrived on the coast of Alaska, the coastal Eskimos quickly died off as a result of the introduction of new diseases. Interior Eskimos, or Numetamiuts, who were proficient caribou hunters, moved to the coast to replace them and quickly proved their worth to the whalers. Before 1890, a number of these Alaskan Eskimos had begun to move eastward in search of better hunting grounds. With the expansion of the whalers into the area an even greater exodus occurred, and many of the whalers brought in their own Alaskan hunters to keep them supplied with meat while at Herschel Island.

As had happened further west, white men's diseases soon raged through the population of the Yukon's north slope. One particularly serious epidemic, a measles outbreak in 1901-02, killed a large number. The Nunatamuit, trained to hunt caribou and accustomed to provisioning the whalers, took over these tasks for the Herschel Island fleet, further weakening the already tenuous economic position of the remaining local natives. By 1909-10, the R.N.W.M.P.'s unofficial census of the area reported that there were only 260 Eskimos in the entire region from Demarcation Point to Baillie Island, down almost one hundred since 1905 and only one-seventh of the population prior to the arrival of the whaling ships. Of these surviving Eskimos, one half were Alaskan Eskimos. Of a local Eskimo population estimated at two hundred before 1890, only 130 remained.
The whalers all but succeeded in destroying the native culture as well. In their desire to procure fresh meat as an antidote to scurvy, the whaling captains tried all means to get the Eskimos to foresake their traditional diet in favour of American foodstuffs. As V. Stefansson observed:

It was important for the whaling ships to get plenty of fresh caribou meat to keep their crews from getting scurvy, and they employed practically the whole population in the pursuit of caribou, fish and ptarmigan. Such things as flour, hard bread, sugar, canned meats and vegetables, butter, etc. they gave with a free hand to the Eskimos, urging them to use them and to save meat.  

Their trade goods also included such articles as repeating rifles, which accelerated the depletion of area resources, alcohol, and whaling boats. While individual natives, primarily Alaskan immigrants, were able to profit from the provision and fur trade, the principle effect of the whaling fleet's brief tenure in the area was an almost complete depopulation of the Arctic coast and the virtual exhaustion of the region's natural resources.

With regard to the wild lifestyle of the Herschel Island settlement, Superintendent Larson of the R.C.M.P. wrote charitably:

One should not judge these people too harshly for the unsavoury conditions, however; to the Eskimos this was an entirely new world opening up, and the whalers themselves were often simple people who were unaware of the lasting damage they were doing.

Such comments, like those of Fitzgerald, Howard and Jennings earlier were undoubtedly based on the post-1903 experience at Herschel Island. The police, it must be remembered, entered the region when the whaling industry was beginning to decline, and they had missed most of the period when the reputation of the island was earned.

The value of the early whaling trade between 1891 and 1895, the fact that it was concentrated in the immediate vicinity of Herschel Island, and the absence of any governmen-
tal or stabilizing institutions ensured that a "boom town mentality" would pervade the isolated settlement. By 1895, when Stringer arrived, the whalers were beginning to spread far to the east and, even though the trade remained profitable for another ten years, it required more extensive organization and planning. Herschel Island rapidly became a mere transportation depot and a number of vessels, either by choice or as a result of an unexpectedly early winter, began to winter at other locations along the coast. The appearance of the missionaries and then the police acted as a settling influence, primarily because the whalers wanted to prevent further government restriction of their industry.

The whaling industry was not, except for peripheral events, a Canadian development. The potential of the area was first realized by Americans and it was vessels from San Francisco which exploited the resource. In later years, R.N.W.M.P. officers were to lament the fact that no Canadian businessmen had seen fit to invest in the industry, and that the entire wealth of the area had fallen into American hands. The whaling interlude had proven profitable to those shipowners who had taken part, had provided hardships and little renumeration for the ships' crews, had stimulated the expansion of missionary and police activities and, its most lasting legacy, had led to a severe depopulation of the area and the near elimination of the indigenous population.
In the six years immediately preceding the Klondike Gold Rush, the northern Yukon had gone through a number of dramatic changes. The appearance of the American whaling fleet off Herschel Island in 1890 had caused serious dislocations among both the coastal natives and the interior Kutchin. Feeling the competition from the whalers, the Hudson's Bay Company had decided in 1893 that its Porcupine River operations were no longer necessary, and it closed Rampart and Lapierre Houses. The Anglican Church had seen the number of communicants visiting their missions fall precipitously, and when Reverend Wallis left Rampart House in 1895 there was no immediate attempt made to reopen the station. While activity along the Arctic coast expanded, the interior was in a state of decline. Oddly, it was to take a mineral discovery more than two hundred miles south of Rampart House to revive, if only temporarily, interest in the northern Yukon.

On August 17, 1896, George Carmack, Skookum Jim and Tagish Charlie discovered sizeable deposits of gold along Rabbit (Bonanza) Creek, a tributary of the Klondike River. Within a matter of weeks, virtually every miner in the Yukon River basin had rushed to the site and staked claims. Due to the isolation of the northern "Eldorado," the outside world did not learn of the wealth of the Klondike until the following spring.¹

In the months that followed the announcement of the gold strike, men and women by the thousands laid plans to head north. For most, the trail to the new settlement of Dawson lay over the Chillkoot or White Passes. Others found their
way to the mouth of the Yukon River and then ascended that stream by steamer. For a much smaller number of goldseekers, ingress to the gold fields lay to the west, from the Mackenzie River.

The staging area for this last branch of the gold rush was the growing community of Edmonton. With the announcement of the Bonanza Creek discovery, many people, after consulting maps of the area, presumed that access from that centre was far less difficult than other routes to the Yukon River valley. Picking up on the idea, the Edmonton Chamber of Commerce actively promoted the concept, inviting all would-be gold miners to consider heading north from their city. With the limited information then available, the idea did not seem as absurd as it does in retrospect. Four principle trails were singled out: the "Overland Route": which passed through Peace River Crossing and Fort St. John before branching out to either Fort Nelson or Finlay Forks; the Liard River system first opened by the Hudson's Bay Company in the 1830s and 1840s; the Gravel and Stewart Rivers; and, most important for the present study, the Peel and Porcupine River routes.

The latter alternative totalled approximately 2500 miles, but of that distance, most was represented to be very easy travelling. By boat down the Mackenzie River from Athabasca Landing, travellers could reach the Peel River with very little exertion. From the Peel, three choices were available. Both McDougall and Stony Creek Passes offered access to the upper reaches of the Porcupine River. From there it was another safe boat ride downstream to the Yukon River, where a steamer could be boarded for the final stage of the journey to Dawson. The other more arduous option, which held out the prospect of finding gold along the route, followed a lengthy, up-stream trek along the barely-known Peel and Wind Rivers to the headwaters of the Stewart River, leaving only a short downstream trip to the gold fields.

In 1897-98, more than fifteen hundred men and women set
out from Edmonton for the Yukon River Valley. Of these, slightly over half (785) chose the various water routes, the most popular which was the Peel-Porcupine River option. Although 35 of their number were to die enroute, more than 70 per cent of the "Water-route Klondikers" were to reach their destination.\(^3\)

The first group to attempt one of the northern Yukon passes was the Segers and Hardisty party, which arrived at Arctic Red River in late September 1897. F.A. Hardisty (son of William Hardisty, a former H.B.C. trader active in the northern Yukon) travelled alone by dog team to Fort McPherson and by early November, the entire expedition had been moved to the post in preparation for the coming winter.\(^4\)

Four men from the group, anxious to push on, crossed over the Stony Creek Pass to Lapierre House, where they occupied themselves in the winter by building a boat for the following season's journey. The rest of the party planned to take a boat over McDougall's Pass and wintered at Fort McPherson instead. With little to do until the ice broke up the following spring, two of the men, Hardisty and MacDonald, made a journey to Herschel Island.\(^5\)

Other parties leaving Edmonton during 1897 started later or travelled slower and made it only part way down the Mackenzie by the time winter closed in. Forced to camp at various points along the river, they usually selected sites close to a trading post. In the spring, a deluge of gold-seekers arrived at Fort McPherson, and the first phase of the Klondike Gold Rush through the northern Yukon began.

Stony Creek and McDougall Passes
For the majority of the gold seekers who reached the Peel River, speed was of the essence and the only consideration in selecting a route was the time it took to get supplies across the mountains and onto the Yukon River watershed. There were two
routes available: over the Stony Creek Pass, used by the Hudson's Bay Company from 1846-1893 to haul supplies for their Yukon trade; or over McDougall's Pass, a route discovered by James McDougall in 1872 which had received a well-publicized endorsement from William Ogilvie, a Canadian government surveyor who had been over the pass. The choice of routes was determined largely by the arrival time of the travellers. If they reached the Rat River, a tributary of the Peel which entered that river 20 miles below Fort McPherson, before early July, the stream would still be high enough to allow relatively easy access to the McDougall Pass. Later arrivals were likely to be caught part way up the river by the freeze-up, forcing them to spend the winter in the region. Rather than risk being caught along the Rat River, a number of men resorted instead to the Stony Creek Pass.

Those Klondikers who had wintered along the Mackenzie River arrived early enough to cross the passes easily. Others who left Edmonton in the spring of 1898 had varying degrees of success. Close to 400 descended the Mackenzie and crossed either of the mountain passes during 1898. Another 170, however, as a result of arriving late at the Peel River or being too heavily laden with supplies, were unable to cross over that year, and had to winter at one of the three communities which sprung up in the area. Located about 25 miles up the Rat River, Destruction City received its name from the fact that many of the travellers were forced to cut down their boats at that point to facilitate the crossing. Those arriving late in 1898 built cabins at the site, deferring attempts to cross McDougall's Pass until the following year. Two other groups were caught in the middle of hauling supplies across one of the passes and were forced to build shelters for themselves and pass the winter near the summits of the two trails. Shacktown, a small group of ramshackle cabins, developed near the western end of McDougall's Pass, and lasted
only until the next spring allowed the gold seekers to continue. On the Stony Creek Pass, the travellers were spread out along the route and no specific name was attached to the string of cabins that were built along the trail.7

For one brief period, from the winter of 1897 when a section of the Segers-Hardisty party crossed over the Stony Creek Pass until the summer of 1899, when the last "residents" of Destruction City carried their outfits over McDougall Pass, the transportation networks of the interior of the northern Yukon were once again active. More than four hundred people crossed over the two passes, the largest concentration of non-natives in the history of the region.

After crossing over the mountains, the majority of these gold seekers eagerly pressed on for Dawson City. One party attempted, with tragic results, to prospect along the headwaters of the Porcupine River, but the two men who survived the venture left the area as soon as they were able. (See Chapter 10).8 Once again, the northern Yukon was relegated to its transportation role and no development, beyond the ramshackle huts built in the winter of 1898, resulted from this phase of the Klondike Gold Rush.

Peel River Route
The majority of the men and women who passed through the northern Yukon in 1897-99 chose one of the two passes across the Richardson Mountains. Nearly one hundred others, however, selected a different path. This selection was based not on a desire to make a speedy journey to the Klondike, but on the belief that there was a possibility of discovering gold en-route.

Those would-be miners who headed up the Peel River in the spring of 1898 did so blindly. Only a few men, Bell and Isbister in 1839-1840, James McDougall in 1872, and Count de Sainville in 1893, had travelled along the Peel River above
Fort McPherson. The only map covering any section of the route was one prepared by de Sainville after his scientific examination of the area, but it only contained information on the trail to the mouth of the Wind River.

Only two days journey above Fort McPherson, the stampedeers were forced to cut down their boats to facilitate the difficult tracking required along the Peel River. By September, the fastest boats had reached the mouth of the Wind River, and, as winter was rapidly approaching, the men hastily built shelters. About 70 men assembled a short distance up the Wind River at a site they jokingly referred to as "Wind City." The remainder were strung out along the Peel River, some only 70 miles south of Fort McPherson.9

For a short time, Wind City was a bustling community. The men occupied their time building sleds to haul their supplies over the ice and snow to the headwaters of the Stewart River and its tributaries. As one of its citizens later wrote:

Before its inhabitants deserted it Wind City was a scene of mirth and social enjoyment; Chess, checquer and euchre clubs were formed, dances were held, lectures given on scientific and every other conceivable subject, a code of municipal laws were enacted and the months passed pleasantly and profitably away.10

The scene, however, was hardly as idyllic as this portrayed. The long cold winter and the cramped living quarters caused numerous tensions within the community, incessant rumours of gold strikes kept everyone on edge, and inadequate diets led to a number of serious illnesses and four deaths from scurvy.

Several of the men from Wind City prospected extensively throughout the region, travelling up Hungry Creek, the Little Wind River, Bear River, and along the Wind River itself. All of these ventures proved unsuccessful. The enigmatic G.M. Mitchell, who claimed to have found an eighty dollar gold nugget in the first pan he dipped in the Wind River,11 perpetrated a number of rumours of rich gold strikes. The most important of these had a major find located up the Bear River
and several of the men pondered whether they should head off up the stream or continue on to the Klondike. As with all the other rumours, this one proved false and no one stayed in the region to prospect after the summer of 1899.\(^\text{12}\)

Aided by the Peel River Kutchin who kept the men supplied with meat and who acted as packers for substantial fees, the gold-seekers departed from Wind City and other winter cabins in the middle of January. Transporting their supplies on hand-drawn sleds, they continued upstream, camping along the trail and making numerous caches along the way as they brought their outfits up in shifts. Crossing over a pass which separated the headwaters of the Wind and Stewart Rivers, the men completed their difficult packing operations by April 1899. Encamped at a site they called the "Shipyard," the Klondikers busied themselves building rafts and boats while they waited for the ice to break up. Late in May, the river finally cleared and they departed on the final descent to Dawson. The remainder of the men who followed this route, most of whom had wintered along the Peel River, straggled over the pass during the summer of 1899.\(^\text{13}\)

The Peel and Wind River route had proven to be a major disappointment to the 100 men who utilized it. Despite the concentrated prospecting efforts of a number of men, gold had not been found in paying quantities. The trail had proven to be very difficult and had exacted its toll. One man, Duncan McCallum, had died while attempting to cross an Indian portage, in the middle of winter, and another was drowned when one of the track lines attached to a boat broke, pulling him into the water. Illness also affected a number of others sufficiently to prevent them from continuing on their journey. Altogether, 90 of the 100 men who headed south from Fort McPherson in 1898 succeeded in reaching Dawson, with the remainder either perishing enroute or giving up the struggle and returning to the south.\(^\text{14}\)
Impact on the Region of the Klondike Gold Rush

Despite the short time they were in the area, the five hundred gold-seekers who passed through the northern Yukon between 1897 and 1898 had had a profound impact on the area, particularly its native population. The travellers, anxious only to reach Dawson and/or discover gold, had little consideration for the effect of their actions on the local natives.

The most obvious impact was the tremendous demand for native labour generated by the necessity of packing substantial outfits over difficult terrain. The Indians capitalized on this demand and forced packing rates upward. In 1888, they had received only $7.50 for a trip from Fort McPherson to Lapierre House, but in 1898 the rate stood at $12 per hundred weight. As one gold-seeker observed, however, "Much higher prices were paid by the prospectors. The principal cost was not what the Indians charged so much as what the miners gave away." Prices were similarly high along the Wind River, with a group of men paying two Indians $100 in cash plus sufficient supplies for the round trip to travel to Fort McPherson and pick up the mail for the Wind City miners. Besides their value as packers, the natives also earned a great deal of money providing meat for the prospectors. The natives in the vicinity of Wind City reached an agreement with the miners whereby they would provide game at a rate of eight skins ($4) per caribou and twelve skins ($6) for each moose. Privations in the winter, caused by the shortage of fresh meat, forced prices even higher.

The 1897-98 "rush" constituted the first real contact between the native people of the northern Yukon, principally the Peel River Kutchin, and "civilized" white society. Prior to this period, inter-racial contact had been restricted to fur traders, missionaries and the occasional scientist. The local Indians, financially enriched by their initial meeting with the gold-seekers, were understandably drawn to try and maintain a communication with the free-spending Klondikers.
As the rush died out and the demand for native services declined, large numbers of the Peel River Kutchin headed in the direction of Dawson. Attracted by the atmosphere of that centre and by the high prices paid for provisions and furs, the natives abandoned Fort McPherson. By 1901, the greatest part of the Peel River band was trading out of Dawson and spending at least part of the year in the Indian settlement at Moosehide. This self-imposed "exile" lasted ten to fifteen years before the Indians gradually returned to their traditional habitat along the Peel River. 19

Other effects of the onslaught of Klondikers struck much closer to home. Most of the travellers who entered the region were men, only a few of whom were accompanied by women. Their search for companionship naturally led them to the local native women. Bishop Reeve of the Mackenzie River Diocese wrote that while he expected the influx of miners to affect the "morals of our people," he was surprised at the impact it had. One miner, a doctor, attending a local woman "in his medical capacity...took advantage of her in a moment of weakness to reduce her from virtue." 20

Far more widespread was the effect of diseases introduced into the area in this period. "Buffalo" Jones, an adventurer-hunter who crossed over McDougall Pass in 1898, commented "the white men who had preceeded up had scattered the microbes of 'la grippe' from Edmonton all the way to Destruction City and the Indians along the route were sick, many dying daily." 21 Similarly, Bishop Reeve noted after the gold-seekers had left that "Diarroea and dysentry have decimated the population." 22

Between the illness they spread among the Indians and the number they attracted out of the area through their lavish spending, the Klondikers contributed significantly to the further depopulation of the northern Yukon. More than 300 Peel River Kutchin inhabited the Peel River watershed prior to 1896. Four years later and until at least 1910, some 200 had
foresaken the region for the more attractive centre of Dawson.

As for the stampeders themselves, none who travelled through the northern Yukon struck it rich in Dawson and indeed, only one man, F.M. Robertson who entered via McDougall Pass, is known to have staked a producing claim. For most, the rush to the Klondike had proven fruitless, and many headed south soon after completing their journey. Of those who failed to cross the mountains, about thirty retraced their path to Edmonton and another dozen, seeking a less arduous return, travelled to Herschel Island and headed "outside" aboard a whaling ship.

The Klondike Gold Rush affected the northern Yukon directly for less than two years. In that time, more than 500 gold-seekers crossed from the Mackenzie River basin to the Yukon River watershed along one of three routes which traversed the area. They succeeded in breaking the natives' traditional patterns of life and played a major role in the exodus of the Peel River Kutchin from the region. Despite the efforts of a number of the stampeders, no significant mineral deposits were located and no long term development resulted. As in the past, the northern Yukon was not itself a destination, but merely a by-way, providing access to the lucrative lands that surrounded it.
The Mounted Police on the Arctic Coast

Bishop Bompas, after being appointed Bishop of Selkirk (Yukon), began almost immediately to agitate for Canadian government intervention in the Yukon and, specifically, for the establishment of a police presence in the area to counteract the growing American influence. Although Bompas' emphasis was primarily on the Yukon River, where he was instrumental in having Inspector Constantine of the North West Mounted Police sent to the region to investigate his and others' complaints, he was also aware of the American intrusion into the coastal waters of the northern Yukon and of the effect the whalers were having on the native population of the area. As early as 1891, the Bishop was writing to various government officials to encourage their intervention in what he saw as "contraband" trade.¹

By 1896, the deleterious nature of the Herschel Island trade was becoming more readily apparent, and Bompas repeated his appeal. On June 18, he wrote to the Minister of the Interior that

large quantities of raw Spirits are traded with the neighbouring Natives, both Esquimaux and Indian to the utter ruin of those races. Moreover the Esquimaux have now been raught to distil liquor...Nor is the liquor trade all the mischief. By a laborious and dangerous journey across the Indian country the gold mines on the Yukon River are accessible from the ships and parties of deserters from the ships are common.²

At the same time that reports of the whalers' transgressions were filtering down to Bompas, Inspector Constantine,
now stationed at Fort Cudahy, was receiving similar information. The Canadian government, however, was not willing to act at this time, despite the fact that the whalers were clearly violating Canadian sovereignty.

Comptroller White of the N.W.M.P. tended to discount the reports given to both Bompas and Constantine, believing that "It is difficult to convince the goody-goody people that in the development and settlement of a new country allowances must be made for the excesses of human behaviour." Commitments elsewhere, particularly in the Klondike Gold Fields and along the route between Skagway and Dawson, together with the less than enthusiastic attitude of some upper echelon officers, prevented any action on this matter until 1903. In that year, the government finally decided that an assertion of Canadian sovereignty was necessary to prevent "unfounded and troublesome claims" being made concerning the area in question. This decision to "protect" Canadian territory was made at the time of the Alaska Boundary settlement which went against Canada, and the Herschel Island expedition can be seen as a "reflection" of this larger diplomatic dispute.

In 1903, Inspector Constantine and Sergeant Fitzgerald were sent to reconnoiter the island. Constantine returned after he reached Fort McPherson, but he sent Fitzgerald on to complete the mission. Leaving the post, Fitzgerald headed straight for Herschel Island, and after a short stay he returned to Fort McPherson for supplies aboard a small boat borrowed from C.E. Whittaker, the Anglican missionary. On the return voyage, the boat was wrecked and the two men of the Herschel Island detachment (Constable Sutherland accompanied Fitzgerald) were forced to pass the winter in a frame hut owned by the Pacific Steam Whaling Company, relying on supplies purchased from the whaling ships.

Fitzgerald had little difficulty with the supposedly intransigent whalers. They either evaded his administration by passing Herschel Island and heading directly to the whaling grounds or they paid the necessary customs duties and obeyed
Canadian laws. The whaling companies also found the police force useful in controlling their own crews, and since the whaling industry was already in decline, the whalers were travelling far to the east in search of game. Herschel Island rapidly became nothing more than a transhipment port.

Like most of the police officers stationed along the Arctic coast, Fitzgerald tended to discount the numerous tales he had heard about the whalers. It was particularly true of Whittaker who was "disliked by both the whalers and the natives." He wrote that:

I cannot reconcile the stories [concerning the whalers] with the eager manner with which the Esquimaux greets the arrival of the ships and go on board shaking hands with everyone they meet.8

Certainly Fitzgerald would have found it difficult to criticize the whalers' moral standards when he himself had taken a native wife in the "custom of the country."9

It was not until Whittaker's departure in 1906 that the police were able to secure permanent quarters on Herschel Island. The various officers stationed at the island continued to enforce as many laws as was practicable, and were largely successful in curbing the liquor trade and preventing the Eskimo women from boarding the whaling ships. By this time, however, the Arctic whaling industry was all but ended and only a few vessels, most of which were principally trading ships, continued to ply the coastal waters of the northern Yukon. Inspector Jennings wrote in 1910 that

Capt. Cottle has spent many winters at Herschel Island and he stated that he had never seen the island so quiet and orderly. He often remarked the contrast between now and the old days when many ships wintered there, liquor abundant and vice rampant.10

Jennings was commenting more on the decline of the whaling industry than on the effectiveness of the R.N.W.M.P.

Herschel Island became, after the departure of the whaling fleet, the administrative centre for police activities in the
western Arctic. Patrols from the island to the Mackenzie River delta and Fort McPherson were conducted on a regular basis to maintain contact with the natives of the region. The expansion of the fur trade onto the Arctic coast in the 1920s and 1930s temporarily led to an increased importance for the police, as they were required to enforce game laws and collect customs duties.

With Canadian sovereignty over the western Arctic firmly established and with American interest in the area steadily declining, the R.C.M.P. was transformed from a "frontier" force, commissioned to assert Canadian territorial claims by extending the force of Canadian laws, to a "traditional" law enforcement agency, dealing primarily with its own nationals. In this respect, it is interesting to note that in December 1923, the first Arctic court was convened at Herschel Island, with Judge Dubuc presiding. The highlight of the session was the murder trial of two Eskimos, Akikomiak and Tatamigaua, accused of killing R.C.M.P. Corporal Doak and Hudson's Bay Company employee Otto Binder. Both men were found guilty and, after several lengthy delays, were executed on Herschel Island. 11

Nominally, the R.C.M.P. detachment remained at Herschel Island until 1964, but by the early 1930s, the native population had largely left the area for the Mackenzie River delta, leaving only a few fur trade company employees on the island. The police hired a caretaker to look after their facilities and provide supplies to destitute natives, pulling the remainder of the detachment back to the Mackenzie River. The area was visited occasionally by police patrols from Aklavik or Baillie Island, but for the most part, police activities along the Yukon's Arctic coast had ended. 12 Beginning in 1928, the R.C.M.P. vessel St. Roch stopped occasionally at the island during its Arctic patrols and passed several winters in Pauline Cove. During the ship's two memorable voyages through the North-West Passage in the 1940s, Herschel Island
served as an important depot. The expansion of the use of the aeroplane further negated the value of maintaining a costly establishment on Herschel Island to service an ever-dwindling native population.

The final police activity on the island is indicative of the changing nature of the R.C.M.P.'s role in the western Arctic. From 1960-63, the force operated a store to serve the local Eskimo and Kutchin population. As part of a larger program to encourage native self-sufficiency, the store was run by the natives, with the resident police officer acting solely in a supervisory capacity. In 1964, however, there was no longer a sufficient number of local residents even to support activity of this magnitude and the Herschel Island detachment was permanently closed.

The history of the R.C.M.P.'s activity along the Arctic coast was, in reality, very brief. Although the station was open for more than sixty years (1903-1964), its chief purpose was to protect Canadian territory and citizens from American encroachment. This threat lasted only six years. By 1910, the whaling fleet had departed, and the region settled into a much more sedate existence. With the Canadian/American frontier "clash" over, the police turned primarily into an administrative unit, occupied more with their various civilian duties (customs agent, tax collector, mining recorder, and Eskimo agent) than they were with the legal aspects of their mandate. Although Herschel Island served briefly as the legal centre of the western Arctic, that position was soon usurped by Aklavik and later Inuvik. Between 1930 and 1964, the R.C.M.P. provided only a minimal level of service to the area, and eventually terminated their permanent ties to the area when they closed their Herschel Island detachment.

The R.C.M.P. in the Interior
Having exhibited a considerable reluctance to become involved
along the Yukon's Arctic coast, the N.W.M.P. was even slower to expand its operations along the Porcupine River. In 1910, Inspector Jennings, stationed at Fort McPherson:

learned that traders had come among the natives bringing goods from Alaska, duty unpaid, and also intoxicants; that many individual miners were located in this district; and I have received complaints of theft from both white men and natives.14

To ascertain the validity of the various reports, Jennings made a patrol through the region in that year. He suggested the implementation of an annual patrol, but he found little to indicate that a permanent establishment was necessary.

The first attempt to induce the N.W.M.P. to enter the region had actually occurred five years earlier, following the report that gold had been discovered in the northern Yukon. The information proved false and no action was taken, but in 1911, following Jennings trip, the force was pulled temporarily to Rampart House for rather tragic reasons. The International Boundary Commission had been conducting a joint U.S./Canada survey of the 141st meridian. When the survey crews arrived at Rampart House, they discovered a case of smallpox among the local Indians. J.D. Craig, the leader of the Canadian survey party, immediately ordered that a quarantine be established to prevent the spread of the disease. Dr. Smith, a physician attached to the American crew, was placed in charge.15

Anxious to contain the disease, the Yukon government requested that the R.N.W.M.P. send an officer to enforce the quarantine. Only two days after the initial warning had reached Dawson, Constable Fyfe had been despatched to Rampart House along with a male nurse and 300 vaccine points.16 All smallpox patients were isolated on a small island in the middle of the Porcupine River, but the disease continued to spread. On September 7, 1911, a three week old baby died, being the only local fatality. By March the following year, 98 cases had been recorded, of which 35 had recovered and been discharged. The quarantine ended that spring and Constable
Fyfe returned to Dawson. 17

After the small-pox outbreak, Dan Cadzow, the resident trader at Rampart House, began to agitate for a permanent police force. He claimed that he was receiving no protection from American competitors who imported trading goods duty free, and that the government stood to gain considerable revenues from the imposition of a fur export tax. Cadzow soon won the Commissioner of Customs, J. McDougald, over to his side. 18 George Black, Commissioner of the Yukon, was somewhat more sceptical of Cadzow's motives, and he wrote to A. Thompson, Yukon Member of Parliament, that

As I see it, this agitation for customs officers at the boundary by Cadzow is not for the purposes of securing revenues for the Dominion but rather to shut out any business competition in his trading business. 19

Thompson agreed with Black and attempted to have the sending of the detachment postponed, but on November 19, 1913, it was finally decided to send Sergeant Dempster to open the new Rampart House station. 20

The R.C.M.P. activities along the Porcupine River related primarily to civilian issues and only occasionally to the force's prime legal authority. In 1914, for example, Dempster was appointed as the mining recorder for the district in order to facilitate the expected rush of claimants to the northern Yukon gold strike, which never occurred. 21 Additional activities included the commissioned collection of customs duties and export taxes, the sale of hunting, trading and trapping licenses, and the administration of the Old Crow Flats Group Trapping area.

In 1927, a series of incidents provided striking evidence of the R.C.M.P.'s weakness in minor legal affairs. The Indians of the Old Crow reserve had taken to gambling on a large scale, and despite the remonstrations of the local Anglican clergyman, A.C. McCallum, Corporal Thornwaithe was all but powerless to act since

the warnings given by other members of the Police had
no effect as the Indians knew he had to be tried by a Magistrate before he could be sent to jail.22

With the nearest court several hundred miles away, the police would only arrest individuals for serious offenses, rather than indiscretions like gambling. To alleviate the problems, the Canadian government, by Order in Council, appointed McCallum as the Justice of the Peace with sufficient powers to try minor legal cases, thus removing one of the force's major weaknesses in the area.23

In 1928, following the example of the fur traders and the Anglican Church, the R.C.M.P. moved from Rampart House to Old Crow. The police remained an important legal and administrative force in the area and were, in fact, the only official government representative in the northwest Yukon until the 1960s. With the expansion of family allowances and other forms of government assistance, the R.C.M.P.'s administrative functions were expanded even further, as the Old Crow detachment was responsible for these programs.

From 1913 to the present day, then, the R.C.M.P. have been the principle government representatives in the northern Yukon. As such, their duties ranged far beyond purely legal matters to include wild-life management, social services, business and mining affairs, and, as evidenced by the 1911 epidemic, health concerns. The assertion of Canadian sovereignty, despite Cadzow's claims, played only a minor role in the force's activities in the interior, and the organization concerned itself primarily with the protection of the native population.

Northern Police Patrols

In 1903, Sergeant Fitzgerald had been dispatched to Herschel Island to open an Arctic detachment. His superior officers, somewhat concerned about the party's progress and safety, decided in the autumn of 1904 to send a patrol from Dawson City
to Fort McPherson. Anxious to follow an all-Canadian route, the patrol was sent via the trail utilized by the Peel River Indians on their regular visits to Dawson. Although the region was not, as Inspector Wood suggested, "a terra incognita both to the Indians and trappers of the Peel and Mackenzie River districts," it had been traversed infrequently and only a few maps of questionable reliability were available.\textsuperscript{25}

Under the command of Corporal Hildegard, the six man expedition left Dawson in late December 1904. Following the Twelve-mile, Blackstone, Hart, Wind and Peel Rivers, the party was successful in reaching Fort McPherson and returned a short time later to Dawson with mail from Herschel Island.\textsuperscript{26} This excursion was only the first in what was to be a long, illustrious and, in one case tragic, series of police patrols throughout the northern Yukon.

As the headquarters of the Western Arctic sub-division, Herschel Island was the focal point for a number of these patrols. Regular trips were made, both by dog team and by boat, between the island and Fort McPherson (and later Aklavik). To assist the crews of these excursions, a number of cabins were built along the route. Three of these shelters, Kay Point, Shingle Point, and Moose Channel—each one day's journey from the next—were erected east of the Mackenzie River.\textsuperscript{27}

The other patrol conducted on a regular basis was in effect a continuation of Hildegard's original trip from Dawson to Fort McPherson. Conducted primarily to provide mail service for Herschel Island and the Mackenzie River delta and to maintain contact with the isolated police detachments, the patrols also proved valuable to the area residents, both native and white. With the exception of one year (1905-06),\textsuperscript{28} when the patrol proceeded via Mayo, Braine Pass and the Wind River, the original trail was followed. Knowing the route the police would be travelling and knowing the approximate date that the patrol would pass, the locals would either arrange to be somewhere along the route at the appropriate time or,
as A.A. Knorr did in 1920, would leave a note on a stick along-side the trail. On several occasions, the police were required to give emergency supplies to starving natives of whites. The most notable example was in 1910, when Sergeant Dempster encountered the impoverished Waugh and Waren Company at their mine on the Wind River and gave them what few supplies the patrol could spare.

It was along this route in 1911 that the Fitzgerald patrol ended in total disaster. But despite the tragedy and the subsequent uproar about the seemingly "useless" northern patrols, the Dawson-McPherson trail was followed on a more or less regular basis until the mid-1960s, long after the aeroplane and wireless communication had rendered the principle purpose of the patrol obsolete.

Beyond these two regular patrols, the R.C.M.P. made numerous other excursions throughout the northern Yukon for a variety of reasons. From Herschel Island, a series of short journeys were made each year to contact as many of the local natives as possible and to place provisions in the police cabins along the Herschel-McPherson route. In 1910, for example, the four-man island detachment covered, by water and dog team, more than fifty-seven hundred miles in the course of the year.

The police conducted two other types of excursions in the northern Yukon. The most important, in a legal sense, were the "informational" patrols. In order to assert their authority over the region, the force had to make its presence and its interest in the area known. In addition, the police had only sketchy information on large sections of the region and desired more precise knowledge in order to be in a position to take action when required.

Two "informational" patrols occurred in 1910, when Sergeant Acland followed the Porcupine River-Stony Creek Pass route from Fort Yukon to Fort McPherson, and Inspector Jennings travelled by dog team from the latter post to Rampart
House and from there to Herschel Island. Although Jennings had been led to believe that considerable illegal activity, including importation of liquor and non-payment of customs duties, had occurred in the interior, his journey dispelled any notions that a detachment was immediately necessary in the region. That same year, Jennings travelled aboard a whaling ship from Herschel Island to Seattle, Washington, providing the force with valuable information on the Arctic coast of Alaska.  

In 1917, anxious to locate an all-Canadian route from the Porcupine River to Dawson, the R.N.W.M.P. commissioned Sergeant Dempster to attempt the journey. Travelling through the heart of the formidable Ogilvie Mountain Range, a region which had never been properly explored, Dempster made the trip in less than three weeks. Indians that the party met along the route expressed considerable surprise on their appearance, claiming "that this trail has never been travelled over by white men or Indians, although different parts are travelled by different Indians." Despite the relative speed with which Dempster covered the 250 mile distance, the difficult nature of the terrain precluded the trail's future use and no further patrols were sent in this direction.  

The final type of patrol was undertaken for "special" purposes. These included mail delivery, the provision of emergency relief for starving or sick people, and the apprehension of criminals. In the northern Yukon, the mails accounted for the greatest number of extra patrols. In 1915-16, for example two patrols were conducted between Rampart House and Herschel Island, primarily to provide mail service for the Canadian Arctic Expedition.  

Three years later, V. Stefansson fell ill from typhoid while at Herschel Island and a special patrol was sent to carry the scientist to the nearest hospital which was at Fort Yukon.  

In conducting these various patrols through the region, the officers of the R.C.M.P. endured considerable hardship, of which the "Lost Patrol" is only the most striking example.
In 1922, for example, E. Pasley was leading an expedition from Rampart House to Herschel Island. In the typically self-deprecating prose which characterizes the patrol reports, Pasley wrote that shortly after passing Stokes' Point:

We ran into a storm after we had cached our tent and stove and extra dog feed, being a day and night in a snow-bank with no means of making fire, and we all froze our hands and feet; we stayed two days at the Island and made the return journey in 8 days.36

Most of the patrols were conducted in the dead of winter (December to February), and the parties involved had to endure consistently harsh conditions.

The police patrols through the northern Yukon served a number of important purposes. They asserted Canadian sovereignty over otherwise unoccupied territory, provided a means of establishing a police presence in sparcely populated regions, served as a valuable emergency service in case of hardship or illness, increased government knowledge of previously little-known districts and constituted the single most important means of controlling the widely-dispersed population in the area. The importance of these patrols should not be underestimated. In conjunction with the Herschel Island and Rampart House detachments, they provided the R.C.M.P. with the only possible method of carrying out their wide-ranging mandate in the northern Yukon.

The "Lost Patrol"
During the R.C.M.P.'s more than seventy-five years of activity in the northern Yukon, two incidents, the "Lost Patrol" of 1911 and the manhunt for the "Mad Trapper of Rat River," stand out above all others. The importance of these events, both for the northern Yukon and for the R.C.M.P. dictate that they should be given special attention.

In December of 1910, Inspector F.J. Fitzgerald departed from Fort McPherson on the annual Dawson-McPherson patrol.
This excursion was unlike its predecessors. Fitzgerald was travelling the route in reverse, leaving from Fort McPherson instead of Dawson. He had also hired ex-Constable Carter, a resident of McPherson, to act as his guide, despite the fact that Carter had been over the route only once before and then from the opposite direction.\(^{37}\)

On February 20, 1911, an Indian who had left McPherson with the patrol and who had been discharged enroute, arrived at Dawson. The man reported that Fitzgerald had long since left the Peel River. The Dawson detachment was immediately concerned, but it was felt that if the patrol had run into trouble, they would have turned around and headed back to the fort. After waiting a week, it was decided to send a party, led by Sergeant Dempster, to search for the patrol.\(^{38}\)

Spurred on by the importance of his journey, Dempster headed over the regular trail. Beginning the search at the Hart River divide, the party found the first signs of the missing patrol on the Wind River—remnants of a night camp. As they continued north, they found further vestiges of the expedition, and Dempster felt confident that the party had returned safely to Fort McPherson.\(^{39}\) On March 20, only 50 or 60 miles from the fort, the searchers found Fitzgerald's dispatch bag in "Colin's cabin." Continuing down the Peel River, the search party came upon the bodies of the first two members of the missing patrol. The men, Constable Kinney and Taylor, lay side-by-side near a burned out fire. Taylor had committed suicide. The following morning (March 21), the bodies of Fitzgerald and Carter were found ten miles downstream. After covering the bodies, Dempster continued on to Fort McPherson with news of the tragedy.\(^{40}\)

From Fitzgerald's diary, it is clear that Carter was unable to locate the Hart River pass and, after wasting many days and most of their provisions in a fruitless search, they were forced to turn back. On January 17, Fitzgerald wrote in his dairy:
We have now only 10 pounds of flour and 8 pounds of bacon and some dried fish. My last hope is gone and the only thing I can do is to return, and kill some of the dogs to feed the others and ourselves.14

On February 3, only 100 miles from Fort McPherson and with only four dogs left, Fitzgerald was still confident that they would return successfully. The next two days, with temperatures of -52° and -48°, proved too much for the emaciated men. The final entry in the Inspector's diary, which reported that frostbite had become endemic throughout the party, was made on February 5, apparently only a day or two before the first two men died.42

Numerous explanations were advanced to account for the tragedy, including the hiring of the inexperienced Carter, the exhaustion of men and dogs who had travelled from Herschel Island before continuing on toward Dawson, and the eating of dog livers, which apparently made the men very ill.43 The R.N.W.M.P., however, wanted to keep the matter quiet until a thorough investigation could be made. C.E. Whittaker, the missionary at Fort McPherson, ensured that this would not happen. Whittaker obtained Fitzgerald's diary and wrote a highly critical letter about the expedition to Bishop Stringer, who in turn passed on the information to interested parties in the south.44

The police were subjected to vigorous criticism from a number of sources, primarily southern newspapers, who questioned the value of the dangerous northern patrols. Stefansson, as usual convinced that his own method of travel was the only one suited for northern conditions, entered the fray, claiming that if the officers had known how to live off the land they would still be alive.45 In response to the criticism, the police attempted to justify the patrols on the grounds of the "Desirability of Canada asserting her sovereignty over every foot of the Far North."46

The real drama of the efforts of the search party seemed to have been forgotten. In forty-two days, the Dempster party
had travelled from Dawson to McPherson and back and had conducted an extensive investigation on the outward journey. It has been intimated, primarily by Whittaker, that Fitzgerald had cut back on supplies in an attempt to set a speed record for the patrol. It is more than a little ironic, therefore, the party sent to find Fitzgerald were the ones to set the new mark.

The "Lost Patrol" and the attending controversy tarnished the R.C.M.P.'s hitherto flawless reputation in the Canadian North. The criticism levelled at Fitzgerald in particular and the force in general was taken very seriously within the organization. It is important to note, however, that the police realized such occurrences, although unfortunate, were part of their northern work. One high-ranking officer wrote in April 1911:

This is the most serious catastrophe that the Force has experienced in many a long day. We have been making long and dangerous trips in the Winter without accident. This comes to remind us that the work in the Far North is dangerous to a degree.47

Patrols in the northern Yukon, far from ceasing after the 1911 disaster, increased in subsequent years, blanketing virtually the entire region. The "Lost Patrol" had pointed out the dangers inherent in northern travel, but the need still existed, and the force responded in kind.

The Mad Trapper of Rat River
The hunt for Albert Johnson involved one of the few important examples of "true" police work in the northern Yukon. Beyond the obvious infringements by the whalers at Herschel Island, crime in the area remained on a very small scale. Although minor cases of gambling, theft and the sale of liquor were reported, few serious cases came to the attention of the police. In 1932, however, Albert Johnson rafted down the Peel River to Fort McPherson.
Virtually nothing is known of Johnson's life prior to his arrival at McPherson, although several investigators have traced his whereabouts to Dease Lake, Ross River and the Mayo area. The first report of Johnson reached the police in July 1931, when a "Strange man...well supplied with money" arrived at Fort McPherson. Constable Millen from Arctic Red River was sent to visit Johnson, but the interview provided no useful information on the introverted trapper. Johnson, drawing on a seemingly inexhaustible supply of cash, purchased an entire outfit from local traders and began trapping on the Rat River.

At Christmas, several Indians reported to the Arctic Red River detachment that Johnson had been interfering with their traplines. Constable King and Special Constable Bernard were sent to investigate the complaints. When they arrived at Johnson's cabin, located 16 miles up the Rat River, the trapper refused to talk to the officers, drawing his shutters and locking the door. King and Bernard, unsure of the man's motives or intentions, decided to return to Aklavik for further instructions.

Inspector Eames of the Aklavik detachment issued a search warrant and sent an armed, four-man party to return to the cabin. When Constable King again approached the building, he was shot and wounded by Johnson. Constable McDowell, renowned for his skill with a dog team, loaded King on his sleigh and, after a 20 hour trip, delivered the man to the Anglican Mission Hospital at Aklavik. Obviously, the situation was more serious, and Eames was forced to take extraordinary measures to arrest Johnson.

With a force of eight men and a supply of dynamite, Eames headed for the trapper's cabin, which was called, not altogether facetiously, Fort Johnson. The first attempt to rush the cabin was repulsed by Johnson's steady and accurate fire. Hampered by the harsh weather, the party continued their assault, heaving heated dynamite at the cabin, without success. After a second frontal attack was repelled and with
supplies running low, the officers were forced to return to Aklavik. It is interesting to note that Johnson's cabin was constructed to withstand exactly the kind of assault levelled at it by the police. The floor had been dug more than three feet below ground and loopholes had been drilled through specially re-enforced walls to allow for free firing.

While the main party regrouped in Aklavik, Constable Millen and a trapper named Garlund were sent to see if Johnson was still in his cabin. The two men were joined by the re-outfitted Eames' party several days later. By this time, however, Johnson had abandoned his cabin and had opted for the security of the Richardson Mountains. On January 30, 1932, four men succeeded in cornering the trapper in the hills close to his cabin. In the ensuing gun battle, Constable Millen was shot and killed, Johnson escaped, and the police were once again forced to withdraw.

On February 2, the police party, by now consisting of 11 men, once again left Aklavik. The supply problems, which had forced their premature withdrawal on earlier occasions, ended three days later when the famous bush pilot, W.R. (Wop) May joined the man hunt. The ranks of the searching party were further enlarged on February 8 when Constable May from Old Crow and Special Constable Moses, responding to a radio appeal, joined the Eames group.

Carrying only his rifles, money and his ever-present kidney pills, Johnson had succeeded in crossing the Richardson Mountains, and his tracks were detected near Lapierre House. The police, who had not expected him to head west were forced to split. Wop May, in addition to his valuable supply services, also proved indispensible to the search. On February 14, he located Johnson's trail on the Bell River and the hunt was re-oriented in that direction.

At noon on February 17, the patrol finally caught up with Johnson along the Eagle River. Special Constable Hersey was wounded in the battle but May, who observed the final con-
frontation from the air, was able to observe, "Johnson, I could plainly see as I flashed past, was lying face down in the snow, his right arm out-flung grasping his rifle. I knew as I looked that he was dead." Hersey, who had been shot in the lung, was loaded into May's plane and was quickly flown to the Aklavik Hospital.

The mystery of the "Mad Trapper of Rat River" has never been unravelled. Johnson's true identity is still unknown, as is the reason for his unprovoked attack on the R.C.M.P. The man-hunt, which resulted in two deaths (Millen and Johnson) and two serious woundings (King and Hersey) had elicited aid throughout the north, with hunters and trappers volunteering to join the search. Wop May's involvement, the first such use of the aeroplane in the north, greatly expedited the search and it is doubtful they would have caught Johnson without his assistance.

The "Lost Patrol" and the "Mad Trapper of Rat River" were the most publicized of the R.C.M.P.'s activities in the northern Yukon. While one brought into question the judiciousness of one of the force's officers and raised doubts about the value of the northern patrols, the other brought considerable praise to the police, who were lauded for their tenacity in seeking out a dangerous and violent man under very trying conditions. Of course, while noteworthy, these incidents did not represent the bulk of the R.C.M.P.'s work in the northern Yukon, most of which was rather mundane, but nonetheless essential to northern administration and the health and safety of the region's inhabitants.
In the first years of European activity in the northern Yukon, scientific investigation was closely allied with geographical exploration. The Simpson and Dease expedition to the Arctic coast in 1836 was the first, and perhaps the best, example of the union of these two endeavours. Thomas Simpson, who was appointed the expedition's scientific officer, had recently graduated with a Master of Arts degree from the University of Aberdeen, and was well versed in the natural sciences. Although the expedition's fame rests largely on the fact that they were able to fill in the "gap" left after Franklin's 1826 voyage, it is important to note as well that Simpson conducted a series of primarily botanical observations in the regions he visited.¹

When Simpson and Dease were leaving the north in 1839 after spending two years exploring the east of the Coppermine River, they met a young Hudson's Bay Company clerk, Alexander Isbister, who had recently been assigned to assist John Bell in his attempt to cross the Richardson Mountains. Isbister, outfitted with two compasses, Bell's watch and a pocket sextant and a spirit level given him by Simpson, undertook a survey of the Peel River region.²

Diverted from the task for a year by the more pressing demands of the fur trade, he was able to conduct his investigations in the winter of 1840-41. Isbister retraced Bell's 1839 trail up the Peel River, travelled to the eastern end of McDougall's pass, which neither he nor Bell recognized as a viable means of crossing over the mountains, and spent a considerable amount of time along the lower Peel River. Char-
ting the region as he went, Isbister paid particular attention to the natural history and the prominent geographical features of the area. While he had obviously concentrated more on science than on exploration, Isbister's travels were intended to provide the Hudson's Bay Company with more accurate information on the area east of the Richardson Mountains. Despite certain errors in his report mapping, he was generally successful in that endeavour.3

Before 1920, four other expeditions either centred in, or passing through, the northern Yukon combined exploration and science. The first was conducted by a Frenchman, Edouard de Sainville between 1889 and 1894. Travelling extensively throughout the eastern section of the region, he provided the first accurate map of the Peel River above Fort McPherson, on which reached as far as the mouth of the Wind River. Additionally, he travelled with another scientist (Frank Russell) to Herschel Island in 1894, and he probably surveyed the upper reaches of the Porcupine River, although he left no charts to commemorate these travels.4 The explorer/scientist made numerous observations on meteorology and native customs, but his primary contribution to the area was his map of the Peel River, which was used by gold-seekers in 1898-1899 who followed that river in an attempt to reach the Klondike.5

Amundsen and the Gjoa Expedition
Another expedition conducted for both scientific and exploratory purposes was led by Roald Amundsen between 1903 and 1906. Aboard the Gjoa, Amundsen's Norwegian party had three principle aims: to locate the magnetic north pole; to conduct a series of magnetic observations throughout the north pole; and, the most famous aspect of their voyage, to navigate through the North-West Passage. Entering the inland waterway through Lancaster Sound in August, 1903, the expedition spent two winters at Gjoa Haven on King William Island. Two years
after they entered the Canadian Arctic, they departed on the final leg of their historic voyage. It was this last segment that was to bring them to the northern Yukon.\textsuperscript{6}

At King Point, approximately one third of the way from Shingle Point to Herschel Island, the Gjoa was beset in ice. Realizing that no further progress was possible that season and happy to have the company of Christian Sten, a fellow Norwegian who was guarding the Bonanza, a whaling ship that had been wrecked by ice, Amundsen decided to pass the third winter at that site.\textsuperscript{7} Building two small houses out of driftwood, one to serve as a shelter for the men and the other as a conservatory for their continued magnetic observations, the expedition settled in for the winter. The small camp was visited frequently by Arctic travellers, including the Herschel Island missionary and numerous Eskimos. Several native families moved onto the site, and the "colony" had soon expanded to 20 bodies.\textsuperscript{8}

Late in September, Amundsen made the first of his excursions to Herschel Island. Enjoying a cordial welcome from whalers and missionaries alike, the scientist was particularly pleased to receive a letter from home, even though it was over a year and a half old. After five days at the settlement, Amundsen returned to King Point.\textsuperscript{9}

Remaining for only a short stay at the winter colony he left again for Herschel Island carrying a number of letters from the other members of the expedition which he hoped to have sent south for him. On the first day out from King Point, Amundsen ran into a local native named Jimmy who had been hired to take the whalers' mail to Fort Youcon. Anxious to get word to the "outside" world of the successful completion of their voyage, the scientist decided to accompany the Eskimo. At Herschel Island, the two men were joined by Captain Mogg, a veteran whaler, and Kappa, an Alaskan Eskimo married to Jimmy.\textsuperscript{10}

The party left early on the morning of October 24, following the Herschel Island (later Firth) River south along the
traditional Indian-Eskimo pre-contact trading route. Amundsen, who had spent more than two years in the treeless Arctic, anxiously anticipated the sight of the first fir. When at last they happened upon a scraggly little sample, the scientist felt:

a wonderful sensation, reminding me that we were now out of the Polar regions and on more homely human ground; at that moment I could have left everything that was in my charge and scrambled up the rock to catch hold of that crooked stem and draw in the scent of the fir tree and the woods.11

On the 28th, they crossed over the divide and onto the headwaters of the Coleen River. Ten days later, Amundsen met his first North American Indian. Taken in by American folk-lore, he expected to see "a copper-coloured fellow emerge, with feathers in his hair, swinging his tomahawk over his head and yelling 'ugh!' to us." To his surprise, they appeared much more like "a couple of peasants from the Norwegian highlands" than the noble savages he had envisaged.12

Arriving at Fort Youcon on November 20, Amundsen was disappointed to find that there was no telegraph station there and that he would have to travel an additional two hundred miles to Eagle City to send his messages. Hiring an Indian to replace Jimmy and Kapp, both of whom remained at the fort, Mogg and Amundsen arrived at Eagle City at the end of November. After spending two months at the settlement and having received numerous telegrams and letters from home, he departed on the return trip on February 3. Travelling by way of Rampart House, Amundsen reboarded the Gjoa on March 12, 1906.13

In his absence, Lieutenant Hansen and Gustav Wiick had continued the meteorological and magnetic observations. When the commander returned, however, he found that Wiick had fallen ill. Despite Amundsen's best efforts (the doctor from Herschel Island was unable to come due to illness at the settlement), his condition continued to deteriorate and, after a brief rally, Wiick died on March 31, 1906. Unable to bury
their comrade in the frozen earth, the men built a coffin for the body and left it in the outer room of their shelter. In the spring, it was decided to use the makeshift observatory as Wiick's grave, and on May 9, the body was laid to rest. It was subsequently moved inland by the R.N.W.M.P. when erosion threatened the original site.

On July 2, after placing a monument to mark their expedition, the crew cast off. The vessel finally succeeded in passing through a narrow channel in the ice on July 10, 1906. After several attempts to proceed west of Herschel Island, the Gjoa pulled out of Pauline Cove for the final time on August 10. Their journey along the Arctic coast was slow and uneventful and Amundsen was able to turn his vessel south down Bering Strait on the last day of that month. Receiving a tumultuous welcome at Nome, the expedition quickly headed south to warmer climates and to well-deserved acclaim.

The principal accomplishment of Amundsen's expedition, including the identification of the magnetic pole, the charting of the eastern coast of Victoria Island, the scientific observations in the western Arctic, and the successful navigation of the North-West passage, were all completed before the expedition reached King Point. In fact, their winter at King Point was not planned but was, rather, the result of an unusually early freeze-up. The Gjoa's crew, however, made the most of their unanticipated stay by continuing their scientific observations and travelling extensively throughout the region. Like Stefansson, who met the expedition just as it was leaving Herschel Island, Amundsen was more concerned with the central Arctic than the northern Yukon. The main impact of the Amundsen expedition on the area is that it, temporarily, focussed public attention on the region after Amundsen had sent word of the successful navigation of the North-West Passage.

Of the expeditions combining science and exploration, the most insignificant was that conducted by Alfred Harrison. The
same year that Amundsen arrived at King Point, Harrison drifted down the Mackenzie River. The purpose of his privately sponsored expedition was to locate a "Polar Continent" believed to lie somewhere off the Arctic coast of North America. Travelling from Fort McPherson to Herschel Island in February 1906, he conducted a quick survey of that island. After a series of unsuccessful surveys in the area, he returned to Herschel Island late that same year. Meeting Stefansson at the island, Harrison joined with the young ethnographer and travelled with him as far as Shingle Point. Leaving Stefansson, he continued on to Fort McPherson, where he purchased an outfit for the following winter. Harrison passed the winter of 1906-07 among the Eskimos in the vicinity of the Eskimo Lakes, and in June 1907, departed for the south by way of the Mackenzie River.

Although his expedition proved quite unsuccessful, Harrison nonetheless left the area confident that he had learned enough about Arctic survival and travel to plan a second expedition, but it never materialized. Harrison actually had very little to do with the northern Yukon, resorting to the area only when in need of supplies or transportation. The scientific observations which fill his account of the expedition and which covered botany, topography, geography and native customs, relate primarily to other areas. Indeed, most of his comments on Herschel Island and the Yukon relate to the whalers and their difficulties in securing provisions in 1906. Harrison did, however, conduct a brief survey of the island and offered a few comments on the flora and fauna of the Yukon's Arctic coast.

Vilhjalmur Stefansson

The final series of scientific/exploratory ventures involving the northern Yukon were conducted between 1906 and 1918 by Vilhjalmur Stefansson. Canadian born of Icelandic descent,
Stefansson was easily the most controversial person to enter the Canadian north. The last man to discover a major land mass when he located several Arctic islands, he attempted to popularize the concept of the "Friendly Arctic," suggesting that any trained, capable man could easily live off the natural resources of the north. His actions, attitudes and opinions during this period of activity in the north and his subsequent public pronouncements following his northern ventures were to win him plaudits in some corners while inducing animosity in others.

As part of the Anglo-American or "Leffingwell-Mikkelson" expedition established to study the "Blond Eskimos" of Victoria Island, Stefansson descended the Mackenzie River and then travelled to Herschel Island in June of 1906. That winter, he travelled extensively along the coast, joining Alfred Harrison at Eskimo Lakes for a short time then journeying to the west, where he met with the remainder of his party at Flaxman Island. Distressed by the manner in which the expedition was organized and financed, Stefansson decided to abandon it. Travelling to Fort Youcon by way of Fort McPherson, McDougall's pass and the Porcupine River, he returned to Seattle in the summer of 1907.

After arranging to have a second venture sponsored by the American Museum of Natural History and the Geological Survey of Canada, Stefansson, accompanied by Rudolph Anderson, returned to the Arctic in 1908. Entering the region via the same route followed on the previous excursion, the two men separated at Herschel Island, both heading east where they wintered among the Eskimos along the Alaskan coast. Stopping shortly at the island the following year, the men continued east, spending the winter of 1909-10, in Franklin and Langdon Bays. Making only infrequent trips to Herschel Island for supplies, Stefansson and Anderson continued their studies in the Coronation Gulf region until March of 1912. In that month, Stefansson travelled by sled along the Arctic coast to
Point Barrow, with Anderson, encumbered with the numerous collections made by the expedition, following behind by ship.  

Stefansson's final expedition through the northern Yukon, entitled the Canadian Arctic Expedition, was also his largest and most controversial. Financed entirely by the Canadian government and including a number of employees of the Geological Survey of Canada, the venture was actually divided into two divisions. The first, headed by Stefansson and called the Northern Division, was to explore in the Arctic archipelago and conduct various scientific and anthropological investigations. The second, under R.M. Anderson and called the Southern Division, was to concentrate on the region surrounding the Coronation Gulf.  

Problems plagued the venture from the beginning. The Karluk, carrying the Northern Division, was caught in flow ice in September 1913 and, after drifting westward for three months, sank off Wrangel Island. The crew, minus Stefansson and several others who had been on a hunting expedition when the ship began to drift, abandoned the vessel and struggled over the ice to the island. Eight lives were lost as a result of the Karluk's sinking. Stefansson, anxious to continue the expedition, joined up with the Southern Division, encamped for the winter at Collinson Point, Alaska, and attempted to secure supplies and men from that party to allow him to conduct his explorations.  

Bitter feuds were to mar relations between the two branches of the expedition for the remainder of their time on the north. The Southern Division terminated their investigations in 1916, two years before Stefansson left the region. Stefansson conducted a number of explorations in the Arctic Islands, discovering Brock, Borden and Meighan Islands. Before he could make the last scheduled journey, he fell gravely ill at Herschel Island. After a month and a half's convalescence at the police barracks, it was decided that the
explorer was in need of more professional help. As the nearest hospital was at Fort Yukon, a special police patrol was organized to transport him. By the time he had reached Rampart House, he had recovered sufficiently to continue on without police escort. Hiring local Indians to assist him, Stefansson continued down the Porcupine River, arriving at Fort Yukon on April 27, 1919.24

The Northern Division had not been at all involved with the northern Yukon, their activities centering far to the east and north. The Southern Division, although primarily interested in the Coronation Gulf, did examine the area briefly. On their way east from Collinson Point, the geographers attached to the expedition (Cox, Chipman and O'Neil) conducted a survey of the coast and of Herschel Island, and Cox made a quick traverse of the Herschel Island (Firth) River. By midsummer, the party had concluded their studies in the area and, until July 1916 when they passed along the coast aboard the Alaska on their way to the south, they remained in the region east of the Mackenzie River.25

This thumbnail sketch hardly does justice to the extensive operations conducted throughout the Canadian Arctic by Stefansson and his various associates. In the end, very little was done in the way of scientific investigation in the northern Yukon as a result of Stefansson's efforts. Indeed, the region served primarily as a supply and transportation depot for the various Arctic ventures of this controversial man. Despite the lack of technical impact, the personal impact of the scientist/explorer was considerable.

In the words of Richard Diubaldo, his most recent biographer, Stefansson "became less of a scientist, in the strict sense, and more of a publicist and promoter" after 1906 and his first Arctic venture.26 In order to establish his own credentials, increase his personal wealth, which was derived largely from the sale of his books and his lecture tours, and to secure funding for further Arctic endeavours such as the
Baffin Island reindeer farm and the Wrangel Island colony, Stefansson learned how to exploit the media for his own purposes. His public statements concerning living off the land, the role of the police and the missionaries in the north and the nature of the Eskimos, while attracting attention in Canada and the U.S.A., earned him the animosity of many northern residents.

Perhaps the most famous incident, which involved Sergeant Fitzgerald of the N.W.M.P., became known as the "match controversy." Arriving at Herschel Island on his second Arctic expedition (1908), Stefansson applied at the police station for a supply of matches. Fitzgerald refused the request and, believing that the plans of the two scientists were dangerous and foolish, offered instead to give them food and supplies if they remained on the island. Stating later that "we had not come north to study the habits of the police at Herschel Island," the two men headed for Point Barrow where they were able to purchase the required goods.

Fitzgerald did not approve of Stefansson's concepts of northern travel, arguing that:

Such men as Stefansson claim they can live on the country: they can by some one else supplying the food. All those people are a drain on our supplies[.]

It is impossible to refuse a white man if he is short of food.

The police also disapproved of the scientist's popularization of the notion of the "Friendly Arctic." Fearful that such "propoganda" would result in a number of men entering the area without sufficient supplies, Inspector Jennings recommended in 1910 that any non-native entering the Arctic be required to carry with him two year's rations.

Stefansson was subjected to frequent criticism by the police throughout his years in the north and he was never averse to responding in kind. His opportunity to chastize the force and publicize his own travelling methods came in 1911, in the aftermath of the tragedy of Fitzgerald's "Lost
Patrol." In My Life With the Eskimos, written after his return from the 1908-12 expedition, Stefansson commented that:

the last conversation I had had with Fitzgerald was one in which he told me of his thorough disapproval of my methods of travel, and that if I tried to follow them I should surely come to grief. And here we were [at Baillie Island] in comfort and plenty listening to the story of his tragic death. ³⁰

Stefansson, of course, saw the cause of the misadventure as the "weakness of their system of travel," ³¹ arguing that the police should adopt his method of travelling light and living off the land. Yet his "method" which meant very slow and irregular travel, was totally unsuited for the needs of the police patrols, which had to follow a set route and proceed with all possible speed. Time could not be spent wandering all through the country in search of food.

Stefansson also chose to disparage the Anglican missionaries. When he had first arrived among the Eskimos, the explorer had attributed their congenial nature and pacific behaviour to the influence of the clergy. He soon learned from his native friends that such was not the case, but rather that the Eskimos were naturally good-natured. ³² At the end of his second voyage, he took the time to express his opinion of the missionaries and Christianity among the Eskimos more fully. He noted that,

At the mouth of the Mackenzie River, for instance, when I was there first in the winter of 1906-07, the missionaries of the Church of England had been already for more than a decade without making a convert. The people were still unconverted in September 1907, when I left the district. When I returned in June 1908, they had been Christianized to the last man. ³³

Stefansson argued that an "Eskimoized Christianity" had developed among the Eskimos of Kotzebue Sound, Alaska, and had spread "like measles" throughout the Arctic. He claimed that the conversion of the Eskimos had very little to do with the efforts of the missionaries, pointing to a number of examples of Eskimos who had accepted the new religion without having
ever met a clergyman.  

Stefansson's allegations did not go unnoticed by the Anglican missionaries who had been active at Herschel Island and along the coast since 1892. Charles Whittaker responded to Stefansson's comments, claiming that the so-called "epidemic, or new fashion causelessly sweeping from east to west...had its roots in many years of hard labour on the part of the mission."  

K.G. Chipman, a member of the Southern Division of the Canadian Arctic expedition, summed up the feelings of the residents of the coast towards Stefansson when he noted in his diary:

I learn here [Herschel Island] that V.S. completely succeeded in 'getting the goat' of everybody here and at Fort McPherson. It is strange, but no one seems to have a good word for him; seldom have I seen a man for whom there were fewer good words than is the case with V.S. along the coast. It may be due to the climate or the men here, but some or rather most of it must be due to V.S. himself.  

Chipman himself was at odds with Stefansson throughout the expedition, as were most of the members of the Southern division.  

At the end of the Canadian Arctic Expedition, Stefansson became embroiled in a bitter debate between himself and other scientists attached to the venture, particularly Diamond Jenness. The arguments, which spilled over into book reviews, scholarly journals and government correspondence, further alienated Stefansson from his fellow Arctic travellers.  

As one man associated with the venture wrote in 1921:

Mr. Stefansson has persistently misquoted, libelled or ignored the work of every scientist member of the late Canadian Arctic Expedition, so that instead of feeling an honest pride in having been engaged in more or less valuable work in the North, most of us feel inclined to apologize for having been Arctic explorers rather than be connected in any way with Mr. Stefansson or his schemes. He had made a laughing-stock and a byword of the name of explorer.  

After 14 years in the Canadian Arctic, Stefansson's career as
an explorer/scientist ended with the 1913-18 expedition, although he maintained his interest in northern endeavours for the rest of his life.

Stefansson's relationship with the northern Yukon was a tenuous one, despite the fact that he travelled extensively in the region. In his 1906 expedition, he undertook a number of anthropological and ethnographic investigations among the Eskimos along the coast, but most of this work was among the natives east of the Mackenzie River or west of Canada/U.S. border. Herschel Island served as a transportation depot for all his northern excursions, and he used the inland transportation routes through the area on two separate occasions. Stefansson's major impact on the area, however, was negative. He criticized the R.N.W.M.P. for their handling of his supply requests and for their methods of travelling and he questioned the value of the Anglican missions along the coast. Chipman's assessment may have been correct, for Stefansson left few friends and many enemies in his wake.

With the exception of de Sainville's map of the Peel River, none of the expeditions which merged scientific investigation with exploration contributed directly to the development of the northern Yukon. Harrison, Amundsen and Stefansson all passed through the region on several occasions, but not all in their capacities as scientists. By the time these scientists entered the area, the Yukon's Arctic coast had been known to Europeans for more than sixty years. There was, therefore, no perceived need to study a region which previously had been investigated, especially when vast expanses of the Arctic went uncharted. Unlike the scientist/explorers, who used the northern Yukon almost exclusively for re-supply and transportation, the "true" scientists who passed through the region prior to 1920 were more concerned with the specific characteristics of the area.
Robert Kennicott

The first man to enter the northern Yukon for the express purpose of conducting scientific examinations was Robert Kennicott, a young naturalist from Chicago. Sponsored by the Smithsonian Institute and the Audubon Club of Chicago, Kennicott's intention was to collect zoological specimens throughout the north. In 1860, he travelled with the Hudson's Bay Company canoe brigades from Red River to Fort Resolution. In August, after three successful months of hunting and collecting, he continued on to Peel River. Crossing over Stony Creek Pass, he descended the Porcupine River to Fort Youcon, where he spent the winter of 1860-61 in the company of James Lockhart.  

Early in August 1861, Kennicott accompanied the annual boat upstream to Lapierre House. After crossing the mountains in order to deliver his collections to the annual supply boats at Peel River, Kennicott returned to Lapierre House, where he passed the winter. On the last day of January 1862, Kennicott left the outpost and once again headed across the Richardson Mountains. Learning of his father's illness shortly after he arrived at Peel River, he then departed for Chicago.  

In 1864, when plans were being implemented for the survey of the Collins Overland Telegraph, which would pass through the Yukon and Alaska and connect North America with Europe, Kennicott joined the telegraph company as their Chief of Exploration. At 30 years of age and for no apparent reason, Kennicott collapsed and died on the banks of the Yukon River near the Russian trading post at Nulato on May 13, 1866. Surveyors and scientists attached to the firm, most noticeably W. Dall, continued their investigations in the Yukon, but none of their activities brought them into the northern segment of the territory.  

During his stay in the north, Kennicott conducted continuous studies of the zoology of the region and his specimen collections included numerous varieties of birds, fish and
animals. As a result of his endeavours, modern day scientists are left with an important historical record, frozen in time (or more correctly, preserved in alcohol) of the wildlife of the northern Yukon in the middle of the 19th century. Nor did Kennicott's impact on the area end with his death, for during his stay in the north he had befriended numerous Hudson's Bay Company employees and had instilled in them his passion for zoology.

James Lockhart and Strachan Jones, both stationed at Fort Youcon during Kennicott's stay, were particularly avid collectors. James Flett, "an unadorned brick" who "has already shown he will collect well," carried on Kennicott's work at Lapierre House. With the wealth of eager talent at Fort Youcon, Kennicott even decided to attempt to divide the labour, encouraging Lockhart to collect animals and birds while Jones concentrated on fishes and insects. In addition to the Hudson's Bay Company men, Kennicott also encouraged the local natives to collect samples for him. Although the scientists quickly found that the natives worked best if employed on a regular basis, he decided that he would have Antoine Houle, the post's interpreter, deliver a lecture to all the Indians "upon the immense importance to science of Lockhart's receiving 5,000 eggs of wax wings, Picoids, swan, hawk, owl and the like." His remonstrations did not go unrewarded as several natives brought in valuable specimens.

Kennicott and his superiors at the Smithsonian Institute, primarily Professor Baird, recognized the value of having interested Hudson's Bay Company men who were willing to continue collecting zoological samples after the scientist left. In order to solidify these connections, Kennicott encouraged Baird to write to the fur traders, and even coached him on how to be most effective with each man. Concerning Flett, Kennicott wrote:

Please write to him and set him up a little - not failing to compliment his stepson William for his
bird skinning as Flett is pleased with his being noticed... Only please remember to write within Flett's comprehension - he is a brick, but, as I've said, an unpolished one and is quite uneducated.46

Baird apparently followed Kennicott's advice for the letters had the desired impact. Lockhart received a note from the Professor early in 1861, and Kennicott later commented:

If your letters to the other officers did one half the good as the one to Lockhart did, you will have effected' more for science by them than I shall in a years work. Lockhart was pretty well primed for zoological operations, but your letter 'touched him off,' and quick as the spring boat was off for the outfit of the post he began and has been working not less eagerly than myself ever since.47

The purpose of solidifying the contacts with the fur traders was to ensure that a steady stream of zoological samples flowed from the Yukon back to the Smithsonian Institute. By the summer of 1861, Kennicott was sure that the network had been established. "The operations in zoology here," he wrote, "are getting quite in earnest and we can now turn the crank and keep 'wheels' you mention going from the Smithsonian with its long arms under your control."48 When he left the region in 1862, Kennicott left behind a string of close friends and, more importantly, a string of enthusiastic amateur zoologists. The connection with the Smithsonian Institute passed over into other fields of science as well, with several of the Hudson's Bay Company traders from the Yukon offering short articles to the Institution on the natives of the area.49

Although the Hudson's Bay Company was itself somewhat hostile to the intrusion of the Collins Overland Telegraph Company, the men involved in the Yukon trade were eagerly awaiting the return of Kennicott and they were greatly saddened by his death.50 Robert Kennicott had a lasting impact on the Yukon. For years after his death, Hudson's Bay Company traders in the North continued to send valuable and rare zoological specimens to the Smithsonian. As a result of his endeavours, the northern Yukon has been left with an enviable
record of its natural history, one which surpasses that of any other part of northern Canada.

The second "true" scientist to enter the region was Frank Russell, travelling under the auspices of the University of Iowa in 1893-1894. Although Russell was primarily interested in the area around Great Slave Lake, he did visit Herschel Island with de Sainville in July 1894. After studying the mainland Eskimos in the vicinity of the island, he boarded the whaler Jeanette and left for the south. 51

Three years after Russell had left the northern Yukon, Andrew Jackson Stone followed the Mackenzie River to Fort McPherson. Working for the American Museum of Natural History, Stone was, like Kennicott, primarily interested in collecting mammal and bird specimens. After a brief foray into the Rocky Mountains west of the Peel River, he travelled to Herschel Island. Staying on the island for only a short time, he soon returned from Fort McPherson, and the following year journeyed to the east of the Mackenzie River. In the summer of 1899, his collecting completed, he left the area by way of the Porcupine River. 52

The Kennicott, Russell and Stone expeditions constituted the only exclusively scientific ventures on the northern Yukon in this period. A fourth such expedition, the Fifth Thule Expedition led by Knud Rasmussen, passed along the Yukon's Arctic coast in 1924, but it was only peripherally concerned with the region, as Rasmussen was anxious to conclude his three year voyage through Arctic waters. 53

Conclusion
With the exception of the zoological efforts of Kennicott and the explorations in the Peel River valley by de Sainville, the early scientists contributed little to the northern Yukon. Most were interested in other parts of the Canadian or American Arctic and used the region only as a depot. V. Stefansson,
for example, spent a considerable amount of time travelling through the area, but his ethnographic and exploratory contributions were made elsewhere. Even though Amundsen's expedition passed the winter at King Point, it conducted only minor scientific studies, and the leader of the party spent most of the season travelling to Alaska to pass on word of their successful voyage.

The other ventures, by Isbister, Russell, Stone and Harrison, touched only peripherally on the northern Yukon and, unlike Kennicott's studies, did little to stimulate interest in the area. De Sainville's survey of the Peel River was of value almost exclusively to the 100 gold seekers who followed the Peel River in 1898-99, and it was quickly forgotten after that date.

For the first two decades of the 20th century, the Canadian north was a popular "laboratory" for scientific endeavours. The northern Yukon, however, its coast known since the 1820s and the interior since the 1840s, attracted little attention. With the exception of Kennicott's work, those expeditions which did involve the region either skirted its edges or utilized the established transportation facilities of the area.
IX Government Surveys

When the Hudson's Bay Company expanded to Fort Youcon, it was readily acknowledged within the firm that the new post was well within Russian territory. In 1851, when it was suggested that the Company send in a surveyor to ascertain the exact location of the fort, James Anderson of the Mackenzie River District argued that the Hudson's Bay Company "may not be particularly anxious about clearing up the doubt that exists regarding the position of this Fort." He succeeded in convincing the Governors that the resolution of the matter could only work against the firm's interests. With the Hudson's Bay Company unwilling to locate the international boundary (141st Meridian), and with the Canadian government not yet involved in the area, it remained for American government surveyors to delineate the boundary.

American Government Surveys
United States traders, active on the lower Yukon after 1867 and losing trade to the Hudson's Bay Company's traders who descended annually to the Tanana River, began to protest to the American government. The government approached the Company through diplomatic channels, asking the firm to vacate their post. The Hudson's Bay Company refused, claiming that the location of the establishment had never been conclusively proven and the firm would not leave until such proof had been provided. The Company could not totally ignore the diplomatic ramifications of their actions, and in July 1869, the Governors
wrote to William Hardisty, Chief Factor at Fort Simpson, suggesting that the post should be moved up the Porcupine River. The United States government, at the same time, learned that Parrot and Co. of San Francisco was outfitting a steamer to ascend the Yukon River and requested that a government surveyor be allowed to accompany the expedition. Captain Charles P. Raymond of the U.S. Navy was appointed to join the traders in order to conduct a scientific examination of the recently purchased Alaskan interior. On the 4th of July "with flags flying and guns firing," the expedition departed from St. Michael aboard the steamer Yukon. Twenty-seven days later, the steamer pulled into Fort Youcon.

Despite the nature of the visit, the Americans were warmly welcomed by the Hudson's Bay Company trader, John Wilson, and the Church of England missionary, William Bompas. After a week of unfavourable weather, the sky cleared sufficiently for Raymond to make a reasonably accurate computation of the post's position. His results, not surprisingly, indicated that Fort Youcon was on U.S. soil, and he:

notified the representative of the Hudson's Bay Company that the station was in the territory of the United States, that the introduction of trading goods, or any trade by foreigners with the natives was illegal, and must cease, and that the Hudson's Bay Company must vacate the buildings as soon as practicable. I then took possession of the buildings and raised the flag of the United States over the fort.

Raymond's survey not only forced the Hudson's Bay Company to vacate Fort Youcon, but also indicated an important aspect of the role of government in the north-west. Raymond's voyage was based primarily on the remonstrations of American traders, who were losing trade to the Hudson's Bay Company, and not merely on the broad desire to demarcate the limits of American territory. As such, this expedition indicated the willingness of the U.S. government to work for the commercial interests of its citizens.
A second U.S. Government survey was undertaken in 1889 when the U.S.S. Thetis, commanded by Lieutenant Commander Charles H. Stockton, investigated Herschel Island and its immediate environs. The Thetis was assigned to assist the American whaling fleet in the western Arctic and its commander took that duty very seriously, even to the extent that it meant entering Canadian territorial waters. Like Raymond's expedition, the voyage of the Thetis was predicated primarily on the desire of the U.S. government to aid the commercial ventures of its citizens. In Raymond's case, this meant conducting a survey to restrict the activities of foreign traders on American soil; in Stockton's it meant surveying waters to assist American commerce.

Between these two commercial-based ventures, another American government survey, this one with no commercial origins but with commercial effects, was conducted in the northern Yukon. Led by J. Henry Turner, the purpose of the 1889-91 expedition was to locate the Canada/U.S. boundary along the Porcupine River while a second branch was sent to check William Ogilvie's survey on the Yukon River. Turner's party left Fort Youcon on August 3rd, but after only three days, their steamer was unable to proceed. Unloading the expedition's supplies on shore, the vessel quickly departed, leaving Turner with only a whale boat and a small "lighter" to move his equipment. Turner proceeded to Rampart House, which he believed to be on the boundary line, but he and the Hudson's Bay Company traders were surprised to learn that the post was a full 33 miles to the west of the 141st Meridian. The group finally reached the border in early August.

Turner spent two winters along the Porcupine River because the poor weather of 1889-90 prevented the surveyors from making accurate observations. Before abandoning Camp Colonna on the Porcupine, he made a quick trip to the Arctic coast. Travelling by dog team and with native guides, the surveyor left Rampart House on May 27th, arriving at the coast 18 days
later. The contribution of Turner's survey to the history of the northern Yukon was the permanent settlement of the location of the international boundary. In so doing, he had forced the Hudson's Bay Company to again vacate a trading post located on American soil and to move eastward. Unlike the surveys of Raymond and Stockton, however, Turner's expedition was not economically based, but was founded on the desire to set to rest the long-standing debate on the location of the Canada/U.S. boundary.

Geological Survey of Canada
Canadian government surveyors had actually entered the region before Turner, but had failed to locate the boundary along the Porcupine River. The task of charting the vast expanses of the northern Yukon and of conducting the preliminary geological surveys of the area fell of the able hands of the Geological Survey of Canada (G.S.C.). Founded in 1841 under the leadership of William Logan, the G.S.C. was charged with the enormous task of undertaking exploratory and geological surveys throughout Canada, primarily with a view to assisting the growing Canadian mining industry. Members of the department, such as G.M. Dawson, J.B. Tyrell, and R.G. McConnell, conducted a remarkably series of surveys, many through previously uncharted sections of the country. The G.S.C. also had the distinction of being the first branch of the Canadian government to take an active interest in the Yukon district.

William Ogilvie
The first member of the Geological Survey to be sent to the Yukon was William Ogilvie, who entered the region in 1887 with instructions to locate the Canada/U.S. boundary along the Yukon and Forty-mile rivers. Although nominally part of the
larger Dawson-McConnell survey, Ogilvie was actually working independently of the other surveyors. Entering by way of the Chilkoot Pass, which he mapped, he passed the winter of 1887-88 on the banks of the Yukon River near the boundary. At the conclusion of his boundary observations, shown later to be only 218 feet off line, Ogilvie prepared to leave the region by way of a previously unexplored route.\textsuperscript{11}

It was his intention to follow the Tat-on-duc (Tatonduk) River from its confluence with the Yukon River, some 40 miles to the west of the border, to its headwaters. Crossing over the divide into the Porcupine River basin, he would then proceed downstream to Lapierre House. After making arrangements with some local Indians to assist in carrying his supplies up the Tatonduk, Ogilvie left his camp on March 16, 1888.

After only a short journey, the party reached the headwaters of the Tatonduk, an area Ogilvie described as "one of the grandest views I have ever seen, and the profound stillness and vast solitude impress one as perhaps few other scenes in the world would."\textsuperscript{12} The surveyor was amazed to find that this marked the divide between the Yukon and Peel River watersheds. Indeed, Ogilvie needed some convincing by the Indians before believing that they had actually reached the divide. He also contemplated following the Peel River to its mouth, but he was dissuaded by the natives. Concluding that any attempt to descend the first river, later named the Ogilvie, to the Peel was foolhardy, Ogilvie reverted to his original plan.\textsuperscript{13}

The Indians, who had only been hired to lead the party to the headwaters of the Tatonduk, left the group at this point, despite Ogilvie's best efforts to persuade them to remain. Two of the natives, however, were talked into going ahead of the survey crew with their dog teams to lay a track to the headwaters of the Porcupine. Only 16 miles separated them from the first stream leading into the Porcupine River
and on March 26th, the party began its descent. On April 10th, having reached a point where it was believed that canoes could be used, and having tired of the laborious task of hauling supplies over the ice and snow, Ogilvie called a temporary halt to the expedition. A small shelter was built to wait until the ice had cleared sufficiently for water travel.14

More than a month passed before the survey could continue. On May 21st, they left their spring camp, only to be caught in ice three miles downstream, where they waited another week before the river cleared. Passing the "Fishing Branch" of the Porcupine, Ogilvie recalled that the natives along the Yukon River had told him that they had come into this area annually to fish, and their claims were substantiated by the "many old racks for drying fish" at the mouth.15

Slowed by ice jams and having lost a day by turning up the Eagle River, Ogilvie reached Lapierre House in the first week of June. Leaving on the 8th, the expedition followed the pass over the Richardson Mountains discovered in 1872 by James McDougall. The pass, which included a fourteen and a half mile portage from the head of navigation of the Bell to the Trout River, was crossed in nine days. The journey was not, however, without discomfort. In order to ascend the shallow waters of the Bell River, the party had to "wade in ice water, while snow was falling, and drag our canoes, with our outfit in them, over the bars and stones in that creek."16

On the morning of June 20, Ogilvie pulled into Fort McPherson on the Peel River, ending the official segment of his survey.

Ogilvie later returned to the Yukon during the Klondike Gold Rush, and in 1898 he was appointed Territorial Commissioner. His single contribution to the northern Yukon, however, was made during the scientific survey of the Tatonduk, Porcupine, Bell and Trout Rivers conducted in 1888. Unlike his American counterparts, whose surveys had very specific purposes, Ogilvie's venture, beyond getting him out of the Yukon,
was based solely on the desire to chart an unexplored region.

R.G. McConnell
The most important survey of the Yukon district was conducted at the same time as Ogilvie's efforts in the northern part of the territory. Commanded by George M. Dawson and ably seconded by R.G. McConnell, this expedition entered the Yukon via the Stikine and Liard Rivers. The party separated on the Liard, with Dawson following the fur traders' trails up to Frances Lake and over the divide to the Pelly River. After reaching the confluence of the Pelly and the Lewes (Yukon), Dawson turned south, explored the headwaters of the Lewes and than exited by way of the Chilkoot Pass.17

McConnell descended the Liard to the Mackenzie River and, after passing the winter at Fort Providence, began the major segment of his survey. Following the Mackenzie northward, the expedition reached the Peel River on June 23, 1888, just in time to meet William Ogilvie's party which was leaving for the south. The two groups stayed together for a day, giving Ogilvie enough time to brief McConnell on the northern interior. On the 25th of June, they separated, Ogilvie heading "outside" and McConnell continuing on to Fort McPherson.18

The annual supply steamer from Fort Simpson had not yet arrived and McConnell decided to conduct a brief examination of the Rat River area while he awaited its appearance. On July 10th, unwilling to wait any longer and anticipating that he could pick up additional supplies at Rampart House, McConnell and his party began the arduous trek across the Stony Creek Pass. Encountering the same difficulties which had plagued the Hudson's Bay Company for decades, McConnell found travel to be extremely slow. With the assistance of five Indian packers, who were paid $7.50 or 15 MB for the trip, the expedition reached Lapierre House on July 13.19
Relieved to find that their boat, which had been sent over McDougall's Pass, had arrived safely, the crew headed downstream, reaching Rampart House on July 20th. McConnell had intended to make observations on the longitude of Rampart House, which would have shown the post to be on American soil, but the surveyor learned that a steamer would be passing by Fort Youcon in a few days. Hoping to avoid tracking up the Yukon River, McConnell decided that there was "no object for delay."20

After a rapid descent of the Porcupine, the expedition found upon arrival at Fort Youcon that the steamer had passed the previous day. Forced to resort to tracking, the expedition nonetheless continued upstream ascending the Yukon to its source and departed the region, as had Dawson, by the Chilkoot Pass.

McConnell's travels, which covered a remarkable forty-two hundred miles, added very little to the practical knowledge of the northern Yukon. His excursion in the region followed well-marked and well-travelled routes and his failure to undertake a proper longitudinal survey at Rampart House was to cause considerable embarrassment and difficulty for the Hudson's Bay Company when J. Henry Turner discovered the true location of the post a year later. While the expedition's maps and scientific observations, like those of Ogilvie, were undoubtedly of interest and value to the scientific community, they were of little service to the residents of the area.

Charles Camsell
The third investigation of the northern Yukon by the staff of the Geological Survey of Canada was conducted almost 20 years after the McConnell-Ogilvie surveys. Charles Camsell, the leader, was the son of a Hudson's Bay Company Chief Factor, Julius Stewart Camsell (Onion). In the winter of 1904, Camsell was sent to Dawson City to prepare for an ex-
ploration of the Wind and Peel Rivers the following summer.

The area of the survey was in no way unexplored. John Bell had first ascended part of the way up the Peel in 1839, to be followed shortly thereafter by A.K. Isbister. James McDougall also travelled a short distance up the river in 1872. A more intensive investigation of the area was made by de Sainville in 1893-94, when the French scientist explored the Peel to its junction with the Wind River. During the Klondike Gold Rush, more than 100 would-be gold miners had successfully followed the Peel and Wind Rivers in their attempt to reach Dawson. Camsell's survey, therefore, was not intended to explore virgin territory, but to provide accurate maps and a preliminary geological profile of the region.

On May 22, the six man party left Dawson City aboard the N.W.M.P. steamer Prospector, travelling by this means as far as Fraser Falls on the Stewart River. Stopped at that point for ten days due to high water, the survey finally commenced on June 5th. The first day, one of their canoes was swamped by one of the many "sweepers" along the river, and a large portion of the supplies were lost. After restocking at the Lansing Creek trading post and taking a few days to repair their battered canoes, the group headed out once again.

From the headwaters of the Stewart River (Braine Creek), Camsell crossed over the Braine Pass, descending into the Wind River watershed, reaching its confluence with the Peel on July 13th. Camsell, ever alert for potentially marketable mineral resources, noted signs of oil on Hungry Creek and in the Peel River canyon. On August 11th, with the arrival of the party at Fort McPherson, the survey was completed. But Camsell had to return to Dawson in time to catch the last steamer, and after only four days rest, the return trip began.

Travelling over McDougall's Pass, the expedition reached the Bell River on August 25th. Snow and rain hampered their
progress and made their journey most uncomfortable. After stopping briefly at Lapierre House, which was abandoned by this time, Camsell continued downstream. At the mouth of the Old Crow River, later the site of the town of Old Crow, the party noticed several Indian tents and stopped for a day to hunt caribou. On the 17th of September, the party had reached Dawson City, in time to catch the all-important last boat of the season.²⁴

Although the expedition had covered more than twenty-five hundred miles over very rough terrain and along treacherous rivers, it meant very little to the development of the northern Yukon. Contrary to Camsell's claim that "a great deal of it [was] new country,"²⁵ the area explored in 1905 had actually been traversed on a number of occasions. Indeed, Camsell noted in his report that only two years earlier, two prospectors who had lost their way actually travelled over an almost identical route.²⁶

The contribution of the 1905 excursion, like those of McConnell and Ogilvie, was restricted to the fields of geology and cartography. The various expeditions of the G.S.C. covered a great deal of territory in the northern Yukon, most of it previously travelled. Unlike their American counterparts, Raymond, Stockton and Turner, the Canadian surveys were conducted with no immediate purpose in mind, except for Ogilvie's boundary survey of 1887. Throughout the country, the G.S.C. was attempting to map and amass geological information on underdeveloped regions. Their work in the northern Yukon was compatible with these objectives, although as in McConnell's failure to ascertain the location of Rampart House, it was very unfortunate that the surveyors did not consider the immediate or practical implications of their efforts.

International Boundary Survey
By far the largest survey conducted in the northern Yukon, a
joint project of the Canadian and United States governments, took place in 1911 and 1912. Desiring a clear demarcation of the boundary between Alaska and the Yukon Territory, a massive operation was undertaken to draw the line from the Arctic coast to Mount St. Elias.

Elaborate preparations to facilitate the work of the northern branch began in 1901 and included the purchasing of supplies in Vancouver and Seattle, the transport of horses from Whitehorse to Rampart House, and the construction of two large motorized launches. As with any large operation, many problems occurred, including the grounding of the steamer Lafrance which was carrying part of the expedition's supplies, and the non-arrival of equipment expected from St. Michael.27

Work commenced early in the summer of 1911. One party, continuing work actually begun in 1910, ascended the Kandik River and by the end of the summer had completed the monuments and vista-cuts to the Salmon-Trout River, approximately 50 miles south of Rampart House. The second branch of the expedition travelled from Dawson City to Rampart House aboard the steamer Vidette, arriving on June 6, 1911.28

A survey crew had visited the community the previous season, but the natives were in no way prepared for the onslaught which hit them in 1911. The horses alone had an amazing impact on the Kutchin:

they would, at least at first, retire to their tents or cabins in great haste should a stray horse wander into the "village." They were puzzled to know the wherefore of the horseshoes. "The moose and caribou didn't need them"...The first Indian to trust himself on a horse's back was a local hero for some days.29

After a week of sorting supplies and making sundry preparations, crews headed south and north to work on the boundary.

A. U.S. launch had succeeded in moving about 20 tons of supplies up the Old Crow River to a site several miles east of the boundary. The attempt of the Canadian launch to achieve a similar goal on the Black River, however, had failed due to
low water. Returning to Rampart House, the supplies were off-loaded and sent south by pack-train.\textsuperscript{30}

The leaders of the expedition, Thomas Riggs Jr. (U.S.) and J.D. Craig (Canada) were concerned with the failure of supplies to arrive as expected from Fort Youcon. Low water had continued to hamper transportation efforts and the steamer Tanana, after one successful trip to Rampart House, had to be replaced with the smaller Reliance. Further problems resulted from the discovery of small-pox among the local Indians, and the survey's doctor was delegated to supervise the quarantine. Requests for assistance were quickly answered and an R.N.W.M.P. constable and a male nurse were sent in by the Canadian government.\textsuperscript{31}

The topographical survey in 1911 covered the distance from the Kandik River to a site 40 miles from the Arctic Ocean. In the fall, the entire Canadian contingent and most of the American group left Rampart House for Dawson City, but a small number of Americans remained for the winter, distributing supplies for the next year's work and overhauling the U.S. launch. They wintered in the cabins built by J.H. Turner to house his crew in 1889-1891.\textsuperscript{32}

The following summer, the survey was completed to the Arctic coast. On July 18, 1912, with as much ceremony as the surveyors could muster and with the unfurling of the Stars and Stripes and the Union Jack, Riggs and Craig had the honour of concluding the survey on the shores of the Arctic Ocean. The monumenting crews reached the coast a short time later, while the vista-cutting party was given a reprieve about 30 miles from the ocean, where the tree line was crossed.\textsuperscript{33}

After a short examination of the coast in the vicinity of the border, all parties left the coast by August 6th. Riggs and Craig conducted an inspection of the monuments on their way south, arriving at Rampart House on August 16th. The group to the south of the Porcupine River had concluded their work in early July and had left the area shortly there-
after, following the boundary line south to its junction with the Yukon River.

With the completion of the boundary survey along the northern Yukon, the expedition commenced their work on the southern segment of the Alaska/Yukon border, including the St. Elias Mountain Range. The International Boundary Survey had taken more than two years to complete the northern Yukon segment. Not at all similar to the expeditions of the Geological Survey of Canada, this undertaking was more like a construction project than a scientific examination. The primary problems were supply and transportation, caused by the difficulty of moving horses, cement, men and provisions into previously undeveloped areas. The experiences of this expedition underscored the difficulties of large-scale transportation in the region and the problems caused by the shortness of the working season in the northern Yukon.

Canadian Arctic Expedition
The final survey of the northern Yukon was conducted in 1914 by the southern party of the Canadian Arctic Expedition. The expedition was under the joint command of R. Anderson and V. Stefansson. Anderson led the southern branch, and his crew included several members of the Geological Survey of Canada.

In March 1914, two Canadian Arctic Expedition surveyors, Cox and Chipman, left their winter quarters at Collinson Point, Alaska and headed eastward. The two men mapped the Arctic coast from the border to the mouth of the Mackenzie River. Cox then linked his surveys with those of O'Neill, another member of the Anderson party, and traversed the Firth River from its mouth to the border. 34

No new areas were opened as a result of these surveys, and a number of maps had already been drawn of the region. The Cox, Chipman and O'Neill investigations did, however, add a degree of accuracy missing in the earlier preparations.
Conclusions
The only surveys conducted in the northern Yukon which had any lasting impact were those of the United States government. Raymond's and Turner's work on the Yukon and Porcupine Rivers succeeded in pushing back the trading frontier of the Hudson's Bay Company and twice forced the relocation of the firm's trading posts. Stockton's survey aboard the Thetis along the Arctic coast provided accurate maps and dependable information for the American whaling fleet, which assisted in their exploitation of a Canadian resource.

In contrast, the scientific surveys of the Geological Survey of Canada had little practical impact on the northern Yukon. These examinations were conducted with a singular lack of interest in the economy or residents of the area. For the most part, they followed well travelled routes, opened no new territory, and found no sizeable mineral deposits, as had been done in other parts of the country. 35

Similarly, beyond its immediate impact on the Rampart House Indians, the International Boundary Survey was of little lasting consequence to the region. Its legacy was a straight cutline and series of monuments along the border. The transportation and supply difficulties encountered by the expedition did, however, point out the problems inherent in any large-scale operation conducted in the area.

The principle effect of the surveys were an increased knowledge of the geography and geology, and an increased public awareness of the northern Yukon. The Canadian surveys did provide other agencies, both private and public, with detailed, factual and un-biased information upon which the organizations could base their decisions relating to the region. With the development of the aeroplane and its wide-spread use for aerial surveys by the 1930s and 1940s, such land-based surveys were rendered unnecessary, and the majority of subsequent government reconnaissance of the northern Yukon was conducted by air.
X Mineral Exploration

The mineral resources of the Yukon Territory were all but ignored by the first two groups of Europeans to enter the region, the fur traders and the missionaries. The Hudson's Bay Company, its economic viability tied to the fur reserves, paid little attention to other resources in the Yukon or Alaska. In 1863, Robert McDonald, the Anglican missionary, found gold on Birch Creek in such quantities that "he could have gathered it with a spoon."¹ Both the missionary and the resident fur traders, however, were not themselves interested in mining and the discovery went largely unnoticed.

As early as 1873, prospectors like Leroy McQuesten, A. Harper and A. Mayo had found their way into the Yukon base. Entering by way of the Peel and Porcupine Rivers, the miners prospected as they travelled westward. Finding only "fair" prospects on the Peel and "some colours" along the Porcupine, they continued down to the Yukon River. Pleased with initial results, the miners concentrated their search for gold in the Yukon basin alone. Finding that mining was not always as remunerative as they had hoped, many of the first prospectors found their way into the trading business, with McQuesten joining the Alaska Commercial Company and opening a trading post, Fort Reliance, six miles downstream from the future site of Dawson.²

Miners continued to enter the Yukon district in ever increasing numbers and by 1896, at the time of the Klondike discovery, several thousand men were scouring the rivers and the creeks of the Yukon and Alaska. Donald A. Smith, Chief Commissioner of the Hudson's Bay Company, wrote:
The world has taken a long time to find out the mineral wealth of the Yukon district. I recall many old Hudson's Bay pioneers telling of the gold there nearly half a century ago, and it was reported to the Company far longer ago than that, but it was not then considered to be in their line.3

The principle effect of the Klondike Gold Rush on the northern Yukon (discussed in Chapter 6) was the use of the transportation routes crossing the region by miners travelling from the Mackenzie River to Dawson. The gold seekers did, however, engage in some preliminary prospecting along the routes. The majority of this prospecting was concentrated along the Peel and Wind Rivers, with no sizeable deposits of gold being located. Most of those travelling along the Porcupine River were concerned only with getting to the gold fields and had little time for prospecting in a highly suspect area.4

The largest prospecting venture along the Porcupine River by the "water-route Klondikers" was conducted by five men, Ritchie, McPhee, Moffatt, Beleveau and Holmes, on the headwaters of that stream. Panning without success, the party decided to attempt to reach Dawson via the Tatoduk River, surveyed by William Ogilvie in 1888. The party divided after Holmes broke through the ice and froze his feet, with Ritchie and McPhee continuing on for help. Almost starving enroute, the two men finally reached Lee Pate's cabin at the mouth of the Tatoduk. After recovering from their journey, they returned to find that the other three men had left their camp and travelled downstream. Subsequent examination by the N.W.M.P. revealed that the men had perished before they reached help. This tragic occurrence marked the single attempt, with only very minor exceptions, by the many gold seekers to prospect along this route.5

One other Klondike era mining expedition, this one the victim of a self-imposed hoax, attempted to discover gold in the northern Yukon. Jack Wegmer, a former Chicago ne'er-do-well, returned to Chicago from Dawson in 1897 carrying over
$35,000 in gold. The wild living which followed his return, however, soon led to a serious illness. On his death bed, Wegmer was confronted with a map taken from amongst his possessions and was asked if it indicated the site of his gold mine. Too ill to answer, Wegmer died before he revealed the source of his wealth.

A number of his acquaintances, very much caught up in the mystique of the Klondike and believing that they possessed a map which would lead them to untold riches, decided to head north. Unlike the overwhelming majority of the gold seekers who headed straight for Dawson, this group, led by Winfield Mason, turned their attention to the region between Herschel Island and the Porcupine River.

Arriving on the Arctic coast early in August 1898, too late to undertake any serious prospecting, the party pulled into the Babbage River and, two miles from its mouth, built a small cabin in which they passed the winter. Christening their humble abode "Marmot Hill," the men were surprised and somewhat concerned to note that their presence had resulted in the development of a substantial Eskimo community on the site. The party soon developed amicable relations with the natives and spent much of the winter hunting and sealing with their neighbours. Buoyed by their expectations for the following season, the men did not resent their northern isolation.

Just before Christmas, Anglican missionary Issac Stringer arrived at the cabin. The Herschel Island clergyman was inviting all the inhabitants of the Arctic coast to visit the island on Christmas Day and share in the repast they were planning. Arriving at Herschel Island, where the local natives generously offered them raw blubber off a recently killed whale, which the men refused, they were greeted with an unexpected "civilized" celebration. Commenting on the supper, Mason wrote that, as the diners sat at:

the long rude table covered with the whitest of linens and groaning under its precious load we wonder if this is really the barren, desolate Polar
region of which we have so often read. Caribou steak, roast mutton, pickled deer tongue, broiled liver, roast duck with dressing, fish and oysters, potatoes and peas, fruit cake, pyramid cake and plum pudding with sauce, were the viands that graced this Christmas feast.8

Returning to Marmot Hill, the group anxiously awaited the coming spring. As soon as travel became possible, they broke camp and headed back to Herschel. After trading the unwanted portion of their outfit for furs, the party headed inland up the Herschel Island (Firth) River into the Old Crow Mountains. There the party broke up, each man heading in a separate direction to search for Wegmer's mine. Disappointment greeted their every effort, and in early July they returned to Herschel Island anxious only to secure passage to the south. For two months the Mason party worked aboard the Mary D. Hume, a whaling ship, before the vessel finally departed for the south.9

The epilogue of the ill-fated venture was written on the return voyage. While at Cape Nome, the group learned where Wegmer had gotten his money and to what the map referred. In partnership with a miner named Carrol and based on the high prices paid for dogs in Dawson, Wegmer had developed the idea of visiting the Arctic coast and purchasing the animals from the Eskimos. Pleased with their initial success, the two men made a second trip, bringing back 200 dogs which they sold at $100 each. Shortly thereafter, following a quarrel between the partners, Wegmer disappeared with the $20,000. Soon afterward, another miner was found dead and the $15,000 in gold dust he had been carrying was gone.10 The mystery of Wegmer's $35,000 in gold solved, Mason realized that their venture had been totally in vain. Having fallen victim to the "Klondike fever," the chastized party returned to Chicago, "wiser, if not richer men" for their adventures.11

With the termination of the Mason expedition, further mineral exploration in the northern Yukon would have to wait for the decline of the Klondike Gold Rush. Beginning around
1905, miners began to push north from Dawson, searching for new and profitable mineral deposits. The principle area of investigation was the Firth River area, a region first prospected in the 1890s by crew members of the Herschel Island whaling fleet. Small amounts of gold had been found at that time, but not in sufficient quantities to stimulate any serious development. The first significant mineral exploration in the Firth River basin was undertaken by a Japanese miner, Wada in 1908. He found a large enough quantity of gold to convince him to travel all the way back to Dawson to record his claims. As happened with all such resource discoveries, a number of other prospectors followed Wada north, and the following summer more than ten separate outfits were reported to be active in the Firth and Old Crow River areas. Fred Smith, who had actually been in the northern Yukon since 1904, found "good colours" in 1910, but subsequent examination proved them unworthy of further development. By 1913, the initial "rush" had abated, and the miners still in the region dispersed. In that year, only the Mason and Annett party, working on the Kay Point River, were still alive.

Between 1905 and 1910, Waugh and Waren Company was granted a substantial concession along the Wind River. Their efforts were hampered by the difficulty encountered in transporting supplies up the Peel River, and in 1910 they were facing starvation before they were given assistance by the annual Dawson-McPherson patrol. That same year, Waugh committed suicide and further mining efforts at the claim were permanently suspended.

Prospecting continued at a reduced level throughout the second decade of the century. A minor discovery was made by Annett and Mason on the Driftwood River in 1914, but it proved to be too small to be of commercial value. For the first time, mineral explorations were conducted along the headwaters of the Peel River and in the Seala Pass region, again with
little success. Other miners continued to search for deposits along the Bell, Old Crow and Firth Rivers, but no significant discoveries were to be made for another 30 years. To assist miners in the region, the government had appointed Angus Thompson, a Porcupine River trader, as mining recorder in 1908. In 1914, after a R.N.W.M.P. detachment was opened at Rampart House, this position was delegated to the resident officer. By the middle of the second decade, however, mining activities had fallen off considerably. Many of the miners, after expending all their finances on their prospecting efforts, turned to trapping and, as a result of the surge in fur prices in this period, made a rather comfortable living.

**Firth River - 1947**

Interest in the potential gold reserves of the northern Yukon did not die after the initial surge of prospectors in the first two decades of the 20th century had ended. Aided by the introduction of the aeroplane, a number of miners returned to the region, focussing primarily on the Firth River watershed. In 1930, two parties working for Northern Arctic Mining Exploration Company examined several tributaries of the Firth River and explored in the Black Mountains. A group known as the Dominion Explorers was also active in the area at the time. The following year, David Lord located small deposits on Annett Creek, a tributary of the Canoe River, and staked several claims. These expeditions, however, made no major discoveries and exploration in the region remained slight.

In 1947 a strike of some significance was made on the Firth River, attracting "scores of Yukon and Alaska miners and prospectors." By the end of the season, between 150-200 claims had been staked, the majority by Eskimos from Herschel Island and Aklavik. The staking rush centered on an area about 40 miles from the mouth of the Firth, although a
number of prospectors, brought in by aeroplane, moved onto the upper reaches of the river.

The region had not been surveyed by the Geological Survey of Canada, and consequently little public information was available on the "discovery" region. One national magazine, believing that "In years to come, it is probable that getting in and out of the Firth River camp will become as routine as getting into the Klondike," had a miner who had visited the area write a short article concerning transportation problems, climate, game, and the history of the strike. Two other journals, *Arctic Circular* and *Western Miner*, ran similar reports to meet the mining community's desire for information.

In the end, the discovery, like its predecessors in the area, proved to be illusory, and no permanent mining development occurred in the Firth River region. The "sensational" strike of 1947 had not lived up to expectations and interest in the area quickly waned.

The Search for Oil
The first "discovery" of oil in the Yukon Territory was made in 1905 by Charles Camsell of the Geological Survey of Canada. (A similar, less well-known observation was made by de Sainville in 1893). While engaged in a survey of the Peel and Wind Rivers, Camsell had noted "evidence of oil at Hungry Creek and in the canyon of Peel River. This oil undoubtedly came from bituminous shales that outcropped in the canyon, and in one place filled a fissure which cut through the overlying sandstone." In 1942, in his capacity as Commissioner of the Northwest Territories, Camsell suggested that the proposed Canol pipeline pass through the Peel River region in order to take advantage of the oil resources in that area. His suggestion was not followed and more than 50 years were to pass between Camsell's original observation and the time that oil was truly discovered in the Yukon Territory.
In 1952, in response to growing interest in the territory among oil companies, the Canadian government called for tenders on two large (three million acres) oil and gas reserves in the Yukon. One straddles the Yukon-N.W.T. border in the vicinity of the Peel River Preserve while the other was situated astride the Arctic Circle in the Eagle Plains region. The successful bidder, Conwest Exploration Company, a Toronto firm, began immediate surface testing as a preliminary to their drilling operations.\(^{27}\)

Conwest soon sold their lease to Calgary-based Western Minerals Limited. Overcoming tremendous logistical difficulties, the firm succeeded in transporting a drilling platform to the Eagle Plains and, after one dry well, struck small amounts of oil and gas in August 1959. Due to the small size of the discovery at the site, names Chance #1, no immediate rush to exploit the resource occurred.\(^{28}\)

From the time the first leases were granted, interest in the area increased dramatically, and by 1958-59, permits covering 93 million acres had been granted in the Yukon, most of which was in the northern segment of the territory. By 1961, 73 million acres remained under active permits, although earlier enthusiasm was subsiding.\(^{29}\)

The discovery of oil had stimulated a great deal of debate regarding access to the area. The Flat Creek road (later renamed the Dempster Highway) provided access to the southern areas of the exploration field, but provided no solution to the potential problem of removing gas and oil from the region to world markets. One solution put forth by the industry was the construction of a pipeline from the oil field to the Arctic coast, with Herschel Island serving as the northern terminus. The suggestion was considered by the Canadian government, and they commissioned a major study to examine the potential of developing port facilities on the island.\(^{30}\)

The work that has followed the discovery at Chance #1 has not been followed by the detection of any sizeable oil reserves.
In fact, as occurred in the fur trade and the whaling industry, the role of the region in Canada's and North America's oil industry remains not as a producer but potentially as a transportation route for oil and gas in other regions, most notably the North Slope of Alaska and the Mackenzie River Delta.

Conclusion
Unlike other areas of the Yukon, mineral exploration has not spurred development in the northern section of the territory. All discoveries of gold, oil or other minerals tended to be small or low grade, causing only short-term excitement and no major exploitation of resources. Convinced that valuable deposits lay somewhere in the area, however, miners scoured the northern Yukon, particularly the area north of the Porcupine River, prospecting along virtually every river and creek. The introduction of the aeroplane greatly simplified northern travel and allowed for even more intensive exploration, but with similarly unproductive results.

With the exception of the Firth River prospects and the oil strike at Chance #1, the northern Yukon has kept the secrets of its mineral wealth hidden. The only examples or suggestions of mineral-related development in the area—the use of the trails across the Richardson Mountains and the Peel and Wind River route by gold-seekers in 1897-99, and the proposed northern gas pipelines—have relegated the region to its traditional transportation-oriented role.
XI Government Activities

Due to the sparse population and the limited development of the Northern Yukon, the Canadian government largely ignored the region for the first half of this century. Acting largely through intermediaries, however, the government did endeavour to provide a minimal level of service to the residents of the area.

The first department of the federal government to exhibit any interest in the region was the Geological Survey of Canada. In four major expeditions, Ogilvie and McConnell in 1888, Camsell in 1905, and the Canadian Arctic Expedition in 1914, the G.S.C. was able to chart the principle transportation routes through the area and provide basic geological information concerning the lands adjoining these routes.

The government organization with the longest continuous tenure in the area, however, is the Royal Canadian Mounted Police (Chapter VII). Opening detachments at Herschel Island and Rampart House (1913, moved to Old Crow in 1928), the police constituted the only official government representative in the area as late as the 1950s. In addition to their legal duties, the officers of the northern detachments were forced to assume a wide range of civilian responsibilities, including game management, customs and tax collecting, mail delivery and social and health services.

Using available personnel, primarily the R.C.M.P. and the missionaries of the Anglican Church, the federal government has attempted to ensure that the basic rights of Canadian citizens, namely education, health services and legal protection, were available to the residents of the northern Yukon. Basic
medical supplies and equipment, for example, were provided free to each settlement, and either the local R.C.M.P. or his wife, or the missionary would administer to minor ailments. For more serious illnesses, transportation was provided to the nearest doctor, and the Canadian government made arrangements to pay all costs incurred. The 1911 small-pox epidemic and the rapid response of both the federal and territorial authorities to the crisis indicates their acknowledgement of responsibility for the health of the Porcupine River area residents.

Education was handled in a similar manner. Anglican missionaries at Herschel Island and Shingle Point established schools for the native children and then applied to the government for funds to pay for supplies, buildings and, occasionally, personnel. These mission schools actually received fairly generous financial aid, with W.D. Young receiving $100 for supplies to Herschel Island School in 1905, and the Shingle Point Residential School, which served the entire Western Arctic, getting an operations grant of $10,000 in 1929.

As the residents of Old Crow discovered in 1932, matters did not always develop so smoothly. On their own initiative, the residents had opened a day school, hiring Mrs. Tizya, the wife of the local missionary, at a salary of $30 per month. With the arrangements concluded, H. Healey applies to the Department of Indian Affairs for funds to maintain the school. J. Hawksley of the Dawson office wrote, not perhaps without some justification:

> you were advised on proper procedure to start a school, but have ignored it. No funds will be sent to pay for the school, nor will the school be recognized by the Department of Indian Affairs.

Unlike the Eskimos along the coast, who received a residential school in 1928, the Kutchin Indians were to have to wait until 1950 before the beginnings of a proper educational system in the interior. Up to this point, a number of local children had been sent hundreds of miles to Anglican residential schools.
at Carcross or Dawson City. In 1950, the first permanent school was opened at Old Crow, although for ten years it operated out of a log cabin. A more lasting structure was erected in 1960, signifying the Canadian government's first major commitment to local education for the Porcupine River Indians. High school age children, however, still have to leave the area to attend a residential school in Inuvik.

If the government was less than conscientious with regard to education, it displayed a willingness and desire to preserve the native lifestyles of the residents of the area. The Peel River Preserve, opened only to native hunters, was set aside in 1923 and, although there were problems caused by the dual jurisdiction (Yukon and N.W.T.), it served to protect parts of the traditional hunting grounds of the Peel River Kutchin. Additionally, Old Crow Flats were designated as a Group Trapping Area in the late 1940s and were restricted to natives resident in the area. The flats were later subdivided by R.C.M.P. officers and assigned to individuals in order to prevent encroachment and disputes.

The northern Yukon, never a separate or integrated district, has been the site of many jurisdictional complications. The R.C.M.P.'s detachments in the area, for example, were controlled from two different headquarters. Rampart House was attached to Dawson and Herschel Island came first under Edmonton and later the Mackenzie River District. The difficulties created by the region's boundaries led to a number of suggestions that the Yukon's borders be re-defined to suit the logistical realities of the area.

The first such suggestion was made in 1910 when Inspector Jennings of the R.N.W.M.P., believing that the eastern boundary of the Yukon was too difficult to locate, argued that the west bank of the Peel River should be used instead. The idea was not deemed practicable and the matter was shelved for almost two decades. The resurfacing of the issue originated with the realization in the early 1920s that Herschel
Island, previously believed by all concerned to be part of the N.W.T., actually belonged to the Yukon.\(^9\)

Late in 1928, concrete proposals were brought forth to transfer segments of the Yukon to the N.W.T. Three separate suggestions were proffered, including the transfer of all lands north of 65°, the transfer of lands roughly north of 67°, or the transfer of all Arctic islands.\(^10\) I.O. Finnie responded to the suggestions by claiming:

> I think if the present boundary is changed to cut off all that area within the watershed of the Beaufort Sea, together with the islands in the Beaufort Sea, north of the Yukon, and to add this area to the Mackenzie District, it would not greatly concern the people of the Yukon.\(^11\)

Cortland Starnes of the R.C.M.P., agreed with the proposal, arguing that Herschel Island could be much better served via the Mackenzie River than from Dawson City, which had very poor access to the north part of the territory.\(^12\)

Although the proposal to change the boundary received the "tentative approval" of the Minister of the Department of Indian Affairs,\(^13\) no action was taken on the matter. By 1937, the fact that all Western Arctic freight was being brought in by way of the Mackenzie River had meant the "desertion" of Herschel Island.\(^14\) With government activity along the coast ended, the jurisdictional problems were over and no further suggestions were made that the region be transferred to the N.W.T.

The Yukon Territorial government exhibited little interest in the far north at this time, and was not administratively active along the coast until 1972. In that year, a contingent led by Commissioner James Smith and including three territorial counsellors visited Herschel Island and, for the first time, the flag of the Yukon was raised on the island.\(^15\) From the 1920s when it had first been determined that the islands along the Arctic coast belonged to the Yukon, until 1972, when the flag was unfurled at the territory's only ocean
port, the regional government did virtually nothing to establish its control over the area. The limited government activity in the area in this half-century was exclusively federal and included the construction of the Distant Early Warning Line Stations.

The territorial government was similarly remiss in taking an active role in the interior. The government was largely content to allow existing agencies to provide necessary services, although they did provide financial assistance. The two levels of government, federal and territorial, expressed little interest in the northern Yukon, waiting for development to occur before they would enter the region and doing little to stimulate commercial or industrial interest.

In the last 25 years, this approach has been changed dramatically, with government becoming far more involved with the region. In this latter period, the government has been intimately involved with three major projects in the northern Yukon, the D.E.W. Line, the Dempster Highway, and the northern gas pipeline proposals.

Distant Early Warning Line
The first major government-sponsored project in the northern Yukon was the joint construction of the Distant Early Warning Line (D.E.W. Line) by the Canadian and United States governments between 1954 and 1957. The impetus for this development, which formed a major part of the continental defense network for North America, came from the U.S.S.R. In 1949, that country successfully exploded its first atomic bomb, immediately raising the possibility that the Soviets would launch a nuclear attack on Canada and the United States. The most vulnerable point for such an attack was over the vast, unguarded expanses of the Arctic, an area made passable by the development of long-range bombers.
Technological developments in the fields of radar and long-distance communications in the early 1950s made it feasible to consider developing a line of radar stations across the Arctic to provide early warning of a Russian air attack. First approved by the U.S. government in 1952, the project did not really get under way for another two years. The plan was to place approximately 50 stations across the Arctic, stretching from Bering Straight to Baffin Island. Three of these stations, at Komakuk Beach, Stokes Point and Shingle Point, were to be in the northern Yukon.

The operation, which eventually cost more than five hundred million dollars, was a marvel of technological and logistical ingenuity. The geographic and climatic conditions of the Arctic posed a number of seemingly insuperable problems to the project organizers, but all were eventually overcome. Despite the enormity of the project, however, it had remarkably little impact on the region.

Although some short-term employment was provided for some area residents, for the most part the D.E.W. Line, as a consequence of government policy and the isolation of the stations, was kept aloof from the economic and social life of the area. Indeed, the principle long-term impact of the project was the contribution made to the knowledge of the area by the numerous preliminary surveys and studies that were conducted. Even though the stations are still maintained, they have not been integrated into the regional economy. Very little contact occurs between the men at the sites and the local population, especially along the Yukon coast, where there is no local population to speak of, and the stations exist as separate, isolated entities.

Dempster Highway
The largest single construction project in the history of the northern Yukon, the building of a highway to link the
Mackenzie River delta with the highway system of the Yukon territory, originated as a tote road for oil companies drilling on the Eagle Plains. The staging area for all drilling operations was Flat Creek, approximately 35 miles south of Dawson. Although most of the transportation was conducted over winter roads, a short highway reaching as far as Chapman Lake was opened up. Initially known as the Flat Creek–Eagle Plains road, the route was renamed the Dempster Highway in 1963 on the suggestion of the Yukon Order of Pioneers.  

The first indication that a major expansion of the road was to be undertaken came in 1965, when the Department of Public Works announced plans for a locational survey of a route from Chapman Lake to Fort McPherson. For the next four years, the engineering staff of that department conducted a number of aerial and land surveys of the projected line, including a reconnaissance of the Wind River Valley in order to compare that area with the selected highway corridor. 

Beginning in 1969, construction on the extension north from Chapman Lake (Mile 78) began, with a contract being awarded that year for grading between the end of the existing road and Mile 123 (Ogilvie River crossing). The highway had now become a "high priority in the Department's workload" and work on the route was accelerated. In keeping with growing concern about the ecological effects of the road, an environmental study of the corridor was commissioned in 1971. 

Actual construction of the highway took until 1978, and the route was opened to the public the following spring. Total cost for the road was approximately one hundred million dollars. Two major bridges, across the Ogilvie and the Eagle Rivers, were required and both were erected by the Department of National Defence as training exercises. 

The Dempster Highway crosses through some of the most formidable yet beautiful terrain in North America. Special engineering techniques were required to compensate for the special soil and climatic conditions, particularly the perma-
frost. The northern Yukon, previously accessible only by water and air, and to a lesser extent, winter roads, is now opened on a year round basis to automobiles and trucks. This route marks the greatest government commitment to the northern Yukon and may provide the stimulus needed to initiate further developments in the region. At present, however, no such development seems imminent and the northern Yukon is once again assigned its traditional position as a transportation by-way, rather than a focal point for resource exploitation.

Northern Gas Pipelines

With the exception of the Dempster Highway and the D.E.W. Line, the northern Yukon had traditionally been ignored by all levels of government. Neither the federal nor the territorial authorities had expressed more than a passing interest in the region, although both did endeavour to provide a basic level of service. This was to change rather dramatically in March 1974 when the Mackenzie River Pipeline Inquiry, headed by Justice Thomas Berger, was established.25

Although the inquiry focussed on the proposed pipeline down the Mackenzie River Valley, additional suggestions by Canadian Arctic Gas that a branch line be extended through the northern Yukon ensured that Justice Berger would include the latter region in his study. Hearings on the various proposals, which covered more than 35 communities and included Old Crow,26 lasted from April 1974 to November 1976. Berger's final report, issued in April 1977, was to have important consequences for the northern Yukon.

Two separate routes had been proposed by Canadian Arctic Gas, the firm interested in building a gas pipeline from the fields of the Alaskan North Slope to join with the line extending south from the Mackenzie River delta. The first proposal was to follow the Arctic coast from Prudhoe Bay to the Mackenzie River. Since this route crossed the Arctic National
Wildlife Range (an Alaskan preserve) an alternative route, to cross through the northern Yukon in the vicinity of the Old Crow Flats, was suggested.\footnote{27}

Berger, concerned about both the immediate and long-term impact of such development, recommended that neither route be adopted, giving instead his cautious support to a preliminary plan to build a pipeline alongside the Alaska Highway. Equally important, however, were his comments on the future of the region. He wrote:

Moreover, if we are to protect the wilderness, the caribous, birds and other wildlife, we must designate the Northern Yukon north of the Porcupine River, as a National Wilderness Park. Oil and gas explorations, pipeline construction and industrial activity must be prohibited within the Park. The native people must continue to have the right to hunt, fish and trap within the Park. The Park must indeed be the means for protecting their renewable resource base.\footnote{28} The Berger Inquiry had done more than focus attention on the northern Yukon; it had developed a proposal for the long-term preservation of the natural resources of the region. Agreeing in principle with Berger's suggestion, the Canadian government announced late in 1978 that the area north of the Porcupine River had been closed to further development.\footnote{29}

The Mackenzie Valley Pipeline Inquiry was not the only such undertaking to assess the impact of a gas pipeline on the northern Yukon. As Berger was concluding his study, a second inquiry, headed by Kenneth Lysyk, was established to investigate proposals for a pipeline alongside the Alaska Highway. One segment of the proposal, known as the Dempster Lateral, called for the construction of a line along the Dempster Highway to connect the Alaska Highway Pipeline with the gas reserves of the Mackenzie River delta.\footnote{30}

While agreeing with the Alaska Highway Pipeline, although suggesting stringent controls and compensation, the Lysyk Inquiry recommended that the Dempster Lateral not be considered as an alternative to the construction of the
Mackenzie Valley pipeline. In coming to this decision, the inquiry offered two main reasons. First, there was insufficient data upon which to assess the environmental, social and economic impact of the line and, secondly, final decision on the line would have to await a clearer definition of the gas reserves in the Canadian Arctic. If substantial finds were made, the Dempster Lateral would not provide a suitable transportation system for the gas, as the Alaska Highway Pipeline would be filled with Alaskan natural gas. The commission was also concerned with the potential impact of such a line on the residents of Old Crow. 31

Both the Mackenzie Valley and the Alaskan Highway Pipeline Inquiries recommended that no lines be allowed to cross the northern Yukon. Concerned with the impact of such development on the area, both Berger and Lysyk suggested that alternative routes be adopted. Justice Berger, in calling for a national park, was echoing the sentiments of conservations and some of the native leaders who wished to provide permanent protection for the ecology and the native residents of the area.

Conclusion
Until the 1970s, neither the federal nor the territorial governments expressed much interest in the northern Yukon. Although providing schools, health services and police protection, the governments did not take an active role in developing the region. With the construction of the D.E.W. Line sites and, particularly, the Dempster Highway, a change in emphasis took place. Rather than responding to demands for services, the government initiated development, primarily with a view to opening up new regions to mineral exploration and mining. As is evidenced by the Mackenzie Valley and Alaska Highway Pipeline Inquiries, however, it is clear that this development was not to be allowed to proceed unchecked.
Largely due to the small permanent population and the limited commercial and industrial activity in the region, the territorial and federal governments, until recently, did little more than provide basic services and undertake preliminary services of the northern Yukon. As the value of the unexploited wilderness in the area increased, both as a laboratory for scientists and as a preserve for posterity, government interest increased. The Dempster Highway, which ushered in great expectations for the development of the region when the expansion of the route was first announced, and the two pipeline inquiries, both of which recommended that no further construction be undertaken in the area, were ironically completed within two years of one another. The federal government is now faced with a difficult choice between the developmental possibilities opened up by the Dempster Highway and the preservationist option presented by Justice Berger.
Conclusion

The aim of this project was to assess the major historical themes in the development of the northern Yukon, with particular emphasis placed on events of national significance. As the foregoing discussion had repeatedly shown, the region was only seldom the focus for development, the post-1869 fur trade and the early stages of whaling the western Arctic being the two major examples. Indeed, throughout its history, the northern Yukon has served primarily as a by-way, providing access to more lucrative fields for exploitation in contiguous geographical areas.

Such a role, far from limiting the national importance of the region, actually ensured that the northern Yukon would be one of the most historically significant areas in the Canadian north. Its strategic location between the principle water-routes of the north-west, the Yukon, and Mackenzie River and the Arctic Ocean, meant that the region would participate, if only parenthetically in some instances, in virtually every major development in the Canadian north-west. The history of the area is, in effect, a microcosm of the development of the Canadian north. No other region in the north can claim as diverse a history as the northern Yukon, with the interior transportation routes serving as by-ways for the fur trade, missionaries, surveyors and the stampeeders of '98, and Herschel Island acting as the focus for all development in the western Arctic, including the whaling industry, the coastal fur trade, the Royal Canadian Mounted Police, and scientific investigations.

In the preceding discussion, the emphasis was on the
northern Yukon and the effects of various activities on the development of that region. In order to illustrate the national importance of the area, it is necessary to place these activities in a wider perspective. It was found, for example, that the surveys conducted by the Geological Survey of Canada had little permanent impact on the northern Yukon. From the parochial point of view of the region, that is indeed true. It is equally important, however, to recognize that these expeditions were an attempt by the national government to increase their knowledge of the vast lands that came under their control following the purchase of Rupert's Land from the Hudson's Bay Company in 1869.

Similarly, the fur trade of the northern Yukon serves as an excellent example of the expansion and contraction of the empire of that same Hudson's Bay Company. When the initial exploration of the region was undertaken and when posts were subsequently established west of the Richardson Mountains, the firm was at its apex, in virtual control of the entire British North American fur trade. The withdrawal of the Porcupine after 1869 and the eventual abandonment of the Yukon trade in 1893 were part of the general contraction by the Company of its fur trade operations as it gradually lost its monopoly, first legally and then practically, and turned to other, more lucrative businesses, such as retailing and land speculation. The flurry of fur trade activity along the Arctic coast in the 1920s and 1930s, for which Herschel Island served as the focal point, represented the final major expansion of the Canadian fur trade into the north.

Other examples of the national relevance of the history of the northern Yukon can be drawn from the activities of the missionaries, the expansion of the R.C.M.P. in response to American encroachment, and the role of the region in the Klondike Gold Rush. A modern instance was provided with the construction of the Distant Early Warning Line stations along
the coast, with the area assuming an important role in the continental defense of North America. The historic resources of the area, a list of which is appended below, provide an excellent representation, not only of the local history, but also of the place the northern Yukon has assumed in the development of the Canadian North.

The present condition of the region, with only one permanent settlement and no major industrial or mining activity, rather belies its past importance. With the completion of the Dempster Highway and the proposals for gas pipelines through the area, however, the region has regained its place in northern development. It is fitting that both of these projects are intended to provide transportation across, and not necessarily access to the northern Yukon. Up to the present, no major resources have been discovered in the area, with the limited exceptions of the whales off the Arctic coast and the inland fur-bearing animals. It is essential to note, as the Lysyk Commission did when they were determining the amount of compensation to be paid for the Alaska Highway Pipeline, that "Geographical location may equally be regarded as a natural endowment."¹ The riches of the northern Yukon lie, not in the ground or in the waters, but in the region's strategic location. It is this situation that stimulated all major activity in the area and was responsible for the major part the northern Yukon has played in the history of the Canadian north.
Endnotes

I The Pre-Contact Period

II Exploration
1 L.H. Neatby, In Quest of the Northwest Passage (Toronto: Longmans, Green, 1958), pp. 92-94.
2 John Franklin, Thirty Years in Arctic Regions, op. cit., p. 413.
3 Ibid., pp. 414-424.
4 Ibid., pp. 448-449.
5 Ibid., pp. 454-456.
6 Neatby, op. cit., pp. 96-97.
8 Alexander Simpson, op. cit., p. 142.
10 Hudson's Bay Company Archives (hereafter cited as HBCA), D.5/14, fo. 326, Dease and Simpson to Governor Simpson September 5, 1837.
11 HBCA, D.5/15, fo. 47, Governor and Committee to Governor and Council, June 1, 1838. It is important to note that Robert Campbell's efforts along the West Branch of the Liard River and the Pelly River, usually represented as a separate branch of the Company's expansion, was actually part of the search for the Colville River.
12 Ibid.
13 HBCA, B.200/b/11, fo. 39, McPherson to Bell, June 12, 1839.
16 For an account of Isbister's efforts in the area, see Alexander Isbister, "Some Accounts of the Peel River, North America," Journal of the Royal Geographical Society, Vol. 40 (1845), part II.
17 HBCA, D.5/5, fo. 396, Bell to Simpson, December 10, 1840; Ibid., fo. 377, Lewes to Simpson, November 20, 1840.
18 PAC, MG30, D39, "Letters of John Bell," p. 28; see also HBCA, D.5/6, fo. 341, Bell to Simpson, December
John Bell realized that the natives opposed the Company's expansion plans, but he was somewhat confused as to what he could do about their attitude. PAC, MG30, D39, "Letters of John Bell," p. 34.

Ill The Fur Trade

Hudson's Bay Company Library, Vertical File, "Lapierre House" file; HBCA, B.200/b/21, fo. 15, Murray to McPherson, April 1, 1847.


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Ibid., B.200/b/34, fo. 57, Jones to Hardisty, November 10, 1863; ibid., fo. 181, Jones to Hardisty, October 27, 1864; ibid., B.200/b/27, fo. 28, Hardisty to McDougall, January 29, 1868.


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HBCA, B.200/b/38, fo. 16, McDougall to Hardisty, January 3, 1870.

PAC, MacFarlane Papers, MG29, All, vol. 1, fos. 210-221, McDougall to McFarlane, December 2, 1871.


HBCA, B.200/b/40, fo. 25, Hardisty to Smith, December 1, 1871.
20 HBCA, B.200/b/38, fo. 100, Hardisty to Governor, Northern Department, August 5, 1871.
21 Ibid., B.200/b/40, fo. 53, Hardisty to Smith, August 6, 1872.
22 Ibid., fos. 60-68, Hardisty to Smith, November 21, 1872.
23 Ibid., A.12/14, fos. 373-376, Smith to Armit (London Secretary), April 18, 1873; Ibid., B.200/b/41, fo. 4, Smith to Hardisty, October 9, 1873.
24 Ibid., B.200/b/37, fo. 277, Hardisty to Council, November 30, 1870.
25 Ibid., B.200/b/38, fo. 100, Hardisty to Governor, August 5, 1871; Ibid., B.22/b/42, fo. 35, Hardisty to McDonald, March 20, 1877.
26 Ibid., B.200/b/43, fo. 713, Camsell to Chipman, September 10, 1891.
27 Ibid., B.200/b/40, fo. 102, Hardisty to Grahame, December 1, 1874; Ibid., B.200/b/42, fo. 35, Hardisty to McDonald, March 20, 1877; Ibid., B.200/b/43, fo. 31, Camsell to Grahame, March 26, 1879.
28 Ibid., B.200/b/43, fo. 165, Camsell to Grahame, March 24, 1883.
29 Ibid., March 23, 1881. The Americans also attempted direct contact with the Rampart House Indians. They either outfit a native and suggested that he open a trading post near the H.B.C., or they entered the area themselves to trade. PAC, MacFarlane Papers, MG29, All, Vol. 1, fos. 819-820, V.C. Sim to MacFarlane, January 2, 1881; Ibid., fos. 817-818, McDonald to MacFarlane, January 1, 1881.
31 HBCA, B.200/b/43, fo. 755, Camsell to Chipman, March 30, 1892.
32 Ibid., fo. 713, Camsell to Chipman, September 10, 1891; Ibid., fo. 740, Camsell to Chipman, March 6, 1892.
34 PAC, Church Missionary Society Papers, MG17, B2, Series C. 1/0, Bompas to Church Missionary Society, June 15, 1896.
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as AEPR), #4001, Box J, "Bibliography of Robert McDonald," unpublished manuscript by C.T. Best.


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54 Ibid., p. 109.
55 North, The Mad Trapper of Rat River, p. 44.

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2 Allen Wright, op. cit., p. 44.
5 Edouard de Sainville, "Voyage a l'embouchure de la rivière Mackenzie," Bulletin de la Société de Geographie,

6 Cooke and Holland, op. cit., p. 299.
7 Roald Amundsen, op. cit., pp. 138-145, Vol. II.
8 Ibid., p. 155.
9 Ibid., pp. 163-166.
10 Ibid., pp. 178, 212.
11 Ibid., p. 224.
12 Ibid., pp. 235-36.
13 Ibid., pp. 239-249.
14 Ibid., pp. 181-185.
15 Cooke and Holland, op. cit., p. 299.
16 Amundsen, op. cit., p. 292.
17 Cooke and Holland, op. cit., p. 306; Alfred H. Harrison, In Search of a polar continent (London: Edward Arnold, 1908).
18 Cooke and Holland, op. cit., p. 306.
19 Harrison, op. cit., pp. 110-111.
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21 Ibid., pp. 318-319.
22 Ibid., pp. 335-338.
24 Stefansson credited his rapid recovery to the fact that while on the journey to Rampart House he was allowed to eat his favourite food, frozen raw fish. Stefansson, op. cit., pp. 210.
25 Cooke and Holland, op. cit., p. 337.
26 Diubaldo, op. cit., p. 212.
27 Stefansson, op. cit., pp. 103-104.
28 PAC, RG18, Al, R.C.M.P., Vol. 372, file 236-09, Fitzgerald to Officer Commanding Depot Division, December 4, 1908.
31 Ibid.
32 Diubaldo, op. cit., p. 29.
33 Stefansson, My Life with the Eskimos, p. 415.
34 Stefansson, Discovery, p. 102; Stefansson, My Life with the Eskimos, pp. 408-435.
35 PAM, MG7, Al. AEPR, #4003, Box N, "Momoranda of the Mission to the Mackenzie River Eskimos," unpublished manuscript by Charles E. Whittaker.
36 PAC, MG30, B66, Chipman Papers, "Diary of Canadian Arctic Expedition," entry for April 4, 1914.
37 See Diubaldo, Stefansson and the Canadian Arctic, pp. 101-126 for an excellent analysis of the feud between the participants in this venture.
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39 PAC, RG45, Department of Mines, Vol. 67, file 4078, Acting Chief, Biological Division, Victoria Memorial Museum to Camsell, January 4, 1912.
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42 Smithsonian Archives (hereafter cited as SA), RU 7215, Collected Notes, Lists, and Catalogues on Birds, 1839, 1849-1851, 1855-1965, Box 13, Kennicott #8 (1862), Kennicott to Baird, January 21, 1862.
43 Wright, op. cit., pp. 92-117.
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45 Ibid.
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48 Ibid.


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**IX Government Surveys**

1 HBCA, D.5/32, fo. 284, Anderson to Simpson, November 26, 1851.


3 HBCA, B.200/b/35, fo. 256-257, MacTavish to Hardisty, July 2, 1869.


6 Ibid., p. 23.


(February 8, 1893)

9 Wright, op. cit., pp. 220-221.


13 Ibid.

14 Ibid., p. 56.

15 Ibid., pp. 58-59.

16 Ibid., p. 64.


19 Ibid., pp. 116-122.

20 Ibid., p. 132.

21 PAC, MG30, B22, Ogilvie Papers, File #4, McDougall to Ogilvie, January 29, 1889.


23 Ibid., pp. 7-9.

24 Ibid., p. 9.

25 Ibid.

26 Ibid., pp. 10-11.

27 International Boundary Commission, Joint Report upon the survey and demarcation of the international boundary between the United States and Canada along the 141st Meridian
from the Arctic Ocean to Mt. St. Elias (Ottawa: Department of the Interior, 1918), pp. 58-60.

28 Ibid., p. 60.
29 Ibid., p. 61.
30 Ibid., pp. 61-62.
32 International Boundary Commission, Joint Report, p. 66.
33 The leader of the triangulation reconnaissance party had fallen ill, and the surveyors were unable to continue the survey to Herschel Island as had originally been intended. Ibid., pp. 70-71.
35 To provide just one example of the G.S.C.'s important role in pointing out potentially mineral-rich area, A.P. Low conducted a survey through Labrador and Ungava in 1884, locating very rich deposits of iron ore along what is now called the Churchill River. Morris Zaslow, The Opening Of the Canadian North, pp. 84-85.

X Mineral Exploration
1 PAM. MG7, Al, AEPR, #4001, Box L, "Misc. Circulars," Copy of an address by Bishop Stringer, fo. 7, n.d.
2 Allen Wright, op. cit., pp. 124-133.
5 Ibid., pp. 131-132.
7 Ibid., pp. 54-55.
8 Ibid., p. 66.
9 Ibid., pp. 88-112.
10 Ibid., pp. 146-152.
11 Ibid., p. 160.
18 See for example, PAC, RG18, A1, R.C.M.P., Vol. 549, file 108, Dempster to Commanding Officer, "B" Division, March 4, 1918.
26 Camsell, Son of the North, op. cit., p. 191.
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29 Ibid.

XI Government Activities

2 Ibid.
3 PAC, RG85, N.A.B., Vol. 1883, file 630/214-2, vol. 1, Private secretary of Lieutenant Governor to Young, September 30, 1900, Private Secretary to Whittaker, August 19, 1905, McLean to Hawksley, April 4, 1917; ibid., vol. 2, Turner to Wardle, April 17, 1936.
5 A. Balilci, Vunta Kutchin Social Change, op. cit., p. 70.
6 Ibid.
7 Ibid., p. 71.
Finnie to Pope, February 3, 1921.

10. Ibid., vol. 792, file 6271, Starnes to Finnie, January 2, 1929.

11. Ibid., Finnie to Gibson, November 14, 1928.

12. For a collection of correspondence on the question of boundary re-location, see PAC, RG85, N.A.B., Vol. 792, file 6271.


17. Ibid., p. 309.

18. Ibid., p. 311.


27 Berger, op. cit., p. 10.
28 Ibid., p. xiii.
31 Ibid., pp. 123-130.

Conclusion

NORTHERN YUKON - HISTORIC SITES

1. Herschel Island
2. Shingle Point
3. Rampart House
4. Lapierre's House #1
5. Lapierre's House #2
6. Old Crow
7. Mount Conybeare
8. King Point
9. The "Lost Patrol" - two sites
10. Wind City
11. Destruction City
12. Shacktown
13. Stony Creek Pass
14. Marmot Hill
15. The "Mad Trapper of Rat River" - two sites
16. R.C.M.P. cabins - two sites (see also #2)
17. Demarcation Point
18. Firth River Gold Strikes - two sites
19. D.E.W. Line Sites - three sites
20. Chance #1
21. Boundary Monuments (not marked on maps)
22. Escape Reef Mission
23. Miners' and Trappers' cabins
24. Waugh and Warren Concession

The numbers in the section that follows are marked with circles.

NORTHERN YUKON TRAVEL ROUTES

1. Rampart House to Herschel Island
2. Stony Creek Pass
3. McDougall Pass
4. Dawson-McPherson Trail
5. Rampart House to Dawson City
6. Herschel Island to Fort Yukon
7. Peel and Wind Rivers route
An Introduction to Manuscript Sources

The following annotated bibliography lists all collections in the Public Archives of Canada, the Hudson's Bay Company Archives, and the Public Archives of Manitoba which contain material relevant to the study of the history of the northern Yukon. The short annotation which accompanies each entry is intended to provide a brief outline of the contents of each collection and a synopsis of the utility of the material.

When attempting to use these collections, one problem will become evident very quickly. Until recently the Northern Yukon has been considered a single administrative unit. Consequently, documents on the area will be found under a variety of headings, including the Yukon Territory, the North-West Territories, the Western Arctic, Arctic Islands, and of course individual locations, such as Herschel Island, Old Crow and Rampart House. Since the Northern Yukon is almost inevitably treated as part of a much larger geographical unit, small amounts of material on the area are intermingled with a vast quantity of irrelevant documents. Perhaps the best example of this is the Northern Administration Branch records (R.G. 85 in the Public Archives of Canada). This enormous collection covers all Canadian territory north of 60°, and spans a period from 1892-1971. There are, however, a large number of files relating to the Northern Yukon, and the tedious search through the finding aids is definitely worth the effort.

In terms of manuscript sources, this bibliography is not complete. Additional primary collections relevant to the area
are to be found in the Yukon Territorial Archives, the Provincial Archives of Alberta and British Columbia, the Glenbow Institute, the Whaling Museum in New Bedford, Mass., as well as in other locations.

It should be noted as well that the Hudson's Bay Company material for the period prior to 1870 is available (with prior consent from the H.B.C. Archivist) on microfilm at the Public Archives of Canada. Also, the Yukon Territorial Government Collection (R.G. 91 at the Public Archives of Canada) is available on microfilm only at the Public Archives of Canada. The original documents are available for consultation at the Yukon Territorial Archives in Whitehorse.

Public Archives of Canada, Public Records Division
Indian Affairs, 1677-1971. Record Group 10
This collection relates primarily to the management of Indian affairs in southern Canada (south of 60° North Latitude). Very little material on the northern Yukon is to be found here.

Department of the Interior, 1821-1959. Record Group 15
Within this Record Group, there are only a few files (most concerned with various expeditions in the Arctic) of any relevance to the northern Yukon.

Royal Canadian Mounted Police, 1868-1965. Record Group 18
The records of the R.C.M.P. contain a great deal of material on the northern Yukon, particularly Herschel Island. Included are files on whaling, northern police patrols, the establishment of new detachments, and special services performed by the police. Regular reports from the various Arctic detachments, including Herschel Island, can be found here. Overall, this is a very important and valuable collection.
Indian and Northern Affairs, 1867-1975. Record Group 22
This collection includes several files on northern wildlife and on various aspects of the construction and maintenance of the D.E.W. line, but is of little value to the study of the history of the northern Yukon.

Geological Survey of Canada, 1842-1953. Record Group 45
The records of this department are very incomplete. There are, however, a number of field notebooks of such surveyors as McConnell and Camsell written while they were engaged in surveys of the northern Yukon. The information in these notebooks is very sketchy, although there are several maps and drawings of notable features and comments concerning the geography and people of the areas covered.

Northern Administration Branch, 1892-1971. Record Group 85
This collection is probably the most important single source of information on the northern Yukon. Files cover R.C.M.P. and missionary activities, mining developments and the expansion of government services.

Yukon Territorial Records, 1894-1951. Record Group 91
This record group contains a disappointingly limited amount of relevant material. There are several files relating to Herschel Island, Rampart House and Old Crow, but overall the collection is of little value.

Mackenzie Valley, Pipeline Inquiry. Record Group 126
Within this large collection, there is a considerable amount of relevant material, including transcripts of community hearings, letters from local natives, scholarly presentations and formal pipeline proposals.
Public Archives of Canada, Manuscript Division

Burpee Papers, MG30 D39
The papers of the well-known scholar Lawrence J. Burpee contain copies of numerous letters relating to the expansion of the Hudson's Bay Company into the northern Yukon. Of particular importance are those of Alexander Murray and John Bell. Also included is an unpublished manuscript of a collection of John Bell's letters.

Camsell Papers MG30 B38
As this collection relates primarily to the post 1920 period, there is little information on Camsell's activities in the northern Yukon. There is, however, one diary written during his exploration of the Peel River in 1906.

Chipman Papers MG30 B66
K.G. Chipman was a surveyor attached to the Canadian Arctic expedition of 1913-1918. Included in his papers are diaries covering his activities in the north. These diaries contain many insightful, often highly critical comments regarding the missionaries, V. Stefansson, etc.

Church Missionary Society Papers MG17 B2
This collection, on microfilm, covers the activities of the Church Missionary Society in Canada prior to 1903, and is one of the most important collections for the study of the history of the northern Yukon. Included in this collection are letters relating to the establishment of missions at Herschel Island and along the Porcupine River, and annual reports from the missionaries.

Constantine Papers MG30 E55
Inspector Charles Constantine of the R.C.M.P. played a vital role in the establishment of a police presence in the Yukon.
This collection contains his correspondence relating to the establishment of police posts along the Yukon River and at Herschel Island.

MacFarlane Papers  MG29 All
Roderick MacFarlane, an employee of the Hudson's Bay Company maintained a regular correspondence with other H.B.C. men throughout the north. His papers contain a number of letters with traders and missionaries active in the northern Yukon. The principle value of the collection is that these letters were unofficial, and hence are much more frank and open than the correspondence conducted within the Hudson's Bay Company.

Ogilvie Papers  MG30 B22
Two segments of this collection are of value. One is a number of manuscripts of Ogilvie's reminiscences (only a few of which relate to the area in question), and the other is a small collection of correspondence with a number of men in the northern Yukon, including Bompas, McDougall and de Sainville.

Osborne Papers  MG30 D66
The only segment of this collection which is of any value to the study of the northern Yukon is a small collection of letters from various bishops in the Canadian northwest, including Bishop W. Bompas.

Peel's River House Journals  MG19 P12
These journals were kept by Augustas Peers, a clerk in the employ of the Hudson's Bay Company, at Peel's River from 1847 to 1853. They provide a considerable amount of information relating to the expansion of the H.B.C.'s operations into the northern Yukon.
Stefansson Papers MG30 B81
This collection includes diaries of the Anglo-American, the Stefansson-Anderson, and the Canadian Arctic Expedition. The diaries are primarily devoted to technical (i.e. anthropological) information.

Hudson's Bay Company Archives
Within this enormous and extremely valuable collection are a large number and wide variety of sources relevant to the study of the fur trade in the Northern Yukon. Post journals, correspondence books and account books (which cover Lapierre's House, Ramparts House, Fort Yukon, Herschel Island and Shingle Point); Mackenzie River District correspondence and account books, minutes of the meetings of the Council of the Northern Department, and the inward and outward correspondence of the Governor of the Northern Department and the London Committee all provide information of the area.

The following is a list of the major collections in the Hudson's Bay Company Archives which contain information on the Northern Yukon. While this list includes all the major sources on the fur trade in the area, it is not intended to suggest that research should be limited to those records cited. Relevant material can be located in a number of other sources, including servants records and the records of the Northern Department.

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<td>Journals</td>
<td>B.434/a/1</td>
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**Additional Collections**
- James Anderson Papers (E.37)
- James McDougall Papers (E.38)
- Governor Simpson's Outward Correspondence and Official Reports to the London Committee (D.4/17-119)
- Governor Simpson's Inward Correspondence (D.5/3-52)
- Donald A. Smith's Outward Correspondence (D.11/1-8)
- Donald A. Smith's Inward Correspondence (D.12/1)
- Commissioner's Outward Correspondence (D.13/1-21)
- Commissioner's Inward Correspondence (D.19/1-27)
- London Committee's Outward Correspondence (A.6/23-92)

**Archives of the Ecclesiastical Province of Rupertsland**
This collection, housed in the Public Archives of Manitoba, serves as an excellent supplement to the papers of the Church Missionary Society. Especially important are a partially completed manuscript of the letters and journals of Robert McDonald by C.T. Best and an unpublished manuscript by C. Whittaker relating his experiences at Herschel Island and Fort McPherson. The Archives also includes an extensive library of missionary-related material, most of which is not included in the accompanying bibliography. Annual publications such as the Church Missionary Intelligencer, and the Church Missionary Record often contain letters or reports from missionaries active in the northern Yukon. Also included are reports of the Synods of the Yukon Diocese, most of which list the church leaders then active in the field and give a brief description of their efforts on behalf of the church.
Published Materials
The following bibliography is a comprehensive listing of all published materials relating to the history of the Northern Yukon. Included in the selection are diaries, scientific reports, autobiographies, and secondary studies. The bibliography is divided into thirteen topical areas which represent the major themes in the historical development of the area. Under each heading, two categories of books are included. The "Important Studies" represent the major works in each field, while those listed under "Additional References" are intended to provide supplemental reading and additional information. Although the majority of the topical headings are self-explanatory, several require a brief note to explain the area covered and the methodology used in selecting (and omitting) material.

The "General" heading covers two types of materials; those which do not fit into any of the other categories, and those which cover more than one topic. Many of the studies under this heading could best be described as peripheral, dealing with such areas as the constitutional development of the Yukon government, the problems of northern development, or exploration, settlement, and economic activities in areas adjacent to the northern Yukon. At the same time, however, this section includes some of the most important studies of the area (The works of Rea, Usher, Wright and Zaslow are the best examples).

A quick perusal of the listing for "Arctic Exploration" (which is primarily concerned with the search for the north West Passage) will reveal that several of the voyages conducted in the attempt to find the North-West Passage or in the search for the missing Franklin expedition, and which passed the Yukon's Arctic coast, are not included. The works cited here represent the principal Arctic explorations conducted through the area. The studies by Cooks and Holland, and L.H. Neatby have been included because they discuss, not only the major voyages, but most of the other excursions which passed
by the northern Yukon as well. Since none of the omitted explorations made significant contributions to the development of the region, nor used the area as more than a transitory base, it was felt that it would not be productive to clutter the bibliography with volumes which give only parenthetical mention of the area. Instead, the reader is referred to the bibliographies of the works cited above (especially the excellent volume by Cooke and Holland) for complete references to these voyages.

More than any other single person, Vilhjalmur Stefansson was responsible for bringing the Canadian Arctic to the public's attention. Stefansson, who was active in the northern Yukon on several occasions, was a prolific author and, as the centre of considerable controversy, has himself been the subject of much writing. No attempt has been made (in the section entitled "Scientific Explorations, including the work of V. Stefansson") to list all the studies by, or about, Stefansson. The bibliography does, however, include all the articles and books which discuss his involvement in the Northern Yukon. For further bibliographic information on Stefansson, the reader is referred to the excellent biography by R.J. Diubaldo.

The final topical area where some confusion may exist is that of "Canadian Government: Twentieth Century Activities." This heading covers a wide range of subjects, including the expansion of government services, the establishment of the Distant Early Warning Line, and the northern pipeline controversy. As of yet, no good historical study of the D.E.W. Line has been written and the studies cited, most of which are from the popular media, do not provide a useful analysis of the process of planning and construction. For further information on this topic, the reader is referred to Kenneth Rea's *The Political Economy of the Canadian North*, cited under the "General" heading. The controversy over the northern pipeline, which was largely responsible for creating public interest in
the Northern Yukon, generated a large number of books and articles. The works cited in this bibliography do not represent the total debate on the northern pipeline issue, but rather are intended to illustrate various aspects of the controversy.

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Historical Photographs and Drawings

The pictorial heritage of the Northern Yukon, though widely dispersed, is very rich. The following is a list of all photographs and drawings pertaining to the history of the area currently located in the following collections: Yukon Territorial Archives, Public Archives of Canada, and the Hudson's Bay Company photograph collection. Also included are any photographs or sketches reproduced in articles or books listed in the accompanying bibliography which relates to the region. This list had no pretensions to completeness as additional materials are to be found in a number of institutions, including the Provincial Archives of British Columbia and of Alberta.

Several of the items listed from the Yukon Territorial Archives are actually reprints from other collections, principally the University of Alaska in Anchorage. Orders sent to the Yukon Territorial Archives for these materials will have to be passed on the other institutions for copying. Additionally, there are publication restrictions (a letter of consent is needed) on a number of photographs from the Public Archives of Canada.

Published reprints, of which a large number are to be found in this list, range widely in quality. Some of the photographs are excellent reproductions of the originals and copies can be made with little difficulty. Others, especially those found in periodicals, are of a much poorer quality and will likely provide poor reprints. Although claiming no expertise in the field of historical photographs, I have marked with an asterisk (*) those photographs and sketches likely to provide good quality reproductions.
Historical Photographs and Drawings of the Northern Yukon Arctic Coast

Arctic Ocean and the tundra where the 141st Meridian ends
Public Archives of Canada PA 44640

Fishing for char, Yukon coast between Herschel Island and Shingle Point. Boats are the *Anna Olga* and *Blue Fox*.
Public Archives of Canada C 38509

Frame for Eskimo tent on Arctic Coast near Shingle Point, Y.T., 1923 (B.H. Segre).
Public Archives of Canada PA19321

Skinning Walrus on ice, Y.T.
Public Archives of Canada PA44617

Yukon coast between Herschel Island and Shingle Point c. 1930. Fishing for char. Boats are *Anna Olga* and *Blue Fox*.
Public Archives of Canada PA 27688

Arctic Coast – Franklin Expedition

Boats in a swell amongst ice, August 24, 1826. Drawn by Capt. Back.

Expedition first detained by ice, 1826. Drawn by Capt. Back.
Franklin, *Narrative of a second Expedition*, p. 113.
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The western termination of the Rocky Mountains - Mount Copleston, August 5, 1826. Drawn by Capt. Back.
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Bompas, Bishop
Bishop Bompas, 1834-1906. First Bishop of the Yukon.
Public Archives of Canada C 20270.

Cadzow, Dan
Seven men in front of a log cabin, the front of which is covered with furs, c. 1913-1917.
Yukon Territorial Archives, No. 65-31-66

Six men in front of a log cabin, c. 1913-1915
Yukon Territorial Archives, No. 65-41-76

Cadzow, Dan - Trading Camp
Two Indians and Cadzow at his camp on Black River, Alaska, c. 1913-1915
Yukon Territorial Archives No. 65-31-35

Cadzow, Dan - Trading Outfit
Cadzow, crew and Indians with outfit on the shore of the Porcupine River, c. 1913-1915.
Yukon Territorial Archives No. 65-31-40

Freight boats and crews along the Porcupine River near New Rampart House, c. 1913-1915.
Yukon Territorial Archives No. 65-31-42.

Small sternwheeler "Rampart" pushing barge docked on shore of Porcupine River below New Rampart House, c. 1913-1915.
Yukon Territorial Archives No. 65-31-84
Cadzow, Dan - Trading Post
Cadzow's Trading post at New Rampart House, c. 1913-1915.
Yukon Territorial Archives, No. 65-31-60.

Cadzow, Mrs.
Eleven men and three horses of a survey crew and Mrs.
Cadzow outside a log building, c. 1913-1917.
Yukon Territorial Archives, No. 65-31-63

Interior of the Cadzow home, c. 1913-1917
Yukon Territorial Archives No. 65-31-37.

Camseal, Charles
Dr. Charles Camseal, 1876-1958. Surveyor.
Public Archives of Canada C 30800

Canadian Arctic Expedition - 1913-1916
Vessels of the R.M. Anderson Arctic Expedition of 1913-1916 at Pauline Cove

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Demolition of the wreck of the Cub, Herschel Island, c. 1933.
Public Archives of Canada, PA 27865, PA 27686, PA 27687, PA 27684. Four photos.

Firth, John
John Firth, Hudson's Bay Company Employee.
Hudson's Bay Company Photograph Collection, File No. E-700.

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Fort Yukon
Fort Yukon from a water-colour by F. Whymper in 1867.
Hudson's Bay Company Photograph Collection, File F-103.

Franklin, John
John Franklin, Arctic explorer, c. 1824.

Gjoa Expedition
Members of the Gjoa expedition led by Roald Amundsen.
Public Archives of Canada C 9688.

Herschel Island - Activities
Theatrical performance at Herschel Island, c. 1905.

Winter Life at Herschel Island, 1905-1906.

Herschel Island - Buildings
Buildings and boats on Herschel Island, c. 1936.
Hudson's Bay Company Photograph Collection, File H-43.

Buildings on a sand-pit at Herschel Island, c. 1936.
Hudson's Bay Company Photograph Collection, File H-43.

Buildings on Herschel Island. Four photographs.
Public Archives of Canada, RG 18, Volume 502, File 33.

Dwellings - H.B.Co. is the high one in the background.
Hudson's Bay Company Photograph Collection, File H-43.
Entrance of storage shelters or rooms dug into the side of earthen mounds, n.d.
Yukon Territorial Archives, No. 58-1026-1959

Frame buildings along the harbour shore, float plane overhead, n.d.
Yukon Territorial Archives No. 58-1026-1955

Herschel Island Settlement, September 9, 1921.
Hudson's Bay Company Photograph Collection, File H-43.

Herschel Island Settlement, c. 1927.
Hudson's Bay Company Photograph Collection, File S-475.

Herschel Island buildings along shore
Hudson's Bay Company Photograph Collection, File H-43

A Herschel Island dwelling and storehouse of an early type, put together of sod, barrel staves and such other lumber as was available.

Herschel Island harbour and settlement, mountainous mainland in distance, Capt. C.T. Peterson's MS "Patterson" at end of spit. Company's buildings grouped on left.
Hudson's Bay Company Photograph Collection, File H-43

Herschel Island Mission, n.d.

Long view of Herschel Island buildings.
Hudson's Bay Company Photograph Collection, File H-43.

Main Street Herschel
Hudson's Bay Company Photograph Collection, File H-43.

R.C.M.P. Barracks, Herschel Island with Hudson's Bay Post in the background. The Police buildings formerly belonged to the Pacific Steam Whaling Company.

Settlement on Herschel Island, n.d.
Hudson's Bay Company Photograph Collection, File H-43.

To the far left, the former HBC warehouse, and to the right, the police barracks, June 1972.

Herschel Island - Cemetery
Eskimo graves at Herschel Island, c. 1905-06.

View of grave markers at Herschel Island, n.d.
Yukon Territorial Archives, No. 58-1026-1958

Whalers' Graves at Herschel Island.

Herschel Island - Ceremonies
Commissioner J. Smith and members of the Legislative Council raise the flag on Herschel Island, June 18, 1972.

Herschel Island - Eskimos
Eskimo huts at Herschel Island, c. 1905-1906.
R. Amundsen, The Northwest Passage, p. 262.

Eskimo women at Herschel Island in "modern" dress.

Herschel Island - Gillen Family
Iver Gillen, Capt. Gillen and Rupert Gillen off Herschel Island, 1929.
Hudson's Bay Company Photograph Collection, File H-43.
Herschel Island – Harbour

An aerial view of the buildings on Herschel Island and Pauline Cove, June 1972.

Aerial view of the Island, n.d.

Herschel Island Harbour, Y.T., 1930.
Public Archives of Canada PA 61884

Herschel Island Harbour, 1930.
Public Archives of Canada PA 61885.

Long range view of the harbour with some vessels, n.d.
Yukon Territorial Archives No. 58-1026-1956

View of harbour, n.d.
Hudson's Bay Company Photograph Collection, File H-43.

View of harbour, 1936
Hudson's Bay Company Photograph Collection, File H-43.

Long view of harbour, 1936.
Hudson's Bay Company Photograph Collection, File H-43.

Long distance photo of Herschel Island, 1936.
Hudson's Bay Company Photograph Collection, File H-43.

Shot of Herschel Island harbour, 1936.
Hudson's Bay Company Photograph Collection, File H-43.

Herschel Island harbour - boats along the shore, 1936
Hudson's Bay Company Photograph Collection, File H-43.

Herschel Island harbour with H.B.C. buildings at far left.
Hudson's Bay Company Photograph Collection, File H-43.

Herschel Island harbour seen over rough water, 1936.
Hudson's Bay Company Photograph Collection, File H-43.

Unloading. H.B.C. warehouse in centre, R.C.M.P. station on right. Ship is presumably the "Lady Kindersley."
Width of spit is between barracks and the ship, August 9, 1921.
Hudson's Bay Company Photograph Collection, File H-43.

Herschel Island - Hudson's Bay Company

Chris Harding of the H.B.C. at the new store, 1916.
Hudson's Bay Company Photograph Collection (hereafter cited as HBCPC), File H-43.

HBC post on Herschel Island, n.d.
HBCPC, File H-43.

H.B.C. post at Herschel Island with the R.C.M.P. boat "Aklavik" in the harbour, 1930s.
HBCPC, File H-43.

H.B.C. residence, Anglican Mission in background
HBCPC, File S-475.

HBCPC, File H-43.

The H.B.C. residence is still in good shape and infrequent visitors use it for shelter, June 1972.

The H.B.C. schooner Fort McPherson hauled out at Pauline Cove, near a company warehouse, 1916.

Herschel Island - Royal Canadian Mounted Police


Photograph of a painting of the N.W.M.P. barracks on Herschel Island, n.d.
Yukon Territorial Archives, APS photo no. B.2015.

Police boat arriving at Herschel Island, 1936.
HBCPC, File H-43.

Sgt. F.J. Fitzgerald and Capt. Southerland of the R.N.W.M.P. outside their Herschel Island headquarters.

**Herschel Island - Ships**

The American whaling fleet at Herschel Island, 1905-06.

An artists sketch of the whaling fleet wintered in at Herschel Island.

"Baychiuk" at Herschel Island, 1930.
HBCPC, File H-43.

Government Boat used by medical officers, July 1932.
HBCPC, File S-475.

Lady of the Lake and the Patterson at Herschel Island, c. 1928.
Public Archives of Canada, PA 27663

Lady of the Lake washed up on shore after a storm, c. 1927.
Public Archives of Canada, C 38500

Maid of Orleans, Herschel Island, c. 1924-25.
Public Archives of Canada, C 38489.

S.S. Patterson, Herschel Island, 1930.
Public Archives of Canada, C 66709

Three small sailing ships, Fox, Nigalik and Shumagin in Herschel Island harbour, n.d.
Yukon Territorial Archives No. 58-1026-1945.
Indians - Old Crow
HBCPC, File I-40.

Indians - Porcupine River
John Deacon and wife. He is the last of the H.B.C. men on the Porcupine River (T. Riggs).
HBCPC, File I-40.

Johnson, Albert
Ross River Trading Post. Includes the only known picture of A. Johnson, the "Mad Trapper of Rat River."
Public Archives of Canada C 39883

Kennicott, Robert
R. Kennicott, celebrated American naturalist.
G.L. Nute, "Kennicott in the North." Beaver, Outfit 274 (September 1943), p. 28.

King Point
"Gjoa" and "Bonanza" as seen from the top of King Point, Summer 1906.

The land between King and Key Point.

Shore strewn with Driftwood.
R. Amundsen, op. cit., p. 159.

Spring at King Point, 1906.
R. Amundsen, op. cit., p. 188.

Summer at King Point, 1906.
Summer scene at King Point, 1906.
R. Amundsen, op. cit., p. 191.

King Point - Activities
A coffee party at King Point, c. 1905-06.
R. Amundsen, op. cit., p. 150.

King Point - Buildings
Amundsen's residence at King Point, 1905-06.
R. Amundsen, op. cit., p. 150.

The colony at King Point, 1905-06.

The register house at King Point. The stakes mark the way in a snowstorm, 1905-06.
R. Amundsen, op. cit., p. 151.

King Point - Eskimos
Eskimo tent at King Point, 1905.
R. Amundsen, op. cit., p. 171.

Eskimos at King Point, c. 1906.
R. Amundsen, op. cit., p. 144.

Kunak and his family, summer at King Point, c. 1906.

Manichya and his family at King Point, c. 1905-06.
R. Amundsen, op. cit., p. 203.

King Point - Graves
We lowered our flag to half-mast - the last tribute from his comrades. Graves of member of Amundsen's crew.
R. Amundsen, op. cit., p. 252.

Wiik's Grave at King Point, 1906.
R. Amundsen, op. cit., p. 201.
King Point - Monument
Mark, showing the position of magnetic instrument stand.

King Point - Ships
The first two whalers, "Alexander" and "Jeanette" arriving at King Point, July 11, 1906.

"Gjoa" in winter quarters at King Point, 1905-06.

The wrecked whaler "Bonanza" at King Point, and "Gjoa" and Amundsen's residence, 1905.

Lapierre's House
Sketch of Lapierre House by A.H. Murray, c. 1847.

McConnell, R.G.
R.G. McConnell, 1857-1942, explorer and surveyor.
Public Archives of Canada C50657
R.G. McConnell on the Peel River, 1902.
Public Archives of Canada PA40097

Maps
De Sainville's survey map of the Peel River.

Mitchell's map of the Wind River.
G. Mitchell, op. cit., p. 149.

Wegmer, Chart of area north of Porcupine River.
Monuments
Triangulation station "Polar" near the Arctic coast, 1912. International Boundary Commission, Joint Report upon the survey and demarcation of the international boundary...along the 141st Meridian from the Arctic Ocean to Mt. St. Elias, (Ottawa: Department of the Interior, 1918), p. 72.

Northwest Mounted Police
First detachment of N.W.M.P. at Fort McPherson, 1903. PAC C 6727.
Graves of the members of the Lost Patrol, n.d. PAC PA 43186.
N.W.M.P. expedition leaving Dawson in search of the Fort McPherson patrol supposed to be lost, February 27, 1911. PAC C 3070
The R.N.W.M.P. Patrol, Dawson to Herschel Island, December 27, 1909. PAC PA 29622.
Four members of the N.W.M.P. find the Fitzgerald patrol "lost" en route from Fort McPherson to Dawson, February, 1911. Yukon Territorial Archives N.M. photo no. 6188.

N.W.M.P. (New) Rampart House
Constable Benson and dog team in front of log post, c. 1913-1915 Yukon Territorial Archives No. 65-31-77.
Ogilvie, William
William Ogilvie, explorer and surveyor, March 1912.
PAC C81827.

Oil Well, Eagle Plains
The first quart of oil ever produced in the Yukon, at Chance #1, held by W.F. Wuest, Company geologist.

Old Crow
PAC C 1322.
The village of Old Crow, looking east towards the Porcupine Valley
The village of Old Crow on the bank of the Porcupine River.
The new air strip is in the foreground.

Old Crow - Buildings
Neil MacDonald strolls in the village of Old Crow.
L. Harding, op. cit.

Old Rampart House
Site of old Rampart House - Buildings were burned in 1890 when the H.B.C. post was moved to a new site.
Hudson's Bay Company Photograph Collection, File R-14.

Patterson
Capt. Pedersen's ship Patterson arriving from San Francisco
with the schooner *North Star* on board. Herschel Island, summer, 1935.

PAC PA 27649

Pauline Cove, Herschel Island
Eskimo schooners and H.B.C. warehouse, c. 1930.
PAC C 38501

Fleet of Eskimo schooners, Pauline Cove, 1930.
PAC C 66708

H.B.C. warehouse and Eskimo schooners, c. 1930.
PAC C 38494

Pedersen, Capt. C.T.
Capt. C.T. Pedersen, Arctic trader.
PAC C 23487.

Prospectors
Prospecting party crossing tundra en route to the Firth River discovery area.

Rampart House (New Rampart House)
Furs ready for shipment, 1911 (T. Riggs)
HBCPC, File R-14.

Ice going out of the Porcupine River at Rampart House, May 1912.

Photograph of a water-colour entitled "Forts de Ramparts 1870" and signed E. Petitot fecit O.M.I.
HBCPC, File R-14.

Rampart House on the Porcupine River, 1906.
M. Zaslow, *The Opening of the Canadian North* (Toronto:
Rampart House on the Porcupine River, 1912
PAC PA 37729
Rampart House on the Porcupine River, 1912
PAC PA 37730
Shipment of furs ready to be sent to London market from Rampart House, n.d.
PAC PA 44616
Survey camp at Rampart House, 1911
Yukon furs ready for shipment, Rampart House.
PAC PA 44916

Rampart House (New) - Cadzow's Store
Exterior of Cadzow's trading post, c. 1913-1917.
Yukon Territorial Archives, No. 65-31-56.
Interior of Cadzow's store, c. 1913-1917.
Yukon Territorial Archives, No. 65-31-74.

Rampart House (New) - Residents
Anglican Deacon Amos Njootle and family. A hide structure tent in background, c. 1913-1917.
Yukon Territorial Archives (hereafter cited as YTA), No. 65-31-54.
D. Fredson and family outside cabin, c. 1913-1917.
YTA No. 65-31-9.
Group of Indian men, women and children in parkas outside a log cabin, c. 1913-1917.
YTA No. 65-31-50.
Group of Indians outside mission building at New Rampart House, c. 1913-1917.
YTA N. 65-31-61
Indian women and children outside a summer shelter supported by poles, c. 1913-1917.
YTA, No. 65-31-79

Large group assembled outside Cadzow's store before a dance, c. 1913-1917
YTA No. 65-51-53.

Large group of Indians and whites outside a log cabin, Xmas, c. 1913-1917.
YTA, No. 65-31-34.

Large group of Indians in cemetery to clean weeds away from graves, c. 1913-1917.
YTA No. 65-31-49.

Men in front of Cadzow's trading post, c. 1913-1915.
YTA, No. 65-31-60.

Mrs. D. Fredson, son and daughter, near frames used for tanning skins, c. 1913-1917.
YTA, No. 65-31-62.

Six men in front of a log cabin, the exterior of which is covered with furs, c. 1913-1915
YTA, No. 65-31-76.

Rampart House (New) - School
Instructor J. Njootli and 30 Indian school children outside Anglican mission school, c. 1913-1915.
YTA, No. 65-31-55.

Rampart House (New) - Weddings
Anglican Deacon Njootli and a large group of Indians at the wedding of Neil MacDonald
YTA, No. 65-31-59.

Wedding of Ben Kassi. Deacon Njootli, Archdeacon Canham and a large group of people outside a log building, c. 1913-1917.
YTA, No. 65-31-58.

Reeve, Bishop
Bishop Reeve of the Mackenzie River Diocese
PAC, C 49732

Reindeer Herd
Large herd of Reindeer at water's edge along the coast of Alaska, n.d.
YTA, 1322 (U. of W. 29198)

Reindeer herd along the coast of Alaska, Men in background, n.d.
YTA, 1321 (U. of W. 29196).

St. Roch
R.C.M.P. schooner St. Roch, Herschel Island, n.d.
PAC C 51810

Shingle Point
PAC PA 19316

Church of England buildings and Eskimo schooners, Shingle Point, 1923 (B.H. Segre).
PAC PA 19317

End of the Sand Spit, Shingle Point (B.H. Segre), c. 1923.
PAC, PA 19318

Eskimos bidding surveyors farewell at Shingle Point, 1923.
PAC, PA 19319

Shingle Point, Y.T., n.d.
PAC PA 48302
Shingle Point, Y.T., 1923
PAC, PA 19322

Shingle Point, Y.T., c. 1934  The schooner is Only Way.
PAC  PA 27665.

Shingle Point - Buildings
Former H.B.C. post now operated by the Anglican mission as a school for Eskimo boys and girls, 1927.
HBCPC, File S-475.

Shingle Point - Hudson's Bay Company
H.B.C. employees in front of a building, 1927.
HBCPC, File S-475.

Shingle Point - Mission
The log church of the famous Anglican Arctic coast mission at Shingle Point in Western Arctic, n.d.
HBCPC, File S-20.

Stefansson, Vilhjalmur
Vilhjalmur Stefansson, Arctic explorer and author.
PAC, C 18138

Stringer - Family
Isaac and Sadie Stringer, Herschel Island, 1898.

Rev. and Mrs. I.O. Stringer, Rowena and Herschel, 1901.

Stringer - Herschel Island Home
Interior of the home of the Rev. and Mrs. I. Stringer on Herschel Island, 1897.
Survey Party - International Boundary Commission, 1911-1912


Camp on the Rapid River, north of Rampart House, 1911. IBC, Report, p. 64.


Fleet of Survey launches on the Old Crow River, twenty miles below the boundary, 1912. IBC, Report, p. 69.

Hospital Camp, twenty-five miles from the Arctic Ocean at an elevation of 2,500 feet, 1912. IBC, Report, p. 70.


Primary Historic Locales and Travel Routes
The rich and varied history of the northern Yukon is marked, not only by its literary and photographic heritage, but also
by a number of physical resources. An attempt has been made, in the accompanying list, to note all sites of historic interest in the area. A number of these locations, especially the large communities like Herschel Island, Rampart House and Shingle Point, have structures still standing. For the majority of the sites, however, the buildings or monuments involved have been long since abandoned, and it is not known how many of them remain.

The search for sites was not limited to physical developments (communities and cabins), but also included locations of human activity that were of historical importance. An example of the latter is the point where Albert Johnson, the "Mad Trapper of Rat River" was killed. A short descriptive paragraph, which indicates the dates of activity and the historical relevance of the location, is provided for each site. The order of a particular site in the list is, very roughly, an indication of its importance to the history of the northern Yukon.

The section on travel routes serves two purposes. First, it indicates the vast amount of intra-regional travel which occurred in the area, and second, it indicates the most important and most frequently used routes. The paragraph accompanying each entry discusses the initial exploration and the principle uses of the various routes.
Northern Yukon - Primary Locales

Herschel Island
From the late 1880s, when American whalers first wintered in the sheltered bay of Pauline Cove, to 1964, when the Royal Canadian Mounted Police closed their detachment on the island, Herschel Island was the focus of activity in the northern Yukon. Whalers, missionaries, police, scientists and fur traders all used the island as a base for their operations. Buildings on the island included the Hudson's Bay Company trading post, the Anglican mission, the buildings of the R.C.M.P. detachment, and several warehouses built by whaling companies. In addition to these structures, many of which are still standing, two cemeteries (one for Eskimos and one for whites) are to be found, as are several Eskimo dwelling houses, pieced together from remnants of wood picked up around the island.

Shingle Point
For one brief period, from 1918 to 1937, Shingle Point rivalled Herschel Island for control of the Western Arctic. H. Liebes and Company opened a trading post there in 1918, to be followed two years later by the Hudson's Bay Company. The most notable establishment on the site was the Anglican mission, which included the first school opened for Eskimo children. Prior to 1918, Shingle Point had been an important wintering site for Eskimos and, occasionally, for whalers. The R.C.M.P. maintained a cabin on the point to provide accommodation for their numerous northern patrols and for any other northern travellers in need of temporary shelter.

Rampart House
In 1889, the Hudson's Bay Company, recently forced to abandon
their position within United States territory, reopened their trade at Rampart House (sometimes called New Rampart House), several hundred yards up the Porcupine River from the U.S. border. The H.B.C. maintained a post at this site until 1893. Shortly after the Company pulled out, Dan Cadzow, an American free-trader, established a trade at the location. In addition to Cadzow's store and house, an Anglican mission was maintained at Rampart House, and they were later joined by an R.C.M.P. post. Beginning in 1912, a community began to develop around Old Crow and Rampart House gradually lost its position of pre-eminence along the Porcupine River.

Lapierre's House #1
Built in 1846 as an outpost of Peel's River, Lapierre's House was established to serve as an entrepôt for additional H.B.C. posts which were to be constructed further west. Lack of wood along the trail between this point and Peel River Post made it necessary to abandon the site in 1852.

Lapierre's House #2
Built by the H.B.C. in 1852 to replace the former Lapierre's House, this post remained in active use until 1893. The Anglican and Catholic Churches maintained outposts at this location with missionaries coming to the area from Fort McPherson on a regular basis. In the 1920s, Canadian traders briefly reopened the fur trade at this site.

Old Crow
The first activity at the site of Old Crow, now the only permanent settlement in the northern Yukon, occurred in 1912. At that time, a Canadian fur trader opened a small trading post to compete with the larger Cadzow operation at Rampart House. In the 1920s, both the R.C.M.P. and the Anglican Church moved their operations from Rampart House to Old Crow. As
late as 1960, however the natives continued to live primarily in the bush, resorting to Old Crow only when necessary. In that year, the federal government opened a school at Old Crow, with the result that many of the local Indians moved onto the site permanently.

Mount Conybeare Monument
On July 21, 1826, John Franklin, then involved in the first exploration of the Arctic coast west of the mouth of the Mackenzie River, ascended Mount Conybeare. To mark their visit, Franklin and the two men who accompanied him erected a stone monument, placing a note containing particulars of their exploration underneath the pile of rocks. It is not known if the monument still stands.

King Point
In the fall of 1905, Roald Amundsen guided his ship "Gjoa" into an anchorage off King Point. Amundsen was in the final stages of the first continuous voyage through the North-West Passage. While wintering at King Point, the crew built a small observatory to house their scientific instruments. The observatory was later used as a grave to G. Wiick, a member of the crew who died during the winter. Erosion quickly destroyed any vestiges of Amundsen's stay (including the observatory), but the R.C.M.P. had removed Wiick's body before it had been destroyed by natural forces and had reburied it 250 yards inland.

The Lost Patrol
In December 1910, Sgt. Fitzgerald of the R.C.M.P. and three others set out from Fort McPherson on the annual Dawson-McPherson patrol (Fitzgerald was actually following the normal route in reverse by leaving from Fort McPherson instead of Dawson). Unable to locate the trail across the divide into the Yukon River watershed, the patrol attempted to return to their point of departure. Out of food and suffering from the extreme
cold, the entire patrol died on the banks of the Peel River. The two sites indicated are the locations where Corporal Dempster found the bodies of the group, now known as the "Lost Patrol."

Wind City
In order to reach the Klondike, gold seekers utilized a number of routes, several of which passed through the northern Yukon. In the winter of 1898-99, a body of men led by George Mitchell who were attempting to reach Dawson City via the Peel River, were forced to camp on the banks of the Wind River. Their settlement became known by the fanciful title "Wind City." In the spring, the men moved on and the camp was abandoned.

Destruction City
Located at the east end of McDougall's Pass, Destruction City was another transitory gold rush settlement. Its name came from the fact that the men were forced to break up the boats which had carried them down the Mackenzie River in order to get through the pass and onto the Yukon River watershed.

Shacktown
Having broken apart their boats at Destruction City and crossed McDougall's Pass, many of the would-be gold miners found themselves frozen in for the season. A number of cabins were hastily erected in which the men passed the winter. Like Wind City and Destruction City, Shacktown was abandoned after a winter's existence.

Stony Creek Pass - Gold Rush Cabins
An alternative to the McDougall Pass route was to follow the trail used by the Hudson's Bay Company during their half-century of operations in the area. As in the other three gold rush locations, men were forced to spend the winter in the
area. No community of any description developed, with cabins being spread out along the route.

Marmot Hill
James Mason and his party of gold-seekers came to the Northern Yukon in search of the illusive "Wegmer" gold mine. The party arrived in the area in 1898, and began their search for the mine, believed to be in the mountains between Rampart House and Herschel Island. Their late arrival that year made it necessary for the party to build a cabin along the Babbage River, close to the Arctic Ocean. Eskimos in the area quickly formed a community around the Mason cabin. The cabin was in use for only one season, and when the party returned the following year, the roof had collapsed and the building was no longer functional.

The Mad Trapper of Rat River
For forty-eight days in the winter of 1931-32, Albert Johnson kept the R.C.M.P. at bay in the northern Yukon. Before Johnson was himself killed, he had wounded two men and had killed a third. The chase, which included the first use of the aeroplane for police work in the north, came to international attention and was closely followed in the press throughout North America. The first site is "Fort Johnson" an incredibly strong cabin built by Johnson which enabled him to repel several assaults by the police. The second, on the Eagle River, is the location where the final "battle" was fought and where Johnson was killed.

Kay Point and Moose River - R.C.M.P. cabins
Beginning in 1903, the R.C.M.P. conducted regular patrols from Herschel Island to Fort McPherson (and later Aklavik). To aid the patrols, the police constructed several cabins along the route to provide overnight shelter. Cabins were built at Kay Point, Shingle Point and Moose River (actually
the Moose Channel of the Mackenzie River).

Demarcation Point
Located just to the east of the International Boundary, this Hudson's Bay Company post was operated between 1921 and 1924. The expansion of the Company's operations in the early 1920s was a response to the growing demand for the fur of the white fox on world markets. In this period, the H.B.C. opened posts at Shingle Point and Demarcation Point to complement their station at Herschel Island. The decline in fur demand in the later half of the 1920s led to a gradual retraction of the Company's operations.

Firth River - Gold Discoveries
In the years following the Klondike Gold Rush, many prospectors moved into the northern Yukon in search of new gold fields. Gold had first been discovered at the mouth of the Firth River (Herschel Island River) by whalers in the 1890s and was located several miles further upstream in the 1920s by Wada, a Japanese miner. In 1947, a discovery of some significance was made even further up the river. The sites indicated relate to the later discoveries, as no locations are available for the earlier finds.

Distant Early Warning Line sites
In the early 1950s, the threat of air attack from the Soviet Union made it necessary for the United States and Canada to prepare for their air defense. A Joint Defense Committee decided to construct a network of radar stations along the Arctic coast of the U.S. and Canada. The system, which is still in operation includes three sites in the northern Yukon, Stokes Point, Shingle Point and Komakuk Beach.

Chance #1
In 1960, five years of exploration by Western Minerals Ltd.
was rewarded with the discovery of oil and gas deposits in the Eagle Plains area. Chance #1 was the name given to the site at which the first oil discovery in the Yukon was made.

Boundary Mountains
The International Boundary Commission, a joint agency of the U.S. and Canadian governments, was responsible for the demarcation of the boundary line between Alaska and the Yukon. The surveys of the area from the Porcupine River to the Arctic coast were conducted in 1911 and 1912. In addition to their slash lines, the survey crews left a number of monuments to mark the boundary line.

Escape Reef Mission
In 1910, Mr. Fry of the Anglican Church opened a mission to the Eskimos at Escape Reef. The site was ill-chosen for the reef was not a normal wintering place for the Eskimos and the first year only three or four families were reported to be living on the Reef. The mission was closed shortly thereafter.

Miners' and Trappers' Cabins
In the aftermath of the Klondike Gold Rush, numerous prospectors headed into the northern Yukon in search of their fortunes. Unfortunately, there is no way to accurately trace their movements in the area, as R.C.M.P. and government reports refer only to rough geographical areas (usually rivers) and not to specific sites. The following list of miners (list is by year, with the area of activity noted) indicates the large number of prospectors (most of whom did some trapping on the side) who were working in the area. The list is by no means a complete accounting of all persons active in the region.

1905 Mason, Annette and three others in the mountsins S.W. of Shingle Point
1908 Wada finds gold near the mouth of the Herschel Island
River (Firth River).

1909 Ten outfits on Bell and Old Crow Rivers; miners also on Driftwood River.

1910 Miners in the area between Peel and Porcupine Rivers; Beary and Bertois on Porcupine at the end of the Lapierre's House portage; Mason and Annette are 66 miles up the Driftwood River; Noburg is 60 miles up the Old Crow River; Cope is 85 miles up that river; Waugh and Warren working on the Big Wind River; D.F. McRae is exploring in the Black Mts. and along Herschel Island River.

1914 Mason and Annette are SE of Kay Point; several men are trapping on the Old Crow River.

1916 Burt, Stodler, Adair and Annette are all SE of Shingle Point.

1918 Knorr is prospecting near Seela Pass, Boulanger is at the head of the Peel River; William and Ostergaard are on the Anderson River.

1928 Anthony is on Driftwood Creek; two prospectors named Dumont and Herbert are in the Filclass Mountains.

1930 Prospectors at Firth River, Black Mountains (both parties work for Northern Arctic Mining Exploration Company).

1931 David Lord stakes on Annet Creek, a tributary of the Canoe River.

Waugh and Warren Concession

Throughout the northern Yukon, only one "major" mining operation was undertaken prior to the commencement of oil drilling. The company of Waugh and Warren was granted a large concession on the Wind River, about five miles south of "Wind City." The company, which lasted from approximately 1905 to 1912, never really got untracked, and no substantial deposits were located or developed. While on the Dawson-McPherson patrol in 1910, Corporal Dawson found the party near starvation. The undertaking collapsed several years later when Waugh committed suicide.
Northern Yukon Travel Routes

Rampart House to Herschel Island
One of the most well-travelled routes in the northern Yukon follows the Old Crow and Babbage Rivers, and joins the Porcupine River and Herschel Island. Indians travelled this route frequently in their journeys to the Arctic coast, a trip they continued to make on a regular basis as late as 1937. During the Klondike Gold Rush, a number of deserters from whaling ships anchored at Herschel Island used this route in their attempt to reach the gold fields. As well, the R.C.M.P. made a number of patrols from Rampart House to the coast along this trail.

Stony Creek Pass
This pass, which was used by the Hudson's Bay Company throughout their half-century of activity in the northern Yukon, was first discovered by John Bell in 1842. It was on this route, which is approximately seventy-five miles long, that Bishop Isaac Stringer became lost and was forced to eat his boots in order to stay alive. Stony Creek Pass was also used extensively by gold seekers in 1897-99 on their way to the Klondike.

McDougall Pass
In 1872, James McDougall, an employee of the Hudson's Bay Company, was ordered to locate a shorter route from the Peel River to the Porcupine River watershed. McDougall located the pass, which now bears his name, between the Rat and the Bell Rivers. The pass was not utilized to any significant degree until 1897-99, when it became one of the major northern routes used by the gold seekers on their way to Dawson City.

Dawson-McPherson Trail
In 1904, the Royal Canadian Mounted Police in Dawson, concerned about Sgt. Fitzgerald, (then establishing a police presence
in the Western Arctic), sent a police patrol from Dawson City to Fort McPherson. The patrols were continued until 1964, despite the loss of four men (the famous "Lost Patrol") in 1911. With the exception of one year (when the patrol proceeded via Mayo and the Wind River), the patrol went via the Twelve-Mile River, Seela Pass, and the Hart, Wind and Peel Rivers.

Rampart House to Dawson City
The normal travel route from Rampart House to Dawson City was through United States territory via the Porcupine and Yukon Rivers. Anxious to locate a wholly Canadian trail between the two centers, the R.C.M.P. commissioned Sergeant Dempster to explore the area. In 1917, Dempster located a passable route, but beyond the first excursion, it was not used and traffic continued to follow the tradition path through American territory.

Herschel Island to Fort Yukon
Like the Rampart House-Herschel Island trail, the river system between Fort Yukon and Herschel Island had long been used by the natives travelling to the Arctic coast. This route, which followed the Firth (Herschel Island River) and Coleen Rivers, was used extensively during the years of whaling activity along the coast. In 1895, a group of men who had deserted from their ships at Herschel Island attempted to use this trail as an escape route. Their employers tracked them down, and in the ensuing battle several men were killed. Roald Amundsen, wintering at King Point in the winter of 1905-06, followed this route when he went to Fort Yukon and Eagle, Alaska to send word of his successful voyage through the North-West Passage.

Peel and Wind River Route
As part of the Edmonton-based phase of the Klondike Gold Rush,
a number of would-be miners travelled to Dawson City via the Peel and Wind Rivers. The route, which had first been explored in 1893 by the Count de Sainville, a French scientist, was used again on at least two occasions. In 1905, an R.C.M.P. patrol followed these rivers during the annual excursion from Dawson to Fort McPherson, and the following year, Charles Camsell of the Geological Survey of Canada conducted a survey along this route.

A note about the travel routes:
The routes traced on the accompanying map are taken from the descriptions given by the various travellers. With the exception of McDougall and Stony Creek passes, they are in reality an approximation of the trails followed. When describing their journeys, travellers invariably referred only to the rivers they followed, and provide few clues as to where they crossed from one river system to the next. This raises the possibility that the trails charted on the map may not be completely accurate representations of the paths followed. Every attempt has been made, however, to be as faithful to the original route as was possible.