

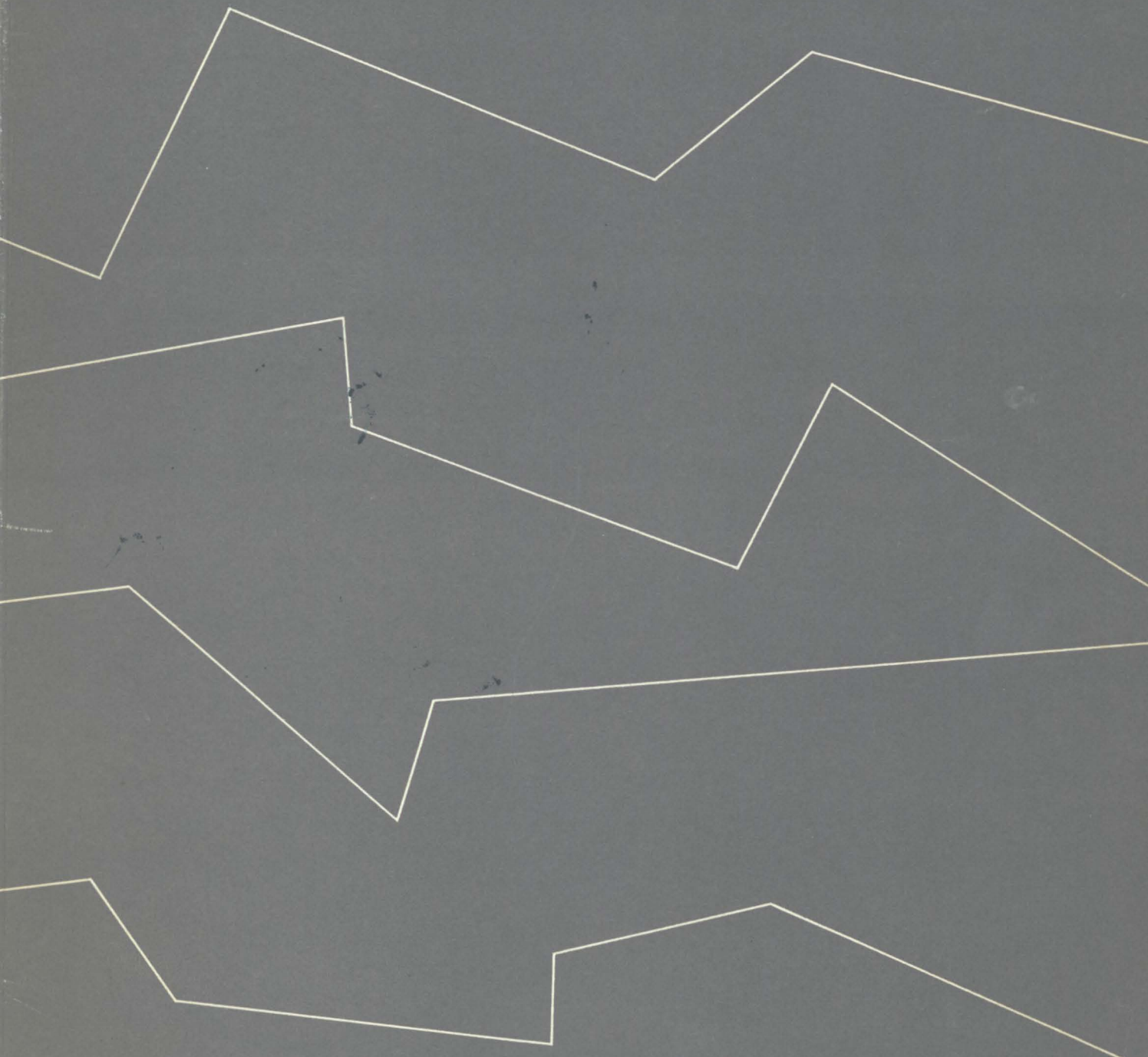


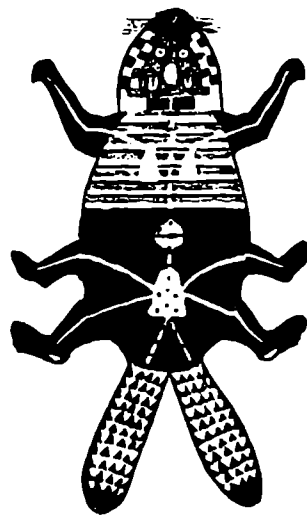
The Dawson Area

A Regional Monograph

By J.R. Lotz

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THE DAWSON AREA
A Regional Monograph

J.R. Lotz

No. 2 in Yukon Research Project Series.

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**Northern Co-ordination and Research Centre,
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THE YUKON RESEARCH PROJECT

The Yukon Research Project is a programme of research in the social, economic, and historical fields in the Yukon Territory. The following report is reproduced in this form as a contribution to our knowledge of the Yukon Territory.

The opinions expressed in this report are those of the author and not necessarily those of the Department of Northern Affairs and National Resources.

The writer wishes to acknowledge, with thanks, the help and co-operation of everyone in Dawson and elsewhere who provided the information on which this report is based. The Commissioner of the Yukon Territory, G.R. Cameron, and his staff, were especially helpful.

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Co-ordinator,
Yukon Research Project.

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INTRODUCTION

This report is a regional monograph on the Dawson area, and forms part of a continuing study on settlement and social and economic change in the Yukon Territory.

Dawson lies at an altitude of 1062 feet in the valley of the Yukon River, at 64° 04'N, 139° 25'W, approximately 330 miles from Whitehorse by road, and about 60 miles east of the Alaskan-Yukon border. Edmonton lies some 1150 air miles to the south east, and Vancouver 1200 miles south.

The writer spent six weeks in the Dawson area during 1963, arriving in the town on July 10th, and leaving on August 20th. A short two day visit had been made on July 21-22nd, 1962. In the winter of 1961, the writer visited Dawson at the request of the City Council. This visit lasted from December 1st to 7th, and resulted in a report (Lotz, 1962). The area covered by the present study comprises the Klondike region, the Sixty Mile area, and the area northeast of the city; it does not include Old Crow.

A great deal of interest has been focused, in recent years, on the development of the Canadian North. In general, the concensus seems to be that any future development of the northern part of Canada will depend upon the exploitation of mineral and oil and gas resources (Robertson 1961, Buck and Henderson 1962). In the decade between 1953 and 1963 a number of new mining towns grew up in the Canadian subarctic; these included Labrador City, Wabush, Schefferville, Manitouwadge, Thompson and Uranium City. A recent study of these towns called attention to the way in which they had sprung, almost completely equipped, from the bush, looking like "suburbs without a metropolis" (Robinson, 1962). Instead of a sudden rush into a mineral rich region in the traditional manner, large companies now move in to mine huge deposits of iron, nickel or other base metals. Careful planning stages each part of the new town's growth over a period of years. In towns such as Thompson, for instance, it was (and may still be) impossible, in the early stages of the town's growth, for a man to move in and settle, unless he was employed by the company mining the mineral upon which the town is based. Even private entrepreneurs and their employees had to have the approval of the company before they could start businesses and build houses. No individual could clear land and erect a cabin, nor could they live in a shack or some other primitive dwelling until they made enough money either to build a suitable residence or to quit the area. Because of the over-all planning of the community, they were forced to live either in the mining camp or the townsite (Lotz, 1961). Modern northern mining development, for the most part, does not take place in small spurts or in rushes, as it did in the Yukon Territory at the end of the nineteenth century. Modern mineral development involves massive financial investments and the introduction of

modern techniques and standards to remote, climatically severe regions.

Mineral resources become depleted, costs of production rise, markets fail or disappear or the price of a mineral may decline - all these factors can lead to the closing down of a mine. Because of the high cost of mineral production, subarctic and northern areas are extremely susceptible to market fluctuations. In recent years, the major problems of subarctic development were strikingly demonstrated at Uranium City, Rankin Inlet, Elliott Lake (Buksar, 1962) and Tungsten. At the latter settlement, a seven million dollar mine, which had just come into production, had to be shut down when the price of tungsten fell to \$8. a pound in the summer of 1963.

Canada is still largely a primary producing country, exporting the products of its forests, fields and mines to the rest of the world. Much Canadian settlement has been based on mineral production. But, as Buck and Henderson point out (1962: 116) "to believe that colonization and mineral resources development go hand-in-hand is to deny the facts of mineral occurrence and depletion". Mining can bring a town into existence, but unless other activities develop in and around the town, it will disappear when the mine closes.

The problem of mineral depletion is particularly severe in the Yukon, where, because of remoteness and the lack of resources that can be developed economically at the present time, other activities may not develop rapidly. Mining first began in the Territory in 1880, and since that time about a quarter of a billion dollars worth of gold has been produced. Since 1953, however, the mineral production of the Yukon Territory, expressed as a percentage of the national production, has declined by more than half, although the actual value of mineral production has not greatly decreased (Table 1).

TABLE 1

MINERAL PRODUCTION OF THE YUKON TERRITORY, 1953-62

(Source: Statistics Section, Mineral Resources Division,
Department of Mines and Technical Surveys)

<u>Year</u>	<u>Value of Mineral Production (000 of dollars)</u>	<u>Percentage of Total Canadian Production</u>
1953	14, 739	1. 1
1954	16, 589	1. 1
1955	14, 725	0. 8

TABLE 1 (Cont'd)

<u>Year</u>	<u>Value of Mineral Production (000 of dollars)</u>	<u>Percentage of Total Canadian Production</u>
1956	15,656	0.7
1957	14,122	0.6
1958	12,311	0.6
1959	12,592	0.5
1960	12,180	0.5
1961	12,750	0.5
1962	13,315 (Preliminary Figure)	0.5

Dawson is the centre of one of the two large mineral producing areas in the Territory. Gold production from the Dawson area has declined steadily over the past few years, and the major gold producer in the area plans to curtail operation in 1966.

The aim of this study was to determine what happens, economically and socially, to a town whose main economic base is slowly disappearing. In studying Dawson, the words of T.S. Eliot - "This is the way the world ends. Not with a bang but a whimper" - constantly came to mind. Where once one of the largest, richest and finest of Canadian cities stood there now remains very little to remind the visitor of past glories.

In a way, Dawson sums up the dilemma of the whole of Canada, or that of any nation that depends heavily on the exploitation of non-renewable resources for the basis of its economy. Dawson, because of its remote location in a high cost, climatically severe physical environment, shows, in a heightened and intensified form, the major problems that beset the Canadian economy - reliance on primary exploitation, rising levels of wages and of expectation, low growth rates, seasonal employment and absence or lack of special skills among workers.

The aim of this study is not to determine ways and means of solving the problems of Dawson, although it is hoped that the information contained in this report will assist in planning the future of the settlement.

CHAPTER 1

THE PHYSICAL BACKGROUND

Dawson lies near the northern edge of the Yukon plateau. This broad, basin-like plateau, with an average elevation of about 3,000 feet, is bounded on the north by a series of mountain ranges and hills, with intervening valleys, plains, basins and plateaux. The ranges, valleys and plateaux fill the wedge shaped northern extension of the Territory that lies north of 65°N, between a line connecting Dawson, Elsa, and the headwaters of the Bonnet Plum River and the sea. (Map 1)

The town itself lies on the east bank of the Yukon River which here flows approximately south to north. The townsite is located where the Klondike River joins the Yukon. Here a large level flat provided the best building land in the area for the establishment of a large settlement on the river. Behind the townsite the land rises several hundred feet to the general level of the Yukon plateau, and at the north end of the town looms the dome of Moosehide Mountain.

The physiographic provinces of the Yukon plateau and of the northern Yukon reflect the geological history and structure of these two regions. (Bostock, 1960, 1961).

Dawson lies near the boundaries of two geological provinces, one of which has oil and gas potential, and the other of which has hard rock and placer mineral deposits.

This part of the Yukon was not glaciated during the Pleistocene. This factor has had considerable influence on the economy of the area. Glaciation would have distributed far and wide the rich placer gold deposits that first attracted men to this remote region. Undisturbed by glaciers, the placer gold of the Klondike and its tributaries was easily mined even by the most primitive methods. One of the lures of the Yukon in the early days was that gold could be literally picked up from the ground.

Permafrost exists under most of the townsite. The south end, however, does not appear to be frozen to within several feet of the surface. A survey crew putting in new markers in the townsite in 1963 noticed that their spades hit permafrost as soon as they started digging in the north end of town, but that they could dig down several feet in the south end of town without striking permafrost. The permafrost limit seems to be along the line of an old slough that cuts across the government reserve. Presumably the floods of the Klondike River in the old days, or a former bed of the river, caused the ground at the south end to thaw out. Flooding still occurs along the Klondike River; in June 1964 the Yukon, flooded by a late spring run-off, inundated parts of the townsite. It was necessary to build a three to four foot high dyke of

sandbags along Front Street. One man was building a new house in 1963 on the slight bluff overlooking the road that runs along the side of the Klondike River, where it leaves the narrow river valley. He stated that the basement of his house near the river flooded frequently.

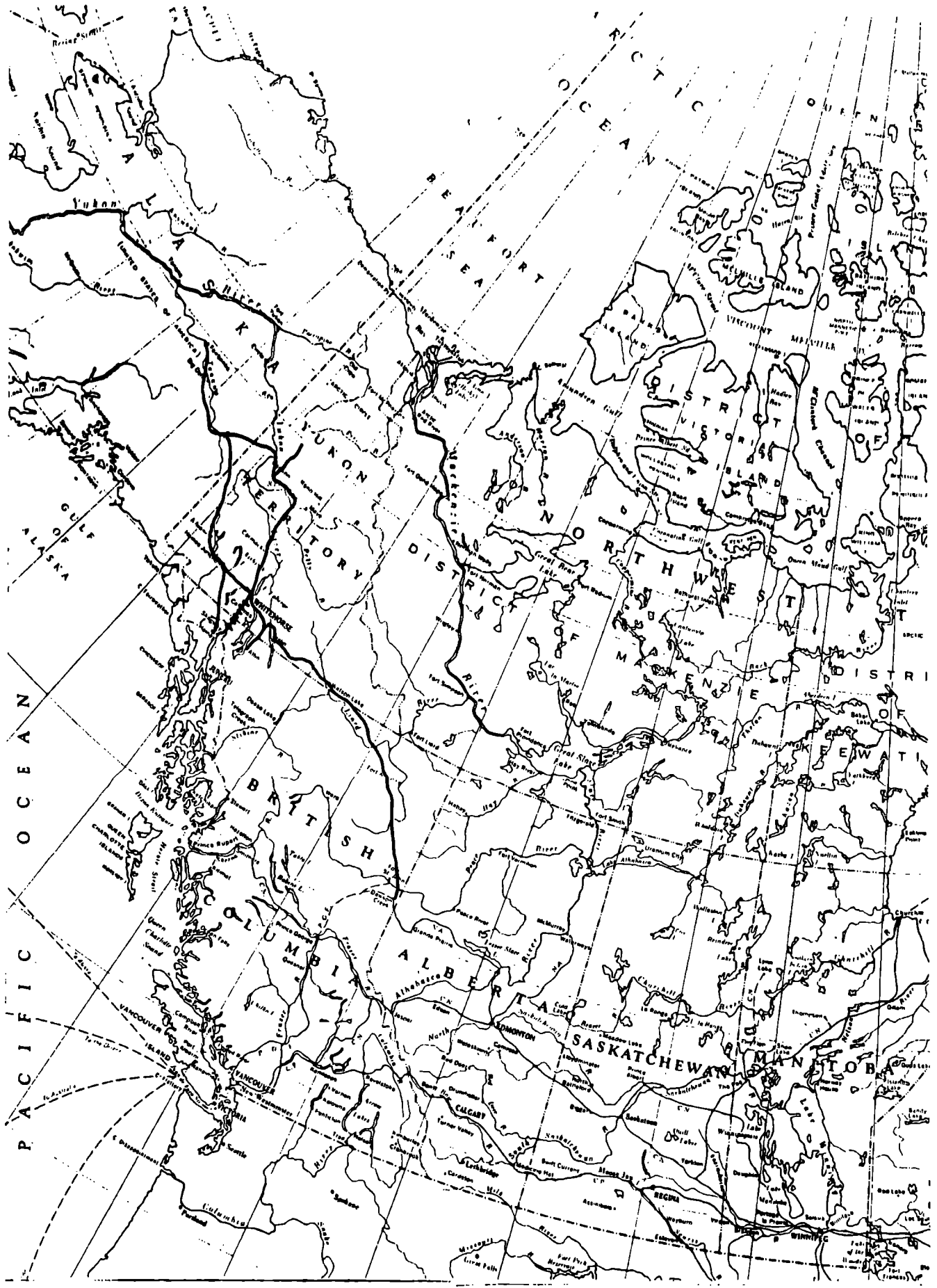
Permafrost has had harmful and beneficial effects on Dawson. It increases the cost of building by requiring pilings to support floors, or sills. A number of old buildings stand at crazy angles, their foundations disturbed by frost. But the permafrost's slow thaw in summer provides moisture for plant roots in an area that has very little rain in the summer. In the south end of town, where the soil is better, growth of flowers and vegetables is exceptionally good. Here, presumably, the thawing of the water held in the soil all winter assists growth. On the whole of the river flat, a luxuriant growth of vegetation covers lots that have been abandoned. In some cases, whole blocks on which no buildings stand have been covered with willow and alder growth. The growth of vegetation and the disturbances caused by melting permafrost have had much to do with the physical decay of Dawson.

Dawson, nestling in the river valley, has an attractive appearance in summer. Opposite the point where the Klondike River enters the Yukon, a rock bluff rises sheer from the river. This bluff, and the hill behind the townsite, gives the impression of hemming the town in during the dark days of winter. This, combined with the lack of daylight during the winter months, endows the settlement with a sombre, almost overpowering aspect. The wife of a government official whose house faces the bluff, and who arrived in Dawson in November 1962 stated that she felt overwhelmed, and crushed by the physical environment. She was relieved to find that a woman who had been in Dawson for thirty years also felt this way during the winter months.

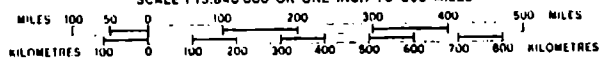
Darkness lasts from the beginning of December to the middle of January. A graph in the back of the 1909 Yukon Territory Report (Anon, 1909) gives the following data for Dawson: -

Hours of sunshine (presumably daylight is meant)	3530
Hours of twilight	2479
Hours of darkness	1917
Hours of moonlight	834

The climate of Dawson is characteristically interior subarctic, with a short summer, a long winter with spells of intense cold, little wind, and light falls of rain and snow. Table 2 summarizes the temperature regime in the city.



SCALE 1:5,840,000 OR ONE INCH TO 250 MILES



MAP 1. THE LOCATION OF DAWSON

TABLE 2

TEMPERATURES AT DAWSON - 30 YEAR MEAN, 1931-60

(Source: Thompson, 1962)

Monthly Normals of Mean Daily Temperatures (X^oF)

J.	F.	M.	A.	M.	J.	J.	A.	S.	O.	N.	D.	Yr.
-17.6	-11.1	5.7	29.4	46.6	56.9	59.8	54.5	43.5	26.4	2.5	-12.9	23.6

Highest Temperature Recorded (62 year period) 95^oF.

Lowest Temperature Recorded (62 year period) -73^oF.

It is the length, rather than the intensity of the period of cold weather that characterizes the climate of Dawson. Chart 1-22 in the Climatological Atlas of Canada (Thomas, 1953) shows Dawson with between 15,000 and the 16,000 mean annual degree days (65^o Base); Yellowknife has about the same mean annual total degree days. Nor is wind a factor adding to the winter cold. Dawson has a mean annual windchill factor of approximately 900 Kg. Cal/M²/HR. or about the same as Southern Manitoba and Northern Ontario (Thomas and Boyd, 1957). The January windchill factor in Dawson is about 1200-1300, or about the same as in southern Alberta.

Spring arrives about the end of April; October is a winter month. The 1909 Yukon Territory Report (Anon, 1909) listed the seasons for Dawson as: -

Summer	87 Days
Autumn	42 "
Winter	206 "
Spring	30 "

The length of the seasons vary, but the long winter and short summer dominate the economic life of the Dawson area.

The breakup of the Yukon River heralded the opening-up of navigation in years past, and was the best indicator of the arrival of warmer weather. In the days when the only communication between Dawson and the outside world was by river steamer, the spring break-up was eagerly awaited. Freeze-up and the departure of the last steamer meant that the settlement was isolated and that people were "locked in" for the winter. Now, with the road link to Whitehorse, the season of easy communication has been extended considerably. In fall, the ferry across the Yukon River that links Dawson with the Alaska Boundary Road (The Sixtymile Road) is taken out of the river when ice begins to run, or shortly before. In 1963, the

ferry ceased operation on October 15th.

The major factor restricting travel in the Dawson area is temperature; glaciers make some parts of the roads difficult to negotiate in the spring. At temperatures down to -30°F , people will leave Dawson to travel to Whitehorse by car, even though temperatures at points between Dawson and Whitehorse may be lower than -30°F . On a trip between Dawson and Whitehorse, one man noted a temperature of -70°F at Pelly Crossing; the thermometer read -30° when he left Dawson. This micrometeorological factor may restrict travel. Below -40° , people will only travel locally by car. Around this temperature, steering becomes difficult, and the performance of the whole car is affected by cold. Below -50° people will not often venture outdoors.

The physical environment presses heavily on Dawson. Despite a short, pleasant summer the area has an extreme temperature most of the year. It is less the intensity of the cold - for long periods of cold are rare in the Dawson area - than the combination of low temperatures and darkness. A representative of a large organization stationed in Dawson stated "once you put in a winter in Dawson, you think twice about putting in another", a judgment with which a man who has been in the country thirty years agreed.

The ambition of many of the white residents in Dawson seems to be to spend the winters "outside" and the summers in Dawson, as those placer miners who can afford to, do. Most residents have jobs or commitments that do not permit them to leave Dawson during the winter; many take their vacations in late August or early September before winter sets in. From general observations and conversation, there seem to be few people in Dawson who enjoy the winter weather; some positively dread it. An individual who kept to his apartment because of heart condition mentioned the constant feeling of confinement - "despite a good radio and other conveniences". His talk carried overtones of what used to be called "cabin fever" in the old days - a psychological condition brought about by long confinement indoors.

There is another aspect of winter life in Dawson that deserves attention. Because of the marked seasonal nature of the economy, there is almost literally nothing for most business and government people to do in winter. A bank manager stated that Dawson was "the softest touch" he had ever had as far as work was concerned. One government official devoted his winter to sorting out old records; another insulated his house. A long term woman resident said that she enjoyed the winters more than the summers. While there was little employment in town, there was plenty of social life, time for visiting, hobbies, recreation and other pursuits. The town was quiet, with no "visitors" (as tourists are called) to disturb the even tenor

of small town life. This ambivalent attitude to winter was noted throughout the white population of Dawson. Long term residents who enjoyed the peace and quiet of an isolated settlement were willing to endure severe winter weather and darkness for the sake of the free time it allowed them after a full, hectic summer. Newcomers and transients who wanted a fuller life than that provided by Dawson in winter disliked the climate, both physical and social, in the town. Some of a more contemplative bent, who enjoyed reading, family life, or hobbies, expressed a liking for the town, and participated in many of the activities available. Some, especially successful placer miners, managed to get the best of both worlds by working extremely hard in summer and having access to the varied life and milder climate of Vancouver and Victoria in winter by reason of having established homes there. For younger people especially, the winter life in Dawson has little attraction.

It is worth noting some of the observations of Tappan Adney (1900) who came to Dawson with the stampeders in 1897. He noted some factors operating in the area that seem to have changed little in 66 years. "No dog freighter travels when the mercury... goes hard like lead", he wrote. This would be at around -40°F , and seems to indicate that despite the advent of mechanical transportation, man's ability to travel in a cold climate, in the normal course of business, has not been significantly increased. On the winter work problem, Adney noted the reaction of some miners when winter mining was introduced. "... it (winter mining) was a great leap forward, as twelve month's work was now possible instead of only two as before." Some, however, did not take too kindly to this, and they said "It's as bad now as outside - work winter and summer". On the combined effects of cold and darkness, Adney's words are as appropriate to-day as they were in 1898.

"The dry crisp cold was no greater than one could stand but from the first of December until the middle of January, the cold and darkness combined to weigh upon mind and body. Even with plenty of work to do, the short dull days and the intermittent nights were gloomy and dispiriting".

CHAPTER II

HISTORY OF SETTLEMENT IN THE DAWSON AREA

The history of settlement in and around Dawson can best be discussed under the following headings: -

1. Before the Gold Rush.
2. Concentration. 1896-1900.
3. Dispersion. 1900-1914.
4. The Years Between the Wars.
5. The World War II Era.
6. The Post-war Period.

1. Before the Gold Rush

Mining began in the Yukon about 1880. Before that only a few traders and explorers had penetrated into the interior of a land that was little known and completely unmapped. (Campbell, 1885; Burpee, 1945). In the northern Yukon, mining activities centered on Forty Mile and the surrounding area (Berton, 1958). Forty Mile lay at the junction of the river of the same name and the Yukon, about twenty miles upstream from where the Yukon crosses the international boundary. Established about 1887, Forty Mile grew in the tradition of the American mining towns of the western United States. At the time of its founding, the Canada-Alaska boundary to the west had not been clearly defined. Few people in the area knew - or cared - whether Forty Mile was in Canada or Alaska. Much gold left the region by way of Alaska, and a tradition of frontier democracy and freedom grew up in Forty Mile. In 1895, a party of North West Mounted Police under Inspector Constantine established themselves as the first official representatives of the Canadian government in the Forty Mile area. One year later, the entire population of the settlement stampeded to the Klondike when news of the discovery of gold there reached Forty Mile.

2. Concentration 1896-1900

As Clark (1962) points out, "The geography of the Yukon basin tended to concentrate population in and about Dawson. The richest of the creeks were not far distant, and all the creeks upon which mining took place were tributaries of the Yukon or Klondike." Access to Dawson was easy in the summer by way of the Yukon, and the Klondike River led from the settlement straight to the gold creeks.

Initially, Dawson was a huge mining camp. A man named Joseph Ladue, who had traded at Forty Mile, staked the most suitable part of the river flat for a townsite in 1896. From 1896 onwards, cabins and shacks spread over the river flat and up on to the hills behind the town. As the old photographs show, every creek for miles around was occupied by a cabin or a tent.

Dawson began life as a typical boom town. In the summer of 1896, the population of the Dawson area consisted of old timers or sourdoughs - miners who had been in the country for a number of years, and who were accustomed to being without, and doing without, government in any shape or form (Innis 1936). In 1897 and 1898, the newcomers or cheechakos arrived in the thousands. Their sole aim was to earn a quick fortune, and then to leave the country as soon as possible. They were not settlers in any sense, and had little, if any, intention of remaining in the Yukon. The sourdoughs resented the cheechakos, who were city dwellers in the main, and who neither cared for, nor respected, the rules of conduct devised by the early miners who had been forced to organize their own society.

The initial establishment of Dawson was based, not on ideas of permanency, as are towns not completely dependent on the exploitation of a non-renewable resource, but on impermanence. It was relatively easy to get into the Dawson area, once the headwaters of the Yukon river system were reached. Each individual had to have a year's supply of food before he could cross the White and Chilkoot Passes into the Territory (Cruickshank, 1956). Once in the Yukon, their supplies consumed, few had means of obtaining enough money to quit the Territory. Adney (1900) remarks on the number of people who arrived in Dawson during the Gold Rush, and who made no attempt to stake or even to visit the goldfields. Some of these men hired on as day labourers, or worked in industries and services connected with mining. Others left Dawson as soon as they could, and a number went to Nome, Alaska, when gold was discovered there in 1899.

The Klondike Gold Rush of 1897-98 was a wild and turbulent era in Canada's past. It gave rise to legends, to romances, to numerous books. In eighteen hectic months, the vast movement of population created a special chapter in the history of Canada - even though the vast majority of the goldseekers were not Canadians. This history was created by persons as diverse as Arthur Treadgold (Cunynghame, 1953), Klondike Kate (Lucia, 1962) and Joe Boyle (Beattie, 1940). It is almost impossible to approach Dawson - or its problems - without becoming aware of the heritage, economic and emotional, that Dawson

has left to Canada. Residents of Dawson argue that the area poured millions of dollars into Canada's economy when the country needed it in the early years of the century, and that Canada should now pour some of this money back to "improve Dawson". Outsiders visiting the City of Gold frequently have an emotional, sentimental reaction when they see the old city in decay. Pressure from local people, and reaction from outsiders can affect the present day economy, as the following news item shows: -

DAWSON WANTS LEGAL GAMBLING

Whitehorse.

The Yukon Territorial Council supports the return of legal gambling to the Yukon community of Dawson, where games of chance flourished during the fabled years of the 1898 Klondike gold rush.

The seven-man council gave unanimous approval to a motion favoring government-controlled gambling in Dawson, now in the throes of a financial depression. George Shaw, council member for Dawson City, introduced the motion. He said legal gambling would give the community the economic boost it needs.

Montreal Gazette. 18. 11. 1963

The Dawson City Festival of 1962 was an attempt to boost the economy of the area by recreating the atmosphere of the Gold Rush Days for the benefit of tourists (Phillips 1962) and this succeeded in part (Innes-Taylor, 1962).

The Klondike Gold Rush ended almost as soon as it began, with the outbreak of the Spanish American War, the discovery of the Nome goldfields, and the news that filtered out from the Yukon that all the gold bearing land had been staked in the Klondike.

A reliable reporter (Adney, 1900) stated that "no fewer than 60,000 persons reached Seattle intent on heading for the Klondike". The same source gave the population of the Dawson river flat in midsummer, 1898, as 17,000 to 18,000, with a further 4,000 to 5,000 in the mines or prospecting within a radius of fifty miles.

In 1897, Adhey described "strings of cabins, first on one side, then on the other, the trail growing like a street of a village in which there are only men" on Bonanza Creek, and adds. "At the side of Bonanza Creek, where one could look into Eldorado was a settlement of twenty or more cabins, some occupied by miners, others used for hotels and various purposes, but no stores or places of entertainment, everything being hauled or carried up from town and the

miners going to Dawson for recreation". The population, although scattered at this time all over the gold creeks, used Dawson as a service centre.

3. Dispersion 1900-1914

Innes (1936) notes the various factors that led to the dispersion of settlement from Dawson out on to the creeks. From 1900, small settlements grew up to serve the dispersed population of miners. Better roads, improved communications, heavier and more complicated machinery, reduction in freight rates - all these factors aided in reducing Dawson's function as a service centre for the placer mining industry. In 1901, the first dredge was introduced on Bonanza. From 1896 to 1898, any miner, with little more than a gold pan, could clean up a fortune on the rich creeks. By 1900, the richer creeks near Dawson had been worked out, and the day of the individual miner was over. Large scale dredging started in 1905, and the long process of consolidating claims and leases into large areas suitable for dredging began. During this period, large amounts of capital were invested in equipment. One dredge cost \$300,000. and the power plant and pipeline from the Twelvemile area, built in 1906-1908 to supply electricity and water for dredging and hydraulic operations cost approximately \$7,000,000. (Rickard, 1909).

> In 1902, Dawson was incorporated as a city. This led to a movement of small merchants out to the creeks, because of the heavy taxation imposed to meet civic expenses. Settlements such as Grand Forks flourished as local service centres. By the end of 1903, the Klondike Boom had burst, and only one dance hall remained open - as good an indication as any that the boom had ended. (Cruickshank, 1961).

As early as November 1899, Dawson had hospitals, churches, sidewalks, bridges, graded and drained streets, fire brigades and electric street lighting (Innes, 1936), and in later years a sewer and water system, a telephone system, and all the services and comforts of a large city were installed. At the height of the boom, Dawson was the largest Canadian city west of Winnipeg, and the richness of the goldfields made it possible to invest large sums of money not only in dredges and mining equipment, but also in social capital.

The decline of Dawson and the depopulation of the area is mirrored in the census data for 1901 and 1911. (Table 3). The gold rush to Fairbanks in 1904-1905 drained away more of the transient and naturally foot-loose population. By 1911, however, the majority of the population in the Territory still lived in and around Dawson.

TABLE 3

POPULATION OF YUKON TERRITORY AND DAWSON, 1901-1963

(Source: Dominion Bureau of Statistics. Decennial Census)

	<u>Dawson City</u>	<u>Yukon Territory</u>
1901	9, 142	27, 229
1911	3, 013	8, 512
1921	975	4, 157
1931	819	4, 230
1941	1, 043	4, 914
1951	783	9, 096
1956	851	12, 190
1961	881	14, 628
1963 (Author's census)	766	15, 000 (Est.)

4. The Years Between the Wars.

Dawson remained the centre of the populated area of the Yukon until 1941, and mining remained the chief activity in the area. The year 1900 produced an estimated peak gold production of 1, 077, 553 fine ounces, worth \$22, 275, 000. The Yukon Territory never produced as much in one year again, but the gravels of the creek beds and benches still gave rich returns to the dredging companies. Between 1908 and 1919, one large company, the Yukon Gold Company, paid out over \$11, 000, 000. in dividends alone. In 1919, the value of gold production from the Klondike dropped below two million dollars.

In 1919, the steamer "Princess Sophia" sank in the Lynn Canal, with a loss of 343 persons, many of them from Dawson. This struck a serious blow to the city. By 1921, the population of Dawson numbered only 975 people.

In January 1923, the Yukon Consolidated Gold Corporation (YCGC) was formed by the amalgamation of a number of small producers. It has remained the largest gold producer since that date. Gold production varied in the twenties and the thirties of this century, but showed an overall upward swing. (Tables 4 and 5). By 1939, gold production had risen to 87, 745 ounces, worth \$3, 171, 192.

TABLE 4

VALUE IN DOLLARS OF GOLD PRODUCTION IN THE YUKON TERRITORY,
1885-1924

(Source: Innes 1936:219)

<u>Year</u>	<u>\$, 000.</u>
1885	100
1886	-
1887	70
1888	40
1889	175
1890	175
1891	40
1892	87
1893	176
1894	125
1895	250
1896	300
1897	2, 500
1898	3, 072
1899	7, 582
1900	9, 809
1901	9, 162
1902	9, 566
1903	12, 113
1904	10, 790
1905	8, 222
1906	6, 540
1907	3, 304
1908	2, 820
1909	3, 260
1910	3, 594
1911	4, 126
1912	4, 024
1913	5, 018
1914	5, 301
1915	4, 469
1916	4, 458
1917	3, 960
1918	3, 266
1919	1, 947
1920	1, 660
1921	1, 246
1922	1, 230
1923	1, 032
1924	1, 136

TABLE 5

GOLD PRODUCTION IN THE YUKON, 1925-1956

(Source: Dominion Bureau of Statistics, 1957)

<u>Year</u>	<u>\$, 000.</u>
1925	988
1926	529
1927	639
1928	710
1929	741
1930	734
1931	955
1932	953
1933	1, 129
1934	1, 338
1935	1, 256
1936	1, 764
1937	1, 678
1938	2, 545
1939	3, 171
1940	3, 097
1941	2, 731
1942	3, 204
1943	1, 584
1944	916
1945	1, 221
1946	1, 664
1947	1, 671
1948	2, 121
1949	2, 950
1950	3, 551
1951	2, 856
1952	2, 690
1953	2, 274
1954	2, 800
1955	2, 492
1956	2, 522

Between 1921 and 1941, however, the population of Dawson and that of the Territory remained practically stationary. The population of Dawson rose by 68, and that of the Territory by 757 during the twenty year period.

During the Depression and the Thirties, Dawson gained the reputation of being a "good place to work" mainly because of the importance of gold in a stagnant economy. Employment on the dredges was always available, even though it was seasonal. Robinson (1961: 514) noted the drift of population into the Peace River country during the Depression, and states that "the waves of immigration to the area have been clearly linked with general economic depressions or with the aftermath of world wars." Out of 187 households enumerated in Dawson in the summer of 1963, no less than 25 were headed by individuals who arrived in the settlement between 25 and 35 years ago. Some of these individuals walked from the coast to Dawson. One arrived with ten cents in his pocket. The smallest coin in circulation in Dawson at that time was a quarter, but the man was able to get a job on the dredges right away.

5. The World War Two Era.

The Second World War brought boom conditions again to the Yukon Territory - but not to Dawson. When the Japanese invaded the Aleutians in 1942, the strategic importance of Alaska and of the links between that territory and the continental United States brought about a realization of the strategic importance of the Yukon. The Alaska Highway was built from Dawson Creek, B.C. to Fairbanks, Alaska, and thousands of troops and civilians poured into north-western North America. This time they concentrated mainly in and around Whitehorse, whose location at the end of the railway to tidewater made it ideal as a centre for road construction and supply.

This second boom soon petered out, leaving the Territory in 1951 with a population only a little larger than that in 1911. Dawson suffered during the war by being further depopulated. Men left to join the services, or were drawn into the Whitehorse area by the possibilities of lucrative work in defence construction. In 1943, YCGC operated with a maximum of 197 men, compared to an average of 400 in 1942; their requirement for full scale operation was 700 men.

6. The Post-War Period

Of the Territory's population of 27, 229 enumerated in the census of 1901, most lived in and around Dawson. In 1928 (Anon, n. d.), the Gold Commissioner estimated that 54 per cent of the Territory's population of 3, 257 lived either in Dawson or the surrounding area. Of the Territory's population of 14, 628 in 1961, 8, 000 lived in and around Whitehorse. Thus the population of Dawson has declined not only absolutely, but also relatively.

One difficulty in using the decennial census material to determine the permanent population of the Yukon is that the census is carried out in midsummer, at the height of the employment season. Indications are that the summer population of the Yukon may be decreased by as much as a quarter in the winter because of the movement out of the Territory of seasonal workers (Lotz, 1961).

Several features of the population distribution in the Dawson area have changed since World War Two. These include the decline of the permanent population, an increase in the seasonal rhythm of movement in and out of the area, the disappearance of dispersed settlement, and a change in the age structure of the Dawson population.

The reasons for these changes can best be discussed under the following headings: -

- (a) Road building in Alaska.
- (b) Road building in the Yukon Territory.
- (c) The decline of river traffic.
- (d) Transfer of the capital of the Territory.
- (e) Opening of the YCGC Commissary.

A long-time resident stated that the construction of the road from Stewart Crossing to Dawson, the transfer of the capital from Dawson to Whitehorse, and the opening of the company store had "ruined" the city. The blows that fell upon Dawson and accelerated its decline came in the fifties. Each of these blows affected various sections of the population and, by doing so, affected all. The factors that have assisted the economy of the Dawson area in recent years - the increase in miner and oil exploration, the increase in air traffic and tourism, the extension of government services in the area - will be dealt with in the section on the present economy of the area.

(a) Road Building in Alaska.

In 1950, the Taylor Highway, which links the settlement of Eagle, Alaska, with the Alaska Boundary road was completed. Before this, access to western Alaska was by way of the Yukon River. Freight and mail came down the Yukon River in summer. Some went into Alaska over a stage route that paralleled the present Sixtymile Road. Along this route, roadhouses at Mile 10, Mile 24, Mile 41 and Mile 49 were run by single men who trapped in winter.

Another route to Alaska went via Fortymile. Freight left at this settlement was taken up the Fortymile River to Alaska. A store and a small hotel at Fortymile served this route, and families kept roadhouses along this way. Between Eagle and Chicken, small gold mining operations and fur

trappers at settlements such as Liberty, Dome Creek, Steele Creek, Jack Wade, Franklin, Walker's Ford and Chicken Creek depended on this route and on Dawson for supplies.

In 1951, an all weather road connected Dawson with the Alaska border so that getting out of the settlement, although difficult and expensive, was much less difficult than relying on river steamers in summer and the Stage Route in winter.

Small scale gold mining has declined in the Eagle - Chicken area in recent years, although a dredge has operated successfully in the Chicken area since about 1962, and this would have contributed to Dawson's decline even if the Taylor Highway had not been built.

(b) Road Building in the Yukon

Construction of the Alaska Highway initiated large scale road building in the Yukon Territory. Road building began again after 1950, during the post-war efforts to open up the Canadian North. Before 1953, Dawson residents had to reach the Whitehorse-Mayo Road if they wanted to get out of the Territory without too much expense and difficulty. This reached Stewart Crossing, some 120 miles south-east of Dawson. Before roads linked Dawson with Whitehorse and the Alaska road system, the main artery of transportation in the Northern Yukon was the Yukon River.

The date of the arrival of the first boat and of the departure of the last boat on the Yukon River was particularly significant. Before Dawson was linked to the Whitehorse-Mayo road, an Overland Stage connected the city with Whitehorse and with Alaska in winter (MacBride, 1953). Travel over these routes was expensive (in 1933 the stage fare from Dawson to Whitehorse was \$75.) and time-consuming. The system could only carry a limited number of passengers, and break-up and freeze-up disrupted it.

When the last boat left Dawson, the majority of the population of the area was "locked in" the Territory. Since work on the dredges ended after the last boat left, none of the YCGC employees could get out of the Territory easily. In the 1930's, these men could build up a stake of from \$500. to \$600., and live on this all winter, supplementing it by snow clearing, wood cutting, or a little winter mining. To get to Whitehorse by air cost about \$100. - \$150. in 1933, and to reach the coast (i. e. southern British Columbia) added a hundred more dollars. A winter road linked Dawson with Stewart about 1951, and an all weather road was completed in 1953 and improved in subsequent years.

The new motor road meant cheaper transportation that killed traffic on the river, easier communication with the outside, and cheaper fuel. With a car, people could get into, or out of Dawson at any time of the year, except during periods of extremely cold weather. Increasing the ease of access and lowering the cost of getting into Dawson has resulted in an increased seasonal movement of population. It may have led to permanent depopulation, although this is hard to determine. One generalization that can be made is that anyone in the Dawson area who can afford to winter "outside", and has no permanent job to keep them in the area, will do so. This movement is a function of the change in the communications pattern and of the high cost of living in Dawson. Two placer miners estimated that it cost them only \$100. a month to live in Vancouver during the winter. These two men had wintered in Vancouver since 1957, in a housekeeping room. Before that they trapped in the winter, but now they no longer do so. They fear "cabin fever" if they stay on the creek, and wintering in Dawson, either in a cabin or in a hotel room, would be as expensive as wintering in Vancouver, despite the cost of getting there (\$137. return by bus in 1963).

The lowering of the cost of fuel led to a decline in activity along the river and of employment in the town. Before, when fuel oil was expensive, a number of individuals cut cord wood along the river, to supply the steamers and Dawson.

(c) The Decline of River Traffic

Table 6 showing the number of riverboats arriving at Dawson and leaving the city in the fifteen years before 1955, illustrates more graphically than any words the decline of river transportation in the Yukon that followed the completion of the Stewart Crossing - Dawson road. (The steamers involved were the sternwheelers "Whitehorse", "Keno", "Nasultin", "Aksala", "Casca", carrying crews of from 25 to 30. Most went straight to Whitehorse from Dawson during the summer, though some went via Mayo).

TABLE 6

RIVERBOATS ARRIVING AT AND DEPARTING FROM DAWSON 1941-1955

(Source: "T56 Register of Vessels Outwards, Coastwise)"
in Federal Building, Dawson.

<u>Year</u>	<u>No. of Inward Trips Recorded</u>	<u>No. of Outward Trips</u>	<u>Date of First Boat In</u>	<u>Last Boat Out</u>
1941	51	51	May 27	Oct. 8
1942	51	51	May 18	Oct. 11
1943	33	32	May 25	Oct. 14
1944	37	37	June 3	Oct. 13
1945	32	32	May 29	Oct. 11
1946	28	27	June 4	Oct. 9
1947	35	35	June 3	Oct. 14
1948	34	34	June 3	Oct. 10
1949	31	30	June 3	Oct. 13
1950	25	25	May 22	Oct. 12

TABLE 6(Continued)

<u>Year</u>	<u>No. of Inward Trips Recorded</u>	<u>No. of Outward Trips</u>	<u>Date of First Boat In</u>	<u>Last Boat Out</u>
1951	31	33	May 18	Oct. 13
1952	32	32	June 1	Oct. 9
1953	20	21	June 23	Oct. 29
1954	14	13*	June 8	Oct. 29
1955	10	10**	June 15	Aug. 26

* SW Whitehorse only - last cargo outward.

** SW Klondike only - outward in ballast.

Along the river were wood camps for the steamers and for Dawson. Like the people who lived in the roadhouses along the stage routes, the population of these camps managed to make a living by a combination of trapping, small scale mining, hunting and prospecting, and growing hay for horses. This type of economic activity produced little beyond small quantities of gold and furs, but it represented a very free, frontier type of life for those engaged in it. During good years, thousands of dollars could be made from fur.

Before 1953, the river was alive with boats. Wood rafts, Indian canoes, sternwheelers, barges and individual boats floated down from Whitehorse. The river held the Territory together - a living thread down which travelled people, news, goods and gossip. The road that can be traversed so swiftly does not serve the same function. The last steamer sailed on the Yukon in 1955, the last wood raft came down to Dawson in 1958 or 1959, and now the river is deserted save for the occasional canoeist or freighting vessel.

In 1962, the mining recorder, who had been born and brought up in Dawson, wrote in his report:

"The Burians lease on Henderson and Thistle Creek; from which creek the gold came is not known. With the exception of Mr. and Mrs. Jack Melloy, who make their home at Kirkman Creek, the Burian family, who live at the mouth of the Stewart River, is the only family living along the Yukon River between Dawson and Carmacks. In days past, when river boats were the chief means of transportation in the Yukon, many people lived along the Yukon River, earning their livelihood by cutting wood for the steamboats, trapping and mining on the tributaries of the river".

(d) Transfer of the Capital

At the same time as communications were being improved in the Yukon, it was decided to move the capital of the Territory to Whitehorse because access to that settlement was easier. As a local resident indignantly remarked "They shoved the frontier three hundred miles further south" when they replaced Dawson by Whitehorse as the capital of the Yukon Territory. The move of the capital was officially sanctioned in March 1951, but was not completed until March 1953.

(e) The Opening of the YCGC Commissary

The service function of Dawson suffered a severe blow when YCGC opened a commissary. Here food and goods retail at the Vancouver wholesale price, plus freight. Few permanent YCGC employees now have occasion to shop in Dawson.

The settlement pattern of the Northern Yukon Territory was related to the transportation and community pattern and to gold mining in the past. When the transportation pattern changed, as it has done in the past ten years, so did the settlement pattern. Cheap transportation aided the permanent and seasonal population of the area to move into and out of the area. At the same time, gold production declined and assisted the process. Other factors such as the transfer of the capital and the opening of the YCGC commissary speeded up the depopulation. And so the area's population began to disappear.

In the Dawson area to-day, the city of Dawson remains the major centre of population. (Map 2). Bear Creek, the YCGC company town, had about 150 inhabitants in the summer of 1963 (132 in 1961). Granville, an old settlement, housed seven families in 1963, all employed by YCGC. The dredge camps, the dredge-masters' houses, the scattered camps of the small placer miners, the cabins of oldtimers on the creeks, road camps, farms and houses on the outskirts of Dawson, a cafe opposite the airport, exploration camps, the Indian settlement at Moosehide - these are all that remain of the once extensive settlement in the area around and to the south and south-east of Dawson.

In 1944, Taylor (1947) noted a cluster of six houses at Grand Forks; one or two of these remain, but none are occupied.

North of Dawson are the camps of the Eagle Plains oil exploration programme, the power house at North Fork, and a road camp on the Dempster Highway.

West of Dawson, in the Sixtymile area, there remains only one placer operation, worked in the summer of 1963 by five people, and the solitary inhabitant of Glacier Creek Post Office.

Tables 7 and 8 show how the service and government function has changed between 1952 and 1963. Table 9 shows how the age structure of the population in certain specified age groups has changed in Dawson between 1951 and 1961, compared to that of Canada and the Yukon Territory.

TABLE 7

COMMERCIAL OPERATIONS IN DAWSON, 1952 AND 1963

<u>Type of Operation</u>	<u>1952 (Ridge 1953)</u>	<u>1963 (Author)</u>
Blacksmith's Shop	2	0
Garage	2	2
Commercial Gardener	1	1
Barber	2	1
Beauty Parlor	1	1
Theatre	1	1
Hardware Store	1	0
Bicycle Shop	1	0
Souvenir Shop	2	3
Restaurant	2	4
Hotels (with bars)	5	5
Rooming Houses, Cabins (without bars)	0	3
Motels	0	5
Banks	2	2
Transportation Companies	6	10
General Stores	2	3
Bakery	1	1*
Newspaper Office	1	0
Clothing Store	1	1
Company Offices	4	2
Taxi Companies	0	1*



MAP 2: THE DAWSON AREA.

SCALE

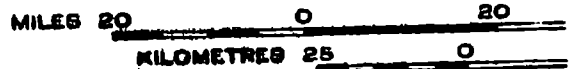


TABLE 7 (Continued)

<u>Type of Operation</u>	<u>1952 (Ridge 1953)</u>	<u>1963 (Author)</u>
Paint Shop	0	1
Total	37	46

* Part Time.

TABLE 8

GOVERNMENT OPERATIONS IN DAWSON, 1952 AND 1963

<u>Government Agency</u>	<u>1952 (Ridge, 1953)</u>	<u>1963 (Author)</u>
Territorial Government	X (all offices)	X Welfare Liquor Highways Schools
Resources and Development Northern Affairs and National Resources	X	X Mining Recorder Forestry Officer
Justice	X	
Labour	X	
Citizenship and Immigration	X	
National Revenue	X	X
Public Works	X	
Post Office	X	X
R. C. M. P.	X	X
Royal Canadian Corps of Signals	X	

TABLE 8 (Continued)

<u>Government Agency</u>	<u>1952</u> <u>(Ridge, 1953)</u>	<u>1963</u> <u>(Author)</u>
Department of Transport		X
C. N. T.		X
National Health and Welfare	X	X
Total Agencies	11	8

TABLE 9

POPULATION OF DAWSON, THE YUKON TERRITORY AND CANADA
IN CERTAIN SPECIFIED AGE GROUPS, 1951 AND 1961

(Source: Decennial Census)

<u>1951</u>	<u>Total</u> <u>Population</u>	<u>Age Groups</u>				
		<u>0-14</u>	<u>15-19</u>	<u>20-44</u>	<u>44-64</u>	<u>+65</u>
Yukon	9, 096	2, 654	435	4, 362	1, 178	467
%	-	29.1	4.8	48.0	12.9	5.1
Dawson	783	248	33	287	116	99
%	-	33.0	4.2	36.6	14.7	11.4
All Canada (%)	-	30.4	7.6	36.6	17.7	7.8
<u>1961</u>						
Yukon	14, 628	5, 285	765	6, 183	1, 920	475
Change (1951-1961)	+5, 532	+2, 631	+330	+1, 721	+742	+8

TABLE 9 (Continued)

1961

	<u>Total Population</u>	<u>Age Groups</u>				
		<u>0-14</u>	<u>15-19</u>	<u>20-44</u>	<u>44-64</u>	<u>+65</u>
%	-	36.2	5.2	42.3	13.1	3.3
Dawson	881	307	86	278	146	82
Change (1951-1961)	+98	+59	+35	-9	+30	-17
%	-	34.8	7.7	31.6	16.6	9.3
All Canada (%)	-	33.8	7.9	33.2	17.4	7.7

CHAPTER III

THE PRESENT FORM AND FUNCTION OF DAWSON

Dawson is laid out in a conventional grid pattern. The original core of the town was formed by the Ladue Estate, around which were grouped later additions. Fronting the river is the Government Reserve. At the height of its glory, Dawson sprawled all over the river flat and along the road leading into the city, also up the hillside to the east. The overflow population spread out into West Dawson across the Yukon River, and across the Klondike into Klondike City (Lousetown). Only the river flat, and the village of Moosehide, about three miles down-stream from Dawson, are now occupied; one Indian family lives on the site of Klondike City.




Comparison of settlement maps drawn in 1949, 1952 and 1963 reveal the slow decay of Dawson. The 1949 settlement on the river flat was fairly continuous; the central commercial zone merged into the residential areas around it. (Map 3) By 1952, the central commercial area was surrounded by a "green belt" of bush and empty buildings that separated it from the residential areas (Map 4). The occupied houses extended in a line along the slopes of the hill to the east of the river flat, and in the north end. A number of small cabins were grouped on several blocks north west of the commercial area. Elsewhere the houses and cabins were scattered over the river flat, and interspersed with vacant lots and derelict buildings.

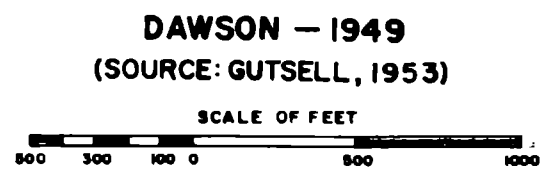
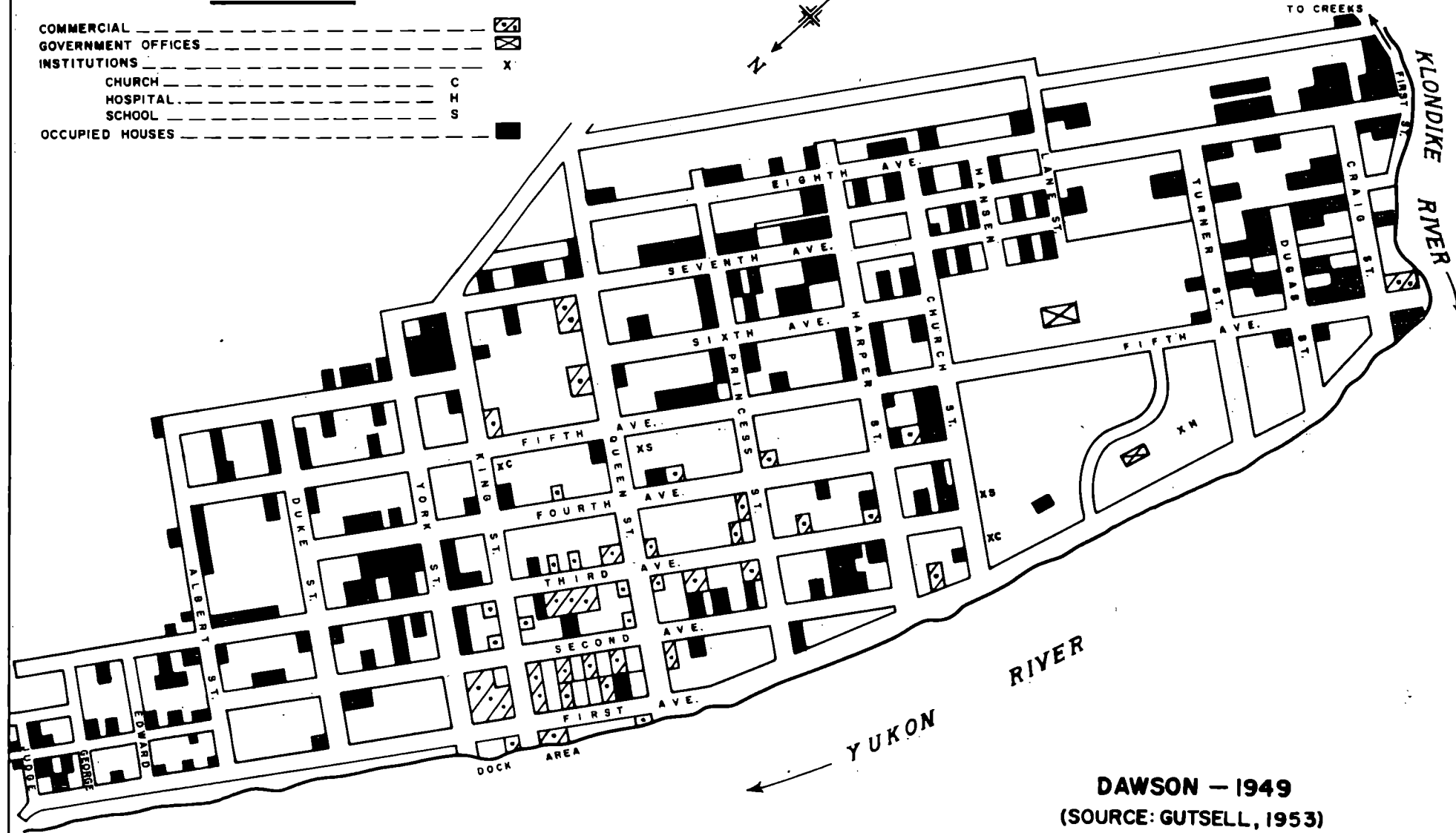
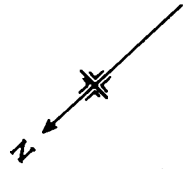
In 1963, the number of occupied dwellings had dwindled considerably, although the house distribution remained similar to that in 1952 (Map 5). In 1952 Ridge mapped 225 occupied houses; in 1963, 164 houses were occupied. During the summer of 1963, only three private houses and a teacherage were under construction. The newest buildings in the city are the welfare office, the school, the federal building, the Territorial liquor store, the Fire Hall, the Palace Grand Theatre, a fuel and freight depot, five or six government housing units, eleven Indian Affairs' houses, a drive-in restaurant, a dry goods store, a small butcher shop and a few private residences.

Two parts of the city have been built up in recent years - the block on Front Street where eight Indian homes have been built and the government reserve where two "Panabode" houses have been erected. It seems possible, that, since the Federal government has constructed most of the new housing in recent years, that any future construction will be either in the Indian housing and/or on the government reserve.

Any new private housing on the other hand, is likely to be built where the three homes under construction in 1963 are located - on the side of the hill overlooking the city.

LEGEND










COMMERCIAL	
GOVERNMENT OFFICES	
INSTITUTIONS	X
CHURCH	C
HOSPITAL	H
SCHOOL	S
OCCUPIED HOUSES	

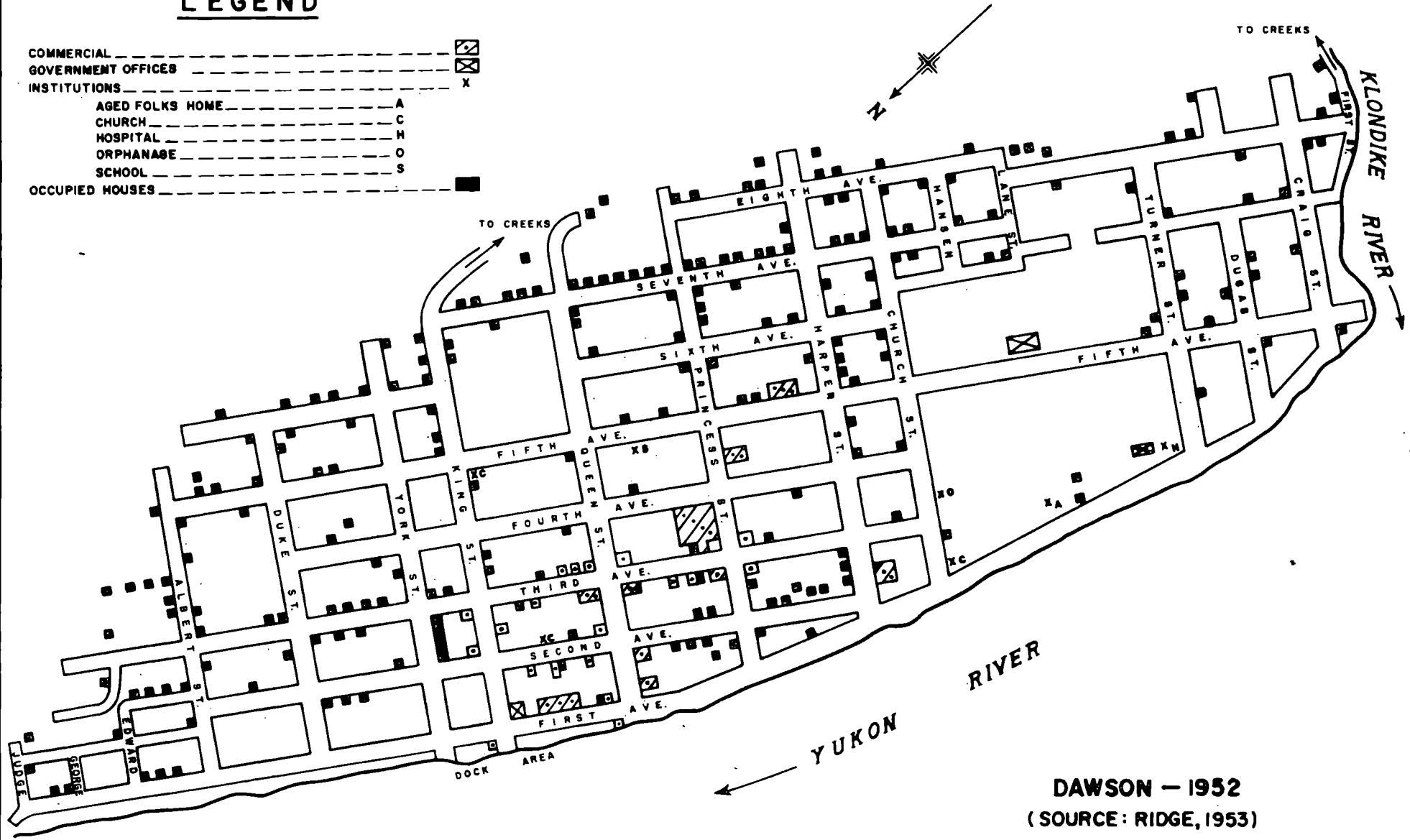


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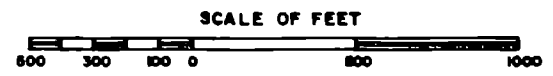
MAP 3

LEGEND

- COMMERCIAL 
- GOVERNMENT OFFICES 
- INSTITUTIONS 
- AGED FOLKS HOME  A
- CHURCH  C
- HOSPITAL  H
- ORPHANAGE  O
- SCHOOL  S
- OCCUPIED HOUSES 

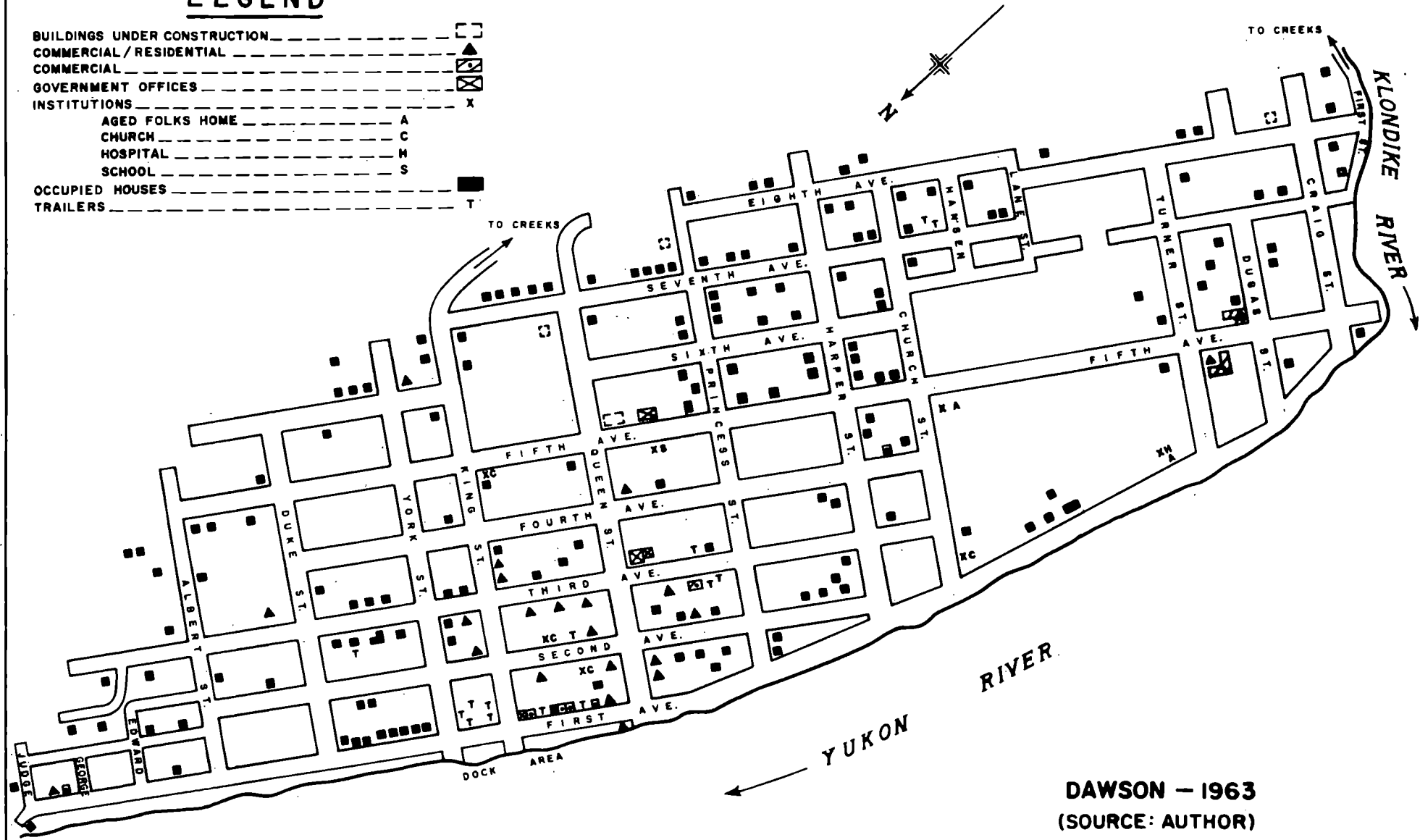


DAWSON — 1952
(SOURCE: RIDGE, 1953)

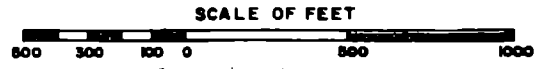


LEGEND

- BUILDINGS UNDER CONSTRUCTION □
- COMMERCIAL / RESIDENTIAL ▬
- COMMERCIAL ▣
- GOVERNMENT OFFICES ⊠
- INSTITUTIONS X
- AGED FOLKS HOME A
- CHURCH C
- HOSPITAL H
- SCHOOL S
- OCCUPIED HOUSES ■
- TRAILERS T

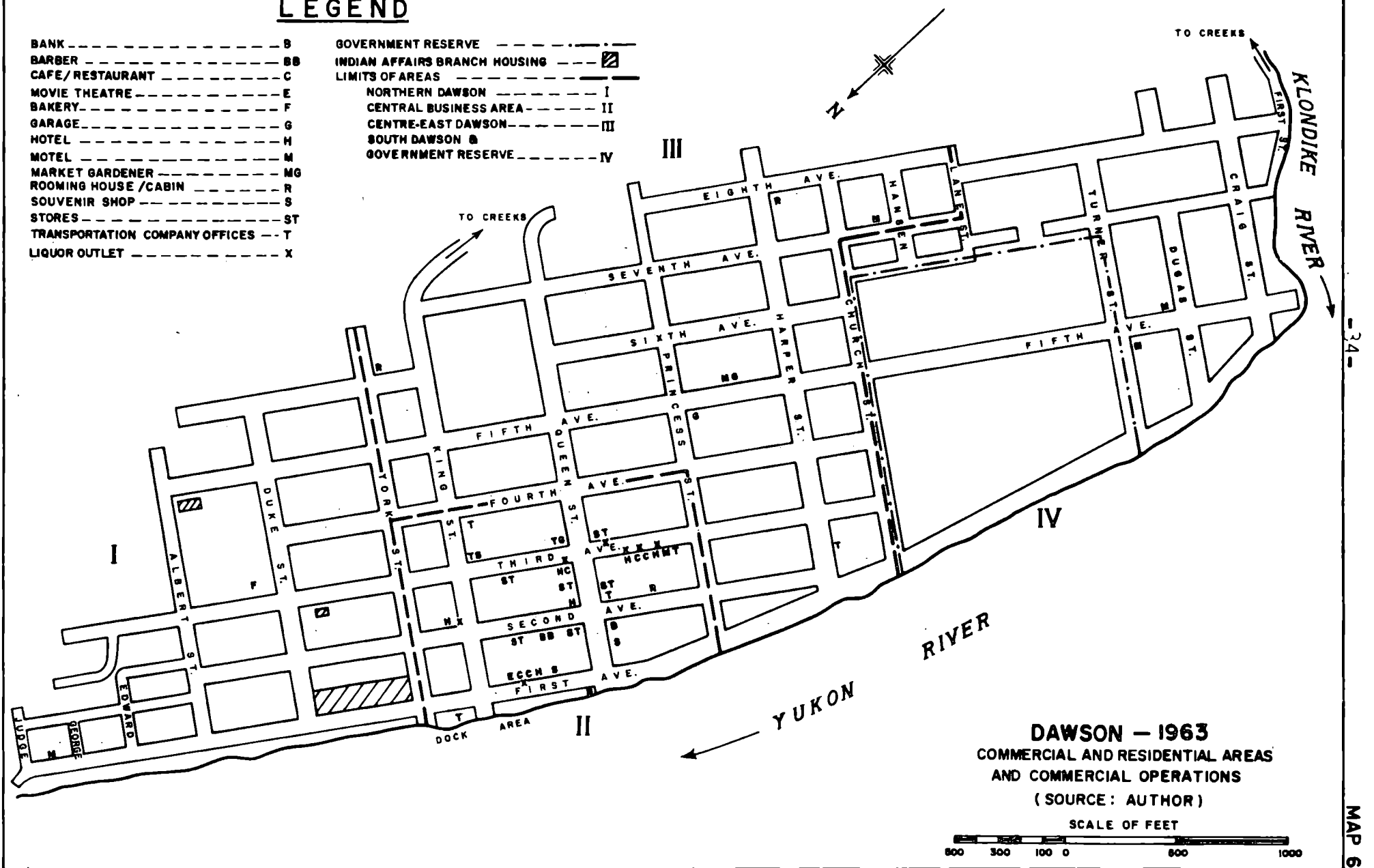


DAWSON - 1963
(SOURCE: AUTHOR)

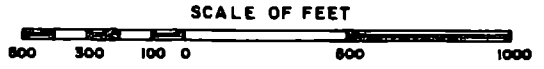


LEGEND

BANK -----	B	GOVERNMENT RESERVE -----	-----
BARBER -----	BB	INDIAN AFFAIRS BRANCH HOUSING -----	▨
CAFE/RESTAURANT -----	C	LIMITS OF AREAS -----	-----
MOVIE THEATRE -----	E	NORTHERN DAWSON -----	I
BAKERY -----	F	CENTRAL BUSINESS AREA -----	II
GARAGE -----	G	CENTRE-EAST DAWSON -----	III
HOTEL -----	H	SOUTH DAWSON	⊙
MOTEL -----	M	GOVERNMENT RESERVE -----	IV
MARKET GARDENER -----	MG		
ROOMING HOUSE /CABIN -----	R		
SOUVENIR SHOP -----	S		
STORES -----	ST		
TRANSPORTATION COMPANY OFFICES -----	T		
LIQUOR OUTLET -----	X		



DAWSON - 1963
 COMMERCIAL AND RESIDENTIAL AREAS
 AND COMMERCIAL OPERATIONS
 (SOURCE: AUTHOR)



LEGEND

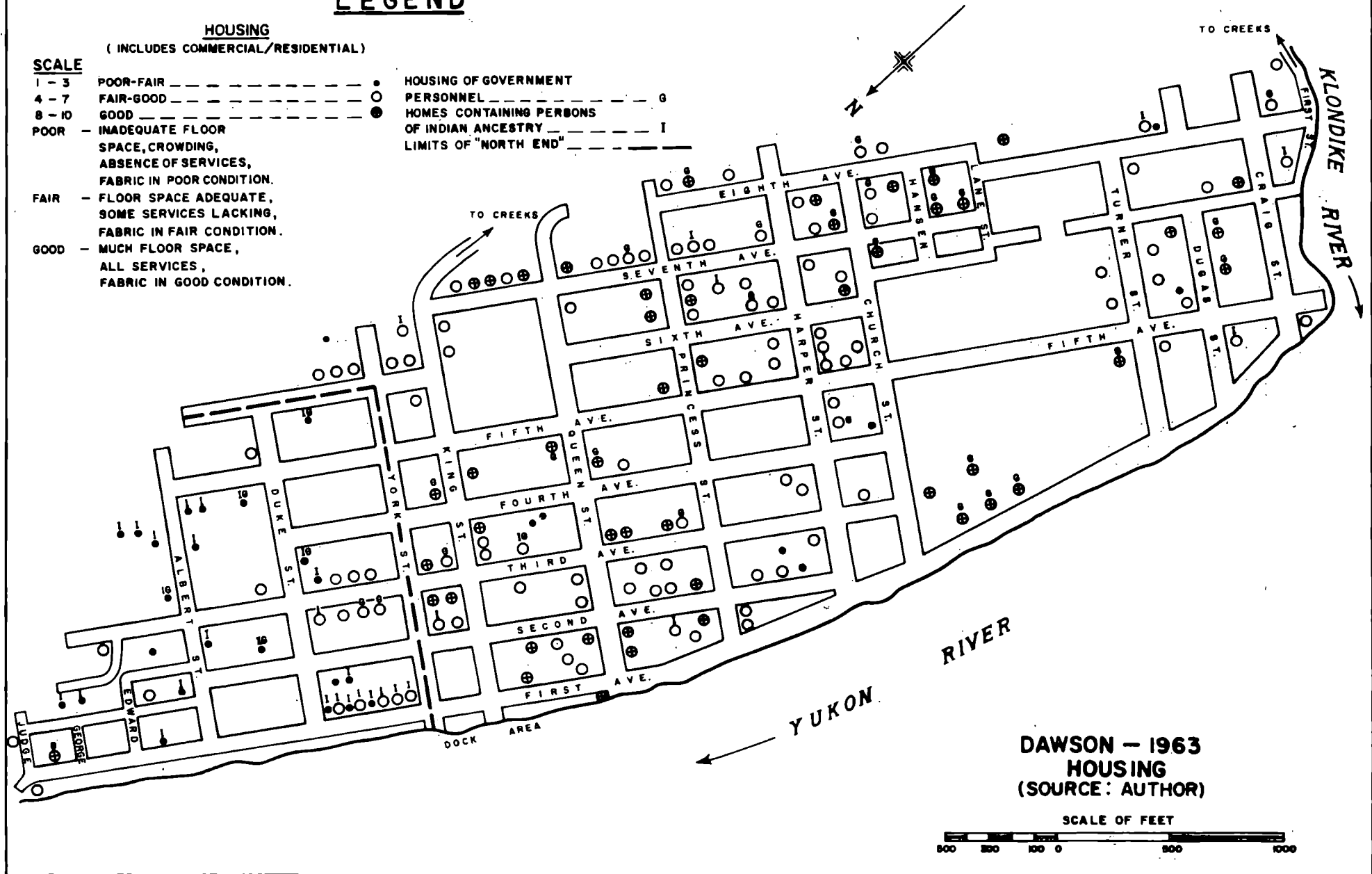
HOUSING

(INCLUDES COMMERCIAL/RESIDENTIAL)

SCALE

- 1 - 3 POOR-FAIR ----- ○
- 4 - 7 FAIR-GOOD ----- ○
- 8 - 10 GOOD ----- ○
- POOR - INADEQUATE FLOOR SPACE, CROWDING, ABSENCE OF SERVICES, FABRIC IN POOR CONDITION.
- FAIR - FLOOR SPACE ADEQUATE, SOME SERVICES LACKING, FABRIC IN FAIR CONDITION.
- GOOD - MUCH FLOOR SPACE, ALL SERVICES, FABRIC IN GOOD CONDITION.

- HOUSING OF GOVERNMENT PERSONNEL ----- G
- HOMES CONTAINING PERSONS OF INDIAN ANCESTRY ----- I
- LIMITS OF "NORTH END" ----- I



The influence of the road, the absence of suitable housing and the extent to which newcomers are reluctant to establish themselves with any degree of permanency in the city are reflected in the number of trailers in Dawson. Four were being used as permanent houses, three sets had been added as additions to hotels, a complete trailer motel had been established (although it was not in operation in 1963), and trailers were being used for the housing and offices of an oil company. Unlike capital invested in housing, capital invested in trailers used for accommodation is portable and can be picked up and removed should the decline of Dawson force an individual or a company to leave the city.

Local residents complained to the writer in 1961 that the new school and federal building with their modern design, new materials, and fresh paint did not "harmonize" with the old buildings. Even more significant was the contrast between the old Auditorium before it was reconstructed as the Palace Grand. The Auditorium had been made from a good grade of timber sawn in the Dawson area and heated by wood-burning stoves. The electric wiring, adequate but uneven in quality, would not meet modern standards, and the whole structure was unsafe and unsound. It was therefore not possible to renovate the Auditorium and to turn it into the Palace Grand. It had to be reconstructed. The new building cost \$300,000. for it had to have proper fireproofing, adequate insulation, its own heating and power plant, new wallpaper, new wiring, etc. All these details were determined, not by the rough and ready frontier standards of "adequacy", but by modern southern Canadian standards. The Palace Grand, a public building, had to be designed as such. The writer heard complaints among the residents of Dawson that the Palace Grand looked too new. This and the attitude towards the appearance of the school and federal building, reveals the dichotomy in the minds of Dawson and other Yukon residents. They want the best buildings, sewers, services and convenience, irrespective of the cost, and of the ability of the economy to pay the initial capital cost or to support them and they also want the freedom, the atmosphere and appearance of the early days and of "frontier times". Clark (1962) points out the attitude that the oldtimers, who arrived in the Yukon before 1896, took towards the newcomers. These "cheechakos" were accused of bringing in a new way of life that was alien to the country, a life of settled towns, women and families, electricity, sewer and water services, large buildings. Not only the physical aspects of life changed, but the laws, regulations, rules of conduct, and the whole intellectual and mental climate altered. Similarly to-day, the way of life "outside" has changed radically from what it was in the thirties when a number of individuals settled in Dawson. While the town has been declining and the economic base disappearing, the expectations of individuals have continued to rise.

Housing

Of all the features in any landscape, the conditions and care of housing comes nearest to being an index of prosperity. A simple rating scheme was drawn up for each dwelling in Dawson. Houses were allocated a number from 1 to 10 depending on the general condition of fabric, the care that had been taken to repair it, the services installed, and the amount of floor space per occupant. A rating between 1 and 3 indicated a poor to fair house, in bad condition, with few services, and overcrowded. A rating of 9 meant a large, well built, well kept house, with running water, sewers (or septic tanks) and electricity. Some of the new Indian Affairs houses rated low on this scale because they were badly overcrowded; one held 14 people, another 13 people.

All the housing in Dawson is of wood. House types range from large, spacious, two storey frame residences in good condition to dilapidated, crowded log cabins. Permafrost complicates building in Dawson, and houses are usually built on mud sills. These sills have to be renewed every two or three years because of the melting of the frozen surface. Constant repairs are needed to keep the houses habitable. Table 10 shows that the people of Indian ancestry live in poor, substandard dwellings, while most of the large houses in good condition are occupied by government personnel.

TABLE 10

HOUSE RATINGS-DAWSON

Rating	<u>1</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>4</u>	<u>5</u>	<u>6</u>	<u>7</u>	<u>8</u>	<u>9</u>	<u>10</u>	<u>Total</u>
Total	4	10	17	12	39	35	22	30	20	0	188
%	2.1	5.3	9.0	6.4	20.7	18.6	11.7	16.0	10.6	0	
Persons of Indian Ancestry in:	4	10	7	6	8	1	2	0	0	0	28
Government Employees in:	2	3	0	1	6	5	3	11	10	0	
Indians in Govt. Emp.	2	3	0	1	2	1	1	0	0	0	

No less than 16.4 per cent of the houses were rated as substandard, and were considered either to be unfit for habitation or badly overcrowded. Of the thirty-one houses rated below 3 on the scale adopted, twenty-three were in the north end of town. In these houses lived 145 individuals, an average of 6.3 persons per dwelling; the average for Dawson as a whole is 4.0 persons per dwelling.

A committee of the Chamber of Commerce reported on housing conditions in Dawson in May 1962. At that time, twenty-five houses were examined and found unsuitable for human occupancy; in all thirty-nine houses needed attention. The twenty-five dwellings examined housed unmarried women with children, old age pensioners, people on old age assistance, and couples with large families. Where there was a wage earner in the household, he or she was inevitably employed only seasonally and had no capital to invest in repairing the house or in rebuilding it. Some had no income at all. The report noted that it was unlikely that anyone with a good house would rent it to seasonally employed Indian or Metis parents with large families. A survey of possible houses for rent showed none; if all the condemned houses were pulled down, almost a hundred people would be left homeless. Six families, totalling forty-seven people, had emergency housing requirements, because their dwellings were totally inadequate. Four housed thirty-seven persons in all, plus transients. Although overcrowded, they were a considerable improvement on most of the other Indian and Metis housing in the "North end".

Housing seasonally employed persons in an area with a severe climate poses almost insoluble problems. A low cost housing programme exists in the Yukon Territory, but it presupposes the ability of an individual to raise a certain down-payment on the house, and to pay off the house in monthly installments over a period of ten years. The average cost for houses built in the Yukon under this programme was \$11,250. in 1963-64 (Canadian Weekly Bulletin, March 18th, 1964). No provision is made in this programme for people who own substandard dwellings which provide minimal shelter, and who are either financially unable or unprepared to buy a house. Even if Dawson had an assured future, none of the inadequately housed people in the city could undertake the purchase of a house. When the city's future is as uncertain as it is, then this difficulty is compounded because no one will build housing for rent or sale, especially since building costs are high. In Whitehorse, the construction of a one storey, 2-3 bedroom house of simple design costs 74¢ per cubic foot, against 52¢ per cubic foot (International Union...1963) in Edmonton. A 572 square foot frame building with concrete footings, bathroom fixtures, floor covering, a space heater, and labour was estimated to cost \$6,500. in Whitehorse in 1963. A 480 square foot log dwelling would cost \$2,500. without logs and labour (Whitehorse Star, Dec. 5, 1963). Building costs in Dawson probably exceed those in Whitehorse by at least 25 per cent.

Nor can the government be expected to encourage or subsidize house building in an area whose economy is so narrowly based as that of the Northern Yukon. The Indian Affairs housing merely takes care of the most pressing needs. The Indian Affairs housing built in Dawson before 1962 is already beginning to show wear and tear. Broken windows, damaged doors and dilapidated interiors were noted in the six log cabins in the Indian area.

Added to the high cost of construction is that of maintenance in a city where a skilled labour force is lacking.

Another series of problems is involved in heating and lighting any houses built. Fuel oil is 42 cents a gallon, compared to 33 cents a gallon in Whitehorse. A bungalow with a floor area of about 1,000 feet took 100 gallons of oil to heat in the coldest month of the winter of 1962-63. Water costs in Dawson are \$12.50 a month per toilet compared to a flat rate of \$10.00 in Whitehorse. Electricity costs 25 cents a kilowatt hour; in Edmonton it costs 2 cents per kwt. For a two bedroom house, the electricity bill (lights, refrigerator, furnace motor, radio) came to \$35. a month in winter. Total utilities cost for a small bungalow came to \$79. a month; for a combined store and house about \$200. a month. Some indications of the high cost of utilities in the winter and summer months are shown in Table 11.

TABLE 11

WATER AND POWER COSTS - DAWSON WELFARE OFFICE
(House and Office Combined)
Approx. 1,000 square feet.

1963	Jan.	114.40
	Feb.	75.72
	Mar.	53.40
	Apr.	35.25
	May	34.75
	June	35.50
	July	38.30

A division can be made between those people in Dawson who heat by oil and those who heat by wood; this might almost serve as an indication of the economic position of the household. Almost inevitably, low income groups use a wood stove for cooking and heating. A census of the houses, carried out in 1963, showed that out of a total of 179 houses whose heating method was determined, 104 used oil, 68 used wood, and seven used a combination of oil and wood.

Individuals in the Yukon may cut 25 cords of wood for their own use. Otherwise wood costs \$20. to \$25. a cord compared to \$21. a cord in Whitehorse.

The days of the self-contained "frontier" existence in Dawson and the surrounding area have gone. Until recently a man could live off caribou, moose and salmon and grow his own vegetables. All his cabin cost was the labour involved in building it, plus a few nails and metal fittings. A stove could be made out of an oil drum, and furniture built from wood. With the disappearance of this way of life and the movement of people into Dawson, the housing problem has become acute. Building, maintaining and servicing houses in Dawson is extremely expensive. If sections of the population for whom few employment opportunities are available must be housed by the government and the cost of servicing the houses paid by the government, then it is obvious that, unless unlimited funds are available, consideration cannot be given to building new housing in Dawson. Meanwhile, a section of the town's population continues to live in substandard accommodation whose social costs are high.

Services

Dawson had electric light, piped sewers and water and a telephone system installed early in the century. Those services, installed for a large settlement, functioned well until fairly recently. In July-August, 1961, the Montreal Engineering Company undertook a study of the utilities, which revealed the condition of the electrical power plant and distribution system and of the sewer and water installations. The main feature of the services is that power is used to heat the water that circulates in winter and so prevents the freezing up of sewer and water mains. All three systems are interdependent and rely on cheap power for their continued operation.

A study of the electrical and other services in Dawson illustrates the problem of planning in areas whose economy is declining. The power plant that supplies Dawson, located on the North Fork of the Klondike River, was built in 1911. It was originally built and is still used primarily to power the gold dredges, and a small amount of electricity is sold to the Dawson Electric Light and Power Company Limited for distribution in Dawson. YCGC does not own the Light and Power Company directly, but acts only as a trustee for the company, although the general manager of YCGC in Dawson

is also listed in the phone book as the General Manager of the Dawson Electric Light and Power Company Limited. YCGC is also the trustee for the Dawson City Water and Power Company, which handles water distribution. Both the original companies supplying power and water to Dawson have become defunct, and YCGC have been more or less forced into the position of having to supply these services to the town. At the time when these companies ceased to operate, it was not worth anyone's while to take them over as an economic endeavour. As far as its power and water services are concerned, Dawson has all the problems of a company town without any of the benefits, although YCGC acquired the town's electricity and water distribution systems and did not build them. This is a reversal of the usual role of large industrial companies operating in or near communities. Usually such companies install and operate the utilities and provide power and water at a nominal rate because the major power requirement is for the industrial activity. As the Queen's University report (1953: 210) points out "Whether or not these special townsites are later incorporated as municipalities, the public utilities must be laid down and the community service provided as in private company townsites in order to attract employees to live at the scene of industrial operations". The same source goes on to note that when companies do sell the services to a municipality, they sell them at a nominal sum.

Thus, although most of the power produced at the North Fork is used in the gold mining operations of the major company, and the domestic power produced (and sold) considered as a by-product, the domestic consumers do not get either low rates or the benefits of a municipally owned power system. The same applies to the water supply.

The company, on the other hand, must supply power and water using antiquated equipment and poor distribution facilities. The equipment for electrical and water distribution has become so badly worn that replacing it would not be worth the company's while. Also, the present users of power in the area, the gold dredges, may shut down within two or three years. According to the report on the utilities, it would not be economic to maintain the North Fork plant solely to supply Dawson. But the major problem facing Dawson as far as services are concerned is the condition of the equipment, and especially of the power distribution system. If this was in good condition, an alternative power source such as a diesel generator could be hooked up to it when the North Fork plant closed down.

Elsewhere in the Yukon large sums have been invested by a crown corporation (Northern Canada Power Commission) to provide power for settlements and mining operations. At Whitehorse, a power plant completed in 1959 at a cost of over \$7,000,000. provides 15,000 h.p.; the plant supplies the Department of National Defence installations in the city and a substantial portion of the requirements of Whitehorse. At Mayo, a plant commissioned in 1959 supplies the settlements of Mayo and Keno City and the mines around

Elsa and Keno City. It generates 9,000 horse power and cost over \$4,000,000.

But no public money has gone into providing or improving power facilities for Dawson City, and NCPC has declined to move into the settlement. As a crown corporation, NCPC must meet its cost of operation, and basing its decision on a report submitted to it by a private company, it was obviously convinced that it could not do so in Dawson (Whitehorse Star, November 25th, 1963).

The fact that Dawson had electricity and services very early in this century now militates against any attempt to improve these services to-day. The town, scattered over a large river flat, is uneconomical to service, the condition of the network of power and water lines has deteriorated over the years, and the minimum amount of care and attention, and of capital, has been spent on them. As with housing, the high cost factor and the uncertain economic base of the area have resulted in the patching up of existing facilities, rather than in their replacement.

The future of Dawson is closely linked with that of YCGC. This is less because the city provides the company with a convenient location for housing, or acts as a service centre for the gold mining company, than because its power supply depends on the continuation of dredging in the area, and the presence of skilled YCGC employees. The Montreal Engineering report emphasized this when it noted "It would not be practical to keep the North Fork Hydro in operation for the purpose of supplying Dawson City only". And if this power is not available, then the sewer and water services will not function during freezing weather - that is, most of the year.

Power

Hydro-electric power, generated on the North Fork of the Klondike River, about 20 miles east of Dawson, supplies the city and the gold dredges with electricity. A small amount of power is sold to placer operators. The plant at North Fork was installed in 1911, and consists of three 5,000 h.p. units. During freeze-up and break-up, and at other times when the North Fork plant cannot operate because of ice running in the hydro ditch, a standby diesel unit in the townsite supplies electricity.

The Montreal Engineering Company report noted that "the civil engineering features of the North Fork hydro are minimal and many features are in an advanced state of decrepitude". The power distribution system is inadequate and the wiring, both external and internal, in poor condition. The diesel standby power plant is just about adequate for the community's needs. What can happen in an isolated community when the power system fails was illustrated in late November 1963. Slush and ice blocked the North Fork hydro ditch and the emergency diesel took over. The diesel could not supply the large steady current that the hydro plant produced. There was no street lighting, furnace motors burnt out (and neither replacements

nor servicemen were available), the local radio station did not operate, and water pumps failed to function. This power failure and the decrepit equipment that filled the gap caused a minor crisis in Dawson and demonstrated the problems of living in the city. The federal government, when building the Palace Grand Theatre, installed a diesel generator as a power source.

At the end of June 1963, the light and power company had 252 customers for light and 75 for power. Only three or four customers took power but not light. The office manager and the meter reader of the company reported no great seasonal changes in the numbers of electricity consumers.

The Montreal Engineering report estimated the base minimum operating cost of the North Fork plant at \$150,000. a year; it costs 3.2 cents per kilowatt hour to deliver power to the consumers, including losses. The rate charged, set in 1912, is 25 cents a kilowatt hour. The high cost of power is one of the major problems in Dawson, and a source of bitter complaint by the citizens of the city (Whitehorse Star, April 16th, 1964). The high cost of power, and its variation, precludes any consideration of the establishment of even the simplest type of manufacturing industry, or even of a handicraft industry such as the Aklavik Fur Garment Project that relies on power.

On the assumption that Dawson's population will remain at or about 850 persons, the Montreal Engineering report stated that an 800 Kw source would be needed for the community.

The major problem facing Dawson is what will happen to the power supply when the dredges close down. The federal and territorial governments now use a large portion of the power generated at the North Fork, (up to 50 per cent according to a company spokesman) and the government's share of the power has been greatly increased in recent years. Only from the federal government can come the large sums needed to install a diesel power unit, and to replace the electrical distribution system (at an estimated cost of \$112,000.). The dispersed form of the settlement makes this a much more costly proposition than in all other northern settlements with comparable population.

Sewer and Water Systems

These systems were installed in 1904. The city now has one customer for sewer and water for every four lots.

The office manager of the two companies that own the power, light and water system stated that the power side of the combined operations "carried" the water side. Water is obtained from a deep well in the south end of the townsite. It is pumped up, and has to be heated by electricity before it can be circulated in winter; this takes 5,000,000 kwh annually. The Montreal Engineering report stated that "the (water) system is dependent

upon the supply of low cost heat to keep it in operation during the winter months" and a company official stated that it takes as much power to heat water in winter as it does to supply the town. The water, heated to 39° F, circulates through wood stove pipes (iron pipes would conduct cold into the water), and then runs into the Yukon River; there is no closed loop return system to conserve the heated water. Although the water supply and pumping equipment are adequate and in good repair, the sewer and water lines are not. They have to be constantly torn up and rebuilt; this was being done in Dawson during the summer of 1963. Householders have to pay for their water supply. The charge for sewer services, however, is recovered from the frontage tax, because the municipality owns the sewerage lines. This is an additional complication in an already complex situation as far as services are concerned.

In the summer of 1963, the water company had 165 permanent customers and 60 summer customers. The water lines have been laid out so that water can be run into the north end in summer, from May 15th to September 15th; otherwise most of this area does not have sewer and water services. If a tap only is installed in the house, or on a lot, a charge of \$2.50 per person per month is made for water. If a tap serves a number of lots, the charge is \$5.00 a household.

During the eight months that the piped tap water supply is not available, the city delivers water three times a week. The cost runs from a minimum of \$4. to a maximum of \$10. a month and the city consistently loses money on this service. People, especially those in the north end who do not have permanent sewer and water service, usually belong to the seasonally unemployed and the unemployable who inhabit substandard housing. Their water bill is usually paid, directly or indirectly, by the federal or territorial governments, through welfare payments.

The authors of the Montreal Engineering report examined the economics of the sewer and water system. They estimated the annual operating cost at \$45,000. and the estimated cost without YCGC participation at \$107,000.; the total annual revenue was \$41,000.

They estimated the cost of renewing the sewer and water services as follows: -

1.	Utilidor		\$3,900,000.00
2.	On Piles		659,000.00
3.	Below Ground		629,000.00
4.	Revamping	(a)	194,100.00
		(b)	183,500.00

The annual operating cost could be reduced by \$40,000. by using methods 4 (a) or 4 (b).

Added to the other problems of the sewer and water system is that of maintenance. In May 1963, the town engineer left to join the staff of the Territorial Engineering Department; he stated that the task of keeping the Dawson utilities running was a hopeless one.

In a city of old, wooden buildings, the task of keeping fire hydrants open in winter has posed a considerable problem. The hydrants are heated by electrodes inserted in a box; this costs the city \$700. a month.

Telephone

Canadian National Telecommunications (CNT) operates the Dawson telephone system. It took over the system in 1962 from the company that operated it and installed dial telephones. In 1963 the phone books listed 202 numbers. The previous owner of the phone system was a subsidiary company of YCGC. The phone system, hand cranked, was antiquated, and CNT donated the switchboard to the Dawson Museum when it bought out the company. In the winter of 1962, both CNT and the YCGC subsidiary operated telephone systems, one for long distance calls, the other for local calls.

The telephone system before CNT took over illustrates the main dilemma of the services situation in Dawson. The city has many of the disadvantages of a company town, but few of the advantages.

CHAPTER IV

MUNICIPAL GOVERNMENT

Dawson is an incorporated municipality, with an elected mayor and three elected aldermen. The day to day business is carried on by a City Clerk. The Dawson area also sends one member to sit on the Yukon Territorial Council. The city was incorporated soon after the Gold Rush, but lost its civic status in the early 1900's, and became a taxation area administered by the territorial government. In September 1950, civic government was again granted to Dawson.

There appeared to be little interest in local government in Dawson. Most of the transient civil servant population, as elsewhere in the north, has only a short term interest in the community. The Indian and Metis population, the single old men living alone, and the residents in the institutions have limited knowledge of a form of civic government that touches their lives but little. The lack of interest in civic government is reflected in the fact that the mayor has been returned to office by acclamation for at least three years. During several civic elections in recent years, it has been difficult to find candidates for the aldermen's seats. In the winter of 1962-63, two Dawson residents circulated a petition for the removal of the municipal government. One resident had been in Dawson for many years; the other had arrived in recent years. The recent arrival stated that she would like to see Dawson created a "historic site", and run from Ottawa. She favoured control by the federal government rather than by the territorial government, because "Whitehorse does not like us, and we have to fight for money in the Territorial Council". This rivalry with Whitehorse has already been noted.

The city has only a semi-autonomous form of government, because its budgets must be approved by the Commissioner of the Yukon Territory.

The financial plight of the city can best be seen in its budget figures for the period 1955-56 to 1963 (Table 12).

TABLE 12

DAWSON CITY BUDGETS, 1955-56 TO 1963

<u>Year</u>	<u>Total Expenditure</u>	<u>Local Property & Business Tax</u>	<u>Gov't. Grants (all)</u>	<u>Operating Deficit or Surplus</u>
1955-56	37,066.00	18,500	18,448.00	+862.21
1956-57	61,370.00	25,204	23,500.00	-10,396.96
1957-58	54,795.00	20,000	23,450.00	-1,360.00

TABLE 12 (Continued)

<u>Year</u>	<u>Total Expenditure</u>	<u>Local Property & Business Tax</u>	<u>Gov't Grants (all)</u>	<u>Operating Deficit or Surplus</u>
1958-59	59,903.00	19,647	27,500.00	-10,891.00
1959-60	82,313.00	26,200	16,754.00	-39,364.00
1960-61	82,757.32	26,026	57,643.00	-35,400.00
1962	130,965.00	41,951	80,589.00	-
1963	125,602.00 (Est.)	41,456	82,706.00	-

In 1955-56, with a small budget, the local property and business taxes (the main sources of revenue) provided half the city's expenditure, and statutory and conditional federal and territorial grants provided the other half. In 1963, with a budget three times that of 1955-56, the local tax base provided approximately one-third of the expenditure, and the federal and territorial grants two-thirds. The present heavy reliance on government assistance is shown by the fact that, in 1954-55, \$22,676.00 of the total expenditure of \$37,066. went for the fire department; in 1963 the corresponding figures were \$26,520. and \$125,602. After helping to take care of large operating deficits incurred by the city since 1956-57 the Commissioner of the Yukon Territory reorganized the financial structure of the city in 1962. The mill rate was raised from 35 to 55 mills. The 1963 budget estimates (Table 13) give a good indication of how much government money goes into maintaining Dawson's municipal government.

TABLE 13

DAWSON CITY BUDGET, 1963 (ESTIMATES)

EXPENDITURE

General Government	21,340.00
Protection of Persons (Including Fire Protection \$26,520.00)	29,020.00
Public Works	29,667.00

TABLE 13 (Continued)

Sanitation & Waste Removal (Repairs to Sewer System \$22, 903.00)	29, 503.00
Education	8, 211.00
Finance	<u>1, 275.00</u>
Total Expenditure	<u>119, 016.00</u>

REVENUE

<u>Taxation</u>	<u>Fair Value</u>	<u>Assessed At</u>	
Land Privately Owned	161, 178.00	100%	161, 178.00
Improvements	654, 305.00	65%	<u>425, 298.25</u>
	Total Assessment		\$586, 476.25
Property Tax At 41 mills			24, 045.53
School Tax At 14 mills			<u>8, 210.67</u>
			\$32, 256.20
Land Territorially Owned	9, 940.00	100%	9, 940.00
Improvements	147, 195.00	100%	147, 195.00
Land Federally Owned	7, 680.00	100%	7, 680.00
Improvements	296, 516.00	100%	<u>296, 516.00</u>
			\$461, 331.00

TOTAL PRIVATE & GOVERNMENT
ASSESSMENT

\$1, 047, 807.25

Assessment for Statutory Grant purposes:

\$1, 000, 000.00 @ 10 mills	10, 000.00
47, 807.25 @ 8 mills	<u>382.46</u>
	\$10, 382.46

TOTAL REVENUE

Taxation (Private Base)	32, 256.20
Licenses - Business & Professional	9, 000.00
- Dog Tags	200.00
Miscellaneous (Fines, Water Delivery)	1, 440.00

GRANTS

Territorial Gov't (Statutory)	10, 382.00
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TABLE 13 (Continued)

Road Maintenance Costs (25% of recoverable from Government)	4, 210.00
CONDITIONAL (100% of Recoverable Expenditure on land survey, street lighting, flood control, fire protection, administration, repairs to sewer system, public works)	64, 114.00
Gov't of Canada (Statutory)	<u>4, 000.00</u>
TOTAL REVENUE \$125, 602.00	

The budget figures reveal, all too plainly, the plight of Dawson. The limited and shrinking private tax base, the comparatively low value of improvements on privately owned land compared to the high value of government improvements, the high cost of fire protection, of replacing sewer lines, of maintaining roads, of lighting streets - all these factors show up in the large expenditure of the city. The plight of northern municipalities operating in high cost areas with a limited tax base is illustrated in Table 14 which compares municipal budgets for Yellowknife, N. W. T. and Dawson for 1955, 1961 and 1962.

TABLE 14

COMPARISON OF MUNICIPAL REVENUE AND
MAJOR REVENUE SOURCES: DAWSON AND YELLOWKNIFE

(Source for Yellowknife: Bourne, 1963:65)

<u>Population</u>	<u>1955</u>	<u>1961</u>	<u>1962</u>
Dawson	851	881	800 (Est.)
Yellowknife	3100	3245	3250
<u>Municipal Revenue</u>	<u>1955-56</u>	<u>1962</u>	
Dawson	37, 066.00	130, 965.00	
Yellowknife	298, 000.00	417, 000.00 (Excluding school revenue)	

TABLE 14 (Continued)

Federal and Territorial Grants

Dawson	18, 500.00	82, 706.00
Yellowknife	10, 000.00	186, 500.00

Taxation Revenue from Mines

Dawson	Nil	Nil
Yellowknife	-	159, 050.00

Table 14, inadequate though it is, and referring as it does only to government assistance in the administration of the two municipalities does indicate the increases in money needed merely to keep these northern communities in existence, irrespective of their economic base. Both Dawson and Yellowknife are primarily gold towns that began as mining camps, and the amount of the non-renewable resources that they are exploiting is limited.

In the case of Yellowknife, the mines around the town, which use the town as a service centre, contribute, through taxation, to the cost of running the municipality. The same system of taxing mining properties in the general area to assist in running a township or municipality that offers them services (schools, entertainment, transportation facilities, housing for mine workers, etc.) was adopted in Uranium City, Saskatchewan. The municipality here received taxes from a number of mining settlements (one of which did not even have road connection with it) scattered in the surrounding area. No mining company operating around Dawson contributes anything directly to the cost of running the municipality. The houses owned by the men employed by YCGC and the land and property owned by the company in Dawson is taxed, but this taxation yields a small sum only. As was pointed out under the section on services, Dawson suffers from the fact that the YCGC subsidiaries own the power and water services, but the city does not have the advantage of having this company (or any other company or individual working in the area) contribute large sums directly towards the cost of running the town, in the way that Giant Yellowknife contributes to Yellowknife's municipal budget.

CHAPTER V

CHURCHES

In the summer of 1963, there were four church groups active in Dawson - the Anglicans, Roman Catholics, Pentecostals and Gospel Hall. The 1961 census gave the Anglican population as 478, the Catholic as 153, and the United Church as 77. The Anglican Church had forty to fifty regular members. Out of a total Catholic population (including the surrounding areas) of approximately 200, about seventy attended church regularly, including two Indians and ten Metis. Approximately fifteen people, mostly Indians, attended the Pentecostal Chapel. No figures were available on church attendance at the Gospel Hall, but it appeared to be thriving. While the Anglican and Roman Catholic congregations are served by full time clergymen, the Pentecostals are represented by a man who arrived in 1961 and now works in a store, and the Gospel Hall by an employee of YCGC. While these two sects meet in small frame structures in town, both the Anglican and the Catholic ministers have charge of large, imposing churches, and live in comfortable houses.

The ministers of the evangelical sects limited their activities to preaching in their halls in the town, and to home visiting. The Anglican Minister had to serve Granville, Moosehide (where there is an imposing church) Bear Creek and Dawson. The Catholic priest had to minister to the spiritual needs of the people in the mining camps, in addition to looking after his congregation in Dawson.

The maintenance of a large church and of a rectory, the provision and upkeep of a car to enable these clergymen to serve their parishioners spread over a wide area must involve a high cost per parishioner. Presumably both these denominations receive financial support from their dioceses. On the other hand, the part time ministers of the other sects see to the upkeep of their own churches, which, being small and somewhat rough and ready as far as construction is concerned, require minimal attention. The Pentecostal minister, for instance, was doing the carpentry for his own church in the summer of 1963. The Anglican rectory's foundations were being replaced by a full time crew of four or five men at the same time.

With the decline in the population and the decay of the facilities of the town, the cost of serving each parishioner increases, and this is a factor that the older, more highly organized churches must take into consideration. As with other organizations, the decisions regarding the future of these churches are made outside the city. The Presbyterian church left Dawson some years ago, leaving behind an expensive plant in the form of a church built in 1901, containing a large, costly organ, a large rectory and a hospital building. The date of their abandonment was not determined, but the rectory and the church have been badly disturbed by permafrost and are not usable.

A return to "frontier" processes may occur in the retreat from marginal lands, as far as religious institutions are concerned. The large, well organized, well established sects may be forced to leave these areas because of their high cost of operation. Meanwhile the evangelical sects, especially those which, like the Pentecostals, are concerned with "moral evils" like drinking among native peoples, and whose ministers are fired by a missionary zeal, may move in. These sects, ministered to by men who work in paid employment through the week, and operating on small budgets with rough churches or halls, will not find it necessary to invest or keep investing large amounts of capital in these marginal areas.

Clairmont (1963) has shown how a relatively small evangelical sect can influence old, decaying settlements such as Aklavik.

CHAPTER VI

COMMUNITY FACILITIES

Dawson is well endowed with community facilities, It has two schools, two churches, two halls serving religious groups, a library, a radio station (unmanned), a hospital, an old folks home, a senior citizen's residence, a swimming pool, curling rink and skating rink, an elaborate fire protection system and a police station.

Schools

The Dawson Elementary-High School occupies a new building, built in 1958 to which a two room extension was being added in the summer of 1963. A separate school is housed in the same building as the Catholic Church.

The enrolment in the two schools in recent years is shown in Table 15.

TABLE 15

SCHOOL ENROLMENT IN DAWSON, 1957-1963

(Source: Annual Reports of Territorial Schools)

	<u>Dawson Elementary-High</u>	<u>Separate School</u>	<u>Total</u>	<u>Maximum Enrolment in Territory in yea</u>
1957-58	148	37	185	1953
1958-59	165	35	200	2029
1959-60	171	36	207	2294
1960-61	179	34	213	2606
1961-62	182	26	202	2931
1962-63	198	18	216	3155
1963-64 (Dec. 1963)	172	12	184	3147

The Dawson Elementary-High School has grades I to XII, the separate school, St. Mary's, has only grades I to V.

Isolated northern communities tend to suffer from a number of built-in difficulties as far as the school situation is concerned (Knill, 1963). Teachers are difficult to hire and to keep, the presence of Indian children often raises problems of culture conflict when they are accused of "holding the class back". Students may tend to lack ambition since the opportunities for well paid summer employment encourage them to leave school as soon as possible rather than to continue the difficult, expensive process of staying in school, then going "outside" to university. All these difficulties are reflected in the academic achievements of the students, and especially in their variation (Table 16).

TABLE 16

DEPARTMENTAL EXAMINATION RESULTS IN GRADES 11 AND 12
DAWSON ELEMENTARY-HIGH SCHOOL

(Source: Annual Reports, Operations of Yukon
Territorial Schools)

Number and Percentage of Papers in
which Satisfactory Grading was Received

	<u>1962</u>	<u>1961</u>	<u>1960</u>
Dawson Elementary- High School	8/17 47%	15/19 79%	15/27 56%
Whitehorse Elementary- High School	116/136 85%	136/174 78%	73/84 87%
Yukon Territory	134/172 77%	159/206 77%	92/130 77%

The Annual Reports of the Territorial School Superintendent emphasize the difficulties of recruiting teaching staff in the Yukon, especially qualified high school teachers. Salary scales are reasonably generous in the Yukon. A university graduate serving as principal can earn over \$9,000. a year, even in the smaller settlements. The Report of the Committee on Education for the Yukon Territory (1960:51), noting that 45 per cent of the teaching staff was in its first year in the Yukon in 1959, and that only 24 per cent had

been in the area for four years or more, stated the following: -

"The general picture seems to be this. Lured by a sense of adventure, the teacher comes. The new land and its ways offer him an opportunity for exploration that he can normally satisfy in one or two years. Before the end of that time he is taking stock of his professional future and is coming to the decision that advancement and security lie elsewhere".

This statement could easily apply to others in the Yukon besides teachers. In Dawson, only the principal had been in the settlement more than three years.

In 1961, only three teachers continued at the school from the previous year. One was the principal, and the other the wife of a man employed by a Dawson air transportation company. The construction of the teacherage may help in the recruitment and retention of teachers in Dawson, but the reason given by the Yukon Education Committee of 1960 for the high teacher turnover will still prove a problem because of the city's location. In 1962-63, 44 per cent of the Territory's school teachers were in their first year, and only 17 per cent had been teaching four years or more.

The presence of Indian and Metis children in the schools was pointed out to the writer by residents of Dawson as being a factor causing difficulty in the Dawson school. A few years ago, when Indians were admitted to the Elementary High School, a number of white parents transferred their children to the separate school, but these children have since returned to the main school. In late 1963, there were thirteen Indian children enrolled in the Elementary High School, and one in the separate school. In all, forty-one Indian children were sent to school in Whitehorse.

The poor academic performance of the Indian and Metis children seems to be directly related to their living conditions. Most of the Indian and Metis families live in crowded conditions. Irregular hours, inadequate diet, poor health, absence of a place to study, the presence of younger children, the general atmosphere of dirt and despair, the absence of motivation to better themselves - all these factors influence the attitude that Indian and Metis pupils take towards school, and their learning capacity. A couple in town, who had an Indian foster child, remarked on the difference in her grades when she was with them and when she lived with her mother. When with her mother, the girl placed 22nd in a class of twenty-five. When in foster care, she went up to 12th place, only to drop to 22nd again when she returned to her mother. When put into permanent foster care, she placed 9th in her class. Indian and Metis children tend to absent themselves from school more often than white children. At the separate school, one Metis child lost 37 days in 1962-63. Another lost a similar amount of time because his father took him out with him when he went wood cutting in the winter.

The student in Dawson has little opportunity to determine what the professions have to offer him as a career. The city has no dentist, no pharmacist, no insurance agent, no lawyer, and the students in school have very little opportunity to find out, by personal knowledge or experience, what being a professional person involves. A resident remarked to the writer that he was pleased to see him doing research in the town because his son got few opportunities to see what sort of work a university graduate does. Dawson is one of the few northern settlements where a third generation of students are going to school. To them Dawson is the whole world, and because of their remoteness from the urban centres of Canada they have little idea of how the large outside world functions. Any youth over the age of sixteen can get some sort of work in the placer camps, and find employment for four or five months in summer. Flunkeys (general helpers in cookhouses) can earn up to \$437. a month, and cat operators up to \$600. a month. Any girl can obtain employment in the restaurants, hotels or stores during the tourist season. During that time they can accumulate a stake and winter over with their parents. This problem is most severe among the Metis people. The Indian children live either in a squalid dwellings or in modern hostels in Whitehorse. Neither offers the sort of environment that will permit them to move readily into complex urban societies. The white residents of Dawson can usually afford to send their sons and daughters "outside" to complete their education; this is partly because their families tend to be smaller and also because they have better paid employment or more financial resources than the Metis. The Metis people straddle these two groups in Dawson, and what can happen to the children in Metis families is illustrated by the career of a young girl of White/Indian parentage. She successfully graduated from high school and took a job with a local bank. The bank was extremely satisfied with her and eventually transferred her to Vancouver where she stayed with an aunt and uncle. She felt 'lost' in Vancouver, so quit her job and returned to Dawson where there was no suitable employment for her. She spent the summer of 1963 working as a waitress.

A hostel worker from Whitehorse stated that the Indian children there have no well defined aim in life, even when they reach the senior grades. They are afraid of the "outside" and don't want to go there. An alert, intelligent, fourteen year old Metis boy, when asked by the writer what he wanted to do when he grew up, answered simply "to work"; further questioning did not disclose any specific aim in life. Whites, too, can fall into the same trap. One white girl trained as a stenographer, then found no suitable employment opportunities in Dawson. She too worked during the summer as a waitress.

Of the forty-one children who went to school in Whitehorse in the fall of 1963, four dropped out and returned. A historical process seems to be coming to a culmination in Dawson. Because of the early rush into the area, Dawson is the only settlement north of 60°N where a large number of second and third generation white and Metis children are growing up, and moving into wage employment. Those who can adapt to wage employment, those with superior intelligence or ability, those who are aware of a larger life than the one that Dawson offers, those whom parents can support in Whitehorse or Vancouver while completing their education -- these children acquire the qualifications and skills required for well paid permanent employment anywhere in Canada. And it is unlikely that they will choose to seek employment in Dawson where the number of well-paid, full-time, year round jobs is limited. The family ties of such people will have been weakened by their absence in urban centres where skills have been acquired.

For Indian, Metis and some white children, acquiring this sort of physical and social mobility is extremely difficult. If sent away to school, they become "homesick" because the family relationship in Dawson (however unsatisfactory it may seem to an outsider) offers them security, whereas the strange world of Whitehorse, where the familiar points of reference are missing, scares them. Dawson, despite the limited employment possibilities, is familiar and friendly. If motivation, based partly on the lack of knowledge of the "outside" world is lacking, the young people, once they are free of the requirement of attending school, will tend to remain in Dawson or return to Dawson if they have gone to school elsewhere. They can always be sure of some unskilled summer work-idle winter cycle so characteristic of Dawson. Even those who, like the Metis girl, manage to obtain qualifications for work anywhere in Canada, fear moving away from Dawson.

The contrast between those children whose parents are mobile and those whose parents were born and brought up in Dawson was illustrated by the fact that all the children except one in the separate school were considered "just average" by one of the teachers. The one who led her class, and was considered the most intelligent and being above average, was the daughter of a civil servant who had recently arrived in Dawson.

A number of the people, White, Metis and Indian, informed the writer that the only hope for the children was to move them away from Dawson. The experiences to date with children or young people who have moved away from Dawson seems to indicate that such movement will not always be permanent. It may be that the children could adjust more successfully to the outside world if the whole family moved. But then there are indications that the whole family, including the parents, may not be able to adjust to the economic and social life of "outside".

The Radio Station and the Communications Problem

The radio station at Dawson was originally established in 1923 by the Royal Canadian Army Signal Corps (Wodd, 1962). Before the Yukon network came into existence in 1958, Whitehorse, Mayo and Dawson had radio stations. The station in Dawson was a community one, run on a voluntary basis by local people who played records and broadcast news. The Canadian Broadcasting Corporation took over the radio station in 1960, and in October 1961 converted it into an unmanned repeater station (LPRT). This remains a sore point with Dawson people who claim that "their" radio station was taken away from them. Local residents mounted a campaign in 1962-63 to get the radio station back. The CBC repeater station automatically transmits broadcasts from CFWH in Whitehorse; technology has been used to overcome the high cost factor involved in providing a community service. The CBC broadcasts consist of special Northern Service programmes and national news and programmes. This professionally produced national material contrasts strongly with the "homey" local approach taken by the unpaid announcers during the period when the Dawson radio station was run by the community.

Dawson residents claim that the main station at Whitehorse neglects them and offers them poor service. This is another example of the level of expectation that has grown up in Dawson, and which local residents expect to be satisfied, regardless of the amount that they contribute through federal taxes to the maintenance of the CBC. The CBC, in a report (Canadian Broadcasting Corporation: 1963), points out that the cost of broadcasting in the North is the highest per capita in all Canada. While pointing out that the national investment in the North cannot be determined proportionately to the size of the population, the report emphasizes that it is only by the use of LPRT and of networks that the CBC can keep costs down.

Communicating information poses a real problem in Dawson. The last daily newspaper to operate in the city, the Dawson News, ceased publication in March, 1954.

A group of women issue a mimeographed newspaper called the "Klondike Korner", but other than this, there are no ways to disseminate information through the community. In August, 1963, the local Chamber of Commerce received an order from Edmonton for as many blueberries as they could supply. The only way that they could advertise this opportunity for obtaining extra cash was by having the Public Health Nurse visit the houses of the Indian people and by putting up posters in stores and a cafe.

Police Protection

A small R.C.M.P. detachment, made up of a corporal and two constables, maintains law and order in Dawson. In 1963, 330 charges were made at the Dawson detachment; of this number 231 involved drinking. (Figures supplied by R.C.M.P. "G" Division). In all 99 Indians were charged with drinking. As of December 31st, 1962, 29 people were on the interdicted list; of this number 11 were Indian. Most of the others were Metis or whites in low income groups. Most of the drinking by these people is of cheap wine, which costs \$1.65 a bottle at the Territorial liquor store. The number of bars and lounges in the city has already been noted. Clairmont's (1963: 66-68) conclusion on the cause of excessive drinking and other deviance among native peoples in between the goals to which they (the native peoples) aspire and the legitimate means available for their achievement" - may well hold for Dawson. An added geographical factor in the Dawson area may be the long dark winters, and the necessity to stay indoors. Early writers noted the heavy drinking by miners as a traditional part of the frontier life. Looking through the old files in the Federal building, and talking with an R.C.M.P. officer stationed in Dawson in the thirties, frequent references to people taken "outside" from Dawson insane were noted. These people had become "bushed" or caught "cabin fever". While the long dark winter may not be considered a reason for the excessive amount of drinking in Dawson, it may be a conditioning factor.

The remaining twenty-five per cent of the police time is taken up with petty crime and minor violations of the law. The traditional hospitality of the Yukon, founded in part on the need for mutual support in a harsh physical environment, involved letting any man make use of an unoccupied cabin and anything therein. In 1963, the breakdown of this tradition was emphasized by the type of crime reported. A tourist car stranded on the Sixtymile Road had its wheels and radio stolen. The wheels were stolen from a trailer left on the Summit Road between Dawson and Granville. A prospector at Silver City had his boat taken and used, and the engine damaged. Food at his cabin was stolen and maliciously damaged.

Two justices of the peace sit on cases brought before the bench at the R.C.M.P. station. One is a senior official of YCGC; the other a partner in an independent placer operation. A court was being constructed in the Federal Building in the fall of 1963.

The Hospital and the Old Folks' Home

One of the most significant changes - and one with the most important long range effect - took place in Dawson in the summer of 1963. At that time the Sisters of St. Anne, an order of nuns, left the city. This order had come in at the time of the Gold Rush and ministered to the sick and the elderly. Since that time the nuns performed a service that could not be

measured in economic terms. In Dawson they operated the hospital, located in the former R. C. M. P. barracks, and the Old Folks' Home. The operation of both was supported by small grants from the Territorial government. Expenditures on staff were kept down because the nuns did some of the nursing and took care of the administration. The twenty-five bed hospital is difficult and expensive to maintain, as is the Old Folks' Home; there were nine men in the Home in July, 1963. The Interdepartmental Committee on Federal-Territorial Financial Relations (1962:14-15) noted that "80% (hospital) occupancy is considered necessary for maximum efficiency and economy of operation" but that the Dawson hospital had, towards the end of the 1957-62 financial period been operating at about 25 per cent of its bed capacity. At times during the winter of 1962-63, the hospital had only one patient.

In leaving Dawson, the Sister Superior of the nuns stated that the responsibilities of the Order and their requirements elsewhere made it impossible for them to keep on running the hospital. As an independent organization, therefore, they chose to leave the city.

In the fall of 1963, the Territorial government took over control of the hospital, and planned to run it with the help of the Department of National Health and Welfare. The writer questioned the resident staff on their plans. Only two, the engineer and a cook, stated that they were prepared to stay in Dawson. The night man, accountant, cook, and nurse and a technician stated that they would be leaving at the end of the summer.

At the same time as the hospital was taken over from the Sisters of Anne, the Old Folks' Home in the Commissioner's Residence was closed, and the feeble old men resident there moved to the hospital. In this way an economy in maintenance, heating and staff was effected. In the hospital section of the building there are seven beds for adults and three for children; in April, 1964, fourteen old men between the ages of 72 and 92 were in the nursing home section.

The combined hospital and Old Folks' Home will require, according to the matron, a total of fifteen people to run it - a matron, a cashier, three nurses, two nurses' aides, a janitor/engineer, a night man, a cook, two cook's assistants, two laundry staff and a cleaner. Now that the hospital is under formal government controls, certain changes in the structure of the organization are inevitable. Before 1963, the hospital and Old Folks' Home provided employment for fifteen full time people, and ten part time workers. The part time workers, usually women, relied on their wages as a source of family income. The combined hospital/nursing home staff will now be employed on a full time basis, and the reduction in the establishment will severely affect those people who depended on work in the hospital for part of their income. Before 1963, if a local woman, either a part time or a full time employee, failed to appear for work, then a nun

(of whom there were four) would do the work. Now all the staff must be "reliable". What reliability means in terms of the possibilities of the employment of Indian or Metis people was graphically illustrated by the hospital operation in Inuvik, N.W.T. which the writer visited in 1961. The hospital administrator at Inuvik wanted to hire local people, especially for the janitorial type of job, but few of the local people could meet the time and work requirements set by the hospital administration. Many lived in sub-standard housing at the other end of town. One girl employed at the hospital told the writer that she had to get up in a cold tent, light a fire and cook breakfast (or go without) and walk nearly two miles to work each morning. Nurses and other staff hired in the south lived in comfortable, heated quarters, with cafeteria facilities nearby, connected by heated corridors to the hospital. The same situation may well develop in Dawson, where, instead of training local people to move into wage employment, it will become necessary to bring in people from outside. The living conditions of the sort of Indian or Metis person who might qualify to work in the lower paid, less skilled positions (cleaning, nurses' aides, laundry, cooks, etc.) in the hospital are such as to make them extremely "unreliable".

The conversion of the hospital into a combined hospital/nursing home has removed employment opportunities for unskilled labour in areas where such opportunities are becoming increasingly rare.

In the fall of 1963, the only doctor in town left, and was replaced by a temporary one. In January 1964, the town was without a doctor. The company doctor who left in 1963 was employed by YCGC. As with other economically marginal, declining areas there are certain built-in problems connected with getting a doctor for Dawson. The nearest doctor is in Mayo, over a hundred miles away, so that a doctor in Dawson has little chance to call in professional colleagues or a specialist. He must deal with a wide range of diseases and injuries, and be able to perform difficult surgery. He must be on call at all times, and willing to go out in all weathers. He has to be the traditional country doctor in a period when the expectations of what a doctor should be able to do have risen considerably. With the national shortage of doctors, there seems to be few incentives that would lure a man to a scattered, remote, difficult practice.

It is the absence of a doctor that may prove to be the biggest blow to the declining city. Despite the existence of a modern, well equipped hospital a man injured in January 1964 had to be transported by car to Mayo hospital. A government official's wife gave birth in August, 1963 to a child with a physical defect (a club foot). This defect can be corrected with surgery and therapy. Despite the fact that the family like the North, they could

not be left in a city that lacked the facilities for the necessary surgery and therapy. The man was transferred to Whitehorse on compassionate grounds. The absence of a doctor will deter young married couples with or without children from settling in Dawson, and will doubtless be a factor affecting other couples already living in the town.

The town has no dentist or oculist. Anyone needing teeth fixed must make the journey to Whitehorse. This is costly and time consuming, and people on a small income may not be able to afford it.

CHAPTER VII

COMMUNITY ORGANIZATIONS

A newspaper report written by a woman resident of Dawson summed up the range of social activities available in the city, and the basic dilemma of keeping them going.

"Everyone is going Outside this winter. Somehow those who are left in the regular circle of a town will be expected to maintain the hockey, curling, I. O. D. E., Rebeccas, PTA, church affiliations of four congregations, the Klondike Korner, the Klondike Visitors Association, the Chamber of Commerce, the City Council, the Hobby Class, Guides, Scouts, Brownies and Cubs in readiness for the return of the sun-tanned prodigals in the spring". (Ft. Nelson News, September 24, 1962). In addition to those listed there is the Yukon Order of Pioneers, the Dawson Youth Organization, and the Dawson City Museum, and Historical Society.

The same woman informed the writer that the town was being "looked after" by twenty or thirty permanent residents who were kept busy all summer. One of the achievements of this group of active people was the creation of a Museum in Dawson in 1962 to replace the one lost in a fire (Warner, 1963). The analysis of the population elements in Dawson shows how relatively few people there are (once children, Indian, Metis, old people and people in institutions are eliminated) who are interested in, and can participate in, community social activities.

Two organizations dominate the social scene in Dawson, and "run things" in the city. These are the Klondike Visitors Association founded about 1953 and the Dawson City Museum and Historical Society.

The Klondike Visitors Association ran variety shows and "gambling" in the Palace Grand in 1963. The Dawson Museum is trying to restore the city and to preserve relics. When the Dawson Festival Foundation was in existence, the three organizations often had the same members in different capacities on their committees. Since each, in their different way, was involved in preserving the traditions of Dawson, and trying to stimulate the tourist trade, this inevitably led to friction.

In a small town, with a limited number of active people, and a relatively large number of clubs and social organizations, the secretary of one organization may be the chairman of another, and so on.

The Dawson Chamber of Commerce is affiliated with the national organization and therefore has ways of reaching, and being reached by, the wider world outside Dawson. This group has lobbied for an extension of the

Dawson airstrip, to accommodate larger planes. They were contacted, in August 1963, by the Edmonton Chamber of Commerce to supply berries to that city for a special "Klondike Festival".

In the winter of 1962-63 a Citizens' Committee was formed, mainly on the initiative of the Welfare Officer, to discuss ways and means of aiding Dawson's economy. The individuals at the first meeting of this committee represented all the groups holding power in the community, or the "active organizations". They included the Mayor, two aldermen, the City Clerk, the Welfare Officer, the School Principal, representatives of YCGC, the churches (Anglican and Catholic), the I.O.D.E., the Territorial Councillor, the Assistant Mining Recorder, a bank manager, the partner in an independent placer operation, and the former general manager of the Dawson Festival Foundation. There were no representatives of the Indian and Metis people who make up a third of Dawson's population, nor were any of the senior representatives of the federal government stationed in Dawson present. This committee discussed the shortage of skilled labour in Dawson, and the idea of a credit union. Members discussed diamond willow work, preserving fruit, salmon canning, a co-operative, and handicraft development.

One of the aldermen summed up the attitude in Dawson towards economic development. He said "This is not an individual effort, it is a government effort. With regard to the gold mines closing up, there is just as much gold in the benches as ever came out of the creeks. Also, with regard to fishing, furs, etc, I would suggest that from this meeting it be recommended that Government must be the ones to do it, otherwise we would have to get private individuals to finance it. We have tried a co-operative here and it just didn't work. Study it carefully and you will agree that it will have to come from the Government".

This general attitude was noted in a brief dated March 26, 1963, headed "Proposed Rehabilitation Centre" addressed to the Commissioner of the Yukon Territory, the R.C.M.P. Inspector in Whitehorse, the Member of Parliament for the Yukon and the Territorial Council. This brief pointed out there was a need to spread government spending in the Yukon, and that Dawson City offered all the requirements to support "a Rehabilitation Centre or whatever the Government had in mind". This brief was signed by the Mayor and City Council, the Chamber of Commerce, Kiwanis, Bear Creek Community Club, the I.O.D.E., the Dawson Festival Foundation, the Klondike Visitors Association, the Territorial Councillor plus "a host of persons interested in the future welfare of Dawson City".

The Citizens' Committee held three meetings; at the last only the Catholic priest, the Anglican minister and the secretary of the Chamber of Commerce turned up, so the committee went out of existence.

One other social activity deserves mention. This is the Dawson Youth Organization, founded by the Welfare Officer in October 1962. This association was founded to provide an alternative to the bar-restaurant-drinking social round that many of the young people between the ages of 14 and 21 have adopted. It includes all residents between these ages, and is run by the association members themselves. It holds dances, picnics and other activities, and appeared, in the summer of 1963, to be reasonably active. In January 1964, when the Welfare Officer left the community, the Organization came under the aegis of the Kiwanis.

A number of organizations have ceased operation. The PTA went out of existence in 1963, and the writer was informed that there was an insufficient number of Rebekahs to constitute a quorum to dissolve the organization.

CHAPTER VIII

POPULATION AND ITS MOVEMENT

The past and present distribution of population in the Dawson area has already been discussed. The census figures for 1961 conceal the most important fact about the population distribution in this part of the Yukon - its seasonal fluctuations. Although the population of the Dawson area was small in 1951, all indications are that it was a permanent population.

Innes (1936:267) in a picturesque passage, noting the decline of the population after the Gold Rush - "The economic cyclone (that had) spent its force" - stated that "the problems of the Yukon are the problems of all mining camps but focused in a clearer light". His theme of technological improvement cutting down the need for hand labour even in remote "frontier" areas can be continued to-day. But it was access by good roads rather than the presence of automobiles that has led to the decline in the permanent population of Dawson. Over the past twenty years, because of the improvement in the road network, the population has tended to move into Dawson permanently from the scattered settlements, camps and cabins in the surrounding country (this is probably what accounts for the increase by thirty of Dawson's population between 1956 and 1961) and also to move out of Dawson, both permanently and seasonally. There has not only been depopulation, which is continuing, but also urbanization. The population, from being widely scattered, is now concentrated almost entirely in Dawson and Bear Creek. And in the winter these settlements themselves lose many of their inhabitants.

In the summer of 1963, approximately 750 people were enumerated by the author in the course of a door to door survey. Of these, about forty were children who would leave in the fall to go to residential school in the southern Yukon. The Sisters of Ste. Anne left in the summer of 1963, and some of the hospital staff planned to leave in the fall. About twenty transients were enumerated during the census, and about thirty-five residents stated that they planned to leave before fall, or were in the process of leaving. Some were unsure about remaining during the winter; one hotel owner closed down his establishment for the winter. In all, about a hundred, and perhaps as many as a hundred and twenty people enumerated in the summer of 1963 will not winter in Dawson. In addition, a number of men will be working on the Dempster Highway during the winter. The inflow into Dawson should not exceed twenty people - a few schoolteachers and miners wintering in town will make up the bulk of this number. At Bear Creek, the YCGC permanent employees take two months leave every three years. Since they also receive a transportation allowance, they can leave the Territory during that time and many do so. The entire seasonal work force leaves at the end of summer, and most of the small placer operators also go south at the end of the season.

It seems probable that the summer population of the Dawson area decreases by approximately half during the winter months.

About fifty people stated that they would not be returning to Dawson after they left in the fall; this number excluded those government officials who would be replaced by others in the course of time. There is no official scheme to relocate people from Dawson, although the Welfare Officer has assisted those who want to seek work elsewhere. This is the only planned relocation taking place in Dawson to-day. In England, a programme of planned relocation gives financial incentives to those wishing to leave areas with poor economic prospects.

No list is available of those who left town before the summer of 1963, but it was possible to determine the number of families who left voluntarily in the past few years. During and after the summer of 1963 three key YCGC employees, a geologist/manager, an accountant and an electrician, left. A woman who worked in one of the town's stores, and her three daughters also left, as did a widow and her two daughters; this woman had worked in the hospital, and she stated that life was "too hard, just too hard" in Dawson. When the CBC station became automatic, two families, totalling nine people, left Dawson. One family was transferred to Yellowknife. Government transfers by the Department of Public Works in 1962 resulted in the loss of two families, totalling seven people. A painter and his family planned to leave Dawson in 1963, because there was too little work, and another man sold his drive-in restaurant to a local resident and left Dawson. In 1961, a man who worked in a garage left town, but returns during the summers to drive tourist buses. Two other families, one consisting of a widow and the other of a widow and two children left town in 1962 and 1961 respectively when their husbands died. In 1963 an independent miner moved to Mayo; he had arrived a few years before from Whitehorse. A woman who worked at the hospital left to go to the Mining Recorder's office at Mayo. An accountant left an airline company to join the Territorial government at Whitehorse.

All the people who left without help had skills and some capital that would help them re-establish themselves elsewhere without difficulty. About half the main wage earners who left Dawson moved either as a result of government posting or moved to posts in the government.

Since May 1962, the Welfare Officer has assisted in the relocation of approximately thirty people in seven families. On the whole this relocation has been successful. The Welfare Officer advances funds to the man, and looks after wife and the children until the man can send for them. Four families were relocated at Keno, two in Whitehorse, one at Lake Louise, Alberta, and one at Terrace, B.C. In one case a single man was relocated, in two others a woman and her children were re-united with her husband.

Some of the relocated individuals failed to adjust outside Dawson, and at least two families came back. One man had a fish wheel, and both he and the other family came back to trap. Such men do not fit easily into wage employment, even in Dawson. If jobs are found for them they tend to be

labelled "unreliable" because of the inability to adapt to time structured situations. The pressures put on them often lead to excessive drinking. The end result of internal and external pressures is that they are fired. They then drift back to Dawson. The town is their home, and they feel secure there. Also their network of relations and friends and the presence of the welfare office, with the country food they can obtain, ensures that they will not starve. This inability to adapt to wage employment is a problem in developing countries where native peoples living a traditional life move into modern industrial society. The same problem exists in Dawson. Here Whites, Indians and Metis who made a living (and sometimes a good living) by hunting, fishing and trapping in the days before the Second World War, and who can still derive some sort of a living from the land, have moved into the townsite to be near schools, hospital, housing, bars, etc. Previously they lived well off the land because they lived in a way the land could support, with little need for cash. They knew the land and could travel easily over it, taking advantage of every available resource. Now their expectations can only be met in the town itself, and the land offers a comparatively small return for a great deal of effort. The resources of the area upon which they depended have decreased, but their expectations of what life should offer them have increased. In Dawson they can see, in miniature, what the "outside" life offers. But they do not have the skills or the education to move into well paid permanent wage employment, and when they do find employment in unskilled jobs they have great difficulty adjusting to the demands of the job.

This problem will be discussed more fully in the section on population elements in Dawson.

Seasonal Aspects

The strong seasonality of life in the Dawson area has already been emphasized. These seasons vary in the area, depending on the activity and the weather. The mining employment season runs from four to seven months, depending on the weather and the availability of water. YCGC operations usually last from late April to mid-November. Between 1953 and 1962, the earliest start of operations was April 25, and the latest end was December 1st. In its December 5th, 1963 issue, the Whitehorse Star noted that the National Employment Service manager stated that "a sudden drop in temperature throughout the Yukon in mid-November resulted in a sharp decrease in employment opportunities". At the end of November 1963, 327 men and 115 females were registered for employment, compared to 153 men and 99 females in October of the same year. To indicate that this employment situation is fairly typical, 370 men and 160 females were registered for employment in the Yukon at the end of November 1962. At the end of 1963, 418 males and 318 females were registered as unemployed in the Yukon.

The construction season usually lasts in Dawson from April 15th to September 15th, and summer work on the roads is also carried out during this five month period.

The tourist season extends through June, July and August. Some tourist operators in Dawson claimed that the tourist season lasted only forty-five days - from early July to Discovery Day (August 17th). In 1962 an estimated 18,500 tourists visited Dawson. During the summer 2,643 individuals signed the register at Robert Service's Cabin, one of the main tourist attractions, between June 30th and September 14th. Of this number, only 283 or 11 per cent signed after August 19th. This sample, though probably not representative, does indicate the way in which the tourist trade declines after mid-August. The tourist operators said they had to "make it" in June, July and August, otherwise they would not have a good season.

When the writer arrived in Dawson on July 10th, he was informed by a number of people that the tourist season had not begun then, although most of the hotels and motels remain open from May to October.

July appeared to be the best tourist month. On Discovery Day many people come to Dawson from Whitehorse, Elsa, Mayo, Keno and Alaska to take part in the festivities. After this day (or rather two days, since the following day is named "Recovery Day") numerous informants stated that the town became very quiet.

The seasonality of activity in Dawson is merely an extreme case of a major problem of the Canadian economy.

How this seasonality affects the number of jobs can be seen in this marginal area. A local general contractor employed in the construction of the McQuesten and Ogilvie bridges in 1961 employed seventeen men in that year. In 1963 the same man had a contract to rebuild a section of the Sixtymile Road, and could only employ a cook and five men. Normally this man operated from June 1st to the end of August; in January 1963 he got some work with an oil company but this was extremely unusual. In the winter of 1963-64 he freighted material down river over the ice.

A painter typified the dilemma of the small businessmen. He and his wife came north in 1958 after a lock-out in Vancouver. They both like Dawson and have built an excellent house in the town. But the man only works five months at the most. In 1963 he painted the McQuesten and Stewart bridges, and worked in Mayo, hiring one local man. He must move around the Northern Yukon to keep busy during his working season. In 1963 he decided he might have to leave Dawson.

A CBC technician had resigned from the Corporation when the Dawson station became automatic. He owned a motel, in which he estimated he had a \$50,000. investment, and said that he felt he could live comfortably on the revenue from it.

Another man was born in the Yukon and worked in Whitehorse as a skilled mechanic. He saw the possibilities of tourism in Dawson, and built a motel in 1956-57. In 1962, he borrowed money from the Industrial Development Bank, to expand his motel and is now repaying it at the rate of \$150. a month. When he came to Dawson his taxes were \$56.; now they are \$400. He had a good season in 1962, but a poor one in 1963. In the fall of 1962 he delivered groceries for the largest store in town, for \$1.50 an hour. In February 1963 he went down to Whitehorse and got a job as a mechanic. As a self-employed individual he cannot get unemployment insurance. As a businessman with considerable assets in his motel he cannot get relief. He needs ready cash to meet his loan commitments. During the summer of 1963 he worked on the school extension. He pointed out that he could get a living off the country to some extent by cultivating a garden, shooting a moose and fishing for salmon. This man preferred the northern way of life, and had special skills. But even he was only barely able to scrape through each winter. And his plight illustrates what may happen to other small entrepreneurs as the economy declines.

Although relatively few YCGC employees live in town (and a number of these work for the water and power companies), curtailment of the operations of that company in 1966 will remove a large number of employment possibilities from the area. One of the sayings current in Dawson is "You can always get work around here during the summer". The corollary of this may be no one can get a job around here in winter. Indications are that the prospects for summer employment in and around Dawson are decreasing while those for winter employment (mainly because of the oil exploration) are increasing slightly. There is still relatively little winter employment; one unmarried young man summed up the situation by saying that he was the only person in his age group driving his own car during the winter of 1962-63.

CHAPTER IX

EMPLOYMENT AND ECONOMY

The employment situation in Dawson is summed up in Table 18.

A survey was made in Dawson of the employment opportunities in the area. The results of this survey are summarized in Table 17.

Tables 17 and 18 show the seasonal nature of employment in the area, the heavy dependence on government employment, and the number of people of Indian ancestry who have only seasonal or casual employment. In addition to the seasonal workers listed in Table 18 there are a number of part time employment opportunities available - cleaning offices, unloading trucks, brush clearing, construction, snow clearing, etc that help the local people to earn cash. Some of the seasonal work in town was connected with the construction of the school extension. In these seasonal and casual jobs there is a constant coming and going of people.

TABLE 17

EMPLOYMENT IN DAWSON BY HOUSEHOLDS
(Summer 1963)

(a) Total Households (for employment purposes)	189
(b) No. of main wage earners permanently employed	64
(c) People of Indian ancestry in (b)	5
(d) No. of main wage earners seasonally employed	48
(e) People of Indian ancestry in (d)	19
(f) No. of main wage earners employed part time or casually	6
(g) People of Indian ancestry in (f)	6
(h) Unemployed	12
(i) People of Indian ancestry unemployed	6

TABLE 17 (Continued)

(j) Self-Employed	42
(k) People of Indian ancestry self-employed	0
(l) Retired and old age pensioners	18
(m) Retired and pensioned people of Indian ancestry	2
(n) Others (transients, etc.)	6

Note: - Some self-employed people work only seasonally. One or two transients were employed seasonally.

TABLE 18

EMPLOYMENT IN THE DAWSON AREA (Summer 1963)

(Does not include self-employed persons)

<u>Mining</u>	<u>Permanent</u>	<u>Seasonal</u>
YCGC	65	273 (Max)
Other Operators	-	33
Exploration (Mining)	-	22
Oil Exploration	71	-
<u>Services - Industries, Tourism, etc.</u>		
Hotels, Motels	11	7
Cafes	-	17
Banks	6	2
Transportation	21	8
Garages	8	5

TABLE 18 (Continued)

<u>Mining</u>	<u>Permanent</u>	<u>Seasonal</u>		
Stores	9	9		
Construction	1	5		
Commercial Gardening	-	1		
Utilities	9	2		
Others (Meat Wholesale movie theatre, etc.)	1	6		
<u>Government</u>				
Canadian National Telegraphs	2	-		
Department of Northern Affairs & National Resources (Includes a janitor and a contract employee)	5	3		
Department of National Revenue	2	-		
Department of Health and Welfare	1	-		
R. C. M. P.	5	-		
Post Office Department	3	1		
Territorial Government	22	30 (Max)		
City Government	6	6		
<u>Summary</u>				
	<u>Permanent</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>Seasonal</u>	<u>%</u>
Mining, Exploration	136	53.7	328	76.3
Service Industries, Transportation, etc.	66	26.1	62	14.4
Government	51	20.2	40	9.3
Total	253		430	
Total Jobs	683	37.0		63.0

In some households two or three people may be employed, in others no one. One family of six persons had four members of the family in full employment - the father with YCGC, the son with the Post Office Department, one daughter with the Territorial Government, and another in a restaurant. Only the son and one daughter had permanent employment. The mother ran a home bakery in the house as a part time venture. The wife of a Territorial employee ran a motel, and their one son worked all year round at a garage. One woman remarked that all the wives in town had jobs in the summer of 1963, usually connected with some aspect of the tourist trade; many of these were seasonal and/or part time - coach agents, airline agents, clerks in gift stores, etc. Generally speaking it was easier for a woman to get a summer job in Dawson in the summer of 1963 than it was for a man - again because of the tourist trade.

Some of the unemployed, especially the Indian and Metis population, went hunting and fishing or did some trapping. Although only in twelve households was the main wage earner unemployed, this represented a significant number at a time when employment opportunities were at a maximum.

In Dawson itself about a fifth of the households visited were headed by a self employed person. Most of the small placer operations were run by one man, with the help of his wife and family. Very few enterprises, either in the town or in the area, hired more than one or two persons and these were usually employed on a seasonal basis. Employed people who worked all the year round were government employees or highly trained specialists in business, (pilots, mechanics), in mining (senior management, technicians, electricians), or in the oil business (drilling crews, etc.). Except for some road construction on the Dempster Highway and exploration work at Clinton Creek, there were few opportunities for unskilled and semi-skilled workers in and around Dawson, during the summer of 1963-64.

The Yukon, and other northern parts of Canada, were opened up by the pick and shovel type of labour, the man with little formal education or training who could turn his hand to everything - boat building, machinery repair, carpentry, mining, prospecting, trapping. Because of their remoteness from southern Canada and the high cost factor of operating in the North, any modern enterprise must take advantage of every assistance that modern technology can offer. Modern technology requires trained specialists. In the Dawson area the basis of the economy, gold mining, has required only unskilled or semi-skilled workers in the past. Now it has suddenly found itself in a new era of technological development. Nothing happened in the Dawson area between the 1898 Rush and the arrival, within the last ten years, of oil crews, air transportation companies, and hard rock mining outfits. Nothing in Dawson's history has fitted it, or its citizens, to the step into this new era. This will be discussed further when the socio-economic groups of Dawson are described.

CHAPTER X

GOLD MINING

Hester (1963) gives an excellent account of gold mining in the Yukon at the present time. He notes that the warm damp weather preceding the Ice-Age helped the formation of the placer gold deposits which, in the northern Yukon, were not disturbed by glaciation. The creeks around Dawson had a very high gold content, and the deposits were spread over a very wide area; Hester states that over one hundred miles of watercourse contained workable gravels.

The Klondike was a poor man's goldfield. Because of the nature of the deposits, large returns could be obtained by primitive hand mining, despite frozen ground and severe conditions. Not all creeks in the area contain permafrost, but the exact extent of permafrost is not known. In the ten years between 1897 and 1906 the Klondike produced gold worth \$79, 354, 000. (Table 4). Permafrost assisted the early miners "who were able to mine high grade pay streaks in gravel under thick deposits of barren overburden where the complete section was frozen" (Hester). All the overburden now must be removed before dredges and bulldozers can reach the gold bearing gravels, and Hester estimates that the presence of permafrost more than doubles the overall mining costs in the Klondike. Another problem is the fact that the Northern Yukon is an arid region, with a small annual rainfall. And water is the life blood of placer mining. Because of the climate, and the fact that all operations are carried out on the surface, the mining season seldom lasts more than two hundred days. The effects of this seasonality on employment have already been discussed.

Looking back over the records of the Dawson mining recorder's office, the factors aiding and hampering the placer mining industry can be readily assessed. Ideally there should be an early spring, plenty of water in the summer, and a mild fall. This fortunate combination of circumstances seldom occurs in the general area; conditions can vary even over short distances. An added problem is the presence of unthawed ground which will hamper dredging. Even if there is no permafrost in the ground, operations must wait until the winter frost thaws. In 1962, for instance, a late spring hampered dredging and thawing. In 1957 there was a general shortage of water throughout the area, and in 1954 there was an extreme shortage of water. In 1951, a YCGC dredge encountered frozen ground, and this happened to one small placer operation in 1962. Sometimes too much rain can flood the mining operations, or wash out roads. Hydraulicking, which involves forcing water under high pressure against a cliff face to wash down the gold bearing gravels, is particularly dependent on large quantities of water. In 1962 water shortage hampered two hydraulic operations. Added to these difficulties are labour

problems with YCGC, and equipment difficulties with the small operators. Despite local difficulties, the years between 1956 and 1963 (except for 1957) had sufficient water for most placer operations. In 1963 the total precipitation was 13.96" compared to 14.06" in 1962, and an early spring and late freeze-up enabled miners to work from the middle of April to the first week in November. Even in 1963, however, a water shortage was reported from Eldorado and Upper Bonanza Creeks.

Despite all these difficulties, the Klondike remains one of the few areas in Canada where small placer mining still continues. It is still a poor man's land; the placer operators were described by a geologist as the "dirt farmers of the mining game".

At the end of the 19th century the Klondike produced practically all the gold mined in Canada. Now its contribution to the country's annual gold production is about 1.5 per cent.

Practically all the placer mining operations are now carried out in the area to the south-east of Dawson in the valleys of the Bonanza, Hunker, Dominion, Eldorado, Eureka, and Quartz Creeks, their tributaries, and the benches and hills surrounding them. In 1963 two small operators worked in the Sixtymile area, one on Kirkman Creek, about eighty miles south of Dawson, and one on Henderson Creek, some fifty miles south of the city. Because of the difficulties of transportation associated with the decline of the river traffic, and the exhaustion of the richer deposits less accessible by roads or rivers, there has been a slow decline in the number of mining operations and a concentration of operators into the area around Dawson. This is illustrated by Table 19.

TABLE 19

GOLD MINING IN THE DAWSON AREA, 1952-1963

(Source: Annual Reports, Dawson Mining
Recorder's Office)

<u>Year</u>	<u>Klondike (Exc. YCGC)</u>		<u>Y.C.G.C.</u>	<u>Sixty Mile</u>		<u>Clear Cr.</u>		<u>Henderson - Thistle Creek</u>		<u>Forty Mile</u>		<u>Total</u>	
	<u>Men</u>	<u>Ops</u>		<u>Men</u>	<u>Men</u>	<u>Ops</u>	<u>Men</u>	<u>Ops</u>	<u>Men</u>	<u>Ops</u>	<u>Men</u>	<u>Ops</u>	<u>Men</u>
1952	34	17	464	33	3	18	1	47	4	-	-	606	26
1953	28	14	467	34	3	18	1	22	4	-	-	569	23
1954	25	11	437	36	3	19	1	25	3	4	1	552	20
1955	31	13	401	36	3	19	1	11	2	-	-	498	20
1956	35	12	364	33	4	2	1	18	1	-	-	452	19
1957	21	11	347	34	4	2	1	2	1	-	-	406	18
1958	23	10	374	12	4	2	1	3	1	-	-	414	17
1959	27	12	337	14	3	0	0	2	1	-	-	380	17
1960	32	13	347	9	3	0	0	4	2	-	-	382	19

TABLE 19 (Continued)

<u>Year</u>	<u>Klondike (Exc. YCGC)</u>		<u>Y. C. G. C.</u>	<u>Sixty Mile</u>		<u>Clear Cr.</u>		<u>Henderson - Thistle Creek</u>		<u>Forty Mile</u>		<u>Total</u>	
	<u>Men</u>	<u>Ops</u>	<u>Men</u>	<u>Men</u>	<u>Ops</u>	<u>Men</u>	<u>Ops</u>	<u>Men</u>	<u>Ops</u>	<u>Men</u>	<u>Ops</u>	<u>Men</u>	<u>Ops</u>
1961	42	14	309	6	2	4	1	0	0	-	-	361	18
1962	43	16	366	1	1	7	1	5	3	-	-	422	22
1963	69	26	320	5	3	-	-	3	2	-	-	395	31

In many creeks outside the immediate Dawson area, there are placer deposits that have been barely touched. In many places the hand miners of the early days did not reach, or barely touched, the paystreak. Such creeks would probably repay large scale bulldozing or dredging if individuals, partnerships, syndicates or companies were able to get ready access to them, and had sufficient capital to begin mining.

Table 20 shows that the percentage contribution of YCGC to the total Yukon gold production has remained remarkably stable.

GOLD PRODUCTION IN THE YUKON, 1957-1963

(Source: Baker (1963: v. 1, 61)

<u>Year</u>	<u>Value of Gold Produced \$ (000)</u>	<u>Y. C. G. C. Production (Annual Reports) \$ (000)</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>Other Producers \$ (000)</u>	<u>%</u>
1957	2,481	1,935	77.8	546	22.2
1958	2,302	1,895	77.7	407	22.3
1959	2,248	1,804	80.0	444	20.0
1960	2,652	2,182	82.3	470	17.7
1961	2,371	1,925	81.4	446	18.6
1962	2,023	1,648	81.6	375	18.4
1963	2,005*	1,651	82.5	354	17.5

* Preliminary Figure.

The value of gold produced in the Yukon, most of which is mined in the Dawson area, has declined over the past few years. Table 21 shows the importance of the Dawson area in the gold production of the Yukon Territory in 1962.

TABLE 21

YUKON PLACER GOLD PRODUCTION, 1962

(Source: Green and Godwin, Table II, p. 3)

<u>District</u>	<u>No. of Operators</u>	<u>Approx. Prod. of Crude Gold (oz.)</u>
Klondike: Y. C. G. C.	1	42,617
Others	18	9,902
Sixty Mile	1	150
Kirkman Creek	1	561

TABLE 21 (Continued)

<u>District</u>	<u>No. of Operators</u>	<u>Approx. Prod. of Crude Gold (oz.)</u>
Clear Creek	1	500
Mayo	9	3,639
Kluane Lake	2	1,786
Carmacks	<u>1</u>	<u>35</u>
TOTALS	34	59,190

The whole picture of gold mining in the Dawson-Klondike area is of an industry nearing the end of its operation. There is little ground in the area immediately around Dawson that has not been worked over once, and most of the creek gravels have been mined at least twice. Gold lies in abundance on the benches and hills, but it is often scattered and difficult to mine so that it is expensive to reach and possibly uneconomical to work. A local saying has it that "the Guggenheims took the millions and left the thousands to YCGC. YCGC is taking the thousands and will leave the hundreds to the small operators". In the Klondike area, over 300,000,000 cubic yards of material have been dredged since 1908; the six YCGC dredges operating in 1963 dredged 4,730,385 cubic yards of gravel. From this they recovered 51,441.37 ounces of gold. On Hunker Creek in 1963 a bulldozer operator moved 11,600 cubic yards of gravel and recovered 120.0 ounces of gold. In the same year, on Monte Cristo Hill, two men moved 30,000 cubic yards of gravel which yielded 262.0 crude ounces of gold. An old timer, using hand methods worked over 600 cubic yards of material on a "pup" of Hunker and recovered only 6.0 ounces of gold in 1963. A mining company report summed up the situation in 1962 in its report - "not enough gold, too much gravel, adequate water, no outstanding problems, general grief". The overall picture for the Yukon is given in Table 22.

TABLE 22

ALLUVIAL GOLD RECOVERED AND QUANTITY OF
MATERIAL HANDLED IN YUKON TERRITORY, 1952-61

(Source: Canada, Dominion Bureau of
Statistics, 1963).

<u>Year</u>	<u>Material Handled (Cu. Yds.)</u>	<u>Gold Recovered (Fine Ounces)</u>	<u>Ounces Per Cubic Yd.</u>	<u>Value Per Cubic Yd.</u>	<u>All Canada Placer Gold Ounces</u>
1952	6,727,353	92,789	0.0138	0.47	92,843
1953	5,155,826	66,080	0.0140	0.48	77,505
1954	6,889,820	82,208	0.0119	0.41	89,571
1955	6,379,755	72,201	0.0113	0.39	78,621
1956	5,716,389	71,736	0.0125	0.43	74,919
1957	7,559,882	73,709	0.0097	0.33	76,303
1958	6,808,991	67,745	0.0099	0.34	71,955
1959	6,824,062	66,960	0.0098	0.33	72,974
1960	5,519,729	78,115	0.0141	0.48	80,804
1961	4,672,554	66,107	0.0141	0.50	69,240

Four methods are used to recover gold in the Dawson area - dredging, hydraulicking, bulldozing, and hand mining. Dredges were introduced into the Yukon on a large scale in 1905. They are expensive, but can handle large quantities of gravel. In 1951 there were nine dredges operating in the Dawson area of which seven were owned by YCGC. In 1963, six dredges, all owned by YCGC, operated in the area. The possibilities of new dredges being brought into the Yukon, or of the dredges in operation being moved elsewhere, seems to be remote because of the cost factor. In the early spring of 1964, however, a Whitehorse contractor bought two dredges, one from Thistle and the other from Henderson Creek and planned to haul them out via Granville. This man planned to use his own equipment to build a road to get the dredges to Granville.

In placer mining in the Yukon, three operations are necessary before gold can be recovered. First the 'muck' above the gold bearing gravel must be stripped, either by bulldozer or hydraulicking, then the gold-bearing gravel must be thawed, either by the sun or by cold water. Once this has been done, the ground can then be dredged or sluiced.

When the ground has been thawed, the dredges scoop up the gravel, and then it passes through a barrel shaped screen where it is sorted. The heavy material is carried away on an endless belt and dumped out of the rear of the dredges. The finer material passes over specially constructed trays where the gold is caught. Periodically these trays are "cleaned up", and the gold taken away for refining and making into bricks for the Mint. In hydraulicking, the heavy jet of water, aimed by a monitor, washes down the silt and gravel, and the water runs down an incline and through "riffle boxes". These boxes, lined with corrugated riffles and pieces of rubber tire, catch the gold. Amalgam plates are used at the end of the boxes to catch the fine gold.

In the bulldozer operations, gravel is pushed towards jets of water that wash it into riffle boxes set lower down the slope.

All these operations are relatively simple ones, and, apart from minor refinements, nothing has changed a great deal in the Yukon gold mining industry in the past twenty years. Rising costs and the fixed price of gold have discouraged any new development or the introduction of new techniques and new machinery in this dying industry. One medium sized company, however, was experimenting with thawing the ground by using a spraying system similar to that used for irrigating orchards.

Pre-production expenses in placer running are high, because of the need to prepare the ground. An added cost is that of test drilling to locate pay zones in suitable areas for mining. On the other hand, the cost of getting the mineral produced out to market is negligible.

YCGC phases its operations so that stripping is done in the first year, thawing in the second, and dredging in the third. The small operators cannot do this, because they rely on their gold production to pay their current expenses. They may prepare ground by stripping in one year, but usually they strip in the first part of the season and mine in the second, or vice versa, depending on the availability of water, the condition of their equipment, and the amount of ground prepared in the previous season. When the dredges came into the area, these and large scale hydraulicking operations that have left their scars on the hills, could handle large quantities of gravel. At the other end of the scale the hand miners sank shafts, drove tunnels, panned, or used a rocker to get out the gold. About 1945-46, bulldozers began to be used in the Dawson area. A pick and shovel miner could not produce enough gold to buy even food today, but "a bulldozer can move more dirt in an hour than an old timer could in two weeks" as one miner put it. A D-8 bulldozer will move approximately one hundred cubic yards an hour. But the bulldozer has a high initial cost and can be expensive to maintain. A new cat can cost a minimum of \$25,000. or \$16. an hour to rent. Tracks wear out easily, and should be replaced once every year at a cost of up to \$3,000. A miner now must be a welder and maintenance man; operations cannot be held up until a repair man can come from Dawson. The frantic need to "push dirt" while the weather and the water holds is the dominating feature of bulldozer operations.

Practically all gold produced in the Dawson area is sold to the Canadian Mint. A little free gold is sold locally to jewellery manufacturers or in Victoria, for up to \$40. (American) an ounce. One producer informed the writer that he had a market for free gold. Nuggets can be sold for much more per ounce than fine gold. Such nuggets, used for jewellery, are rare; a six ounce one was found near the site of Grand Forks in the summer of 1963.

The gold mining industry in Canada operates under a unique handicap - the price of its end product has remained the same since 1934 when the United States pegged the price at \$35.00 an ounce. In 1961, the profit on net worth in gold mining was 3.1%, the lowest of all mining operations and only half of that in other metal mining (Canadian Imperial Bank of Commerce. Commercial Letter, Jan. 1964). In recent years the average price of gold has varied considerably. In June 1962 it was \$38.14 an ounce; for 1958, its average value was only \$33.57 an ounce. (Bourne: 80). The average Royal Canadian Mint value was \$37.74 an ounce in 1963, compared to \$37.41 an ounce in 1962. At the end of 1963, the price was \$37.80 (Verity, 1964). The variation in the price of its product has given gold mining the reputation of being a "sick" industry. There has been little change in gold production in Canada since 1954; production declined in 1963, and is expected to decline further (Verity, 1964). Costs of production have risen considerably in the last twenty years, and in 1948, the Federal government passed the Emergency Gold Mining Assistance Act (Canada, Department of Mines and Technical Surveys, 1961). The general principle behind this act (EGMAA) is to maintain existing gold mining communities by giving financial assistance when the cost of production per ounce of gold exceeds \$26.50; production must exceed 50 tray ounces in one year. This assistance, and the premium on the American dollar, is what keeps most of the gold mining operations in the Dawson area in business. From 1948 to 1963 over \$3,000,000. had been paid in assistance

to placer gold mines in the Yukon, equivalent to about \$3. per ounce produced (Hester 1963; Table 23). Most of this has gone to YCGC. In March 31, 1962, the amount of assistance paid to this company totalled \$1, 722, 068. and the company expected to receive another \$200, 000. in assistance for its operations in 1962 (Public Accounts of Canada, and YCGC Annual Report for 1962) although, according to the Public Accounts (1962-63), the company only received \$17, 707. in that year. In the fiscal year ending March 31st, 1962 sums paid to operators in the Yukon ranged from a few hundred dollars to a little over \$10, 000. The total paid in the Yukon for that year was \$70, 107. Table 23 shows, by the amount of assistance paid, the richness of the Yukon deposits sixty years after their discovery. In 1963 only one operator stated that he did not take EGMA assistance when he qualified for it; all the others relied on it, to a greater or a lesser extent, to keep them in operation. In effect assistance forms a cushion that protects the gold miners from complete failure during years when operating costs, for a variety of reasons, are high. On November 27th, 1963, the Minister of Mines and Technical Surveys stated that EGMAA would be extended for a further year to the end of 1967, for mines in production by June 1st, 1965.

TABLE 23

GOLD MINING ASSISTANCE PAID IN THE
YUKON TERRITORY, 1954-1962
(As of March 31, 1963)

(Source: D. B. S., 1961 and EGMAA)

<u>Year</u>	<u>Yukon</u>	<u>All Canada</u>
1954	\$367, 839.	\$16, 259, 179.
1955	255, 959.	8, 885, 479.
1956	201, 138.	8, 667, 235.
1957	52, 385.	9, 679, 753.
1958	185, 982.	11, 420, 464.
1959	179, 797.	11, 992, 014.
1960	51, 325.	12, 492, 819.
1961	21, 924.	12, 433, 655.
1962	200, 000.*	N. A.
1963	225, 000.*	N. A.

* Est. - YCGC Annual Reports

The placer gold mining operations in the Dawson area fall into four categories:

- (a) The "Giant" - Yukon Consolidated Gold Corporation (YCGC)
- (b) The medium sized operations.
- (c) The small operations.
- (d) The "old timers" and weekend miners.

(a) YUKON CONSOLIDATED GOLD CORPORATION (YCGC)

YCGC or "the company" has been for years the largest gold mining operation in the Dawson area, and the largest employer of labour in the Northern Yukon. Incorporated in 1923, this company has had a long history of placer mining that is now drawing to a close.

Operations

The company's dredges have operated in the area known locally as "around the loop" - on Hunker, Dominion and Sulphur Creeks - for a number of years. Since 1958, YCGC has also had a bulldozer operation; hydraulicking was used until 1958. In the summer of 1963, the company operated six dredges - #6 on Upper Dominion, #8 on Middle Sulphur, #10 on Lower Dominion, #11 on Hunker Creek and #12 on Middle Dominion. The company also had a bulldozer operation on the Dominion benches near #10 dredge. The large company dredges can only operate successfully and with a profit on the flat lands in the creek beds. A small dredge (#12) was dismantled in 1962, and moved up to one of the benches at the side of Dominion. Bulldozers are used where dredges cannot be floated. Most of the company's equipment is old, and it would not pay to move the dredges to new areas outside the Hunker-Sulphur-Dominion Creek region. On May 20th, 1964, one dredge, built in 1935, sank in twenty feet of water. Even buying new capital equipment, such as a bulldozer, out of the annual profits would almost eliminate them in some years.

On December 31st, 1962, the proved gravel reserves of the company stood at 13, 919, 418 cubic yards with an average value of 41.61¢ containing \$5, 931, 157. in gold. In 1963, 4, 730, 385 cubic yards of gravel were dredged, and the Company's annual report for 1962 noted that the company's overall operating life would be extended to the end of 1966. The closing down of the company will be phased out over three years. In 1963 the thawing plant on Hunker Creek closed down, and presumably, in 1964, stripping and thawing will be curtailed.

One of the YCGC managers stated that the company was being "squeezed out" of operation because of the high costs due to the factors of distance and

climate, the transportation problems, and the general marginal nature of the area and of YCGC's operations. In 1962, for instance the Annual Report noted that the average annual rise in labour costs was about 2%, but that in 1962, because of a new union agreement, labour costs rose 6%.

Table 24 gives an overall picture of the operations of YCGC from 1950 to 1962. Certain data have been extracted from the company's annual report to show how marginal the operation is, and yet how profitable it can be in some years.

TABLE 24

YCGC OPERATIONS, 1950-1962

(Source: Company's Annual Reports)

<u>Year</u>	<u>Total Dredge Operating Days</u>	<u>Yardage Dredged (000 cu. yds.)</u>	<u>Cost Per Cu. Yd. ¢</u>	<u>Recovery Per Cu. Yd. ¢</u>	<u>Total Return From Gold \$(000)</u>	<u>Total Profit \$</u>	<u>Total EGMAA Rec'd \$</u>	<u>Total Men Employed (Max.)</u>
1950	1, 488	5, 836	21. 5	N. A.	2, 542	879, 696.	50, 000.	466
1951	1, 322	5, 878	22. 2	N. A.	1, 934	438, 073.	125, 000.	438
1952	1, 309	5, 863	24. 4	32. 4	1, 919	214, 460.	150, 000.	464
1953	1, 138	4, 341	29. 0	32. 6	1, 524	255, 888.	240, 000.	467
1954	1, 386	5, 116	25. 5	34. 8	1, 854	382, 182.	200, 000.	437
1955	1, 244	5, 319	24. 4	28. 6	1, 700	284, 474.	175, 000.	401
1956	1, 263	4, 960	25. 0	32. 4	1, 682	301, 013.	120, 000.	364
1957	1, 394	6, 283	22. 7	29. 0	1, 935	227, 524.	19, 500.	347
1958	1, 298	6, 130	23. 1	27. 3	1, 895	191, 866.	150, 000.	374
1959	1, 310	5, 914	26. 1	29. 2	1, 804	38, 853.	130, 000.	370
1960	1, 130	4, 518	31. 9	44. 1	2, 182	75, 899.	-	342

TABLE 24 (Continued)

<u>Year</u>	<u>Total Dredge Operating Days</u>	<u>Yardage Dredged (000 cu. yds.)</u>	<u>Cost Per Cu. Yd. ¢</u>	<u>Recovery Per Cu. Yd. ¢</u>	<u>Total Return From Gold \$(000)</u>	<u>Total Profit \$</u>	<u>Total EGMAA Rec'd \$</u>	<u>Total Men Employed (Max.)</u>
1961	956	4,041	31.3	38.4	1,925	220,075.	13,000.	309
1962	1,004	4,477	27.9	29.1	1,648	65,758.	200,000.	311
1963	1,135	4,479	31.5	28.5	1,651	63,695	225,000	310

In the 1940's the operations of the company showed a maximum profit of \$769, 806. 58 in 1940 and a maximum loss of \$223, 627. 60 in 1947.

Table 24 emphasizes the difficulties of placer mining in this area, and shows the slow decline of YCGC, and the decrease in its profits (except for 1961). To the high costs involved in working in a northern area are added the uncertainties of the water supply and of the labour supply. This can directly affect the company's profit. In 1962, the quality of the labour force caused "some dissatisfaction", and there was a shortage of labour at times during the season. In the same year thawing was difficult because of the coldness of the water, although there was plenty of water for stripping. In 1956, there was a better than normal water supply, but two dredges encountered winter frost in the ground and their yardage was reduced.

YCGC has wrestled long and hard with the problems of mining a diminishing resource in a harsh physical environment. Three factors have kept it in operation in recent years - government assistance through EGMAA, the premium on the American dollar, and the fact that all equipment on the ground has been depreciated.

The writer's impression of YCGC was of an old company struggling to keep alive, but moving inevitably to its death, rather like a feeble old man. The whole picture is in startling contrast to that usually seen in northern mining regions where vigorous companies are tearing up the bush and new towns inhabited by young people are rising complete with supermarkets, movie theatres, bowling alleys, town halls, churches, schools, sewer and water services and power.

The Labour Force

The employment situation in YCGC is unique in many ways. It is one of the few places where an unskilled man (or even one understanding no English) can go straight into mining, and, in seven months build up a large stake. Dawson is about eleven hundred miles from the two major urban centres (Vancouver and Edmonton) where replacements can be hired for men who quit, and this imposes an additional operating difficulty on the company. Between 1950 to 1962, the labour force of YCGC dropped by one third, from 466 to 311; these were the peak numbers employed. The seasonal labour force comes in at the end of April, and is at its maximum from early May to the middle or the end of July. During that time points (pipes for putting cold water into the ground) are being driven. By the end of July most of the points have been driven to bedrock, and the labour supply has stabilized. There is a gradual wastage over the season as men leave. If a number quit early in the season (as they did in 1962) this can seriously hamper operations.

In 1958, 59, 60 and 61 the YCGC Annual Reports noted that labour was adequate during the season. In 1957 the Report noted that the labour force dropped off from a peak of 347 on May 18th, to 329 by July 15th, 306 by July

13th, 280 by August 17th and 268 by September 14th. A normal decline in the labour supply, from 401 employees in May to 325 in September, was noted in 1955.

The maximum number of seasonal employees involved in the YCGC operations in 1963 was 250; there were 60 permanent employees. The permanent employees, most of whom live in Bear Creek, comprised 49 skilled and 11 unskilled persons. Of this number 53 were men, seven women. The skilled persons included the management (four individuals), shop foreman, dredgemasters (six individuals), engineering staff, office workers, machinists, welders, blacksmiths, electricians, and a cook. The dredgemasters lived in isolated company houses near the dredges.

All the seasonal employees are unskilled, with the exception of the winchers and the oilers on the dredges. The company requires men accustomed to heavy labouring work who are capable of using a heavy hammer to drive points, moving heavy objects, and following simple instructions. Most of the work is monotonous, and the men most likely to have the qualifications for it - men between twenty and thirty - do not take readily to the isolated bunkhouse existence; the company prefers to hire men over twenty and under fifty. In 1963, 33 men were over 50 and 15 under 20. The oldest worker was 74, the youngest 17.

Labour is hired through the Vancouver office of the National Employment Service (N. E. S.). First the employees who have proven satisfactory in the previous years are notified, and encouraged to bring up relatives or friends. In 1963, for instance, three fathers and their sons were hired, also two sets of two brothers, and a set of five brothers and cousins. The company then hires any local labour or transients looking for work. They then send an order to the N. E. S. for the balance of the labour force. The Vancouver office of N. E. S. ensures that the Whitehorse office hires any surplus labour in the southern Yukon. The company prefers men with placer mining experience, and those men from rural communities who are mature and accustomed to an isolated life, without entertainment and amenities. The N. E. S. endeavours to be as selective as possible, so that a continuing seasonal labour supply can be assured. In 1951-52, about 320 men went up to work for YCGC from the Vancouver area; in 1962-63 only about 75 were needed. Metropolitan Vancouver does not appear to be a suitable place to recruit men for hard physical work in a remote area with few amenities, and at comparatively low rates of pay. An N. E. S. officer stated that he had to "sell" the job to the men. The greatest incentive was the possibility of making \$1,000. a season. If possible, the N. E. S. tries to recruit "stump farmers" - marginal operators who can leave their small farms in the hands of the family, take the summer off, and earn money to supplement the farm income. The employment officer noted that, in the past, a number of Portuguese had worked for YCGC. These men lived frugally during the winter, sending most of their earnings to Portugal and subsequently returning to that country and setting up as small tradesmen or storekeepers with their accumulated savings. The average annual income in Portugal was

\$260. in 1961; in a single season a Portuguese might save four or five times this amount.

The employment forms revealed the following ethnic breakdown of the YCGC 1963 labour force (Table 25). The total of 294 persons included all non-staff personnel who had been taken on up to July 30th, 1963.

TABLE 25

ETHNIC COMPOSITION, YCGC LABOUR FORCE, 1963

(Source: Employment Forms)

<u>Place of Birth</u>	<u>No.</u>	<u>Percentage</u>
Canada	125	42.6
Canadian Indian	3	1.0
Germany	39	13.3
Italy	32	10.9
Yugoslavia	31	10.5
Hungary	13	4.4
U. K.	8	2.7
Poland	8	2.7
Holland	6	2.0
Austria	4	1.4
Finland	3	1.0
Czechoslovakia	3	1.0
Sweden	3	1.0
Ukraine	2	0.7
Denmark	2	0.7
U. S. A.	1	0.4

TABLE 25 (Continued)

<u>Place of Birth</u>	<u>No.</u>	<u>Percentage</u>
Russia	1	0.4
Greece	1	0.4
Switzerland	1	0.4
Belgium	1	0.4
France	1	0.4
Ukraine	1	0.4
Not Known	5	1.7
TOTAL	294	

Over half the labour force was non-Canadian in 1963. Non-Canadians in northern mines has been noted by other writers. Fried (1963) found that of 315 mine employees in a hard rock gold mine near Yellowknife, 48.2 per cent were non-Canadian. In Kitimat, "around 50 per cent of the population are foreign-born workers" (Robinson, 1962: 83). At YCGC, although no count was made, the majority of the staff appeared to be Canadian or British. Two of the senior management were born in England.

One significant feature of the labour force is the small number of Indians employed, even in this simple mining operation. Two of the Indians, aged 19 and 22, were from Dawson; the other came from Vedder Crossing, B.C. On looking through the employment forms the number of "rootless men" appeared to be quite large. These men listed no next-of-kin, had no permanent address, or gave a Vancouver hotel as their address, or had drifted from job to job. The YCGC Personnel Manager reported that some men had not held a steady job for years or could not remember when or where they last had a job. The majority of those who filled in the forms listed their previous occupations as labourers or unskilled workers. There was a sprinkling of white collar workers and craftsmen (shoemaker, blacksmith) and a number of construction workers, lumber mill workers and other similar workers. There were a few students trying to earn stakes to help them in their schooling. In the smaller sample interviewed, this sort of picture of unskilled, transient men appeared also.

There appear to be three major elements in the YCGC labour force: -

- (1) The staff. A number of these have left in the last year or so because of the planned curtailment in operations. They are mainly Canadian.
- (2) Permanent-seasonal workers. These people live in Dawson, Bear Creek or Granville and work as long as possible. Some winter over "Outside", usually in the Vancouver area, and expect to return each season. They number about one third of the labour force.
- (3) Seasonal "one shot" workers, who come up for one season, and may quit before it finishes. Among those interviewed, one or two said they would never come back.

Table 26 summarizes the number in each category.

TABLE 26

LENGTH OF EMPLOYMENT WITH YCGC -
NON STAFF MEMBERS, 1963

(Source: Employment Forms)

Total registered for employment	294
Total who had worked for YCGC in previous years	108
Total who had worked continuously for YCGC for more than 2 seasons	94
More than 40 yrs. service (Excl. 1963)	1
30-40 yrs. service " "	1
20-29 yrs. service " "	4
15-19 yrs. service " "	3
10-14 yrs. service " "	18

TABLE 26(Continued)

5-9 yrs. service (Excl. 1963)		45
4 yrs. service	" "	16
3 yrs. service	" "	4
2 yrs. service	" "	12
1 yr. service	" "	1
Not known		1

Of the 108 men who had worked for more than one season with YCGC, 66 were foreign born and 40 Canadian; two did not specify their nationality.

The majority of Canadians who worked for YCGC in the summer of 1963 came from the Vancouver area - from Chilliwack, Mission City, New Westminister, etc. It is through the N.E.S. offices in these centres that the men can apply to work for YCGC. Table 27 gives the home addresses of the 294 men who filled in registration forms. Of this number, nine were permanent and the remainder seasonal employees.

TABLE 27

HOME LOCATION OF YCGC LABOUR FORCE, 1963

(Source: Employment Forms)

Yukon

Dawson	44
Bear Creek	14
Granville	6
Mayo	1
Whitehorse	4
YCGC camps	3
Elsewhere	<u>1</u>

Total

TABLE 2 (Continued)

<u>British Columbia</u>	
Vancouver Area	136
Elsewhere	<u>29</u>
Total	165
Alberta	20
Saskatchewan	1
Manitoba	1
Ontario	7
U.S.A. (Oregon)	1
United Kingdom	1
"None" or not known	25

Only eight main wage earners in Dawson were employed by YCGC on a seasonal basis, excluding those employed by the utility companies. Two managers lived in the town, as well as the company doctor. In all, about 90 of YCGC's 1963 labour force were local residents.

Air fare is advanced to the men selected. At one time men were sent up by ship via Skagway, but they would be lured away to other work en route. As from about 1950, labour has been sent in by plane. At first Canadian Pacific Airways were chartered to fly the men in, but now the scheduled CPA flights can handle them. With the opening of the Stewart-Dawson road, a number of men now travel in by car. A sample of YCGC employees was selected on a random basis during visits to the camps and cookhouses. Of 36 men interviewed, sixteen travelled to Dawson by air, ten by car and three by bus; the remainder either lived or were hired locally.

The majority of the men who come north to work for the Company are single. Of the 294 men who filled in employment forms during the summer of 1963, 74 were married, 211 were single, four were separated, and the status of the others was not determined. The majority of the permanent staff were married although there were single staff quarters for about a dozen employees at Bear Creek.

Everyone recruited at Vancouver goes up as a labourer, and special categories are specified by YCGC. These latter include only bakers, cooks and kitchen helpers. The men are employed on the dredges, and in stripping, thawing, and general labouring. A dredge requires a crew of about five men - a dredgemaster, oiler, wincher, and two deckers. Since the dredges operate continuously, and six dredges worked during 1963, this involves 86 men; the small dredge of the six required only eleven men to operate it round the clock. The bulldozer operation required three or four men on each shift. A man can progress from being a member of the bull gang, digging in deadmen for the dredge, then move on to be a decker, then an oiler who wipes and greases machinery. He may become a winchman after a number of seasons, and then, after four or five years move up to dredgemaster. There are, however, only six positions as dredgemasters in the company, and if a man with suitable experience wants to better himself in dredging, he must leave the Yukon for South America or Malaya. Here dredges are used in tin mining and other operations. One man was moved from the flats into the cookhouse ten years ago and is now a chef, and three of the senior management began at the bottom.

The workers employed by YCGC must become members of the Dawson Miners Union, affiliated with the International Union of Mine Mill and Smelter Workers, British Columbia. The union negotiated a new contract with YCGC in 1960 (International Union of Mine, Mill and Smelter Workers, 1960). This agreement was renegotiated in 1962 when the Canadian dollar decreased in relation to the U.S. dollar to 5 per cent or more below parity, as had been provided for in the 1960 agreement. The basic pay is \$1.53 an hour for labourers and swampers. An electrician, first class, winchers with five years' experience and other skilled men in the special grades get \$2.01 an hour. All wages were slated to go up 5¢ an hour in November, 1963. Cooks got \$554.50 a month in large camps, flunkies (general helpers) and bull cooks \$437.50 a month. Table 28 compares these rates with those for mining in all Canada.

TABLE 28

MAN HOURS AND HOURLY EARNINGS WITH
AVERAGE WEEKLY WAGES IN MINING -
CANADA AND YCGC

(Sources: Canada. YCGC - Union Agreement.
Canada. Dominion Bureau of Statistics.
Weekly Bulletin. Dec. 13, 1963).

	<u>August 1963</u>	<u>Sept. 1963</u>	<u>Sept. 1962</u>
<u>Canada</u>			
Average Weekly Hrs.	41.9	42.6	41.6
Average Hourly Earnings	\$2.24	\$2.24	\$2.19
Average Weekly Earnings	\$93.70	\$95.59	\$91.34
<u>YCGC</u>			
Average Weekly Hrs.	56	56	56
Average Hourly Earnings (Range)	\$1.53-\$2.01	\$1.53-\$2.01	\$1.43-\$1.91
Average Weekly Earnings (Range)	\$91.44-\$120.56	\$91.44-\$120.56	\$85.76-\$114.64

Although these comparisons of the general figures for Canada and the specific ones for YCGC can be misleading, the YCGC workers had to work longer for lower wages to make the same income as the national average. In August and September 1963, even the highest paid hourly workers for YCGC were being paid .23¢, or ten per cent less, than the average for Canada. Relatively low pay is one of the reasons for the difficulties in recruiting personnel, especially skilled men, for the YCGC operations. Comparable work in the Vancouver area would bring \$2.00 to \$2.15 an hour. A diesel mechanic, whose top rate is \$2.01 with YCGC could earn \$3.00 to \$3.50 an hour elsewhere. Bulldozer operators are sometimes hired away by other operations who offer them \$600. a month. One medium sized placer operation pays its labour \$1.75 an hour.

The men work eight hours a day, seven days a week. A transportation bonus of \$100. for seven months is paid, and board and lodgings are supplied for \$2.15 a day. Men maintaining a family and a residence near Dawson get \$2. a shift extra. The YCGC operation is set up so that a man is able, by working hard for seven months, to build up a stake of from \$1,000. to \$2,000., and live on this, with unemployment benefits, over the winter. The company used this system before the introduction of unemployment insurance. The personnel manager stated that he had seen a change in the attitude of the seasonal workers over the years. At first the men in the thirties worked to get a \$400. or \$500. stake so that they could winter over comfortably in Dawson. Then, after the war, they worked to get enough stamps to qualify for unemployment insurance benefits. Recently the Personnel Manager said the seasonal workers didn't seem to care whether they acquired enough stamps, since they could always get supplementary assistance. Even allowing for management bias, the heavy reliance on immigrant workers does highlight the problems of getting suitable men to go north at low wages to do monotonous manual work in an isolated area.

In the sample of men interviewed, out of thirty-six men of whom 27 were single, only six had worked steadily during the winter of 1962-63. Five more had worked at some time during the winter, but most of the others replied "Nothing" when asked what they did during the previous winter. One or two spent their winters travelling in California or Europe.

Camp conditions at YCGC appeared to be poor. The men are housed in bunkhouses near the dredges. Most of these are partitioned into cubicles measuring 6' x 6' and housing two men. Washing facilities are minimal, and proper toilet facilities are lacking in some camps. Some of the men complained to the writer of the absence of facilities. Movie shows are provided. The food was good and plentiful.

YCGC and Dawson

YCGC dominates the economic activity in the Northern Yukon and the company dominates Dawson also. A number of the permanent residents of the city have worked for the company in the past, as have a number of the small placer miners. In the nine years between 1954 and 1962, YCGC spent \$1,192,691. or an average of about \$132,500. annually in Dawson. In 1962, however, they bought only \$75,428. worth of supplies in the city.

The shift changes are arranged so that once a month the men come off duty at 3 p.m. one day and do not have to report again until midnight on the following day. At the Bear Creek camp, men can come into Dawson when off

shift during the week, if they so wish. At Granville, the most remote camp, it takes two hours of hard driving to reach the city. Men who come north seeking to build up a stake and expecting to live an isolated life probably will deliberately avoid going into town where opportunities for spending money present themselves. One YCGC manager stated that the men were made up of "spenders" and "savers". From interviews, the latter seemed to predominate. Of 36 men, only three said they went to town frequently. Of these three, two said they disliked the work and found the isolation difficult to cope with. All the others said they went into town "seldom" or "two or three times a month or a season" or "once or twice" or "a few times".

The influence of the opening of an all year round road from Dawson to the "outside" and of the opening of the company commissary in 1953 on the city has already been noted. Seasonal residents who live locally cannot use the company commissary during the winter, but are allowed to stock up before they are laid off.

Dawson, then, does not serve as a service centre for YCGC to the extent that might be expected because of the proximity of the city to the company's operations.

The company employs 46 men (forty-two seasonal and four permanent) who reside in Dawson; this is only about 6.7% of the total employed population in the area. The company's work force does not use the city's facilities extensively, and the company's purchases in Dawson are not very great. On the other hand, despite high rates, the company, through subsidiaries, has been able to supply the city with electricity and water - services which the city might not otherwise have.

Bear Creek and Granville

Bear Creek lies about twelve miles from Dawson, and is located on a YCGC concession. It has a small compact "island" of company residences sitting amid a waste of tailings. Other houses are scattered along the road to Hunker Creek. A bunkhouse, dormitory, mess hall, repair shop, gold room, and company offices are also located here, as well as a community hall, curling rink and church. The settlement is serviced by a small closed loop water system. The company owns 20 houses, which it rents to management, key personnel, and supervisors, who are all permanent staff members. A number of the staff own their own houses, and one house was under construction and another being completed in the summer of 1963. For company houses the occupiers pay a rent of about \$10. a month, plus \$2.50 for power. Garbage is collected by a Dawson contractor who charges each household a fee.

The people of Bear Creek, and especially the permanent staff of YCGC, form one of the economic elites of the area. In the winter of 1963 (February-Rural Preliminary List of Electors) sixty-six adults were in residence in Bear Creek; of this number 14 were single men, and 26 married couples. Life in Bear Creek, from report, appeared to be similar to that in any company town.

Granville consists of a scatter of houses hidden in the bush at the end of the "loop" road, that goes up Hunker, over the summit, down Dominion and back to the summit and Sulphur. Once a thriving settlement, Granville in the summer of 1963 was made up of seven families comprising about thirty people. There was also a dredge camp near the settlement. The houses belong to the individuals living in them, and have usually been picked up cheap from their previous owners. They are usually fairly old buildings, sometimes of logs, but with interiors fitted out and modernized. One man runs a store in his house. Power is supplied for \$2.50 a month, but there is no running water or sewers. The residents, all of whom are seasonal YCGC employees (except one dredge-master) have to haul their own water and wood although the company assists them by lending them a bulldozer or a truck.

There is a one-room company school at Granville, planned to hold ten children. The school population dropped to four at one time, and it was then closed. Now there are about ten school children in the settlement. A teacher was hired from outside in the fall of 1962, but left after a few weeks. The teaching for the rest of the year was done by the wife of a YCGC employee.

The Future of YCGC

Although Dawson is not a company town, it has many of the attributes of one, lying as it does under the shadow of YCGC. The company, in its forty year history, has become an integral part of Dawson. Some Dawson residents will not believe that the company is closing. It is disliked by many Dawson residents because of the high power rates charged by its subsidiary. But Dawson also depends on the company, not only for services, but for employment, and for money spent locally both by the company and by its employees.

Of 683 jobs in the area, in 1963 the company provided 338 or nearly half. The company, with assistance from the Territorial government, maintains the network of roads "around the loop". This network enables the smaller placer miners to get into the creeks flowing into the large creeks such as Hunker and Dominion. Presumably this function of road maintenance will be taken over by the Territorial government when YCGC moves out. This will bring up the problem that dominates the area - the same expenditure of funds will have to be made to benefit a smaller number of operations. The amount of \$15,000. (the annual Territorial grant to YCGC) on clearing roads that lead to dredges

producing \$2,000,000. worth of gold and placer operations producing another \$350,000. worth is an insignificant expenditure. But to spend that amount of money on roads that lead to placer operations producing only a third of a million dollars makes less sense economically.

YCGC also supplies power to a hydraulicking operation. This operation, on the right limit of Bonanza Creek, could not have operated economically without YCGC power. YCGC also aided this operation in servicing its pumps, and the presence of a large repair shop at Bear Creek ensures that any miner, if he gets into serious mechanical trouble, can get certain facilities.

At the end of the 1963 season, the Hunker Creek thawing plant will close down, reducing the labour requirement by 30 men. In 1963 the process could be seen whereby the more energetic younger men, especially those with special skills, were leaving the company. This is part of a historic process, during which the more able, more skilled people with more initiative left Dawson when the economy began to decline. In 1963, the company lacked a skilled diesel mechanic as they had not been able to recruit one at the prevailing wage rate. It would appear that this sort of skilled labour shortage, stemming in part from the low rate, the isolated location of the operation and the absence of a future with the company will seriously hamper YCGC operations in the next year or so. As pointed out, the operation is already very susceptible to labour problems.

(b) THE MEDIUM SIZED OPERATIONS

YCGC is a large company, producing profits for its shareholders. The medium sized operations are usually owned by a partnership or by a group. The number and size of this type of operation have declined over the years. In 1952, for instance, five medium sized operations employed a total of 101 men, and some of these companies have employed up to 44 men. One company, Yukon Placer Mining Co. Limited, operated a dredge at Glacier Creek in the Sixtymile area, employing 28 people and producing about a quarter of a million dollars worth of gold. In 1961, this company closed down, after producing a total of \$2,536,403. worth of gold and silver in the Sixtymile area between 1949 and 1961. Their abandoned dredge and camp still remain near the Glacier Creek Post Office. In 1957, another company that had hired up to 40 workers in 1952, Yukon Gold Placers Limited on Henderson Creek, closed down, as did Northern Placers Ltd., which had employed ten men. Another company, Clear Creek Placers, had closed down in 1957; it had employed eighteen people in 1952 and had a payroll of about \$50,000.

In 1963, only three medium sized gold mining companies operated in the Dawson area. One employed ten men, one four men, and the other three men. All were owned by men who had been involved in gold mining in and around Dawson for a number of years.

The largest of these medium sized operations was an example of outstanding management ability and showed what can be done in marginal areas. This company usually has a total production in excess of 5,000 ounces of gold, or almost half the area's production other than that from YCGC. In 1962 the company worked on Eldorado, Dominion and Quartz Creeks, employing about ten men.

In 1963 this company operated on Eldorado and Dominion Creeks. A permanent camp was established on Dominion when the two partners transferred their operations from the Sixtymile to the Klondike area.

The company is owned by two Americans. One, from Seattle, has followed gold all his life and moved over the border from Alaska some years ago when mining ceased to pay there. The other, from California, introduced a sprinkler technique for stripping, similar to the one he uses for irrigation on his fruit farm in California; he had formerly been a hard rock miner.

The operations last from May to September, and this company operated bulldozers, both on Dominion and Eldorado; the latter operations suffered from lack of water in 1963.

The company's camp on Dominion was visited by the writer in August. The camp itself was well laid out and well kept and consisted of seven houses, one office and a well-equipped workshop. On Dominion six men were employed, including a cook, and a mechanic was shared with the Eldorado operation. Of the six men, two were local people from Dawson and the others came from Saskatchewan. The men from Saskatchewan had worked in placer mining before and had been employed for a number of years by the same company. They owned farms and usually tried to get back for the harvest. The partner supervising the Dominion operation stated that he was well satisfied with his labour force, finding them reliable and hard working. They were paid \$1.75 an hour for a 40 hour week, and worked 70 hours a week. Three dollars a day was deducted for their board. At these rates of pay, the man on this operation could clear about \$500. a month or approximately \$2,500. a season. The partner stated that he tried to get the men interested in the operation, telling them all the details and having them participate in the clean-up. In contrast to the YCGC labour force, the men working for this medium sized company were usually employed during the winter. The partner noted that there was a keen demand for their services -- presumably because they were reliable and hard workers.

On Eldorado, the other partner supervised an operation that employed four men. One, a local man married to an Indian woman, lived on the creek with his wife and five children and moved into town in winter. He had followed gold before arriving in Dawson, 26 years ago. Another younger, unmarried man commuted to Dawson daily. The two other men were from northeast Saskatchewan and had their families living with them on the creek. These men work in the woods in winter and have been coming up to the Yukon to work for the same company for nine years.

This company, and its owners, were widely criticized by local residents because of their American origin. "They take money out of the country and don't spend any of it in Dawson" was the gist of the remarks. One of the partners stated that he had offered to buy all his supplies and groceries in Dawson if the largest local store could come within 5 per cent of Whitehorse prices. Since the store could not come within 20 per cent of Whitehorse prices, the company sent to that city for its supplies and groceries. The partners bought only gas and small grocery orders locally.

This medium-sized company showed how successful mining operations could be in the Yukon; Eldorado, for instance, has been worked over extensively three times. In 1962, on their Quartz and Eldorado operations the company kept production costs below \$26.50 an ounce, and so did not qualify for EGMAA. Both owners were skilled imaginative miners who kept accurate costs of production and ensured that all equipment and plant was kept in good repair. They have been able to build up a reliable labour force by paying good wages, providing excellent accommodation and food, and getting the men interested in what they were doing. The two partners worked along with the men. They had adequate capital so could afford to experiment with new stripping methods. Their use of the sprinkler system for thawing showed considerable imagination. The sprinkler method cut the cost of thawing in half, was quicker, and took less water than a monitor.

The other two medium sized companies were operating on Eureka Creek. This creek lies about forty miles from Dawson, south east of Granville, and is reached over a long and difficult road from Granville. One company is owned by three Dawson residents and a former resident; the other is owned by two local brothers. In 1963, one company had been working in the area for five years, the other for four years. During this time the operations have produced about 7,200 ounces of gold. Recovery by each company was about 1,000 ounces in 1963. In the summer of 1963 one company was using bulldozers and a dragline, and the other company used bulldozers only. A shortage of water hampered both operations, and frost also complicated matters.

Seven men were employed and the operating season lasted from May 1st to September for one company and from May 1st to October 10th for the other. Both companies shared the same cook, who came from Dawson. All the men employed in these operations were young. A young man, the brother of an independent placer operator in the Dawson area, managed one operation for the partnership. In this operation the two bulldozer drivers came from Dawson. One of the owners and his son worked on the operation; they wintered in Victoria while the other owner stayed in Dawson.

This camp on Eureka Creek consisted of a series of cabooses, some leaking and in poor condition. These two operations were obviously marginal ones, producing a small profit for their owners and employing a limited number of local people. One operation received assistance in 1961 and 1962, under the Tote Trail Assistance Programme run by the Federal and Territorial governments, for building a road in the area and erecting a bridge over the Indian River.

This programme of financial assistance towards road building has greatly aided placer mining and other operations in the Dawson area. It shows how a small amount of money, used imaginatively, can aid small operators in a marginal area. The programme was introduced in 1961, and since then about twenty-five projects have been aided in the Yukon. In 1962, four projects (three in mining, one in wood cutting) in the Dawson area were aided. The programme, which has \$50,000. at its disposal in any one year, can pay up to 50% of trail construction costs. The average cost of trail building in 1961 and 1962 was \$669.73 a mile, and assistance to the amount of \$313.45 per mile was given (Canada, Department of Northern Affairs and National Resources, 1963). As has already been noted, the more remote areas around Dawson where placer mining used to take place, have been progressively abandoned. The Tote Trail Programme assists small companies and individuals to push further out into the less accessible areas, and to reach creeks that have not been completely worked out.

(c) THE SMALL OPERATIONS

YCGC and the medium sized placer operations are economic undertakings, aimed only at making a profit. They can be easily analyzed in terms of profit and loss, or studied in relation to labour turnover, operating conditions or balance sheets. But the work of the small placer operator is not only an economic enterprise. It is a whole way of life. It is a world of hand-rolled cigarettes and rusty equipment, or small, often primitive, cabins on isolated creeks and hills. It is a world of continuous hard work, of meagre returns and

occasional fabulous clean-ups. It is a world dominated not so much by gold, as by "finding the gold". This quotation, from the Yukon's poet, Robert Service, was echoed by a placer miner who used different words to express the same sentiment. As the wife of a placer miner said "you have to have the gold bug". Although long hours of work frequently do not result in large returns, or even in a reasonable profit for the time and money expended, the outlook of the small placer miners usually appears optimistic. Looking beyond this optimism, it is usually possible to detect an underlying pessimism. This dichotomy seems characteristic of the Yukon as a whole and of its permanent residents. The gold miners, perhaps because they are involved in obtaining and handling a metal with a romantic aura about it, seemed to be deeply imbued with this combination of optimism and pessimism. Many live in the hope of reaching the rich pay and making a large clean-up. A few succeed in doing so. One partnership split \$100,000. a few years ago after one season's work. In 1963 one partnership moved approximately 130,000 cubic yards and recovered 1918.0 ounces of gold.

In the summer of 1963 there were approximately 21 small placer operations in the Dawson area. (Table 29).

TABLE 29

SMALL PLACER MINING OPERATIONS IN THE DAWSON AREA - 1963(Source: Mining Recorder's Annual Report, 1963)

<u>Area</u>	<u>Location</u>	<u>Type of Operation</u>	<u>Operator</u>	<u>No. of Employees</u>	<u>Production (ounces)</u>
1. Sixty Mile area	Sixty Mile & Ten Mile Cr.	Hydraulic	One man	-	12.0
2. " " "	Sixty Mile Cr.	2 Bulldozers	One man	1	117.0
3. Bonanza Creek & Tributaries	Victoria Gulch	1 Bulldozer	Two partners	-	206.0
4. " "	Adams Hill	1 Bulldozer	Three brothers	-	226.0
5. " "	Monte Cristo	1 Bulldozer/ Hydraulic	Man and son	1	262.0
6. " "	Cripple Hill	Hydraulic	Two partners	1	652.0
7. Hunker Creek	Hunker Creek	1 Bulldozer	One man	-	120.0
8. " "	Gold Bottom Cr.	1 Bulldozer	Man & Wife	-	300.0
9. " "	" " "	1 Bulldozer	One man	-	150.0
10. " "	Last Chance Cr.	1 Bulldozer/ Hydraulic	Man & Son	1	158.0
11. Dominion Creek	Gold Run Cr.	2 Bulldozers	Two partners	-	1918.0

TABLE 29 (Continued)

<u>Area</u>	<u>Location</u>	<u>Type of Operation</u>	<u>Operator</u>	<u>No. of Employees</u>	<u>Production (ounces)</u>
12. Dominion Creek	Caribou Cr.	1 Bulldozer	Man & Wife	-	153.0
13. Klondike Tributaries	All Gold Cr.	1 Bulldozer	Two partners	3	820.0
14. "	Germain Cr.	2 Bulldozers	Two partners	1	163.0
15. "	Jim Cr.	1 Bulldozer/ Hydraulic	One man	-	72.0
16. Clear Creek	Clear Cr.	3 Bulldozers	Two partners	2	658.0
17. " "	" "	2 Bulldozers	Man & Son	-	None
18. Quartz Creek	Quartz Cr.	1 Bulldozer	One man	1	250.0
19. " "	Little Blanche Cr.	2 Bulldozers	One man	1	213.0
20. Kirkman Cr.	Kirkman Cr.	2 Bulldozers	One man	1	527.2
21. Henderson Cr.	Golden Gate Cr.	Bulldozer	Woman, husband and two sons	-	58.0
Totals			37	13	7035.2

All these operations, except those on Clear, Kirkman and Henderson Creeks are within fifty miles of Dawson. All, except those on Kirkman and Henderson Creeks, and one of those in the Sixtymile area, can be reached by road from Dawson without too much difficulty. The majority of the operations are reached by the road "around the loop", or by short roads leading off this network.

Of the twenty-one operators, only about six or seven were Canadian born. All the others were foreign born; two were Americans. The partnership that formed did not seem to be lasting, but seemed to be rather a matter of convenience. All the small operators had been in that area for at least five years; some had been gold mining all their lives. One man had worked in the Sixtymile and Ten Mile area for thirty years.

They might own or lease ground, or get a "lay" on someone else's ground. One or two had taken out prospecting leases. This allowed them to prospect over several miles of a creek, instead of working only the several hundred yards of a placer claim.

Most of the small operators in the Dawson area were past middle age. Of the men involved in the twenty-one operations listed, other than those being hired by the operators, only five or six were in their twenties or thirties. Three men had their sons working with them, but, in general if the continuity of operation depends on the presence of young men in the industry it would appear that this form of gold mining can be expected to disappear within the next ten or twenty years. Not only is the ground being worked out, but the majority of operators cannot be expected to continue mining for many more years because of advancing age. The work is hard, the hours are long, the bulldozer operation is a strenuous activity, and the rewards minimal. Little new blood is moving into the industry, partly because of the cost of equipping a placer operation, partly because of the absence of good ground near Dawson, and partly because anyone with the ability, will and determination to wrest a living from the gravels of the Dawson area can almost inevitably find other, more remunerative employment elsewhere.

Those presently engaged in gold mining like the life. They like the freedom, being their own boss, working outdoors, and presumably the leisure of the off-season.

A number of the small placer operators spend their winters "outside", usually on the West Coast, in Victoria or Vancouver, where they own houses. Some winter on the creek, either out of choice or necessity. It may be necessary to live on the creek to repair or to overhaul a defective bulldozer. In some cases, when the roads to the more remote creeks are blocked by snow, these groups are completely isolated. Three or four miners own houses in winter; two others worked at United Keno Hill in the winter of 1962-63.

As one young miner put it "Our luck determines where we winter". With the older people, set in their ways, wintering 'outside' or on the creek or in Dawson is part of the pattern of their lives. After a big clean-up they may go outside to celebrate, but they inevitably return to the area. With the younger people, the ambition seems to be to make enough money in the summer to be able to spend the winter outside.

The small placer operators usually buy their supplies, groceries and equipment from Dawson, if the items are available there. They do not usually have enough ready cash to buy a large order from "outside" or from Whitehorse, unless they get a large clean-up. When they bring their gold into the bank, the bank weighs it and advances 90 per cent of its value. The balance is paid out three or four weeks later when the Mint pays for the gold it receives from the bank. This method of payment ensures that the small operators always have ready cash. The improved road network and communications system in the area around Dawson have considerably aided the small miners. One miner said that, fifteen years ago, he had to send fuel oil barrels to Whitehorse to be filled. Now he can arrange for a tanker truck to drive right on to his claim. The same man stated that he could phone Vancouver for a caterpillar part on one day and receive it on the next.

These small operators considerably aid the economy of Dawson. Although they sometimes bring labour in from outside, they usually hire local people. One man hired two or three Indians during the summer of 1962. He found them good workers, but liable to quit without notice. Generally speaking, the small operators try to avoid hiring men. As one put it "If you hire a man, you can't pay yourself wages". At certain times during the placer operation such as sluicing, it pays a man to hire extra labour. Such casual work probably employs a number of local people during the summer, but how many individuals were involved and how much they earned was difficult to determine.

Two partners who were interviewed appeared to be typical of the sort of men engaged in placer mining in the Dawson area, and their story, with variations, could be that of a number of the small placer operators.

Both these men were born in France. One trained as a blacksmith, the other was "just a farmer". They came out to Canada in the early twenties to work on farms in Quebec, then headed west. Part of the journey was made in an old car that finally broke down. Then they hopped a freight for British Columbia, arriving there in 1931. They went placer mining on the Fraser River and at other places, and left B.C. in 1936 when there was "too little gold and too many men looking for it". They headed for the Yukon and went up the Stewart River to Scroggie Creek, about sixty miles south of Dawson.

Here they worked for a French Canadian. In 1937 they set up their own camp at Scroggie Creek. One of the partners owned a dog, but otherwise they had no means of handling goods. They carried a ton of supplies into their camp by wheelbarrow.

For the next sixteen or seventeen years they roamed over the Stewart River area, mining in summer and trapping in winter. Few people were trapping then, so they got plenty of fur, mainly mink, marten and beaver, and in some years obtained thousands of dollars from fur sales. They have not trapped since 1953, mainly because of poor prices.

Since 1957 they have been mining on Victoria Gulch, on Upper Bonanza. The ground they work has been mined by the old-timers and also dredged, but still contains the occasional rich pocket of pay dirt. In 1961 they recovered 70 crude ounces of gold; in 1963 their production was 206 ounces of gold.

Their average profit each year is about \$3,000. In the spring of 1962, an old dam on Upper Bonanza burst, and washed out their camp. The two men were nearly drowned and their cabin, bulldozer, and equipment were buried in gravel and silt. A collection was made for them; someone gave them a cabin so that they were back in operation in 1963. In 1962, one worked for the City of Dawson and the other for the Territorial government. Their cabin measures about fifteen feet by eight feet and contains two beds, a small table and a trapper's stove. Everything in the cabin was neat and tidy; the bedrolls folded back, linoleum laid on the floor, and racks set up for clothing.

The partners buy their staples in Dawson and grow vegetables in a small garden. They have a small expenditure on food, no rent, no services to pay for. Their major expenditure is on fuel for their two bulldozers. They hope to be able to buy a new set of tracks for one bulldozer; this will cost \$1,400, or about half their average annual profit. The men have to be mechanics, cat operators, bridge builders, carpenters, and to have other skills; one built a snow toboggan from a blueprint.

Since 1957 they have spent their winters in Vancouver, taking a house-keeping room in the home of a French Canadian woman who lives near Stanley Park. They estimated that it cost them about \$100 a month to winter outside. They arrive in the Dawson area in May and leave in October, so that their total cost of wintering 'outside' is less than \$1,000 for the two of them. They did not want to winter on their claim, because there was nothing to do there now that they did not trap. When they trapped, before 1953, they got outside, but now they were afraid of catching "cabin fever" while wintering over in isolation.

These two men must both have been over sixty. Both looked extremely healthy and reflected a quiet contentment. They appeared to be the archetype of the frontiersman, having pushed west and north from the more settled and crowded areas of Canada. They were also among the few representatives of a breed of northern man, able to adapt to a harsh climate and to hard work, and content with freedom and small returns. This type of individual seems to be disappearing in the Yukon, and there seems to be no new generation arising to take their place.

(d) THE "OLD TIMERS" AND WEEKEND MINERS

In and around Dawson are a number of individuals who mine gold as a hobby or as a pastime. The creeks and the benches seem to represent a sort of bank to some individuals, a place where some money can be made if all else fails. There was some evidence that, in a poor year where opportunities for wage employment were lacking, men would take to the hills and pan for gold. Table 30 shows the location of these minor placer operations.

TABLE 30

LOCATION OF MINOR PLACER OPERATIONS IN THE DAWSON AREA, - 1963

(Source: Mining Recorder's Annual Report, 1963)

	<u>Area</u>	<u>Location</u>	<u>Type of Operation</u>	<u>Operator</u>	<u>No. of Employees</u>	<u>Production (ounces)</u>
1.	Sixty Mile area	Sixty Mile Cr.	Shaft	2 Partners	-	25.05
2.	Bonanza Creek & Tributaries	Victoria Gulch	Pick & Shovel	Old Timer	1	50.00
3.	" "	Gauvin Gulch	Rented Bulldozer	One man	-	None
4.	" "	Bonanza Creek	Weekend operation with rented equipment	Man & Wife	-	28.0
5.	Hunker Creek	Hunker Cr. Six pup	Pick & Shovel	Old Timer	-	6.0
6.	" "	Nugget Hill	Hand mining	One man	-	6.0
7.	Eldorado Creek	Eldorado Cr.	Weekend operation/ Pick & shovel	One man	-	1.0
		Totals		9	1	116.05

The men who work these small claims are of two types. One is the "old timer", usually over seventy, who came in during or after the Gold Rush and is still mining. These men are fiercely independent, but rely mainly on their old age pensions for their main source of income. In all, in 1963, eight "old timers" had claims on the creeks around Dawson, but only two produced any gold.

The writer visited the cabins of several of these men. The cabins had changed little from those erected in 1898. In one, the only two modern items noted were the radio and a propane stove. In another, a semi-subterranean dwelling on Bonanza Creek, there was literally nothing of recent date.

Even in the 1920's, each claim around Dawson had one man on it engaged in placer mining. The eight old timers are the remnants of the great army of individual placer miners who flooded into the country in 1898. Some spend their winters in Dawson, and each year, over the past ten years, has seen these old timers either die or come to Dawson to spend their last years in the Old Folks' Home.

The other men working on minor placer operations around Dawson are either Dawson residents making a little extra money or men who have drifted up to the area. In the Sixtymile area two men were interviewed. They had been in the Yukon for a year. One came originally from Winnipeg and the other from Prince Edward Island. They worked in Keno Hill in the winter of 1962-63 and sank a shaft on Sixty Mile Creek in the summer of 1963. This method of mining is one of the most primitive; the shaft on Sixty Mile Creek may be the only one of its kind in use in Canada. These two men, both in their twenties, intended to winter on the creek and hoped to secure enough gold to start mining seriously. They represent a return to the individualistic tradition of placer mining which is slowly but surely dying out in the Dawson Area.

Gold mining in the Dawson area is a declining industry. Even when YCGC closes down, the individual miners will produce from about a quarter to half a million dollars worth of gold. More and more of the operators are spending their winters outside. Only about four gold miners now maintain year-round residences in Dawson, although practically all the small operators use the city as a service centre. The decline of the small mining operation is another factor tending to decrease the importance and value of Dawson.

CHAPTER XI

QUARTZ MINING

The Dawson area has always been noted as placer gold country. Throughout this century men have fanned out over the area, mainly searching for gold and silver deposits, but reporting other minerals also. But little hard rock mining has ever been undertaken.

It is to "one good hard rock mine" that the people of Dawson now look for any future resurgence of mining activity in the area.

Table 31 shows the trend in staking in recent years. The actual numbers show very little except an increased interest in the Dawson area: no production from these claims has ever taken place.

TABLE 31

QUARTZ CLAIMS IN GOOD STANDING AND MINERAL CLAIMS RECORDED IN
DAWSON AREA, 1957-1963

(Source: Mining Recorder's Annual Reports,
Dawson Area)

	<u>Claims in Good Standing (Dec. 31st of each year)</u>	<u>Mineral Claims Recorded</u>	<u>Total Quartz Min. Claims Recorded in Yukon Territory</u>
1957	577	443	867
1958	478	124	943
1959	239	85	677
1960	445	244	1, 337
1961	452	202	2, 462
1962	427	137	3, 014
1963	533	249	2, 597

The minerals found include silver, platinum, lead, tungsten, asbestos, cinnabar, bornite, fluorite, iron, and some radioactive ores. The general trend through the years appears to be for an area or a mineral showing to be staked, either by a local prospector or by a representative of a large company, and then the claim held for a while before expiring. Some local Dawson men either prospect or back other prospectors. Sometimes options are taken on claims by large outside companies who do assessment work. The interest in individual minerals varies with the price. Copper and silver have been much sought in recent years.

The increased interest in hard rock mining properties in the Dawson area in recent years has benefited the city directly. The assessment work requires little skill since it involves mainly brush clearing, trenching, diamond drilling and bulk sampling. The representatives of large mining companies spend some time in Dawson, and almost inevitably purchase some supplies and food there.

Four quartz mining prospects are of current interest.

In 1960, a company staked claims in the Klondike area and began a programme of trenching and drilling in an attempt to find the mother lode of the Klondike placer gold deposits. In 1961 and 1962 the work continued. In 1961 a maximum of thirteen men were employed and in the following year six men were hired and a contractor brought in a drilling crew. No work was done in 1963, however.

At Silver City, about twenty-five miles down river from Dawson, a prospector began driving an adit in the summer of 1962 and continued it in 1963 with the help of two Indians. This silver prospect has long been known, and has been staked and restaked a number of times. Because of the recent rise in the price of silver, more interest has been shown in the prospect. In 1963, hydraulic sluicing removed 30,000 to 40,000 cubic feet of talus material and the prospector plans to complete sluicing, drive a new adit and begin diamond drilling in 1964 if sufficient financing can be secured.

The most promising hard rock prospect in the Dawson area is on the Clinton Creek asbestos property. Clinton Creek flows into the Fortymile River, which empties into the Yukon River about 40 miles north west of Dawson. Access to the area is difficult, necessitating crossing the Yukon River at Dawson, then going down a tote trail at Mile 37 on the Sixtymile Road. This crosses the Fortymile River to reach the property. If this property ever goes into production, the road communications will have to be improved.

In 1963, an average of twenty men worked on the Clinton Creek property, which is held by Cassiar Asbestos Corporation. A local contractor was hired to repair and rebuild 26 miles of the tote trail that connects the Sixtymile Road with the Clinton Camp. Geological surveying, trenching, magnetometer work, drilling, and brush clearing for an airstrip were done. Most of this work can be done by unskilled or semi-skilled labour.

The hiring of the labour for employment from the end of May to the middle of October was done through a local storekeeper. Some skilled and semi-skilled men were hired through the Alberta and Northwest Chamber of Mines. Of the seven local people employed, excluding men hired by the contractor, all were single young men, except one, and most were of Indian ancestry. The pay was \$1.65 an hour and the work consisted mainly of brush cutting and odd job work. Up to August 18th, 1963, two of the seven local men had quit, but otherwise the company expressed satisfaction with the labour.

On Cassiar Creek, Canadian Johns-Manville Co. Ltd. acquired an option from a local man and did some work on an asbestos showing there. Of five men employed, four were from the Dawson area. It is characteristic of modern mining operations that local people, especially native peoples, are hired in the exploration and early development stages, when clearing of brush, digging of trenches and making of roads are needed. Once a mine goes into production, the main requirement is for skilled specialists. There are none of these in the Dawson area. At present the quartz mining activities may present an additional lure to the young people in the area and tend to anchor them in Dawson, since these activities offer them relatively well paid employment. Mining exploration and development will probably continue to offer these people seasonal employment, but any decrease in this activity will seriously affect them. There seems to be few alternatives employment opportunities in and around Dawson. And in working in seasonal exploration and development work the young people are not acquiring skills that will assist them to relocate elsewhere or take well paid permanent employment should a mine open in the area.

These four quartz mining activities indicate the sort of mineral development that can be expected in the Dawson area. The mother lode venture relied on finding a rich gold deposit. The silver prospect may develop into a small mine, worked by its owner or by others willing to mine on an independent basis. The company interested in Clinton Creek area relies on outlining a large body of good grade ore, improving communications and transportation facilities, and finding a good, firm market for its ore. If this company goes into

production, it will have to keep its manpower requirements down to a minimum and rely on large scale mechanization to reduce costs.

The problems of mining in the north have already been adequately and admirably described in Dubnie (1959) and by Buck and Henderson (1962). The major problem of Dawson, as discussion of the placer mining has shown, is the cost factor due to remoteness from markets and sources of labour.

CHAPTER XII

OIL AND GAS ACTIVITY

Nothing could contrast more strongly with the early economic activity of the Dawson area than the most recent development there. In the Gold Rush of 1898, thousands of individual men with a variety of skills tried to earn their fortune by hand mining gold, mainly in summer. In the oil and gas developments of recent years many companies have spent huge sums of money and employ highly trained specialists to seek oil and gas; some of their activity is concentrated in the winter. One authority (Campbell, 1963) estimated that a minimum of \$50, 000, 000. will be invested in the Northern Yukon before it is known whether there are oil and gas deposits that can be exploited commercially at present. Another authority (Hunt, 1963) noted that "between 150 and 200 million dollars may have to be spent on exploration alone before enough oil has been found to warrant the building of a pipeline to take it to market". The first authority, in another article states that the cost of bringing in an oil field of "1, 400 wells plus the cost of land acquisition, rental costs, exploratory costs and development costs would be in the realm of \$500, 000, 000. or in other words, finding and evaluating costs of 65¢ a barrel". (Campbell, 1961: 124).

The capital expenditure needed to bring an oil field into production in the Northern Yukon therefore would be on the same scale as that involved in the development of the Iron Ore Company of Canada's Schefferville operation or the International Nickel Company's Thompson mine and smelter. Only very large companies or syndicates can contemplate capital expenditures of this magnitude, and they must make use of every piece of science and technology to keep costs down. They develop a highly skilled, highly trained, and highly paid labour force.

The hydrocarbon potential of the Eagle Plains and the Peel Plateau area north-east of Dawson is considered above average by geologists. Travelling along the Whitehorse-Dawson road sixty miles south-east of Dawson the Ogilvie Mountains rise into view. These mountains stand sentinel on the horizon, and separate the plateau country of the Central Yukon from the series of basins, mountains and valleys of the Northern Yukon. A number of sedimentary basins lie in this area.

In 1952, the federal government, which holds title to the resources of the Yukon Territory, offered two large oil and gas exploration reservations for tender. These reserves straddled the Arctic Circle in the Yukon and Northwest Territories and covered six million acres of land. Other areas were opened up for oil exploration, and a number of companies have worked in the area north of Dawson in the last ten years, mainly in the Peel Plateau

and Eagle Plains area; interest is still principally concentrated in both areas. In the winter of 1963 wells were being drilled in the Blackie area, in the Eagle Plains area and another in the Peel Plateau in the N. W. T.

Campbell's paper (1963) gives an excellent account of the problems and costs of northern oil development. From 1952 to 1959 large sums of money were spent on geological reconnaissance, magnetometer, seismic and gravimeter work in the area north-east of Dawson. The long seismic lines cutting across the tundra can be seen from the air, crisscrossing the area. Two deep wells were drilled by Western Minerals in the Eagle Plains area. One was a dry hole, but the other, Chance No. 1, struck oil and gas in 1959.

In 1963 Socony Mobil began to carry out oil exploration in the Eagle Plains area under an agreement with Western Minerals.

The difference in seasons weighs heavily on oil and gas exploration activities, although as far as the actual drilling is concerned, putting a well down in the Northern Yukon Territory is not very different from drilling an oil well anywhere in the world. Permafrost presents some problems in setting the drill rig, if the rig is not on bedrock.

The greatest difficulties arise in connection with logistics and labour. The type of work that can be done during each season in the Northern Yukon is as follows: -

Geological operations	April to September, when ground is clear or relatively clear of snow.
Gravimeter and Magnetometer Surveys	Any time of year that helicopters are operative.
Seismic work	Year round, with assistance of helicopters in summer seasons.
Freighting	First of January to mid-April, when ground is firmly frozen and can support heavy loads.
Road building	Winter, for special freighting roads.
Drilling	Any time of year.

The geological work may be done one summer, then equipment and supplies freighted in beginning in early January, so that seismic work can begin in the spring. Then, either in the following summer or the fall, drilling can begin. In general the late summer and early fall before freeze-up represents a gap in the working schedule for oil exploration. Several men in Dawson who were not employed in July and August said they expected to work on oil exploration during the fall and winter.

Being able to do certain things at only certain times of the year means that the whole process of exploration, instead of being compressed into one year or less, must frequently be extended over a number of years, thereby increasing costs. Remoteness adds to cost also. Campbell (1963) cites the example of the cost increment on a 100 pound bag of Aquagel or Baroid a substance used in making drilling mud. This substance, which costs \$4. per 100 pound bag f. o. b. Fort St. John, B. C. had to be flown to Dawson, flown from Dawson to the nearest lake, and then transferred by helicopter to the well site, by which time the bag of mud cost \$40. This represents a very extreme example of cost increment in Northern Yukon. The relatively small number of lakes suitable for float plane operations north of Dawson has already been noted as a factor complicating oil and mineral exploration and development in this area.

Arising out of the difficulties of operation and transportation in this area, a whole new concept of road making has developed in the northern Yukon. Traditionally, in the north, tractor trains have been used to take in large quantities of supplies to remote mining areas. But cat trains are slow moving, and therefore costly.

In 1959, Amerada Petroleum Corporation needed 3,000 tons of freight delivered to a well site about 250 miles due north of Dawson, and some 400 miles from the end of the existing transportation system at Elsa. The material had to be delivered by March, 1960. An experienced construction man from Whitehorse who had built and used winter roads into a sawmill on the McQuesten River near Mayo approached the major transportation company in the Yukon and suggested a winter road be built into the well site. Using bulldozers and graders to pile up fill, bridging streams with ice bridges, or making bridges out of trees bulldozed into the streams, leaving windrows standing to prevent snow drifting - in short by using heavy mechanical equipment and local materials to build a temporary winter road, the work was done in ninety days. At the end of that time, trucks could be driven to the well site along what is known as Wind River Trail. When a company went into the Eagle Plains area in 1956-57 they had to purchase a complete tractor train and crawl up the North Klondike River, across the Ogilvie River and into the Eagle Plains basin. Campbell (1963) notes that "freighting still remains one of the major basic costs for any operation undertaken in the Northern Yukon".

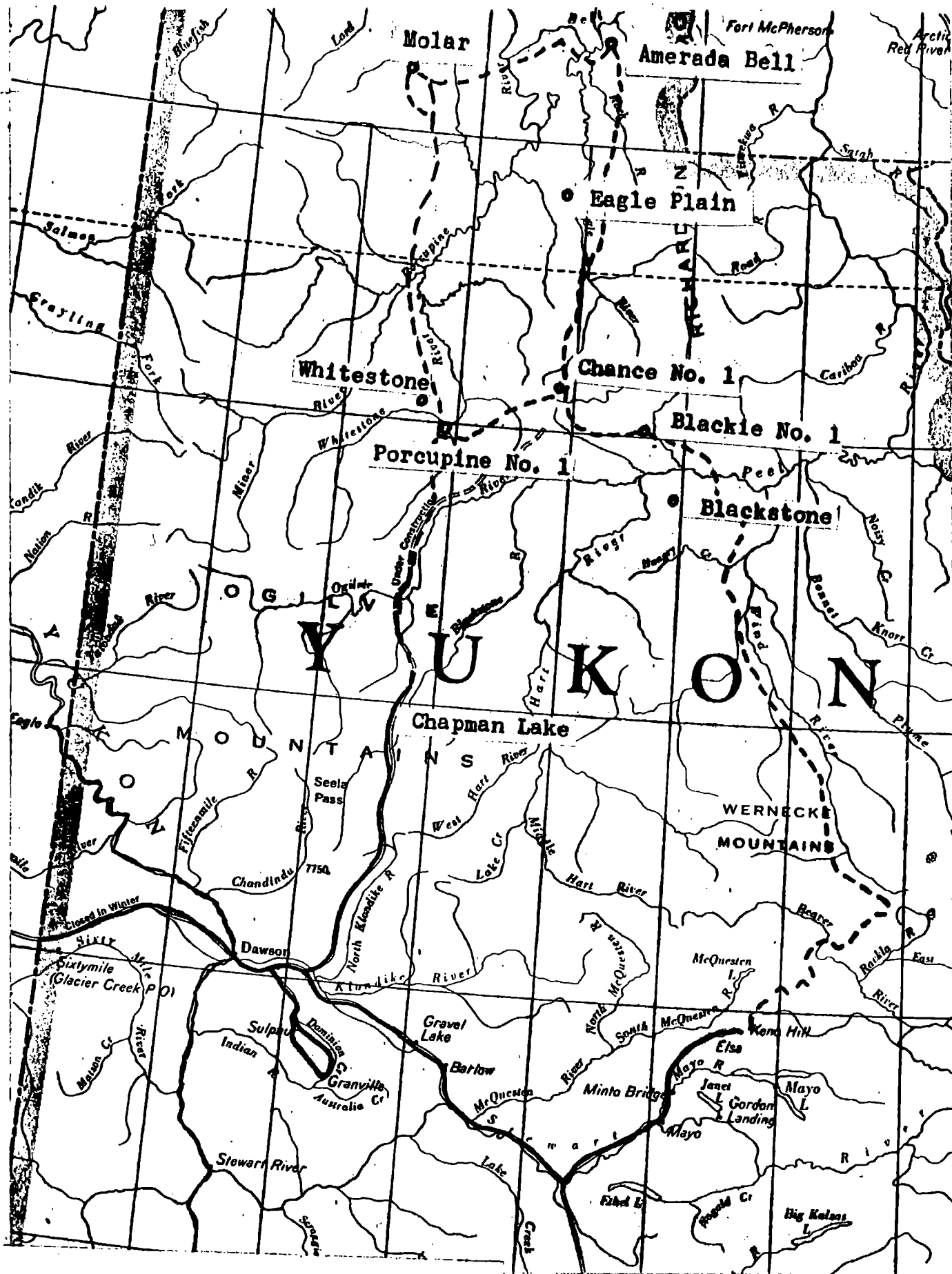
In 1963-64, Socony Mobil contracted for the construction of a winter road to the Eagle Plains. This winter road follows the Dempster Highway to Chapman Lake. The construction and extension of this road has been a considerable boom to the oil exploration crews in the area. Supplies and equipment can be trucked up at any time of the year to the Chapman Lake area and beyond, with the continued improvement of the Dempster Highway. Map 8 shows the network of roads that have developed over the last few years in the area north of Dawson.

As a writer in the Whitehorse Star of February 27th, 1964 noted: "The Socony Trail is a tribute to the ingenuity and skill of master tradesmen who often improvise as they go along. Instead of fighting the country by using methods and materials of southern Canada, they use what is available in the North. And in so doing have pioneered a new era in communications".

In 1963, the estimated expenditures of the oil companies working in the Eagle Plains exceeded 2.5 million dollars. Of this amount, about \$1.7 million was spent on supplies and drilling, and nearly \$200,000. on road construction. This injection of such large sums of money into the economy of the Yukon has aided the Dawson area. But it has not aided everyone in the city, and it has not touched certain segments of the city's population.

The Socony Mobil base camp is in Dawson. Significantly enough the field office and some of the staff are housed in trailers on a rented lot. In all, the total staff and families of Socony Mobil resident in Dawson numbered eighteen people in the summer of 1963. Two married couples without children lived in houses in the city, two single men, and two couples, each with four children, occupied trailers. The men were members of the permanent staff of the oil company, stationed in Dawson for a "tour" of three years; they arrived in February-March 1963. All had special skills - pilot, mechanic, project supervisor, geophysics expediter, ground transport foreman, and clerk, and all were relatively young. All came from in and around Edmonton except the geophysics expediter who hailed from Dawson Creek.

About twenty-five people resided at the Eagle Plains Camp in the summer of 1963. This group comprised a drilling foreman who alternated with another man every six weeks, a geologist who also alternated with another man, a permanent mechanic, a drilling crew of eleven men that alternated every two months with another crew, four cooks and camp attendants, one or two cat operators, a helicopter pilot and mechanic on contract, and a mud engineer on contract who alternated with another man every three months. In addition to these people, a geological crew went in from time to time and a well logging firm sent its specialists in when needed. A plane belonging to a Dawson air transportation company was hired on a stand-by basis.



MAP 8; WINTER ROADS AND WELL SITES IN THE NORTHERN YUKON.
(Source: Map in Whitehorse Staz. Feb. 27th 1964)

SCALE 1:2,000,000
1 inch equals approximately 32 miles

Several features are notable about this operation. Most of the employees are highly specialized and come from outside for shorter or longer periods. Local people are hired only for unskilled or semi-skilled jobs, but no Indian or Metis people were employed during the summer of 1963. Two Old Crow men worked for the oil company during the winter, and an official reported that they were extremely satisfactory and much superior to the Dawson people.

In the winter of 1962-63, a cat train was used to supply one of the rigs. This provided some employment for local people, although an "outside" firm obtained the contract to run the train. The 1963-64 winter road will also have employed local people, since about 30 people were hired in all, but the majority of the grader and bulldozer operators will hail from Whitehorse, where the contractor is based. And employment on road building, even of winter roads, will last only for a year or so until an adequate network is constructed to service the Eagle Plains area; these winter roads need relatively little reconstruction each year.

The dilemma of the Dawson area was highlighted by the report of a senior Department of Northern Affairs official who visited the Yukon in February 1964. He reported a shortage of labour in the Eagle Plains area. It was estimated that about 100 people would be involved in the winter of 1963-64 in road construction, well drilling, and oil exploration development. With few exceptions the people engaged in these occupations would have to be skilled, reliable individuals prepared to work in a remote area in bitter cold, with few entertainments and diversions. Despite the heavy winter unemployment in Dawson, this city did not appear to provide many men of a type suitable to work in even the unskilled aspects of oil exploration and development. This is a basic labour problem that dogs the area and shadows any future development. Dawson does not have the sort of person who can adjust to regular wage employment on remote well drilling sites.

The arrival of the oil company has boosted the city's economy. The wife of a hotel owner stated that the oil company had "saved" Dawson. The hotels, the bars, the restaurants, and movie theatre benefit from the presence of permanent and transient oil workers. The company obtains the bulk of its food from Whitehorse or even from Edmonton, buys its gas from the major supplier in Dawson, and obtains green vegetables, fresh fruit and other food items locally. The company seems to have made a conscious effort to spread its business in the town, and to spend money locally by purchasing from local food stores. It split its freighting business, both from Whitehorse to Dawson and from Dawson to Chapman Lake, between a large transportation company and a small local carrier. The company has to get specialized oil well drilling parts and caterpillar parts from Edmonton by air express so that Canadian Pacific Airways have benefited from their presence. This company also benefits from the increase in passenger traffic brought about by the constant rotation of oil company staff and the employment of

specialized agencies for special tasks - such as well logging.

An oil company official stated that if an oil field was brought in on the Eagle Plains, its operation might be entirely automated.

As of January 1964, the oil acreage under permit in the Northern Yukon totalled 14, 218, 127. There seems to be little doubt that oil can be produced commercially if found in large enough quantities, even though the finding and evaluating costs total 65¢ a barrel compared to 0. 5¢ a barrel in the Middle East (Campbell, 1961).

The oil exploration and development has offset, in part, the decline of the gold mining industry. But oil is an extractive and exploitive industry. It does not lead to the colonization of the north, or to an influx of a large permanent population.

The whole pattern of oil exploration and development in the Dawson area today resembles that of the same activity in the Middle East or any other under-developed part of the world. Most of the resident staff live in a special compound or are rotated frequently. They are highly skilled and highly paid with opportunities and allowances not shared by the local people. The local people are employed in unskilled, semi-skilled or menial tasks, and contact with them is kept to a minimum. The company people at Dawson belong to the wider world outside, not to the "little world of Dawson". Their interests, background and training are very different from that of the permanent Dawson residents, and they are only in the city for a relatively short tour. They put down few roots in Dawson. The permanent Dawson residents and their children at present cannot cross the gap and take employment with the oil company, because they have neither the training nor the skills to take any but the jobs such as catskinners and mess attendants.

The present oil development in and around Dawson benefits the community in many ways, and puts cash into certain places. But it does not directly touch the majority of the residents at all at present. Experience elsewhere in Canada and the world has shown that oil exploration and development can have a profound effect upon the population of small, isolated towns. The activities of oil companies show the opportunities available in the wider world outside. They indicate where well paid, highly skilled, and perhaps above all, interesting jobs can be obtained. They expose the local people and their children to the wider horizons of twentieth century technology. They help to give them mobility, and the urge and the opportunity to move. Such physical mobility is probably the thing most needed and most lacking in Dawson. The oil exploration and development phase may help to inspire some people in Dawson to move elsewhere over the next few years, even though its direct effect seems to be limited at present.

CHAPTER XIII

TOURISM

After gold mining and exploration, tourism probably brings the greatest number of dollars into the Dawson area. The precise amount of expenditure by tourists is difficult to determine since the hotels, restaurants and stores catering to the tourists also serve summer transients, temporary work crews, oil exploration crews and the permanent residents of Dawson.

Exact figures on how many people come to the Yukon as tourists and how long they stay are lacking, and available data are inadequate. But a general picture of tourism in Dawson at present can be given.

Tourism has a long history in Dawson; tourists even came in with the gold-seekers of 1896-1898. Before the Second World War, a number of tourists visited Dawson to see the city and the gold mining operations. They came mainly by boat down the Yukon River; residents of the city remembered seeing tourists debark from the river boats "dripping with jewels and furs". These tourists were usually wealthy people who had both the time and the money to visit remote parts of Canada. Up to 1930 tourists spent money lavishly, then they became 'budget conscious', according to a reliable informant.

Tourists continued to come down the river by boat until the boat service was discontinued. Up to about 1942, two steamboats a week brought over a hundred passengers to Dawson from mid-June to mid-August. Regular air service and the building of the Stewart-Dawson road meant that those who had money and merely wanted to visit Dawson without taking the trip down the river could fly in for a few days or a week, and those with limited means could get to the city in their own cars.

Before about 1956-57 there was not a large tourist trade, but there appears to have been an increase in the tourist traffic through Dawson in recent years. The National Employment Service in Whitehorse reported a significant increase, since 1960, in the number of requests received from Dawson for workers in the tourist industry.

In 1962 a Dawson City Festival was organized by a private foundation with government assistance, to stimulate tourism. The Palace Grand Theatre was rebuilt, and the steamer "Keno" turned into a hotel-cabaret. A musical show was put on in the Palace Grand. A newspaper report (Toronto Globe and Mail, March 6, 1964) stated that the federal government spent \$675,000. on the Festival, and that private investment totalled \$750,000.; additional Federal payments of up to \$212,000. were to be made in 1964 to settle debts (Whitehorse Star, March 9, 1964). The Toronto Globe and Mail also stated that the Festival attracted 18,545 tourists who spent an estimated \$1,948,000.

in the Territory. The Dawson City Festival expenditure indicates how the cost factor operates in a northern area. Tourism plays an important part in the economy of the Territory and of Dawson, but ways by which tourists can be attracted (improved accommodation, improved roads, better catering facilities, special productions) cost so much that, when weighed against the possible return, they cannot but discourage both government and private investment. As the Yukon Tourist Director put it (Yukon Territorial Council, 1963; 72) "he didn't think they would have much success in encouraging anyone to invest in additional hotel accommodation (in the Yukon) until they see the market is here. At the same time they have difficulty producing the market because accommodation is not available".

A survey undertaken by the Yukon Department of Travel and Publicity in July 1962 indicated that 81.1 per cent of a sample of Yukon parties interviewed at the two points along the Alaska Highway came from the United States, and only 18.7 per cent came from other provinces in Canada. (Yukon Department of Travel and Publicity 1962). The survey estimated the total number of tourists visiting the Territory in June, July and August, 1962, as 54,045. Of the travellers from the United States, 590 out of a total of 2,733 in the sample came from California and 587 from Alaska.

In 1961, between 6,000 and 8,000 visitors came to Dawson and in the following year about 18,500 tourists registered as visitors to the city (Innes-Taylor, 1962). In 1963, only an estimated 4,500 tourists came to Dawson (Alan Innes - Taylor, personal communication).

The guest register at the Robert Service Cabin was checked for the period July 5 to August 17th, 1962. During that period 1,215 people or groups signed the book. The place of origin of every fifth person or group in this number was noted and is shown in Table 32.

TABLE 32

PLACE OF ORIGIN OF A SAMPLE OF THOSE
SIGNING REGISTER IN ROBERT SERVICE'S CABIN
DAWSON, JULY 5 - AUG. 17TH, 1962

	<u>No.</u>	<u>Per Cent</u>
Canada	94	38.7
U. S. A.	140	57.6
Other Countries	9	3.7

Although this method of sampling has obvious deficiencies it served to show several things about tourists visiting Dawson. California and Alberta contributed the largest number of names (twenty-seven) and Alaska came second with twenty-six. Ontario and British Columbia contributed twenty and Washington nineteen. The number of Alaska and California license plates noted in Dawson during the summer of 1963 seemed to confirm that the largest number of tourists came from these two states.

Tourism in the Dawson area is closely linked to Alaska. The business people of Dawson consider Alaskans their best customers for the quality goods (blankets, woolen goods, chinaware, jewellery) sold in local gift shops. Alaska Road Commission workers employed on projects over the border descend on the town periodically and buy about \$200. worth of goods at one time. Until about 1956 these workers came over to avail themselves of the facilities of the "houses" in Dawson, but these were closed seven years ago and therefore the interest of these transient workers in Dawson has declined.

Any decline in the economy or population of Alaska may be reflected in the number of Alaskans visiting Dawson. The disastrous Alaskan earthquake of Good Friday, 1964, may decrease the number of Alaskan visitors to the area. Dawson benefits because of its proximity to Alaska, as it is often included in Alaskan tours originating in southern Canada and the United States. With the initiation in 1963 of the new ferry system from Prince Rupert B. C. to Haines and Skagway, Alaska, (Lotz, 1964) an attempt was made by the Yukon Department of Travel and Publicity to persuade tourists travelling north up the Haines Cut-Off to Alaska to return south via the Sixty Mile Road, Dawson and Whitehorse.

There seems to be little doubt that there has been a marked increase in tourism in Northwest North America (Alaska, the Yukon, the Mackenzie District of the Northwest Territories, Northern B. C.) in recent years. Alaska has been the most aggressive in its approach to tourism, and the tourist spending in the state now totals about \$50 million, (Friske, 1963). Alaska has paved highways, superior accommodation and catering facilities, more organized attractions and higher prices. It may be that Dawson's proximity to Alaska may cause its tourist trade to suffer in the future as more and more tourists, especially those driving their own cars, head straight north from Haines into northern Alaska and return the same way. In this way, although they miss Dawson, they also avoid a long drive. From Haines, a paved road runs for 42 miles to the Yukon boundary. Then follows a stretch of approximately 120 miles of unpaved highway linking the boundary with Haines Junction on the Alaska Highway. This highway is unpaved for 186 miles until it crosses into Alaska at Mile 1202. To return via Dawson, a traveller from Fairbanks must drive along part of the Taylor Highway, which leaves the Alaska Highway at Mile 1301. The

"loop" trip through Dawson to Whitehorse covers 497 miles, all on unpaved highway. On the Stewart Crossing - Whitehorse road the presence of heavy ore - trucks can cause car drivers concern; these trucks cannot pull out to pass cars and travellers are advised, when encountering one, to "keep far right, and drive slowly or stop" (Barrow, 1964). From Whitehorse, the traveller must decide whether he will drive the 918 miles to the start of the Alaska Highway at Dawson Creek, B.C., or drive 100 miles west from Whitehorse to Haines Junction and return south via the Haines Cut-Off and the ferry system. How the ferry system and the tourist promotion in Alaska will affect Dawson will be seen over the next few years.

The main tourist attraction of Dawson is the city itself. Even in its present dilapidated state, the city has a certain air about it, an indefinable aura of romance and glamour. A number of tourists, when asked why they came to Dawson, said they just wanted to see the city; some came because parents or grandparents had taken part in the Gold Rush.

Some Dawson residents referred to the tourists as "pilgrims". The tourists can pan for gold, visit the Museum, Robert Service's Cabin, the steamer Keno and the rebuilt Palace Grand Theatre, drive around the old workings, go up the Dome of Moosehide Mountain, and talk to the oldtimers. Although the scenery between Whitehorse and Dawson tends to be somewhat uninteresting, the route over the Sixtymile is spectacularly beautiful. Generally speaking the tourist attractions of Dawson are "passive", rather than "active". No one comes to Dawson for a gay time and the quietness of the town has a great appeal to tourists.

Age, neglect and permafrost are slowly bringing about the disappearance of the old structures. Each year sees more buildings torn down or rendered unsafe, despite the efforts of the local citizens. Each year means that there are fewer attractions for the tourists, so that they will spend less time in the city. Dawson will long be worth a visit by tourists, unless a major fire levels the city. The problem is that tourists may merely pass through the city and not stay.

The tourist business in Dawson does not seem to have any real focus. In Whitehorse more attention is paid to realizing the tourist potential in the Territory. Two organizations in the city cater to tourists - The Klondike Visitors Association, which ran a camp-ground in 1963, has put signs on the old buildings, and runs the Palace Grand shows, and the Dawson City Museum and Historical Society which focuses its attention on building up and running the museum in the old Administration Building. Some individuals in Dawson are members of both organizations and the shortage of able individuals in the town, due to the small population and the summer rush, means that some of the tourist attractions and activities are run on a part-time basis or by old people and teen-agers.

Catering and accommodation facilities are minimal in Dawson. The hotels in Dawson date from the Gold Rush days and the early part of the century. The first motel in town was built in 1952 and two others were built in 1956-57. Another was built in 1962. Additions to the hotels have taken the form of self-contained trailer units. One hotel operator stated that his revenue from his four trailer units exceeded that from the twelve rooms in the hotel - an indication of the potential for revenue from suitable accommodation and the inadequacy of the existing hotel accommodation.

Of the four restaurants, two seemed to cater primarily to tourists.

There is a large Territorial camp ground across the Yukon in West Dawson and one at Rock Creek east of the city; a smaller one run by the local visitors association lies on the banks of the Klondike, just outside the city limits.

There appeared to be three types of tourists in Dawson in the summer of 1963.

- (a) Hunters.
- (b) Individuals or groups travelling on arranged tours.
- (c) Individuals or groups with their own cars, campers and trailers.

(a) Hunters

Whitehorse is the main base of non-resident hunters in the Yukon, and only three outfitters operate in the area near Dawson. Two established camps on the Dempster Highway in 1963; the other operated in the Bonnet Plume area to the east of the city.

This latter outfitter moved to Dawson in the summer of 1963 to live there permanently with his family. The main reason he did so was to get local hay for his horses - a very large item in the cost of maintaining a hunting outfit.

It costs the non-resident hunter about \$75. a day to hunt with an outfitter, and since all this money is paid to Yukon residents who own outfitting businesses, most of this income stays in the Territory. The hunters seek the white sheep and the grizzly bear as trophies. Although a number of individuals, usually wealthy American sportsmen, hunted the areas around Dawson, the general impression gained was that they left very little money in the city. In 1960, for instance, only one of 131 non-resident hunting licenses was actually issued in Dawson. In 1961 the comparative figures were 4 and 209, and in 1962 six licenses were issued in Dawson out of a total of 162 for the Territory. About six people from Dawson were employed with outfitters as guides. One was white,

one Metis and the others Indians.

Although acting as hunting guides seems to be an ideal way for Indian peoples to pursue their old way of life in a modern setting, a number of problems arise. For one thing, the employment is highly seasonal and is usually restricted to the three summer months, although the organization of outfits can employ people for up to six months. The major problem of adaption of native people to employment with hunting parties is what a government official called "the dirt barrier." Getting Indian and Metis guides and hunters to adapt to the standards of cleanliness required by wealthy non-resident hunters has hindered the full development of this activity in the Northern Yukon. The same official stated that a number of complaints had been received by hunters about the quality and the preparation of the food served at the camps.

The opening and extension of the Dempster Highway has had a beneficial and a harmful effect on hunting. The outfitters can now establish their camps more easily by using the road, but ready access into the area has permitted many resident hunters to go after game there. This and the activity on the road has driven away many of the game, and although moose are seen from the Dempster Highway, all the other wildlife seems to have retreated further into the Northern Yukon.

Outfitters are assigned areas by the Territorial government. A resident of Dawson has had an area assigned to him, north of the city, straddling the river. It costs a minimum of about \$6,000. to equip a big game hunting outfit, and this individual does not have this amount of capital.

Hunting, therefore does not appear to affect the city greatly, although the activity represents an extensive use of land in the Northern Yukon that might not otherwise be utilized.

(b) Individuals or Groups Travelling on Arranged Tours

Arranged tours come to Dawson by bus or by plane. Several bus loads of tourists visited the city in the summer of 1963, and eighteen tours through Dawson had been booked for 1964, even before the end of 1963. The buses carry about thirty or forty people, who seemed to be mainly middle-aged or elderly. The tours normally stop for one night and the tourists are usually accommodated in trailers attached to a central hotel. They usually eat in the restaurant of the hotel. Of all the tourists who pass through Dawson this group probably leaves the largest per capita amount of money actually in the city; this probably amounts to \$20. a head. Moreover, such tourists are "captives" - they can only stay in town as long as the tour permits. The money they spend goes entirely to the relatively few people who cater for them, although these tourists

may buy souvenirs, or visit the Palace Grand and other tourist attractions. But they spend too little time in the city to do more than walk around Dawson. And although the number of tours through Dawson appears to be on the increase, the facilities for accommodating and feeding large numbers of this type of tourist are limited. If sixty or eighty tourists - that is about two bus loads - arrived simultaneously in Dawson, the accommodation and catering facilities suitable for such tourists would be strained, since there are only approximately thirty modern, centrally located motel trailer units or rooms in the city.

Again the problem arises of the investment of money in providing high class tourist accommodation in a city whose tourist season is short and where tourists stay only for a short time.

Other tourists come in by air, mainly from Alaska, although a steady trickle come up from Vancouver via Canadian Pacific Airlines. Two airlines operating out of Alaska have paid particular attention to tours. One, Wien Alaska Airlines, schedules three flights a week into Dawson from Fairbanks, depending on whether people have to be picked up. In conjunction with Cordoba Airlines, Wien Alaska participates in the "Inside Alaska" tours. Passengers can arrive from Anchorage via Cordoba Airlines, or by bus, and be picked up by Wien Alaska and flown to Fairbanks. All tour tickets are honoured, even if it involves sending a plane to Dawson to pick up one passenger. The numbers travelling by Wien Alaska varied widely over the past eleven years (Table 33).

TABLE 33

NO. OF PASSENGERS CARRIED INTO DAWSON BY
WIEN ALASKA & CORDOBA AIRLINES 1953-1963.

(Source: Air Transport Board, Ottawa)

<u>Year</u>	<u>Wien Alaska</u>	<u>Cordoba</u>
1953	52	
1954	37	
1955	99	
1956	-	
1957	3	
1958	42	

TABLE 33(Continued)

<u>Year</u>	<u>Wien Alaska</u>	<u>Cordoba</u>
1959	91	
1960	-	
1961	151	349
1962	100	1, 211
1963	63	No flights

Cordoba Airlines operates during the summer months, flying tourists in and out three times a week. They began their service in 1961. The aim of the airline is to stress the idea of "Seeing Alaska First" to the transient population of the state. Dawson, because of its nearness to Alaska and its history, is included in the tours originating from Anchorage and Fairbanks. The agent for Cordoba Airlines stated that the owner of the company estimated that about thirty per cent of the population of greater Anchorage were service people who rotated every three years. This gave a theoretical potential market for tours of Alaska and the Yukon of about 10, 000 passengers each year. Cordoba Airlines carried on a vigorous programme of advertising in Alaska, buying space on Anchorage radio in co-operation with local business man hired as agent. The agent for Wien Alaska Airlines is also the wife of a local business man.

The potential for tour business appears to be great in Dawson since it ensures that tourists reach the city and see the area with a minimum of discomfort. But unless more superior hotel and catering facilities become available, the tours may cease to stop at Dawson.

(c) Individuals or Groups with Their Own Cars, Campers or Trailers

One of the most significant developments in tourism in recent years has been the number of people travelling in a "self-contained" manner. These tourists tow a small truck containing a tent and camping equipment, or bundle this equipment on the roof of the car, or travel with a trailer, or more commonly these days, in a camper. These campers range from an attachment to the roof of a motor vehicle to luxurious bus-like vehicles, completely equipped down to television receivers, in which the tourist literally sits in his own front room and drives around the country.

A Customs officer stationed on the Alaskan Yukon border west of Dawson stated that when he first served there, all the tourists came through in automobiles. Then there was a period when trailers were common. In the last two or three years campers and cabannas have been very common. This officer estimated that about half the tourists passing through Dawson travelled in campers. This officer and his colleague kindly made a check on the number of "self-contained units" passing through Dawson on certain days between July 26th and August 17th, 1963. "Self-contained units" included campers, trailers and cars and station wagons in which camping gear was noted. The day by day breakdown is given in Table 34. The period was not really representative, because Alaskan residents crossed the border on August 16th and 17th for one day or two days to take part in Discovery Day Festivities. The figure of approximately 42 per cent of tourists arriving in Dawson in "self-contained units" is therefore probably a little on the low side; the total vehicle number will also include local people who were not tourists.

TABLE 34

NO. OF "SELF-CONTAINED UNITS" AMONG VEHICLES CROSSING
THE FERRY AT DAWSON ON CERTAIN DAYS BETWEEN
JULY 26 AND AUGUST 17, 1963

		<u>"Self-Contained Units"</u>	<u>Total Vehicles</u>
July	26	8	19
	27	10	17
	28	8	20
	29	14	21
	30	4	15
	31	6	12
August	1	9	25
	2	4	11
	5	5	13
	6	3	8

TABLE 34 (Continued)

		<u>"Self-Contained Units"</u>	<u>Total Vehicles</u>
August	7	9	15
	8	9	19
	9	5	21
	10	3	11
	13	9	21
	14	6	15
	16	9	20
	17	<u>7</u>	<u>24</u>
		128	307
	Per cent	41.7	

The customs officer stated that he believed that the popularity of campers and trailers in recent years was due to the high prices charged for often inadequate accommodation in Alaska; he cited examples of \$16. and \$17. a night being charged for a room in an unserviced shack. There appears to be a geographical reason also why so many people travelling in the Yukon are using campers and trailers. The Dawson "loop" road from Alaska offers few accommodation and other facilities along its 497 mile length. At mile 142 on the road from Whitehorse to Dawson, there is a cafe and cabins. At mile 168 the Pelly River Lodge has a cafe and rooms. There is another lodge at Stewart Crossing at mile 213. Then there is a 114 mile drive to Dawson. Sixty-four miles west of Dawson is a roadhouse over the border in Alaska and thirty-one miles beyond this is a lodge. The next accommodation is at Tetlin Junction, 170 miles from Dawson, where the Taylor Highway links up with the Alaska Highway.

The accommodation along this route varies in comfort, but none of it can be described as luxurious and some of it is primitive. The usual pattern seems to be for tourists to leave Alaska and drive to Dawson in one day, and then to move on to Whitehorse after spending one night in the city.

Since campground accommodation is available along the "loop", some tourists stay in these, and avoid spending time in Dawson. All lodge and hotel operators and the customs officials in Dawson stated that the tourists seldom stayed more than one day. One motel owner stated that he had a party of nine that stayed for two nights, and that this was quite unusual. A customs officer noted a number of people who came into Dawson, toured the city by car, then went down the highway to Whitehorse. One local resident summed up the tourist situation in Dawson and the Yukon in general by saying that more people were travelling every year, but that they were spending less money.

The people who arrive in Dawson in self-contained units have shattered the cherished idea of the tourist as a person with money to spend, who stays for extended periods in one place. Those who arrive in Dawson in self-contained units probably make up about half the tourist numbers. Several reliable informants in Dawson described these, and tourists driving cars, as "budget minded". Some carry their entire food supply from their home town and boast of buying only gas and bread or "oil, gas, butter and bread". The writer noted campers parked in the school grounds, on a vacant lot, and in the street near public conveniences, despite the existence of a free campground in West Dawson and a campground just outside the city which charged one dollar per vehicle per night.

The Klondike Korner of July 25th, 1963 noted indignantly "What is the definition of - FREE PARKING ? ? ? Does it mean that anyone can camp indefinitely, or just park your car or trailer without charge?"

There are FREE AUTO CAMPS near Dawson, and the Klondike Visitors Association have an auto court on the banks of the Klondike River, with washrooms, cook shacks and attendants in charge, for only \$1.00 per vehicle, but - - - some campers prefer to use free parking space by the Community Hall, the school yard or just anywhere on the street. Saw a group eating supper, camped at the front door of a Church, others cooked their breakfast in front of the Welfare Office, but the one to cap them all parked in front of a restaurant at noon, and cooked their own lunch. - - - We want visitors, and try to make them feel welcome, but don't think we should have to tolerate this type."

This quotation reveals a great deal about the tourists passing through Dawson, and also about the attitude of Dawson residents towards tourists. The local people tend to look upon tourists as a blessing and a nuisance. The tourists aid the economy of the declining city, but they also tend to upset the even tenor of life in a small settlement. At least two people in Dawson

have attempted to cater to the new type of budget-conscious tourist. One runs a bakery as a part time endeavour where tourists can stock up on bread and pastries. A carpenter has refitted the interior of an old two storey hotel, divided it into rooms without baths and installed a bathroom on each floor. This hotel, comfortable, reasonably priced and clean will attract the tourist of limited means who wishes to spend a day or two in the city. Some tourists may even forsake the cramped quarters of their trailers and campers to spend a night in such a hotel.

It is not possible to give an accurate estimate of the amount of money spent in Dawson by this group of tourists. Bourne (1963: 107) discussing the tourist industry in Yellowknife states that "the average tourist spent only \$30. during his stay in Yellowknife". Tourism in the Yellowknife area suffers from the same handicaps as tourism in Dawson - long drives to reach the city, minimal accommodation and catering facilities en route, a limited number of sights to see, and seasonality. From observation and conversation it would appear that tourists arriving in Dawson with their own cars do not spend more than \$20. each during their stay. Those travelling in "self-contained units" probably do not spend more than \$5. - \$10. in all and most of this is spent on gas, oil and small amounts of groceries.

THE FUTURE OF TOURISM

Tourism has been widely touted in Alaska as a means of boosting the economy. Friske (1963) speaks about "aggressive marketing" and "fighting against other tourist hungry areas" and the "infinitesimal amount of fifty million dollars of tourist revenue (in Alaska). The assumption seems to be that Alaska and the Yukon can attract the over \$15,000. income group who account for "a huge and steadily increasing percentage of total (tourist) trips". Such people would make up a relatively small percentage of those visiting Dawson. Friske notes the lack of hotel capacity as the biggest problem of the tourist industry in the Yukon and Alaska. Dawson had a total of 172 hotel or motel rooms in operation in 1963, plus three cabins, four rooms in a rooming house and two or three houses for rent. This room capacity appears to be too high for the number of tourists passing through. Moreover, most of the tourists coming in campers and trailers or with tents do not require rooms except under exceptional circumstances, and many of the rooms available are not suitable for occupancy by high income tourist groups, unless they want to "rough it".

Rogers (1962), discussing tourism and recreation in Alaska and the Northwest generally, noted the location of this area in relation to the crowded countries of Japan, southern Canada, the United States and Europe. Looking at the northwest in this perspective, Rogers suggests that if the economy of the area was geared towards recreation (parks, campgrounds, fishing, opportunities to enjoy nature) and a general "passive" approach to visitors, rather than towards tourism (high class, high cost hotels and restaurants, special services and attractions, and a general "active" approach to visitors) that this might result in less expenditure for facilities. While the financial return from people spending time in recreational activities might be less than from those coming as tourists, an approach to the development of the Dawson area as a recreational area might prove more suitable in light of the lack of superior hotel accommodation and catering facilities.

Rogers, in the same paper, also disposes of the idea of gambling as a stimulus to tourism.

"In common with other poorly conceived development proposals, legalized gambling faces the general Alaskan barrier of distance from "markets", and competition from more accessible and lower cost sources of supply in the Caribbean, Nevada and elsewhere. It is referred to here only because it has the merit of going directly to the heart of the popular concept of tourism - that is the "milking" of tourists for their dollars. . . ." (1962: 12).

Rogers sees the twin lures of Alaska as "great quantities of empty space" and "a sense of real personal freedom". The Yukon, and the Dawson area too, have these assets and may be able to build up a less lucrative but larger and more stable recreation industry than they now possess.

CHAPTER XIV
TRANSPORTATION

Dawson, like so many other settlements in the Yukon Territory, owed its establishment to its favourable location on the Territory's main traffic artery - the broad, easily navigable Yukon river. The river flat at the junction of Klondike and Yukon rivers provided an ideal site for a "boom town", even though this site soon proved inadequate for the number of people who crowded into Dawson in 1896-1898. Access to the goldfields was easy through the narrow gap at the mouth of the Klondike. In 1906 a thirty mile railway line was built from Lousetown (Klondike City) to Sulphur Springs. Although small settlements sprang up around the creeks, none ever rivalled Dawson in size, and the city continued to serve as the main transportation centre for the goldfields. The decline of river transportation in recent years has already been discussed.

Dawson still remains an important transportation centre. Although transportation provides only 29 out of a total of 684 jobs in the area, 21 of these are permanent and account for 8 per cent of all permanent jobs in the Dawson area. Transportation also provides about 15 casual, part time jobs associated mainly with loading and unloading trucks.

Dawson has a number of advantages as a transportation centre. It has the furthest north airfield in Canada with road connection to the south, and this has assisted the oil, mining and mineral exploration considerably in the Northern Yukon. The history of transportation in Dawson in recent years has shown how one aspect of the city's economy can develop actively and expand, even while the city is declining in importance.

Transportation can best be discussed under the headings of: -

- (a) Water Transport
- (b) Air Transport
- (c) Road Transport

(a) Water Transport

The last active river freighting company operating out of Dawson is owned and run by two young Englishmen; the same men also own the city's single movie theatre.

The river freighting service runs mainly between Dawson and Old Crow, carrying heavy freight. Some freight is consigned via the major road transportation company (White Pass and Yukon Route) directly from Vancouver to Old Crow. A tug pushes barges down the Yukon and up the Porcupine. The round trip from Dawson to Old Crow takes about sixteen days, and four to five trips are made each season; on each trip, thirty to thirty-five tons of freight are carried. In 1963, the freighting company began operations on May 27th, the earliest they had been able to use the river. The partners usually cease operations about the end of September.

One partner travels with the boat on each trip, accompanied by a cook (a relative of one of the partners in 1963) and two pilots from Old Crow.

In 1963 the company carried some freight to the Clinton Creek operation. Occasionally the two men run special charters for supplying mining properties, etc. The river was used as a highway in March 1964 when a local contractor took material to Clinton Creek by tractor and trailer.

Now that Socony winter road has reached almost to Old Crow it may become possible to truck freight into the settlement and avoid breaking the bulk and moving it upriver over the long and expensive water route.

In 1960 a school was built at Old Crow and in the following year a nursing station was erected. The materials for these buildings were freighted up river from Dawson, and the fuel for the government buildings now goes to the settlement by this route. The completion of the major government structures in Old Crow will no doubt have affected the amount of heavy freight carried by the freighting company, but this may be offset by the rising consumption in Old Crow of imported foods and consumer goods.

The activities of this river freighting company illustrate the delicate balance of certain parts of the economy of the northern Yukon, and indicate how improved road communication may lead to the eventual total abandonment of the Yukon River as a transportation medium.

(b) Air Transport

Because of its importance as the Territory's capital, Dawson was one of the first northern settlements to have an airfield. The Dawson airfield was completed in October 1934 and went into operation immediately (Department of Transport records).

In 1963, two Alaskan Airlines used the airfield in addition to the scheduled carrier between Whitehorse and Dawson (Canadian Pacific Air Lines Ltd.) and a Dawson based charter company. The airfield is also

much used by light planes from Alaska, the Yukon and southern Canada and the United States. Until about 1961, a helicopter firm operated out of Dawson, but it recently moved its base to Whitehorse.

Several factors hamper the development of air transportation in the Northern Yukon. The wide river flowing past the city provides a convenient base for water planes, but the absence of lakes in the area north of the city restricts their use. Between Dawson and Old Crow, for instance, the rivers are relatively narrow and unsuitable for landing and until the Peel River is reached to the northwest there are few suitable or readily accessible landing sites for water planes north-east of the city.

Conditions for wheeled planes are not good either. Between Dawson and Inuvik, for instance, there was only one landing strip in 1963. This was near the Blackstone well and had been put in by an oil company. The effects of latitude and transportation difficulties on the cost of oil and gas exploration has already been noted. In the absence of large lakes and long airstrips, mining and mineral companies working in the northern Yukon have had to rely on light planes and helicopters, sending in the bulk of their requirements in winter by tractor train or winter road. These methods are expensive, but their cost is partly offset by the reach of the road network in this part of northern Canada. The uncompleted Dempster Highway and the Stewart - Dawson - Sixtymile road reach a higher latitude than any other road in Canada. Although the road has led to the decline in the permanent and seasonal population of the Yukon, it has also made possible the relatively easy movement of men and material into the area in search of minerals.

The Dawson airfield lies some ten miles east of the city in the valley of the Klondike. The alignment and width of the valley here is such that only one runway could be laid out. The runway can only be used by planes up to about the size of a DC3, although as large a plane as a DC4 has landed. These must take off down the valley in the direction of Dawson, then bank sharply over the city and the river. The local Chamber of Commerce has endeavoured to get the strip extended and hard topped, and buildings and lights installed. At present the scheduled carrier between Whitehorse and Dawson operates a DC3 service into the city. If the strip were improved they could bring their DC6 in straight from Whitehorse. This would avoid the necessity for disembarking Dawson passengers at Whitehorse and transferring them to the Dawson DC3. Although the DC3 is an excellent aircraft, it is now obsolete and CPA must maintain a special staff of mechanics and a store of parts to keep them in operation. A representative of the local Chamber of Commerce stated that he had been told that it was as expensive for CPA to run a DC3

into Dawson as it would be to use a DC6 on the service. Apparently CPA have landing rights in Alaska and might be able to extend their run into that state. At present, anyone wishing to travel from Dawson to Alaska by scheduled airline can only do so during the summer. One of the Alaskan airlines also wanted the Dawson strip improved so that it could bring in a 54 passenger plane.

Oil exploration has been aided by the existence of the airfield at Dawson, and air passenger and cargo traffic have increased considerably in the past three years. The oil company, in 1963, used a Whitehorse based helicopter company and hired the DC3 of the Dawson based charter company on a stand-by basis. In the spring of 1964, the Hudson's Bay Company supplied its Western Arctic posts with a DC working out of Dawson.

At one time, before the road reached the city, CPA had a monopoly of the transportation services into Dawson. They began scheduled flights into Dawson in May, 1942. The constantly changing personnel and the special requirements for equipment for the oil drilling and placer gold mining ensure that both the passenger and freight traffic services are used at all times of the year. The company's winter schedule runs from October 27th to the end of April. A plane arrives twice a week and departs on the same day. In the period between May 1st and October 26th, planes arrive three times weekly, leaving one day after arrival. Tables 35 and 36 show the 1955-63 passenger and freight traffic into Dawson, and the monthly passenger and freight traffic for 1963. Although passenger traffic has increased since 1956, there has been a gradual decline in freight since 1957.

TABLE 35

PASSENGER AND FREIGHT CARGO FLOWN
INTO DAWSON, 1955-1963 BY C. P. A.

(Source: Mr. H. E. Shenton, Manager, Market
Research and Forecasting, Canadian
Pacific Airlines Ltd., Vancouver)

	<u>Passengers</u>	<u>Cargo</u> (lbs.)
1955	489	91, 760
1956	444	60, 352
1957	792	127, 004
1958	808	87, 648
1959	747	84, 338
1960	831	73, 605
1961	657	28, 155
1962	900	32, 504
1963	821	32, 506

TABLE 36

PASSENGER AND FREIGHT CARGO FLOWN INTO
AND OUT OF DAWSON, BY CANADIAN PACIFIC AIRLINES 1963

(Source: Mr. H. E. Shenton, Manager, Market
Research and Forecasting, Canadian
Pacific Airlines Ltd., Vancouver)

	<u>Passengers</u>			<u>Cargo (lbs.)</u>		
	<u>In</u>	<u>Out</u>	<u>Both Ways</u>	<u>In</u>	<u>Out</u>	<u>Both Ways</u>
January	30	12	42	1, 242	84	1, 326
February	14	12	26	1, 608	120	1, 728
March	73	32	105	3, 357	243	3, 600
April	109	56	165	2, 509	260	2, 769
May	124	58	182	4, 620	1, 232	5, 852
June	89	63	152	7, 634	494	8, 128
July	90	100	190	3, 068	481	3, 549
August	86	112	198	3, 450	1, 610	5, 060

TABLE 36 (Continued)

	<u>Passengers</u>			<u>Cargo (lbs.)</u>		
	<u>In</u>	<u>Out</u>	<u>Both Ways</u>	<u>In</u>	<u>Out</u>	<u>Both Ways</u>
September	67	77	144	1, 464	408	1, 872
October	37	82	119	1, 188	572	1, 760
November	46	86	132	1, 190	297	1, 487
December	<u>56</u>	<u>74</u>	<u>130</u>	<u>1, 176</u>	<u>1, 050</u>	<u>2, 226</u>
Total	821	764	1, 585	32, 506	6, 851	39, 357

A local man, who also runs taxis and is the local mortician serves as agent for CPA. Another local man drives the airport bus. In summer the plane's pilot and crew spend three nights a week in the city. Thus, although there has been an increase in the use of the service, this increase has probably not had a marked effect on the economy of the city.

The establishment of a local charter company in 1958, however, has considerably influenced the city. This company, operating general charters out of Dawson, Inuvik and Mayo, is owned and managed by a young man who moved to Dawson in 1958. It operates seven aircraft - a DC3, one Beechcraft 18, two Beavers and three Cessnas. The DC3, the Beechcraft and one of the Beavers are based permanently at Dawson. The company employs twelve people, mainly pilots and mechanics; of these ten were married in 1963 and two were single.

This company flies to Eagle, Fort Yukon and Fairbanks in Alaska, to Old Crow in the Yukon, and to Inuvik, Tuktoyaktuk, Sachs Harbour, Fort Good Hope, Fort McPherson and Fort Norman on charter. The planes also freight supplies for oil and mining companies into the area north of Dawson. Government work, trapping grounds out of Aklavik, but not from Dawson. In the spring of 1964, this company supplied the Continental Polar Shelf Project working out of Mould Bay.

The Company has expanded in recent years. In the summer of 1962, the owner bought out a small charter service based in Inuvik. In the summer of 1963, the Air Transport Board granted the company a Class 3 license to fly to Inuvik, although the planes must stop en route. Regular flights are made to Old Crow and run from Dawson via Old Crow and Inuvik to Sachs Harbour on Banks Island is scheduled once a month, if freight or passengers require it. The aeroplane has become a very important feature in the life of the people of Old Crow, to which it delivers mail. In the Whitehorse Star a column entitled "Old Crow News", written by an Indian woman, constantly refers to the arrival of the aeroplane, and who or what came on it. The aeroplane forms a constant link with the outside, a link that is severed only by break-up and freeze-up. Although the reliance on the aeroplanes has been and still is characteristic of the Canadian North, the extension of the road network in the Yukon has decreased its importance over the last ten years. Old Crow is the only major settlement in the Yukon without year round road connection with southern Canada. Now that the Socony winter road has reached within 25 miles of the settlement, the isolation of Old Crow may be broken down. Isolation in Old Crow is a function of cost as well as of inaccessibility and remoteness. Dawson was isolated until the road reached it, but it was always possible to get out of the city by air at any time of the year after 1934, if an individual had the fare. Before 1934, anyone wishing to leave Dawson in winter had to

travel over the stage route (MacBride, 1953), but this too was expensive. The summer boat service offered the cheapest way out, but even it took the traveller only to Whitehorse, some nine hundred miles north of the focus of "outside" - Vancouver.

The charter air company tried an experiment in freighting fresh food into Inuvik in the winter of 1960-61. The writer visited Inuvik in the fall of 1961. At that time the town's hotel and the Royal Canadian Navy were flying in fresh fruit and vegetables from Fairbanks, Alaska. The vegetables and fruit on sale in Inuvik stores were expensive and unattractive. The Dawson company ran a few food flights into Inuvik in the winter of 1961-62, but none in 1962-63. The owner estimated that with a C46, with a capacity of 7 tons, fresh food could be delivered in Inuvik at a rate of 15¢ a pound from Vancouver or Edmonton; the present rate to Inuvik via Dawson is 19¢ a pound. This compares with a rate of 25¢ a pound from Edmonton to Inuvik by direct scheduled air carrier. The competition of this carrier appears to have forced the Dawson charter company temporarily out of the food freighting business. On some of the early food flights there was some spoilage due to the lack of adequately insulated trucks at Inuvik.

Of the charter company's personnel, seven are stationed in Dawson, four in Inuvik all year round and one in Mayo during the summer. The pilots and mechanics of this company represent a new type of "frontiersman". They are highly trained and specialized and extremely mobile. They could choose to work anywhere in the world and yet they have settled in Dawson. One family had lived in Halifax, Vancouver, Port Alberni, Edmonton, Atlin, Carcross and Whitehorse before moving to Dawson. The men seemed to be fully occupied with their flying duties or maintenance, very often working long and irregular hours. Their wives mixed freely in the social life of the settlement. One was deeply interested in the Museum and wrote a column on Dawson for newspapers in Whitehorse and Fort St. John. Another worked in a gift store during the summer and did some relief teaching. Another taught full time. Although these women took part in amateur theatricals, the Palace Grand shows, and other social activities, they did not appear to be entirely accepted by the older residents of Dawson. The woman who wrote the newspaper column spoke to a visiting journalist, deploring the decay of Dawson. In conversation, several of the older established residents of Dawson complained that she was a newcomer to the city; she had arrived in Dawson in 1960. As will be discussed later, there is a strong sense of identification with the city by the older residents that causes some of them to resent "newcomers" and their activities.

As with the oil company, the skills required for personnel of the air charter company are so specialized that no local people are employed and all pilots and mechanics are hired outside. Some of the company employees complained of inadequate housing and poor educational services in Dawson.

(c) Road Transport

Canadian Coachways runs a scheduled service three times a week to Dawson and employs a local woman as agent. It offers the cheapest method of travel into and out of the city.

Two road freighting companies run scheduled services between Whitehorse and Dawson.

The largest transportation company in the Territory, the White Pass and Yukon route, makes two trips a week, bringing in dry freight, bulk fuel, and mail; they supplement this service as required. An agent and one other employee lived in the city in 1963; one other employee, who drove the company trucks, also had his home in the city.

The system of "containerization" whereby goods are loaded into containers at the shipping point has speeded up service and cut down costs considerably. Cutting handling costs is important, since break of bulk would otherwise occur at Skagway and Whitehorse if goods were not shipped from Vancouver in containers.

The company hires from twelve to fourteen local people, usually Indians or youths, to unload the trucks, and this probably accounts for most of the casual work available in Dawson.

Another small trucking company owned by two partners operates out of Dawson. They have a scheduled run from Whitehorse once a month, bringing in fuel and dry freight. They supply fuel to the placer operations and city residents. One of the partners and one employee drives the trucks; the other, an old established Dawson resident, works as office manager. He also is the partner in a placer operation.

One of the owners stated that the oil exploration had benefited the company considerably. Before this began, business was good during only five or six months of the year; from January to April, and October and November were slack months. In the 1962-63 winter, because of the oil exploration and the freighting of material to Chapman Lake, this company was kept very busy.

In general, the transportation section of Dawson's economy, like the oil exploration on which it partly relies, shows a great deal of vigour and

activity. But it employs relatively few people and some of these are either highly skilled specialists (pilots, mechanics) or owner/operators (river freighting, one of the trucking companies). Among these employees are numbered most of the young and vigorous non-government members of Dawson's population.

CHAPTER XV

RENEWABLE RESOURCES

The decline in the use of the renewable resources of the Dawson area illustrates the way in which modern northern development differs from the traditional frontier process. When thousands crowded into Dawson at the end of the last century, the population was large enough to sustain a number of farms and timber operations. Hunters roamed the area around Dawson (Cartmel, 1950) and the rivers were fished for salmon. The caribou and moose, upon which the Indians had traditionally depended for food, were over-exploited, and the rivers fished out, or muddied by placer mining operations. New ways of obtaining food by farming were introduced, but the Indian peoples could not or would not adapt them. While the population warranted it, farming, hunting, fishing and lumbering proceeded apace, but when the population declined, so did these ancillary activities. The traditional way of life was shattered and replaced by other activities. Now these are in decline. The renewable resources can best be described under the following headings: -

- (a) Trapping
 - (b) Hunting
 - (c) Fishing
 - (d) Lumbering
 - (e) Agriculture
 - (f) Food gathering
- (a) Trapping

It proved to be extremely difficult to get any detailed information of the part played by trapping in the economy of the Dawson area. As noted in the section on gold mining, trapping, prospecting and gold mining at one time formed a joint activity for individuals and partnerships. Only one family, living on Henderson Creek, some fifty miles south of Dawson, were reported to be still trapping and mining in the Dawson area. There may have been others, but in general this way of life has practically disappeared from this area.

In the course of interviews, some people of Indian ancestry were asked if they trapped. Although a number did trap, not one identified himself as a trapper. Beaver is the main fur sought. The beaver season, from March 15th

to the end of May, sends from six to twelve trappers into the bush. The Dawson welfare officer stated that beaver trapping was "like a disease". Two whites who had been relocated to Keno came back in 1963 to trap. Two other whites who were interviewed said that they liked the trapping life, and would return to it. One, employed by YCGC, had trapped before going to work for the company, and said that he could not afford to buy the necessary outfits to begin trapping again. Another, who fished, cut wood and did casual work, said the price of fur was too low. The Welfare Officer estimated that the minimum price for beaver had to be \$15. before anyone would go after it. Marten, mink and muskrat were also trapped.

A map of traplines in the Dawson area in the Yukon Superintendent of Game's office showed about 75 traplines radiating out from the city. Some are held by oldtimers who do not use them, but the majority are held by whites and people of Indian ancestry who do not want to leave the settlement. The Superintendent of Game noted that the price of fur was "good" in 1962-63. but that few people went out trapping. It would appear that between choosing to exploit an economic resource and living in the security of the settlement, most of the peoples of Indian ancestry in Dawson prefer the latter. Some told the Welfare Officer that they had forgotten how to trap. The most active trapper in Dawson was a ninety-year old man of Montenegrin ancestry who had entered the Territory before the Gold Rush.

Trapping supplements the income of a number of people in Dawson, but it does not form the main activity of any of them. Indications were that no more than twelve families received any income from trapping.

(b) Hunting

Before the arrival of the goldseekers, herds of caribou roamed "in incredible numbers" (Cartmel, 1950) within fifty miles of Dawson. Unrestricted shooting was permitted by the authorities from 1896 onwards. After the Gold Rush, the herds presumably built up again, although they probably never regained their former size.

The best caribou country lies north-east of Dawson. Here a member of the R. C. M. P. noted a herd of 500 animals in 1963. Flying over this region in the summer of 1963 a small herd of caribou was seen near the North Klondike Pass. Apparently the Indians living in Dawson, who can shoot as many caribou as they wish, make very little effort to do so. The building of the Dempster Highway may, in time, lead to the disappearance of caribou from this area.

Both whites and Indians hunt moose. Many of the whites in Dawson own freezers, and can put away a whole moose; a moose can be worth up to \$500.

Meat from the occasional caribou and moose supplements the diet of some of the people of Indian ancestry in Dawson and cuts down their reliance on welfare payments. But hunting, as a way of life, has disappeared from the Dawson area.

(c) Fishing

If trapping and hunting play relatively little part in providing food and cash for the residents of Dawson, fishing is important to a number of families.

Dawson is the last location upstream at which salmon are fished commercially on the Yukon River. By the time they pass the city, the salmon have travelled up river some 1500 miles and have been fished at the mouth and along the coast before that. The salmon have not eaten since they left the sea, and have used up their body oils and fats on the fight upstream. So far as local residents and the Department of Fisheries officials can tell, the salmon run has remained steady over the last few years.

It is impossible to determine with any accuracy the salmon take at Dawson over the years because of the absence of reliable statistical data. A U.S. report (U.S. Department of the Interior, 1964: 23) contains a table that for 18 of the years between 1920 and 1962, 14.4% of all king salmon reported caught in the Yukon were taken at Dawson, the average annual take was 2,367 fish. Of chum salmon, only 0.06% of the total catch was taken in Canada; the average annual take between 1918 and 1962 was 3,335 fish. The same report (1964: 2) states that, based on two years of study, the annual number of chinook salmon passing the (Rampart) dam site is estimated to be 20,000 and that of chum salmon 200,000. Fish are taken at Dawson by fishwheel and gillnets. Practically all the king salmon taken at Dawson are caught by whites still following a semi-traditional way of life (hunting, trapping, fishing, casual wage employment, who use fish wheels. The Indians catch salmon for human food and for their dogs.

The fish run at Dawson occurs in early July for three weeks (for king salmon) and then the chum or dog salmon run commences and lasts until near freeze-up. Kings weigh up to about 15 pounds, chums to 6 pounds.

In the last three years from about a quarter to a third of the king salmon passing Dawson have been taken for commercial purposes. (Table 37) About half the chum salmon caught in the Territory are taken at Dawson. The catches of both king and chum salmon show considerable variations over the three years between 1960 and 1962. Indians do not require a license for a

fish wheel taking salmon for their own use, but others had to pay a license fee of \$30. up to December 1960. At that time the fee was dropped to \$10. This seems to have led to an increase in the take of fish, although other factors may be involved. In 1954 five commercial fish wheels operated near Dawson. In 1959 only two were running, although the take totalled 44,643 pounds of salmon. In 1960, six fish wheels were in operation, and in the following two summers, seven were used. In 1960 a total of 94,770 pounds of fish were taken - one of the highest catches on record.

TABLE 37

SALMON TAKE AT DAWSON, 1960-62 (BY PIECES)

(Source: Department of Fisheries' records, Whitehorse).

	<u>Total for Territory</u>	<u>Total for Dawson</u>	<u>Take at Dawson</u>		
			<u>Fish Wheel</u>	<u>Gill Net</u>	<u>Indian Food Supply</u>
<u>1960</u>					
Salmon King	11,450	6,485	4,085	400	2,000
Chum	15,608	6,618	5,493	400	1,125
<u>1961</u>					
King	13,857	4,471	3,446	35	1,000
Chum	9,646	4,278	3,278	400	600
<u>1962</u>					
King	14,618	6,118	4,037	81	2,000
Chum	9,868	4,368	936	432	3,000
<u>1963</u>					
King	10,401	2,793	2,283	10	1,500
Chum	30,284*	3,884	2,192	192	1,500

* Includes
21,400 from Old Crow

In 1961 six men ran commercial fish wheels; in 1962 four men operated them. In both years one man operated two wheels. Most of the fish wheels are located near Dawson, but one man sets his twenty miles downstream from the city, where the river narrows. In 1961 the single highest king salmon take was 957 pieces, and the lowest 348. In 1962 the comparative figures were 1547 and 499 pieces. One man, a seasonal Territorial employee, sets gill nets near town.

The fish are sold locally to local residents, restaurants, and the hospital; it usually brings about 35¢ a pound. The market varies considerably. In 1962 the Festival visitors provided an excellent market. The man who set his fish wheel down river dried fish for the use of his own family, and also supplied the R. C. M. P. detachment at Old Crow with two to three tons of dried salmon for their dogs. In 1963, because of an overstock, the R. C. M. P. did not buy any dried salmon from this man. He was able to sell his surplus in town, but this saturated the market there.

Whitehorse is the best market outside Dawson for salmon. In the past, up to a thousand pounds of salmon have been shipped to Whitehorse and sold without difficulty. Several retail outlets in Whitehorse sell salmon from Dawson at 65¢ a pound. In August 1963 a wholesaler had one thousand pounds of frozen Dawson salmon on hand, but stated that retailers were unwilling to handle it because it became mushy when unthawed.

Some interest was shown by an Edmonton organization in 1962 in buying Dawson salmon in commercial quantities. This would have required flash freezing the fish.

The salmon fishing in Dawson illustrates the problems of economic development in a marginal area. In discussions with the writer, a number of the fishermen pointed out the need for a flash freezer to aid commercial fishing at Dawson. One fisherman estimated that about fifty to sixty tons of salmon could be caught, flash frozen and sent to Edmonton. At a selling price of approximately 35¢ a pound, and estimating that the average yield of marketable meat from a King salmon would be about ten pounds, fishing on this scale could yield a cash income of between \$20,000. and \$30,000. a season. The Welfare Officer estimated that fifteen people could be employed for two months of the year. The suggestions for improving the commercial fishing were the only concrete ones for developing the local resources that the writer heard during his stay in Dawson, and they were put forward by the individuals actually involved in fishing, and to whose annual income the returns from fishing made the greatest contribution.

The Industrial Division of the Northern Administration Branch of the Department of Northern Affairs has established commercial fisheries at remote places in the Canadian Arctic, and these fisheries contribute a considerable amount of cash to the Eskimo economy. In most cases char are caught, and flown south for sale in gourmet markets. The fisheries projects have been supervised by competent specialists after the potential of lakes and river systems have been determined. These lakes and rivers have been little exploited in the past. A national marketing programme for the char was undertaken by the Department, and freezers, nets and boats supplied.

In Dawson the fishermen work individually, and there is no tradition of co-operation for resource harvesting (as existed among the Eskimos). The potential take from the Yukon River has never been scientifically assessed. International co-operation would be required for any fisheries development, and the effect of increasing the salmon take at Dawson on the subsistence fishing of Indians upstream from the city would have to be assessed. As already noted, the salmon are exhausted by the time they reach Dawson, and not in their prime. A king salmon take of fifty to sixty tons of marketable fish at Dawson, over a period of years, might exhaust the entire salmon run and seriously damage the salmon fishery of the Yukon River and the seas around Alaska. No capital is available for the purchase of a freezer (a 20,000 pound capacity freezer costs \$25,000. f.o.b. Edmonton) and although the salmon has and presumably could enter commercial markets, it would be competing with British Columbia salmon on the Edmonton markets. A full time supervisor would have to be assigned to the project, at least in its initial stages.

Fishing contributes cash to some of the population of the city, and food to the Indians. For the four or five men engaged seasonally in fishing the money received from the sale of salmon probably contributes most of their cash income, being supplemented by trapping and casual wage employment as well as by hunting for food. The maximum one individual could have obtained by selling all his fish in 1962 was about \$5,400. (1547 pieces each yielding ten pounds of marketable fish selling at 35¢ a pound), the minimum about \$1,750. All salmon would not yield ten pounds of marketable meat, and no doubt many of the fish caught are put up for use by the fishermen and their families. Also the local market appears to be easily saturated. Any expansion of the commercial fishery beyond its present take of between 30 and 50 tons of whole fish seems very unlikely, and also very undesirable.

(d) Lumbering

During and after the Gold Rush, the forested areas around Dawson were stripped to supply timber and fuel. Innis (1936:26) notes that in 1899 and

1900, 9, 000, 000 feet of lumber were cut in the Klondike. In 1901, the same author states wood valued at \$3, 000, 000. was consumed in the Klondike district. With the cessation of steamer service and the replacement of wood stoves by oil burners for heating and cooking, which began to occur about 1950, the amount of cord wood cut has declined drastically. In 1951-52, 12, 629 cords of fuel wood were cut in the Yukon; in 1962-63 only 6, 892. In the Dawson area in 1951, 3, 265 cords of wood were cut on 30 permits, in 1962, 1, 629 cords were cut on 42 permits. In 1963, however, only 420 cords of wood were cut on seventeen permits. The year 1962 was a peak year during which more cord wood was cut than in any year since 1955. The market for lumber has also considerably decreased. The road connection with Whitehorse permits the import of timber from Northern British Columbia, and tankers can bring in bulk fuel from the south. As has been noted, the use of fuel oil heating and cooking represents a means of assessing a family's financial position.

The Yukon Superintendent of Forestry (personal communications 22. 5. 64) noted that timber "production in the Dawson area has been relatively light and accessible timber is becoming quite scarce. Dry cord wood is now being hauled as much as 100 miles and within a few years, green timber will have to be cut for fuel". Two residents of Dawson own saw mills. One, who recently moved with his family into the city, operates a mill about thirty miles east of Dawson, at Flat Creek on the Stewart Road. He cuts about 100, 000 board feet and usually operates six months each year, winter and summer. The owner operates the saw mill himself, hiring one or two men when needed. He supplies spruce lumber and piles for YCGC and Dawson. The other man runs a saw mill about 18 miles up the Dempster Highway, cutting lumber for local consumption. He also cuts about 100, 000 board feet a year, and hires two men to help him. These two saw mills produce strictly for the local market, and any decline in this market will affect them markedly.

A number of men, mostly unemployed whites, cut cord wood during the winter of 1962-63. In the past, sending out fit and able welfare recipients into the bush to cut cord wood was considered a way of dealing with twin problems - keeping idle hands busy and developing a resource that had a cash value. In 1962-63, three men cut 50 cords of wood in an area off the Dempster Highway. The total cost of obtaining this wood was \$656.03 or \$13.12 a cord. The wood was used by the men who cut it, and put into emergency stocks for welfare recipients. A local man who owned a truck also cut wood for sale, and some other individuals cut wood during the winter for their own use. In 1962, under the Tote Trail Assistance Programme, a wood cutter in the Dawson area was assisted with putting in a road off the Dempster Highway, leading from mile 7.5 and extending three miles to the east. This man cut 250 cords of wood in 1962. Most of the others cutting wood for fuel around Dawson also sought trees in the areas east and west of the Dempster Highway.

The dilemma of the area with regard to renewable resources was emphasized by the statements of the Superintendent of Forestry (personal communication 22. 5. 64). While there is a limited supply of saw timber along the North Klondike River and a large supply west of the Yukon River along the Sixtymile Road, there are no local markets for this timber at the moment, and no one in the Territory who could handle the operation. The stands on the Sixtymile lie in rough terrain. The nearest market for timber lies in Whitehorse, and other areas have readier access to this market and a better grade of timber. Most of the timer produced in the Territory has been cut in the Mayo area and used by United Keno Hill Mines, and any future production in the Dawson area, will rely on the opening of a mine there.

Timber cutting in the Dawson area cannot be classed as an economic activity, except for the two small mills. The dilemma of the area with regard to renewable resources was emphasized by the statements of the Superintendent of Forestry (personal communication 22. 5. 64). While there is a limited supply of saw timber along the North Klondike River and a large supply west of the Yukon River along the Sixtymile Road, there are no local markets for this timber at the moment, and no one in the Territory who could handle the operation. The stands on the Sixtymile lie in rough terrain. The nearest market for timber lies in Whitehorse, and other areas have readier access to this market and a better grade of timber. Most of the timber produced in the Territory has been cut in the Mayo area and used by United Keno Hill Mines, and any future production in the Dawson area will rely on the opening of a mine there. There are no saw mills in the city itself, as there were in the Gold Rush Days. One old established resident operated a mill until 1963, in Dawson, cutting a million board feet of lumber each year. Wood is cut by some individuals for themselves or for sale; one man, who died during the summer of 1963, had stockpiled cord wood near his house for resale. Most of the cord wood cut forms a contribution of the peculiar White-Indian way of life in Dawson that combines receiving money from the sale of fish and furs, obtaining welfare payments, taking casual wage employment, and supplementing these sources of income with fish and land animals taken for food and wood cut for fuel.

(e) Agriculture

Agriculture also flourished in the early days in and around Dawson despite the severe climate and generally poor soil. A federal experimental farm was established at Swede Creek, a few miles upstream from Dawson, and operated between 1917 and 1925. West Dawson and Sunnydale, across the river from Dawson, were favourable localities. With the decline in gold mining and the improvement of the road network, agriculture began to disappear and now has practically vanished from the area. Nowosad (1960) summarizes the problems facing agriculture in the Yukon - lack of suitable land, absence of large tracts of good soil, harsh climate, high cost of importing fertilizer and other farm needs, high cost of living, poor or remote markets, difficulty in obtaining farm labour. He estimates that there are approximately 6, 000 acres of arable land in the Dawson area, out of a total for the Territory of 254, 000 acres.

At the Discovery Day horticultural show, a produce stall displayed cauliflowers, cabbage, lettuce, onions, tomatoes, carrots, turnips, potatoes, parsley, beets, peas, radishes, oats, strawberries and raspberries - all locally grown. The potential for vegetable, fruit and flower production in and around Dawson is very great, but actual production is limited to what people grow in their own gardens for their own use.

A commercial gardener operates about an acre of greenhouses in the city itself. He sells vegetables to the stores and retails them, but complained of competition from imported vegetables, trucked up the road from Whitehorse. These vegetables came up standardized and packaged in the way in which housewives are accustomed to seeing produce on sale in the stores. The commercial gardener informed the writer that he would be quitting in two or three years time. An old man grew vegetables for sale in the Klondike valley, about fifteen miles east of Dawson; he left the area in 1963. A man from Whitehorse was endeavouring to establish a dairy farm about fifteen miles outside the city. He worked for YCGC during the summer. He had eight cows and retailed milk in town at 50¢ a quart; his wife assisted him in working the farm. On the Hay Ranch in the same general area, an old established farm is now devoted to growing hay. A farmer who runs cattle at Annie Lake near Whitehorse comes up to cut the hay in August. Hay is also cut in old meadows, on the creeks, at Lousetown, Sunnydale, and on the site of an old fox farm in West Dawson; this hay is used mainly to feed the horses of outfitters.

There seems to be little possibility of reviving agriculture in the Dawson area, but produce from gardens, greenhouses and cold frames will continue to supplement the diet of the local residents.

(f) Food Gathering

Strawberries that have gone wild can be picked in West Dawson, and blueberries abound on the hillsides in the Dawson area. But these berries are not picked for commercial sale. On the flight from Dawson to Whitehorse in August 1963, the writer was served blueberries as dessert with a meal. A stewardess stated that they came from Vancouver.

On August the 17th and 18th an appeal came from the Edmonton Chamber of Commerce for cranberries and blueberries for "Klondike Night". The manager of a local store organized the reception of the berries, although no one knew the price to be paid. The berries would have to be picked before the end of August, otherwise falling leaves would hide them and make them difficult to find. Good blueberries could be found above treeline on the Sixtymile Road. A bus was needed to take pickers out, but one could not be hired because no one knew how much money the berries would bring.

This incident serves to show how, when opportunities for cash income by harvesting renewable resources present themselves, it is sometimes almost impossible to take advantage of them.

CHAPTER XVI

SERVICE INDUSTRIES AND STORES

In 1952 there were 37 commercial operations in Dawson; in 1963 there were 46 (Table 7). Operations connected with the tourist industry (hotels, souvenir shops, restaurants) and transportation numbered 15 in 1952, and 30 in 1963. But the service and other activities of Dawson have declined with the decline of the general economy of the area. The two blacksmith's shops and the bicycle shop have closed, and the last newspaper ceased publication in 1954.

In stores, garages and other service operations only nineteen people were employed in the summer of 1963; another sixteen worked seasonally or part time. All these small businesses, with the exception of one general store which was part of an American owned chain with branches in Alaska and the Yukon, were owner-operated. As with most small businesses, the owners were reluctant to hire extra help except during the tourist season. The large store employed four permanent people, including the manager, and a seasonal employee to run a "trading post" annex. The manager of the store stated that he had to "make it" in June, July and August; the store did much of its business supplying government departments and field parties with supplies and groceries. Tourists were frequently noted in this store. Another store, owned and operated by a man with one assistant, catered mainly to local residents, the placer mining individuals and group, and some tourists. One of the garages reported that they did some work for tourists in summer. The owner of the other stated that about fifty per cent of his summer business came from tourists.

Welfare payments or vouchers for food or goods are spent in the city. When the writer visited Dawson in 1961, large signs saying "NO CREDIT" were prominently displayed in all stores. Local buying by the oil companies and increased tourist trade have aided the service industries and stores of Dawson, but they still provide relatively few employment opportunities. The owner operators of small tourist and service industries can diversify, so that they do not rely entirely on the income from the store.

One man who owned a grocery store mined during the summer of 1963 with his son. Another hired labour for a mining company, and staked prospectors. A souvenir shop was owned by a man who mended watches and had an interest in a placer operation. Another souvenir shop was run by a woman whose husband was a skilled carpenter. Most of the operators of service industries and especially of stores were above middle age, and it is difficult to see how they can be replaced if they leave the community. These people own their stores and houses and have capital tied up in them. The return on the capital must be small, but it enables them to earn a living.

In March, 1964, a young man who had been in the wholesale meat, fruit and vegetable business opened a supermarket in the city. This is an interesting - if solitary - example of how the oil exploration and other developments have stimulated the expansion of other activities in the city.

CHAPTER XVII

GOVERNMENT ACTIVITIES

In Dawson, in 1963, 91 out of a total of 682 employed persons worked for the three levels of government - municipal, territorial and federal, accounting for about 14 per cent of all employed persons in the Dawson area. Government hired nearly a quarter of all permanent workers, but only 9.3 per cent of the seasonal labour. Only three government agencies employed seasonal help - and most of this help worked on the roads in the city and the surrounding area for the municipal and territorial governments.

Because of its northern location and good transportation facilities, Dawson serves as a regional centre for the Northern Yukon. Whatever the future of the city is, there is a need for a base for government operations in this part of the Yukon, although, as already suggested, such a base might be manned only seasonally.

Federal Government

A federal building, completed in 1961, houses the Post Office, the Mining Recorder's Office, the Forestry Office, the Customs and Excise Office and the City Office; a courtroom was added in 1963-64.

The city serves as the centre of the mining district named after it. From Dawson the mining recorder and his assistant have ready access by road and plane to the placer mining operations, the asbestos properties and the oil exploration areas. The mining recorder and assistant are the only persons employed by this office. The recorder arrived in 1962; his assistant is an old established resident of the city. In September 1961, the Department of Northern Affairs and National Resources stationed a forestry officer in Dawson. His duties include issuing timber permits, supervising Territorial camping grounds, enforcing game ordinances and checking the surrounding areas for forest fires. In the summer of 1963, a brush and forest fire broke out west of Fort McPherson. The forestry protection officer flew to the settlement, hired a crew, and fought the fire, eventually putting it out. Such fires, although they are remote from the settlements and consume timber that has little commercial value, can destroy valuable hunting and trapping grounds. In 1962-63 a steel lookout tower was constructed near Dawson. With the aid of this and surveys by road and light plane, the fire hazard in this part of the Yukon can be kept low. The forestry officer employed three men in 1963 - one married man for six months, a single man for four months, and an Indian youth for two months. The married man gets casual employment at the Fire Hall and with the R.C.M.P. during the winter, but neither of the others worked then.

Two Customs officers are stationed at Dawson. In 1963, one was a young married man who had wide northern experience before arriving in Dawson; the other a long term resident of the Yukon. In the summer of 1963 the Customs post at the border crossing on the Sixtymile Road (Little Gold Creek) was not in operation. Apparently it was difficult to service, and all crossing the border must now report at the Federal Building. This abandonment of the border is the most striking example of the "withdrawal" of population from the surrounding area into Dawson because of "northern conditions".

The Department of Transport has five permanent staff members stationed at Dawson; they are primarily engaged in operating the radio and weather stations, and in looking after the airstrip. No local people are hired, except on an occasional, casual basis. All the Department of Transport employees are southern Canadians on rotation; all have to be licensed radio operators. The officer in charge, however, had lived in Dawson for ten years in 1963, and his wife operated a hairdressing salon in the city. In 1963, the Department of Transport hired a local carpenter for a month. They also hired a crew of four men in late July for a week to cut brush around the transmitter sites. Such employment opportunities seldom occur. In the summer of 1963, a crew of five men came in from Edmonton to spray the area around the transmitter sites in order to prevent the excessive growth of weeds. What might appear to have been an opportunity for casual employment by local people in fact required highly specialized labour that had to be brought in from outside. This has happened again and again in Dawson and points out the basic problem of the area - the shortage or absence of individuals with special skills and training. And the indications are that if people did possess such skills, skills that would render them mobile, they would not stay in Dawson.

The R.C.M.P. detachment numbered three men in all, plus a matron (who was the wife of the corporal in charge) and a guard. In the summer of 1963, two men in the detachment were married and one was single. Subsequently, for health reasons, one married man was transferred to Whitehorse. The R.C.M.P. used occasional casual and part time labour, employing local people as matrons, gardeners, gaolers. The R.C.M.P. detachment appeared to limit their activities mainly to the city. The decline of population in the surrounding area obviated the need for the long patrols of the pre-war years.

The wife of a local resident was employed as the public health nurse by the Department of Health and Welfare and another local man was hired to look after the Federal Building. The wife of a YCGC employee cleaned the building, together with another local person.

The Post Office Department employed three people on a permanent basis, and a woman on a part time basis. All these employees were established local residents, probably because the Post Office Department does not provide housing for their employees in Dawson.

Nine other government personnel were in Dawson during the summer. Three were employed by the National Museum of Canada - a staff zoologist and two student assistants; they lived in a cabin in the hills behind Dawson. The zoologist made Dawson his base and collected mammals in the surrounding area. On one occasion the zoologist hired a boat to go down river, but otherwise the only money spent by this party in the city was on gas and food.

A government survey party comprised of two permanent civil servants, three student assistants and a cook also spent the summer in Dawson. This crew lived in trailers parked on the government reserve. Before 1956 such crews in the Yukon lived in tents. Like the tourists they now can travel in a self-contained manner, with the office, kitchen, cook house, and sleeping accommodation housed in a series of trailers; the crew even carried their own propane. Because of the short season, long and irregular hours of work were involved in this survey work. The officer in charge of the party stated that he did not favour hiring local people, partly because they were "unreliable" and partly because they objected to the long and irregular hours of work.

Territorial Government

The territorial government hired twenty-two permanent employees in Dawson, in 1963, and about thirty seasonal workers.

Eight teachers, a school janitor, a fire hall janitor, a social worker and his secretary, and the liquor store manager accounted for more than half the permanent staff, although only two teachers spent the summer in Dawson. The liquor store manager also acted as territorial agent, issuing car licenses and burial permits, collecting revenue, and looking after tax sales. The social worker also served as an employment officer, and co-operated informally with the Agency Superintendent who administers the local Indian Affairs responsibility from Whitehorse. The specialists - teachers and the social worker - were from "outside", although the social worker had lived in the North for eight years. The others were mainly local residents.

The Territorial engineering department represented a considerable source of employment for local people. Of nine permanent and approximately thirty seasonal employees, only one was not a local man. Until recently, Dawson was classified as a Territorial garage. Now it is a grader station, although this change in designation has not led to the decline in numbers of people employed. The responsibilities of the engineering department

include the operation of the river ferry and the maintenance of the Sixtymile Road, the Dempster Highway, and the Dawson-Stewart Road as far as the McQuesten River about seventy miles south-east of the city. The Federal government builds the roads in the area, but the Territorial government maintains them. YCGC operates the networks of roads around the placer creeks, although the Territorial government pays most of the costs incurred. Two men are stationed permanently on the Dempster Highway. A mechanic and five grader operators are located in Dawson. In the summer two seasonal employees work on the Sixtymile Road. In winter three grader men and a cook are stationed on the Dempster Highway. There is quite a lot of switching around of personnel to various places in winter and summer.

It appears quite obvious that the opportunities for employment with the Territorial Engineering department have increased considerably over the past few years, especially with the opening and extension of the Dempster Highway. When a big gravelling job has to be done, up to twenty-five people may be hired. The pay rate is attractive. Labourers earn \$1.60 to \$1.75 an hour in summer and \$1.90 to \$2.20 an hour in winter. Employment on the highways therefore provides suitable employment opportunities at various times of the year for unskilled men. But the permanent employees who live and work in the Dempster Highway and at Gravel Lake must be prepared to put up with an isolated existence and all that this entails.

City Government

The city also hires a public works crew totalling eight persons - three permanent and five seasonal. They look after the road network in the city, and install and repair the sewer system which is owned by the city. The city has the use of Territorial equipment for road and other work. The Territorial government also provides a building for the fire equipment. The city's firemen number two. A full time city clerk is employed; he was assisted by his daughter as a seasonal office employee in 1963.

All the city employees are long term local residents. As with the Territorial government, a number of Indians and Metis are employed in unskilled jobs connected with road maintenance.

CHAPTER XVIII

SOCIO-ECONOMIC LEVELS

An examination of the buildings of Dawson reveal the existence of the two areas on the river flat - the "north end" and the rest of the city.

The north end begins beyond York Street, and extends to the foot of Moosehide Mountain. The writer was wandering in the "north end" one evening at dusk. Coming down one of the roads almost overgrown with grass, I saw two men approaching. They saw me and one, a white who lived in the north end, shouted "What are you doing here - do you want to get shot?" The man was joking and explained that I was in the "wrong end" of town. The writer stood and talked with the men, one of whom was the Indian brother-in-law of the white man. Both appeared to be slightly drunk, but both were affable and friendly while pointing out that I was in the wrong end of town. They complained bitterly that no one paid any attention to them or did anything for them.

The north end of Dawson has many of the characteristics of a separate settlement. Here live most of the people of Indian ancestry in the city, and most of those white men who are either married to, or living with, Indian women. There appeared to be little contact or communication between those who lived in the north end and the other residents of the city. This social division of the city is emphasized by the condition of the housing in the north end.

Because of the short length of stay in Dawson, and the limitations of a regional approach, a detailed description of the various socio-economic levels in the city cannot be given. But it is possible to split the population of Dawson into a number of groups, each of which has certain common socio-economic features that distinguishes it from the other. This has been done in Table 38 on a household basis.

TABLE 38

TYPE AND DISTRIBUTION OF HOUSEHOLDS IN DAWSON,
SUMMER, 1963.

	<u>Indian Ancestry (a)</u>	<u>White Trappers (b)</u>	<u>Small Bus. (c)</u>	<u>Gov't (d)</u>	<u>Old People (e)</u>
1. <u>North Dawson</u>					
Total Households	23	3	6	4	6
Total individuals	152	36	25	15	10
Average no. in household	6.6	12.0	2.5	3.8	1.7
Total children	98	30	15	3	2
Average no. of children in household	4.3	10.0		0.8	0.3
Comprising:					
Couples with children	14	3	3	1	0
Couples without children	0	0	0	1	1
Women with children (no male family head)	4	0	0	0	0
Couple, children, grandchildren	1	0	0	0	0
Couple, grandchildren	0	0	0	0	1
Couple, and one parent	1	0	0	0	0
Couple, grown children and school children	0	0	0	1	0
Couple, grown children	0	0	0	1	0

TABLE 38, (Continued)

	Indian Ancestry (a)	White Trappers (b)	Small Bus. (c)	Gov't (d)	Old People (e)
Man, children, no female	2	0	0	0	0
Single men, living alone	1	0	2	0	3
Single, old person, grandchild	0	0	0	0	1
2. <u>South Dawson and Government Reserve.</u>					
Total households	1	2	13	9	3
Total individuals	6	9	43	29	4
Average no. in household	6.0	4.5	4.1	3.2	1.3
Total children	4	5	15	12	0
Average no. of children in household	4.0	2.5	8.6	1.3	-
Comprising:					
Couples with school age children	1	1	6	7	0
Couples without children	0	1	2	1	0
Women with children (no male family head)	0	0	1	0	0
Couple, grown children and school children	0	0	1	1	0
Couple, grown children	0	0	1	0	0
Single men living alone	0	0	1	0	2

TABLE 38 (Continued)

	Indian Ancestry (a)	White Trappers (b)	Small Bus. (c)	Gov't (d)	Old People (e)
Two or more men living together	0	0	0	0	1
Single women, living alone	0	0	1	0	0
3. <u>Centre East Dawson</u>					
Total households	1	3	42	21	6
Total individuals	5	19	134	68	6
Average no. in household	5.0	6.3	3.2	3.2	1.0
Total children	1	10	57	31	0
Average no. of children in household	1.0	3.3	1.4	1.5	-
Comprising:					
Couples with school age children	0	1	21	11	0
Couples without children	0	0	8	6	0
Women with children (no male family head)	0	0	1	0	0
Couple, children, grandchildren	1	0	0	0	0
Couple, grown children and school children	0	2	0	0	0
Couple, grown children	0	0	1	0	0
Man, children, no female	0	0	2	0	0

TABLE 38 (Continued)

	<u>Indian Ancestry (a)</u>	<u>White Trappers (b)</u>	<u>Small Bus. (c)</u>	<u>Gov't (d)</u>	<u>Old People (e)</u>
Single, men, living alone	0	0	6	3	5
Two or more men living together	0	0	2	0	0
Single women living alone	0	0	1	1	1
4. <u>Central Business District</u>					
Total households	0	0	27	6	3
Total individuals	0	0	92	20	4
Average no. in household	-	-	3.5	3.3	1.3
Total children	0	0	29	9	1
Average no. of children in household	-	-	1.1	1.5	.3
Comprising:					
Couples with school age children	0	0	10	2	0
Couples without children	0	0	7	1	0
Couple, grown children, school children	0	0	2	0	0
Woman, grown son	0	0	1	0	0
Women, grown children, school children	0	0	1	0	0
Single men, living alone	0	0	3	1	1

TABLE 38 (Continued)

	<u>Indian Ancestry (a)</u>	<u>White Trappers (b)</u>	<u>Small Bus. (c)</u>	<u>Gov't (d)</u>	<u>Old People (e)</u>	
Two or more men, living together	0	0	1	0	0	
Single women, living alone	0	0	1	0	1	
Single women, and grandchildren	0	0	0	0	1	
Brother and Sister	0	0	1	0	0	
<u>Summary</u>						<u>Total</u>
Total households	25	8	88	40	18	178
Percentage of total	14.0	4.5	48.9	22.5	10.1	
Total individuals	163	64	289	132	24	672
Percentage of total	24.5	9.5	43.0	19.6	3.6	
Total children	103	45	110	55	3	318
Percentage of total	32.7	14.1	34.6	17.3	1.0	
Average number of individuals per household	6.5	8.0	3.3	3.3	1.3	
Average number of children per household	4.1	5.6	1.3	1.4	0.2	

This classification is only intended as a general guide to the population, and not as a definitive hard and fast grouping.

Transients and those living in institutions, hotels, etc. have been excluded from the household count.

Households are classified on the basis of socio-economic levels, as follows: -

- (a) People of Indian ancestry, relying mainly on seasonal and casual employment or poorly paid employment (Indian ancestry).
- (b) White men following a way of life based on fishing, hunting, trapping, wood cutting, casual wage labour, and relief (White trappers).
- (c) Small businessmen, including placer miners, families and individuals with a moderate income either from year round or seasonal wage employment (Small bus.).
- (d) Permanent government personnel, and individuals in highly paid employment (Gov't.).
- (e) Single old people or couples, retired or on pension or working. (Old people).

For purposes of Table 38 "children" are defined as children in receipt of family allowances, "grown children" as those living with parents and contributing to the family income, and "couples" as a woman and a man living together, usually, but not always married.

- (a) People of Indian ancestry, relying mainly on seasonal and casual employment.

The term "people of Indian ancestry" is used to cover all people in Dawson who have Indian ancestry, treaty Indian, non-treaty Indian, and Metis. In an area that has had such intensive contact with white men as Dawson has, it is difficult to determine the ethnic origin of a given individual on sight. In Dawson even two Eskimo women originally from the Mackenzie delta were noted; their exact legal status appeared to be uncertain.

The impressions of the people on Indian ancestry of anyone visiting Dawson are bound to be influenced by the attitude of the whites in the city and by the difficulty of communicating with the Indian people. On early visits, the writer heard literally nothing about the Indian population from the white population.

In the summer of 1963, during the compilation of the census, every house in the settlement was visited, and a number of people of Indian ancestry interviewed. It is worth noting the reactions of the Indian towards the writer, if only to indicate how these people behave towards white strangers. During the 1961 visit, and again in 1963, the writer was overwhelmed by the hospitality of the white population; in the true Yukon tradition. Among the Indian people on the other hand, I encountered fear, occasional hostility, indifference, tempered by some kindness, frankness and courtesy. But it was almost impossible to get much "hard" data on income and employment, or other aspects of the economic and social life of these people.

In the summer of 1963, the writer heard the following sentiments regarding the Indian people of Dawson: --"The Indians in the days before the Gold Rush used to fish. Their kids played with gold nuggets, but the Indians were too stupid to realize their value", "The Indians are lazy, and only interested in having kids to get more money from the government than they drink it", "Indian children are dirty; they go to the bathroom just anywhere"; "the Indian chief is a drunken bum"; "the Indian girls want only to marry a white man, and the men just want to drink"; "the Indians are spoiled". In 1962, after having performed an "Indian" dance for a CBC television crew, a group of native people were refused entrance into a Dawson restaurant, according to a reliable informant. An R. C. M. P. officer with wide experience in the Canadian Arctic, and who appeared to be sympathetic towards the Indians and had worked with Eskimo co-operatives, stated that "the local Indian people have no pride"; it was to this that he ascribed the difficulty of assisting them.

During the course of the household census, the following incidents occurred. They are not typical, but serve to convey the impressions of the lot of this group.

At one shack on Front Street, with broken windows and surrounded by dirt and mud, five ragged children were playing around a water tap. As I approached, an oldish woman ran into the house. One child began to scream, and another shouted "I am not scared of him" (the writer).

In a small cabin at the North End, two girls stood on the porch, and were evasive and surly when questioned. Inside the three roomed cabin, two beds had been installed in the "sitting room". On one bed a young girl in curlers lay asleep, on another a retarded child sat. The whole place was dirty and unkept. In this cabin an old, obviously intelligent and very drunk Indian threatened to hit the writer, after making statements like

"You - whites, you think we don't know what is happening to us", "Go away, white man", and, when asked his name, said "Nobody knows my name".

In a small Indian Affairs cabin at the North End, an old blind Indian talked eagerly to me about his life. He was lucid and courteous. The cabin was clean and neat. The man, an ordained deacon of the Anglican Church, was looked after by his granddaughter. In her corner of the room photographs of film stars and singers covered the wall.

In an Indian cabin on Front Street, a woman tensed up as the writer entered after being bade to do so. She hurriedly slid a lid over a plate containing what appeared to be raw caribou meat.

Other incidents and "episodes" like the above could be described, but these four should serve to convey something of the gulf that exists between the north end of town and rest of Dawson.

Before the Gold Rush, the Klondike band of the Han tribe, an Athapaskan-speaking people, lived, hunted and fished in the general area centering on the mouth of the Klondike River (Slobodin, 1961-62). The same writer states that at the height of the Gold Rush "Moosehide had a more or less permanent Indian population of over three hundred, and sometimes held six hundred or more. It probably held the largest concentration of Northern Athapaskan Indians to be found anywhere until very recent years". Before the Gold Rush, a certain amount of intermarriage occurred between Indian women and the miners who had trickled into the interior in the years after 1880. Adney (1900) noted "Nearly all the oldtimers married Indian women, who have shared the good fortunes of their husbands in the Klondike strike, and are treated with the same respect that would be accorded a white woman". Dawson, during the Gold Rush attracted Indians from far and near. Some - such as "The Dawson Boys" - benefitted from the contact, and were able to introduce parts of the white man's culture to areas not so directly affected by the goldseekers. (Slobodin, 1963).

But the tide of goldseekers that washed over the Klondike shattered the traditional Indian way of life. A number of Indian women married or lived with white men from many countries, and this tradition has persisted up to the present day, so that it is extremely difficult to determine, with precision, the ethnic origin of the many people of Indian ancestry presently living in Dawson. Contact with whites was violent and intense in 1896-1900, but once the goldseekers had departed and the mining camp had settled down and begun to look like and function as a city, the native peoples were able to take up their old pursuits.

One informant stated that in 1939, when she arrived, all the local Indians lived in Moosehide where they had a school, a church and preacher, and a number of houses. Gardens were also cultivated, and fishing, trapping, and hunting provided cash and food. Since about 1948 a slow move into town has taken place. In the north end of Dawson, which had been a warehousing area, a number of buildings were slowly dismantled and homes constructed from the lumber by the Indians. This process is now almost complete, and only one or two families live in Moosehide.

In Dawson, in 1963, twenty-five households, comprising 163 individuals or 14 per cent of the population of the city, fell into this classification. Of these households, all but two lived in the north end. Children totalled 103, or 31.7 per cent of the total number of children enumerated. This enumeration covered only the city of Dawson; there were probably three or four other families of Indian ancestry living either temporarily at Lousetown and Moosehide, and other individuals "floating" between these settlements and Dawson, or staying with relatives or friends.

Table 38 indicates the diversity of household types. Most had school age children; there were four households with children and no male heads, and two households with children in the family and no female head. From casual observations, there seemed to be a great deal of movement within these households, with people shifting residence, or unattached individuals moving from house to house. In two cases, couples had taken jobs outside the city and left their school age children on their own. While the writer was in the city, these children got together and held a mild "orgy". Many children of Indian ancestry are scattered among the white population of Dawson as wards, either temporarily or permanently. This problem will be discussed under the section of Welfare.

On December 31st, 1960, Indian status people in the Yukon totalled 1726; on December 31st, 1963 this number had increased to 2352. In 1962, the Indian Agency Superintendent in Whitehorse estimated that there were just over 150 Indian status persons in Dawson. Two years later the same individual estimated that only 120 Indian status people lived in the city. Two large families moved out during 1963-64 for economic reasons, with direct assistance from Indian Affairs. These two families settled in Whitehorse; the head of one family has worked steadily for the City of Whitehorse since moving. No Indian status families have moved into Dawson in the past few years.

Most of the people of Indian ancestry stated that they had been born in Dawson although one or two had moved into the area from the Mackenzie Delta in the Northwest Territories. Some Indians are related to the Eagle (Alaska) Indians.

On the whole this group of people had all the characteristics of a settled population. One couple was at Watson Lake for the summer, some were with outfitters, another couple was working at the Clinton Creek asbestos

property as were a number of young men, and others were employed in placer mining on the creeks. Probably about twenty people of Indian ancestry were out of Dawson during the summer. One or two fish camps were noted a mile or so down river from Dawson during the salmon run in 1963. The people of Indian ancestry appear to have made an adjustment to city life - albeit a minimal one - and do not seem to want to return to the land or to Moosehide. Since few of them move out into the surrounding area to trap and to hunt, they have become very dependent on wage employment. In fact it seems that most, if not all, are now oriented towards wage employment.

As noted on the section on employment, there has been increasing difficulty in finding employment in the Dawson area for unskilled labour, and the Indian peoples have suffered most from this. One or two men with families stated that they were interested in moving to a place where there was wage employment. Practically all the unemployed men with whom the writer spoke stated that they had looked for work, but had been unable to find any. This included young single men, apparently without kinship ties.

Only three or four men in this group were employed permanently, one with the Territorial government and two with the water company. None had responsible positions and all were probably poorly paid. Otherwise all the employment was of a seasonal nature - the women worked as waitresses in restaurants, the men in placer mining, on the roads, with outfitters, for the city and territorial governments in various unskilled categories.

This group of people, who form almost a separate world, have no skills or capital that would enable them to leave the city and settle elsewhere. In some cases, the people of Indian ancestry were able to provide a reasonable home environment for their children. Some of the Indian children have been sent to hostels in Whitehorse and Carcross for the past few years. One son of an Indian living at Lousetown is a Senior Scout, and his father has a reputation of being a good worker. But even good workers have difficulty obtaining employment in Dawson these days if they do not possess special skills. From encounters and conversations with the Indian people of the city it became obvious to the writer that these people, far from being a sullen, indifferent, lazy lot as described by some of the white residents of Dawson, were acutely aware of their dilemma but were unable to do anything about it. They therefore reacted by deviant behaviour and hostility.

These Indian peoples were doubly trapped. Not only had their culture been shattered by the incursions of the whites into their territory sixty-five years ago, but they had been unable to find any place in the white man's social world other than at the bottom. Indian culture - at least in its obvious

outward manifestations - did not exist in Dawson in 1963. And yet the Indian peoples still had to transcend cultural barriers and become "reliable" in order to obtain jobs (if jobs were available). They also had to transcend social barriers. For essentially they were poor people, living in substandard housing, employed seasonally if at all, sealed off from communication with others, without adequate recreational facilities, and without the one thousand and one items that constitute a reasonable North American standard of living.

Slobodin (1961-62) cites an example of what can happen to those people of Indian ancestry who escape from the declining community. Referring to the daughter of an Indian woman still resident in Dawson and a Swede who subsequently divorced her, he says. "If this young woman had remained in Dawson she would probably be leading a bedraggled existence, especially considering her mother's manner of life. At the very best, if she had been a "good girl" and had won approval from church and educational authorities, she might have become, let us say, a nurse's aid; as an apotheosis she might even have married a white man. In Europe, Miss _____ has had a university education, has graduated from the royal art institute, having shown a talent for design, and has become a promising and prosperous industrial designer as well as, it is reported, a cultured European woman of the world". One or two Indian women have married white men and moved up the social scale, as it were, into group (c). One or two Metis men have been able to secure reasonably well paid permanent employment. But the total number of such "successful" individuals probably does not exceed ten.

(b) White men following a way of life based on fishing, hunting, trapping, wood cutting, casual wage labour.

The majority of the people of Indian ancestry in Dawson appear to be oriented towards wage employment and settlement life. But there is another section of the population that is still oriented towards the land, which when supplemented by casual wage employment and relief, provides them with cash and food. Although the eight households in this group comprised only 4.5 per cent of the total number, the individuals made up 9.5 per cent of the population of Dawson and the children 14.1 per cent of all the children in the city. The combination of a subsistence way of life and a large number of people in each household kept this group poor. The white men in this group were either living with or married to Indian women. At least one man enumerated as a single man lived from time to time with an Indian woman; on the whole the unions between whites and Indian women appeared to have a surprising degree of stability.

These white men are carrying on a traditional Yukon way of life; until before the Second World War, this way of life provided a comfortable living. In a good fur year it could mean a rich living. But since the war the forces that attract people to town and cities - schools, hospital, recreational facilities, and other possibilities of easing the burden of loneliness of the life on the land - have drawn such men to Dawson. Here they live in large and frequently ramshackle houses, going out to trap or to hunt, to cut wood or to fish, depending on the season. They tend to spend their spare time - and much of their cash - in bars. Their marital relationships are liable to be difficult and strained; in 1962-63 one man in this group was charged with incest and another jailed for non-support of his wife and children.

One man lived outside Dawson, at Grand Forks, and worked for a placer-operation in the summer of 1963; he had five children. Another had trapped in past years, but gave it up when fur prices were too low. This man, whose commercial fishing operation has yielded most salmon in recent years, had also worked for YCGC. He considers their wage level too low, and does not like the seasonal work. Another man ran the Territorial ferry across the Yukon in the summer. These men were classified as "reliable" by residents in Dawson and would probably have less trouble adapting to regular wage employment than most of the others in this group.

Like the Indians with whom they intermarried, many of the white men had roamed freely over the vast area north and north-west of Dawson, hunting, trapping and fishing. One who had a local reputation of being a "bad character" spoke freely to the writer. He was one of those who suggested the erection of a freezer in order to aid commercial fishing in the area. This man said it was "getting difficult to live". He stated that he had "gone native", and had spent the last thirty-five years of life in the country around Dawson, Aklavik, Fort McPherson and Peel River. He operated a fish wheel near Moosehide. In fall he and his Indian brother-in-law would go up the Dempster Highway together with their families. By shooting moose and caribou they could live off the land. They would also trap marten and mink, although he complained of poor fur prices. In the spring this man trapped beaver and muskrat. In the summers he usually stayed in town, and got casual employment; in 1963 he worked on the school extension for a short period, but quit. He said that he could not rely on wage employment as a source of income.

He mentioned that "they" (Territorial government officials) wanted to move him and others like him to British Columbia or somewhere else "outside"; some men and their families in this group have been relocated in the last year or so. This informant, however, said quite passionately that he liked the country and the life he led, and neither knew nor wanted any other. He admitted that his children would never be able to follow his way of life, but suggested they might be relocated slowly over a period of years, one by one.

The people in this group appeared to be disliked by the permanent white residents of Dawson. One was referred to as a "squaw man"; the father of this man had been a prominent government official in the city in the 1920's, and the man himself had been considered one of Dawson's eligible bachelors at one time.

This group of men represent a declining aspect, not only of Dawson, but of the whole Yukon. These men have resisted, at least partly, the pull of settlement life, and chosen to get the great part of their income (food and cash) from the land. One man worked out a budget with the welfare officer when he had to go on relief. To feed himself, his wife, and their eleven children would cost an estimated \$370. a month. By eating salmon, moose and other land game, this was cut to \$250. a month. But the land resources cannot now be exploited without the expenditure of a great deal of time and effort. The family - or at least the children - must be left at home, in substandard housing, while the man goes off hunting and trapping. Fishing provides fewer problems because the men can operate from the city, returning home each night. And whatever happens, there is always relief to fall back on. In effect, these men, and their families, are caught in the same trap as the people of Indian ancestry. Their way of life is disappearing or declining. Most of the time in the old days this life offered scanty returns, especially in cash. But it rendered a man "free" and mobile so that he could live in the tradition of the northern frontiersmen, calling no man his boss, unimpeded by strictly enforced regulations, laws, or by city concepts of time. The Yukon supported many such men, and many who married Indian women were able to derive satisfaction and a living from the land. Now that they have moved into the city, their irregular habits and attitudes make them a threat to the permanent white residents whose values and way of life they do not or cannot appreciate and emulate. But somehow, they manage to make a living without depending too heavily on such direct forms of welfare as Unemployment Assistance.

- (c) Small businessmen, including placer miners, families and individuals with a moderate income either from year-round or seasonal wage employment.

The people of Indian ancestry and the white men engaged in hunting, trapping and fishing make up 34 per cent of the total population of Dawson; their children comprise 46.8 per cent of all those in the city. Social contact between these two groups and other people in Dawson appeared to be almost nil. These people do not come to any of the meetings of the many clubs in Dawson. Their children play hockey on school teams, but the parents do not participate in that great integrating force in all northern communities - curling. The names of these people never appear among the lists of those whose doings in Dawson are reported in the two Whitehorse papers. As already pointed out, these people weren't represented on the economic development committee that was formed and dissolved in 1962-63.

The largest single group in the Dawson population is made up of small businessmen and wage-employed individuals. They make up nearly half the population of the city, forming about half the households, although their children account for only one third of the total children. The households tend to be small, with an average of 3.3 individuals in them. Most live in the central business district and the area to the east of it; only five households in this group live in the north end of town.

Table 39 shows some of the characteristics of this group. These people form the stable core of the city's population.

TABLE 39

SOME CHARACTERISTICS OF GROUP (C) BY HOUSEHOLD HEADS

Employment

Self employed in private business, stores, garages, transportation, etc.	22
Hotel owners, lessees	10
Employed in stores, hotels, etc.	4
Employed in transportation	5
Services and Utilities	5
Construction	1
Oil Exploration	3
Government (all levels)	19
Mining (Inc. YCGC)	15
Others	1
Unemployed	3

TABLE 39 (Continued)

Place of Birth

Canada 44

 Yukon 2
 Dawson 15

Europe 23

 United Kingdom 10
 Germany 4
 Switzerland 2
 Scandinavia 1
 Czechoslovakia 1
 Finland 1
 Italy 2
 Austria 1
 Russia 1

Not known 11

Length of Residence (As of summer 1963)

Less than 1 year 4

1 year to 5 years 9

6 years to 15 years 18

16 years to 25 years 18

More than 25 years 17

Born in the Yukon or Dawson 17

Not known 5

Dawson shows a very high degree of population stability for a northern community, if stability is measured by length of residence. Stability of population is usually considered a desirable feature of any northern community, since it is a necessary prerequisite for any development. In the case of Dawson, this settled population, especially those who have established small businesses, are now threatened by a decrease in their standard of living and possible loss of their livelihood because of the declining economic base of the area.

Fifty-two household heads were either born in Dawson or the Yukon, or have lived in the city for more than fifteen years. Seventeen out of the eighty-eight household heads had been in the city over twenty-five years; these men came into the Yukon during the depression years. Like many in this group these men worked for YCGC initially, and then went into mining on their own or established retail stores, transportation companies, sawmills or other small business enterprises. Some married the daughters of gold seekers who stayed on after the 1898 Rush. A number in this group are the children of the goldseekers and of those who came to the city in the early part of the century. In Dawson in 1963, a third generation of white people were growing up - an unusual feature of the population of the Canadian North. Some of these born in Dawson show a curious reluctance to leave the city, even temporarily. One woman aged about fifty had been outside the Yukon only two or three times in her life; a young man aged about twenty had never left the Territory. Most of the families try to get "outside" once a year, but none feel they will "go crazy" if they don't leave the settlement every six months, as did women with whom the writer spoke in the new northern towns of Schefferville, P.Q. and Thompson, Manitoba.

Two or three are former R. C. M. P. officers, and three or four of this group have Indian or Metis wives.

To most of the people in this group Dawson is "home" with all that this implies. The members of this group dominate the social life, organize tourist attractions such as "Klondike Nights", organize and take part in curling and other sports, and form the membership of the large number of clubs and societies in the city. They have a strong attachment to the city and resent any criticism of Dawson. They look back nostalgically to the "good old days" when Dawson was the capital of the Territory. The idealized image of the past and of the past glory of Dawson as a thriving, bustling city, still grips these people and influences their present outlook. Many in this group seem to alternate between an optimism based on the past richness of the Klondike goldfields, and a pessimism over the present plight of the city. One or two admitted to the writer that they would sell out and leave Dawson if they could. Most of them tried to send their children outside to be educated or to work. The people of Indian ancestry in Dawson appear to be trapped at the bottom of the social scale, culturally and socially. The people in this group are trapped economically. If they are in business, the possibilities

of selling out are remote (although a hotel/cafe was sold to an "outsider" in 1962-63). If they are in wage employment they probably lack skills needed 'outside'. If they do leave Dawson, they will not be able to sell their houses, for which there is no market. Since most of them own their homes, this presents an additional difficulty to movement.

Of the thirteen household heads who have established residence in Dawson in the last five years, four bought, or leased, hotels, one was an outfitter, another a hard rock miner, one took over as liquor vendor, another found employment with a garage and one came primarily on behalf of a religious group. Of the four who bought or leased hotels, three left permanently in the fall of 1963.

About half a dozen in this group are single men living alone. The case history of one of these men is typical of many men, single and married. This man left Wales during the depression in 1928. A friend of his went farming in Canada, and this man joined him. He did not like farming and slowly drifted north. He said there was no such thing as a depression in the Yukon, and that no man could starve in the Territory. He worked on a dredge for a couple of years, for wages, but disliked this. He wanted to be his "own boss" in a "free country". He ran a wood camp to supply steamers on the river. Then he took the money he had made from woodcutting and went gold mining, on Thistle Creek. Using a steam boiler for thawing, and drifting on bedrock he made his stake of \$3,000. last ten years. At no time did he make "enough to buy cigarette papers", let alone a rich strike. He wintered on the creeks, building radio sets from spare parts, listening to music and reading. His nearest neighbour was an old man living twelve miles away whom he saw about twice each winter. For the past few years this man has lived in Dawson, where he owns two houses, working during the summer for the city government. This expatriate, still speaking with a marked Welsh accent, represents a type of northerner very common in the Yukon. This man's house was neat, tidy and well kept, as was the garden. He seemed to regret the fact that he now had to work for wages, to make a living, but he also realized that the old way of life could never support him or provide the amenities of town life.

Several men in wage employment pointed out the dilemma of the old northern "all-rounder", the man who could cope with the environment, make a living and live a rewarding life. One, who came to Dawson about thirty years ago, cleaned sewers for a living at first. Later he freighted, worked on the river boats, ran a drill, operated a monitor, did electrical, diesel, steam and pump work, rivetted, welded, worked as a plumber, and served as an oiler on a dredge. In 1963 he was a power plant operator. As he pointed out, to get a job as a power plant operator these days, a man needed

"papers" or a "ticket". Like others in the Yukon, this man, by his wide variety of experience, had acquired many skills. But he lacked the formal training and qualifications that would enable him to move elsewhere.

One or two men originally from Europe stated that they had come to Dawson before the Second World War because of their fears about their future in Europe.

The outlook of many in this group has been conditioned by the difficulty of life "outside" from which they fled during the depression, and the ease of life for those in Dawson who had a good job or a private business.

There is a relatively large number of individuals in Dawson operating transportation companies, construction firms, sawmills, garages, stores, gift shops, etc. Together with hotel and motel owners and lessees they headed 32 out of the 88 households in this group. In this group also are placer miners, some of whom winter in town from time to time if they cannot afford to go "outside", the seasonal YCGC employees who headed five households, employees of the federal and territorial government employees at the janitorial level, and those who worked for the White Pass and Yukon Route and the utilities companies. Three household heads were employed by Socony Mobil in oil exploration.

Many of the wives of men in this group work. For the less affluent this is a matter of necessity, for others a matter of choice. The women work as agents for transportation companies, cleaning women, for the hospital, as cooks, waitresses, and in the stores. In this way they can bring in money, or release the male head of the family (in the stores) to take well paid seasonal or casual work.

Some of the "outsiders" in Dawson - those in well paid employment who did not expect to stay in the city - claimed that the permanent, old established residents of Dawson were "narrow minded" and that they wanted everything handed to them. One man said that Dawson died in winter, and the people with it. The "outsiders" whose standards of job performance are set by the outside bodies (government, oil companies) complained that people in Dawson were slow, and that it was difficult to get anything done. The writer heard frequent comments about life in Dawson being easy as compared to the "rat race" outside. One of the permanent residents said that the people of Dawson did not like to have to follow the pace set by "outsiders" or by outside organizations. This reflects the tenor of life in the city which consists of about three to four months of frantic activity and eight or nine months of enforced inactivity. A woman resident summed up the problem in a column in the Fort Nelson News (June 13, 1962).

"With so much falling down around their ears, the townspeople of Dawson learned to shrug their collective shoulders, turn their backs, harken to the past of ghosts and storytellers. To many of its people, Dawson is the whole world; there is no other opinion, no other people, no other attitude than their negative, retiring one. Outsiders may seek to remedy, assist or initiate. Perhaps the stone wall of public disinterest does not discourage them in their efforts, but, just as a gleam of interest shines in the eyes of a community over this or that project, the initiator leaves the community through promotion or the company's policy".

While this rather dramatizes the situation, there is, nevertheless, a very real difference between the new arrivals from government, transportation, mining and oil companies who are opening up the northern Yukon and the old established residents. The newcomers are cost conscious and dynamic. They do not expect to live out their lives in the city, but come in to do a specific job. The old established residents prefer to maintain a comfortable status quo, even if the economy of the area will not support it. So one group complains that the others are slow, and the other group complains that the newcomers are clique-ish and don't know how to behave.

For the private businessmen, the future holds the possibility of smaller margins as the population decreases. Competition in the hotel and motel business is keen. For those in wage employment, there is always the prospect of being laid off by the government or the employing company.

As previously noted, the people of Dawson believe that the government should assure the future of the settlement. Although government officials are considered "clique-ish", they are envied for their salaries and their houses. Fried (1964), writing of the permanent, white residents in the Northwest Territories states "Thus it is persons from the striving, non-government white group who voice the most heartfelt sense of grievance against an order of things whereby the government group is seen as enjoying unfair advantages over their neighbours". The permanent white residents have the same social and economic aspirations as the government employees. Some have managed to get employment with the federal government; in early 1964, one of the men in this group, a former dredgemaster who ran tourist cabins and carried on placer mining in 1963, was successful in a competition for the position of Customs officer in the Territory. To-day the government sets the standards for a desirable life in the North even in those areas and settlements where the privately developed economic base was strongest in the past.

No person of Indian ancestry has become a private businessman in Dawson, but a number of the old established residents have become civil servants.

(d) Permanent government personnel, and individuals in highly paid employment.

This group forms the economic elite of Dawson. They live in the best houses, often pay relatively little for utilities and services, hold the highest paid jobs, usually belong to "outside" organizations that provide special allowances for northern living, and have special skills and training. Usually they are young people, with a high degree of mobility.

In 1963 this group made up 19.6 per cent of the total population of the city. More than half the households were in centre east Dawson. Federal Government employees lived either on the government reserve, or in the houses east of the old Administration building that had been occupied by senior government officials in the days when Dawson was the seat of government. The house of a former commissioner, built in 1903, was rented to a federal official for \$58. a month. Another large old house was rented for \$30. a month to a civil servant who paid \$250. a year for utilities.

Table 40 shows some of the characteristics of this group.

TABLE 40

SOME CHARACTERISTICS OF GROUP (D) BY HOUSEHOLD HEADS

Employment

Stores, banks	3
Transportation	6
Oil Exploration	4
Government (all levels)	21
YCGC	3
Churches	2
Utilities	1

TABLE 40 (Continued)

<u>Place of Birth</u>		
Canada		34
Dawson	3	
Europe		4
United Kingdom	3	
Poland	1	
Not known		2
<u>Length of Residence in City (As of summer, 1963)</u>		
Less than 1 year		16
1 year to 5 years		11
6 years to 15 years		5
16 years to 25 years		6
More than 25 years		2

The majority of the householders were born in Canada, although only three were born in Dawson. One, the Anglican minister, had returned to the city after leaving it when young. Characteristically most of the members of this group had spent less than five years in the city, and two fifths had arrived within the last year. The turnover among this group is high. Since the summer of 1963, six or seven households in this group have left the city.

For a northern area, the Yukon has a comparatively long history of representative government and of government by local people, rather than by outsiders sent in to administer the Territory. The Senior Territorial representative in Dawson is an old, established resident, as are two or three federal civil servants.

Characteristically, the federal civil servants and crown corporation employees were young couples, without children or with school age or pre-school children. Fifteen consisted of married couples without children. Out of fifteen household heads who worked for the federal government, four were established residents of the Territory who had joined the federal government while living in the Yukon. Seven or eight federal officials had northern experience before coming to Dawson, and liked the northern way of life. The Forestry Officer, for instance, who arrived in Dawson in 1961, had been in the Yukon since 1946. He stated that he liked the freedom and responsibility, and having a large area to look after. A Customs Officer said essentially the same thing. The officer-in-charge of the Department of Transport radio station, who had been in Dawson ten years, stated that he liked the country and the life. He was vice-president of the Chamber of Commerce, and took his children out hunting, prospecting and fishing. Another Department of Transport employee had recently arrived in Dawson from Yellowknife. He stated that he and his wife preferred the North; they had lived in Coppermine, Yellowknife and Aishihik.

Other federal civil servants changed frequently. The reasons they gave for coming to Dawson were the high isolation allowance (Dawson is a maximum isolation post and the northern allowance there for the Departments of Transport and of Northern Affairs and National Resources was \$2,100. in 1963) and the opportunity to get a more responsible position or a promotion. The reasons for not staying in Dawson given by those federal civil servants who did not expect to stay long in the city were the long, cold, dark winters, the absence of an opportunity for further advancement or promotion, and the absence of the amenities and facilities of a larger urban centre.

The other household heads in this group consisted of the employees of Connelly-Dawson Airways, Socony Mobil Oil Company, the banks, senior officials of YCGC and the company doctor, and senior Territorial employees. Among the employees of Connelly-Dawson, four, including the owner of the company had been in Dawson more than three years and appeared settled in the community. The bank managers and their staff changed every two years, and the Socony Mobil employees were beginning a three year "tour" in 1963. Of the YCGC employees, two were established residents, but the company doctor left in 1963, and the resident geologist also departed (and was not replaced) in the same year.

It appeared that among this group in Dawson were a number of men and their wives who took part in the social and recreational activities of the city, and mixed freely with the old established residents of Dawson. Others, mainly federal civil servants who presumably did not expect to be in Dawson long, apparently did not become deeply involved in the city's social activities. While the federal government officials might become members of the Chamber of Commerce, neither they nor their wives would become involved in such

activities as the "Klondike Nights" and the Museum. The employees of private companies and their wives, on the other hand, would participate in the social activities of the city. A bank manager became deeply involved in the Dawson City festival foundation in 1961-62, and his successor played a leading role in a play put on by the Klondike Visitors Association in 1963. The wife of a Connelly-Dawson employee played a part in establishing and maintaining the Museum. Members of this group and short term residents would curl together and with the old established residents of Dawson.

Among this group of government employees and highly paid specialists, three tendencies towards the establishment of a stable northern population can be seen; this tendency may be general in the Territory. First there are civil servants who prefer to live and work in the city. Then there are local residents who have been appointed to permanent federal and territorial Civil Service positions, but who choose to stay in Dawson rather than move elsewhere. Finally there is a group of people employed by outside firms or by specialist organizations in the city who prefer to stay in Dawson for extended periods, rather than moving elsewhere when opportunities arise. Because of their skills and specialized training they could move elsewhere in the Territory, the North, Canada or the world. But they prefer life in Dawson, and their jobs there, at least for the present. The members of this group, however, could easily be driven away from Dawson by the physical decay of the city. If power failures become common, if permafrost disturbs their dwellings too frequently, if the sewer and water services fail, if the fire hazard becomes too great or if any one of the many difficulties of living in a declining northern settlement becomes too much to bear, then this group can quite easily pick up and move elsewhere.

(e) Single old people or couples, retired or on pension or working.

This group consists of a relatively small section of the Dawson population (10.1%) that came into the country during the Gold Rush or later. People in this group maintain their own households. A number of old timers live in the Sunset Home and in the Old Folks' Home (formerly the Commissioner's Residence, but combined in 1963-64 with the hospital).

Of the eighteen households in this group, eleven consisted of single men living alone, and two of single women living alone. Usually they lived in small cabins, depending on pensions, savings, old age pensions and supplementary allowances, and in one case, on annuity. In most cases these individuals kept their cabins in excellent condition, and the writer

visited a number that were neat and tidy. One or two were living in abject poverty, in substandard housing, poorly heated, badly lit, unsanitary and with dirty surroundings. Over the past two years such people have been relocated in the self-contained units of the Sunset Home, if they were able to take care of themselves. Those unable to take care of themselves have been moved into the Old Folks' Home.

Of the twelve household heads who gave their place of birth, four came from Scandinavia, three from Canada (one from Hamilton Inlet, one from Dawson, and one Indian from the Northwest Territories), two from the United States, one from England, one from France and one from Montenegro. One came into the area before the Gold Rush and six came in about 1898 or shortly thereafter.

Black Mike Only one or two people in this group were still employed. One man, a Montenegrin reputed to be over ninety years old, still hunted and trapped in 1963; in the summer of that year he supervised a construction crew putting new foundations under the Anglican rectory.

This small, dwindling band of oldtimers will soon be gone, and another section of the city's population will disappear without being replaced.

DAWSON AS A WELFARE COMMUNITY

Provinces in Canada operate on a self-sustaining basis by raising or borrowing sufficient funds to pay for the operation of the provinces. The federal government collects certain taxes and other revenues, and returns some of the funds through an equalization payment scheme. The federal government also accepts responsibilities for certain programmes and groups of people in the provinces (e. g. Indian Affairs), and makes financial contributions to support them. They may also aid other programmes either directly or indirectly. In the provinces, municipalities are expected to be more or less self-supporting. They receive financial assistance under a variety of programmes from the provincial and federal governments (e. g. Winter Works), but in general, the taxation base of the local community is supposed to yield most of the revenue that is used by the municipality to pay for education, services, police, hospitals, etc.

Because of their northern location, vast area, small population and dependent position as territories, the Yukon and Northwest Territories have received and continue to receive considerable federal financial assistance. In 1961-62, the federal government spent \$23,155,553.72 in the Yukon, and received a revenue of \$6,290,402.32 from the territory. In 1962-63 the comparable figures were \$23,401,693.45 and \$6,214,862.45.

The general principle behind the granting of this aid appears to be the provision of a suitable network of roads, schools, services, hospitals, etc., so that the local economy can be developed and the territory become eventually self-supporting. In their turn the municipalities and the other settlements in the Territory have also received considerable federal assistance directly, and indirectly, through the Territorial government. The amount of government investment in Dawson in recent years has already been noted. When Dawson was established as a municipality, the boom town was well able to collect local revenue to install services and to operate the municipality. The city and the area were policed by the N. W. M. P., and hospitals built by private subscriptions. Early in this century, the city gave up its charter and was administered by the Commissioner of the Yukon. Now the city is at a point in time where large sums of money are needed to maintain essential services (schools, hospitals, police and fire protection, sewer and water lines) for a decreasing population, a number of whom are seasonally employed, and a third of whom are poor by any standard.

The term "welfare community" then must be considered in its broadest sense, and illustrated by reference to the amount of financial assistance needed from other than local sources to keep the community in existence and functioning at a reasonable level.

The factors that increase the cost of operation of anything from a machine to a community in the north have already been discussed. To be kept in existence, Dawson as a community requires very much larger sums than a community of similar size in southern Ontario. Age has compounded the dilemma created by establishing a city based on non-renewable resources in a remote area with a harsh climate.

"Welfare" as applied to Dawson must be considered under three headings.

- (a) Federal and Territorial contributions to the community and to the maintenance and operation of essential services.
- (b) Payments to families and individuals under federal programmes such as Family Allowances, Old Age Pensions, etc.
- (c) Direct relief to indigents, and to able bodied individuals who are unable to earn enough money to maintain themselves and their families.

In the files removed from the Old Administration Building were a number covering Welfare during the 1930's. In those days, before such programmes as Family Allowances and Old Age Pensions, grants had to be sought from the federal government by the territorial government to assist the aged and the indigent. Between October 1934 and March 1935, for instance, \$10,452.78 was spent in the Territory for firewood and provisions ran to about \$20. a month for single people living in the city or the surrounding area; most people assisted lived in the surrounding area. These people presumably lived in the old Yukon way - in cabins, without services, and growing some of their own food in gardens. In January, February, and March, 1935, the following provisions were supplied to a woman living in Granville: -

13½ pounds ham	50 pounds of flour	one tin syrup
10 pounds butter	50 pounds of potatoes	20 pounds of sugar
12 tins sardines	20 pounds of beans	10 pounds of dried fruit
4 pounds coffee	2 pounds of tea	10 pounds of salt pork
2 sacks corn meal	½ case of canned milk	2 sacks rolled oats
10 pounds lard	1 can coal oil	10 pounds onions
		soap

The above cost \$60. for the three months; cutting and hauling wood cost an additional \$40.

On November 24th, 1933 there were 125 households on relief in the Yukon. These consisted mainly of individuals; only seven families received relief. Of the seven families, five were in the city of Dawson. Sixty-two, or nearly half the households, consisted of individuals in the Dawson district. Of \$5,000. sent from Ottawa for relief in the Territory in early 1934, nearly \$2,000. was spent in Dawson; \$456. was spent in Granville and \$60. in Fortymile. Of the remainder, \$1,435.00 was spent in Keno Hill, \$360. in Mayo and \$300. in Whitehorse. Small sums were spent on relief in Champagne, Carcross, Teslin and Carmacks.

It seems obvious from the records that the welfare problem in the Territory before the Second World War consisted mainly of issuing rations and fuel to widows, old men, orphans and others without means of support: many of these people had come into the country during the Gold Rush. Relief expenditures were not high, and only the bare necessities of life, and little more than that, were issued to those unable to take care of themselves.

In the thirties, as the economy of the Dawson area and of the Territory declined, government expenditures were cut to the bone. Since the early 1950's, however, the policy of northern development pursued by the federal government has ensured the maintenance of a high standard of operation of municipalities, settlements, services, road networks, airport operations, etc. as a prelude to economic development. With these standards has risen the standard of welfare, and the level of what is considered necessary to maintain a "decent standard of living".

In the Yukon, before the war, the small population lived a way of life that could be supported, with very little outside financial assistance, by the country itself. Many lived off the country. But now the standard of what is considered to be a desirable life is no longer being set by what the country and its resources can maintain. This standard has been, and continues to be, set by the federal government. By investing heavily in social capital, by building good schools, hospitals, houses, sewer and water systems, roads, etc., and providing federal civil servants with a standard of living that the rich southern Canadian economy can maintain only by large injections of capital, the federal government has set the "standard of expectation. And this "standard" (in terms of accommodation, salaries, allowances, etc.) as maintained by the civil servants, is the one sought by the middle class entrepreneurs and by private wage earners in the Yukon. Those who live in a manner that the country can support are looked down upon. And even

these people must be supported by relief at certain times of the year. Even maintaining a minimal standard of living, as some examples will show, is a costly business in Dawson. And this money, whether injected into the economy at the municipal or the individual level is being spent mainly to keep people in Dawson, and not to expand the economic base or to stimulate economic development in the future.

- (a) Federal and Territorial contributions to the community and to the maintenance and operation of essential services.

This aspect of the support of Dawson has already been dealt with. Dawson is policed by three members of the R. C. M. P. Unlike southern Canadian municipalities, the city contributes nothing directly to the cost of maintaining these policemen, though the residents contribute indirectly through liquor, gas and other Territorial taxes. The revenue from the school tax of 10 mills contributes only about one tenth of the cost of running the Dawson Elementary High School, which cost \$82, 829 in 1963-64. As already noted, two thirds of the municipal expenditures were derived from government grants that totalled \$80, 000. in 1962. The hospital and Old Folks' Home, run until 1963 by a nursing order of nuns with some Territorial government financial help, is now operated by the Territorial government in co-operation with the federal Department of National Health and Welfare. In 1963 and again in 1964, the Territorial government granted \$6, 000. to the Klondike Visitors' Association to stimulate the tourist industry, and there were probably other minor sums of money that were given to the city as government grants or as other forms of financial assistance. In 1963-64, the estimated government assistance needed to run the municipality, the schools and the hospitals totalled about a quarter of a million dollars. Added to this is the fact that the main base of the area, gold mining, has had to be supported by a programme of government assistance to keep it in existence.

Robertson (1963) notes that the first Yukon Council received no federal grant and that even the cost of roads to the mines was paid locally. In the thirties the mines aided greatly in maintaining the roads in the Territory. In 1964-65, \$300, 500 was budgeted for maintenance of roads in the Dawson area - \$140, 000 for the Stewart Crossing-Dawson road, \$38, 000 for the Sixtymile Road, \$21, 000 for the ferry, \$83, 000 for the Dempster Highway, \$3, 500 for the Bonanza and Dome roads, and \$15, 000 for the Loop Road to Granville. Road maintenance (except for the Loop Road) is the responsibility of the Territorial government which hires large numbers of local people. Expenditure on road maintenance therefore serves as a considerable local source of income.

Government money, therefore, probably forms a large percentage of all the money in circulation in the area.

(b) Payments to families and individuals under federal programmes such as Family Allowances, Old Age Pensions, Unemployment Insurance, etc.

In 1961 there were 82 people in Dawson over the age of 65. Assuming an average Old Age Pension (with supplementary allowance and old age assistance) of approximately \$80. per individual, this totalled \$78, 720. In 1961, children under the age of fifteen numbered 307. As previously noted, nearly half these children were in poor families. Income from family allowances in the city, at \$6.00 per child, would therefore, total \$68, 880. From these two sources alone, the young and the old, Dawson's population derived nearly \$150, 000. annually.

In the summer of 1963, 31 children were government wards. These children were in the care of local people. For such children an allowance of \$60. a month is paid. Income to families in Dawson from this source therefore totalled \$22, 320.

For pensions, allowances, etc., about \$200, 000. flows annually into Dawson. Family Allowances and similar programmes were originally planned to supplement other income. They were never intended to be the mainstay of a family. In 1962, the writer visited a couple who were attempting to establish a farm north of Whitehorse. They appeared to have no steady source of income except eight children they had taken in as wards; these children brought a total of \$480. a month into the household.

Added to the income from pensions and family allowances is that from Unemployment Insurance; no figures were available on this.

(c) Direct relief to indigents and to able bodied individuals who are unable to obtain enough income to maintain themselves and their families.

Southern Canadian municipalities usually issue direct relief, but in the Yukon this is a Territorial government responsibility. The resident Territorial social worker issues relief to Whites and Metis. This worker, who arrived in 1961, was the first to be posted to Dawson. Before this, direct relief was issued by the Territorial agent who was also the liquor vendor. The social worker supervises relief projects such as the wood cutting and snow clearance programmes in the winter of 1962-63. The amount of money spent on direct relief in Dawson varies with the season. On August 12th, 1963, a spot check on those on territorial relief showed four family groups receiving assistance - three families and a boy who was being looked after by a woman. The total expenditure on groceries for these four groups came to \$345. In winter, however, costs are much higher and these costs are increasing. In the last three months of 1961, expenditure in territorial relief totalled \$1, 641. 71; in the same period in 1962, the figure was \$2, 991. 51.

An examination of those receiving relief showed a curious similarity to the situation in the 1930's. Most of those on relief were single indigent men and women, either needing supplements to their pension or having their domiciliary care paid for them. Table 41 shows relief recipients in Dawson and Bear Creek between April 1962 and July 1963.

TABLE 41

RELIEF RECIPIENTS IN DAWSON AND BEAR CREEK
APRIL 1962-JULY 1963 (EXCLUDING INDIANS)

(Source: Welfare Records, Dawson)

	A.	M.	J.	J.	A.	S.	O.	N.	D.	J.	F.	M.	A.	M.	J.	J.
Total Families & individuals receiving relief	38	42	35	35	37	39	40	38	44	46	40	37	35	32	30	25
Number of single men and women	32	35	30	30	32	33	33	32	36	38	31	30	28	26	23	18
Number of families	6	7	5	5	5	6	7	6	8	8	9	7	7	8	7	7

About thirty old people, usually indigents or those attempting to live on their old age pensions, receive old age assistance and supplementary allowances of from \$10. to \$30. a month. Of the maximum of 46 people receiving relief in the period, 22 received this form of relief, and 9 others were having their domiciliary care in the hospital or in the Old Folks' Home paid for. Of the remainder, most received relief in the form of free fuel, free electric light, free water, and as payment for hospital bills and drugs. Of 32 single people receiving relief in April 1962, only fifteen were receiving any relief in July 1963; six others who had been receiving relief in April 1962 died on or before July 1963. This problem, therefore, is mainly one of helping old people to eke out their pensions and allowances, and ensuring that they were cared for when sick, rather than a direct relief problem.

Table 41 shows a core of families obtaining relief, most of them being those of white men, hunting, fishing and trapping for a living. One or two were families with no male head, usually consisting of non-Treaty Indian or Metis women who had married white men, but whose husbands had left them and the children. Of these families, only four received direct relief in every month of the year in the period shown and during the summer the only relief required was payment for light, water and fuel. The relief expenditure

on one family is shown in Table 42.

TABLE 42
 ONE INDIVIDUAL FAMILY RELIEF COSTS
 DAWSON, APRIL 1962 - JULY 1963
 (Source: Welfare Records, Dawson)

	<u>Total</u>	<u>Average for month</u>
Groceries	2, 143.92	134.00
Medical	34.28	-
Services	381.25	23.75
Rent	480.00	30.00
Hardware	19.55	-
Clothing	394.72	24.60
Transportation (Repairing car, etc.)	144.05	-
Fuel	81.75	5.10
Other (Accommodation in Whitehorse)	<u>60.00</u>	<u>-</u>
Total (16 months)	\$3, 739.62	\$233.00
Per Capita (13 people in family)	\$287.65	\$18.00

This family probably represents an extreme case of one supported by relief most of the year. But the per capita monthly expenditure of \$18. is not excessive, and is only three times that of the monthly family allowance for each child.

Among the Indians in 1963, three families were permanently on relief, and the pensions of others were supplemented. Four other families need assistance in the winter. One Indian working in Watson Lake in the summer

of 1963 had his family supported in part by welfare payments. Most of the Indians in Dawson were housed free, and their power and water bill was paid if they could not pay it themselves. Relief was issued to Indians by the residential territorial social worker. Cheques were issued, and if evidence came to light that the money was not being used for groceries and necessities, the cheque was sent to the stores the Indians named.

If all the people of Indian ancestry and white men hunting, fishing, and trapping (groups (a) and (b) were receiving the maximum relief during the winter in Dawson, the total amount of money involved would probably not exceed \$20,000. over a six month period. In all, there were 227 poor people in Dawson (excluding indigents and those in institutions), and of this number about 30 or 40 were children who left the city for schooling in Carcross and Whitehorse in the winter. If each of the approximately 200 people left received \$18. a month, then this would total \$21,600. over the six month winter period. Every indication is that the sum spent on direct relief was considerably less than this. In 1961-62, for instance, the Territorial Government spent only \$4,333 on Unemployment Assistance; in 1963-64 this expenditure came to \$6,068.

The social worker in Dawson stated that welfare was "a social problem not a financial one". Out of about 300 children under fifteen in the city, 31 were wards in August 1963; two more were non-wards, children whose parents had signed them over to the custody of the Territorial government but who still remained with the family. The wards had been taken from the family by the social worker because of cruelty or neglect. Until April 1960, such services as child protection and care, adoption, placements and supervision, and assistance to unmarried mothers were carried out by the Yukon Children's Aid Society, a private group aided by a small grant from the Territorial government. In 1960, the Territorial government took over the caseload of the Children's Aid Society, and assumed full responsibility for child welfare.

The Dawson social worker stated that much of his time was taken up with child care, and certainly, when the writer was in his office, visits by children and youths who had "just come to talk" were frequent. The social worker had founded the Dawson Youth Organization to give the young people something to do; when this man left in 1964, the organization came under the auspices of the local Kiwanis Club.

Dawson has to obtain considerable sums from the territorial and federal governments to function as a municipality. The total expenditure on direct relief to able bodied individuals represented the smallest category of welfare assistance (in its broadest sense) given to the city.

In the summer of 1963, without federal and Territorial government support, Dawson would have ceased to function as a community, and this dependence on external sources of financial assistance increases each year.

CONCLUSION

In July, 1964, the writer spent a few days in Dawson. The city had an air of mild prosperity; employment opportunities were good (at Clinton Creek, Cassiar Creek and with Socony Mobil) and there appeared to be more tourists in town than in the previous summer. But Dawson's basic problems remain. The development of new towns in the Canadian North has been a marked feature of recent years. Such development has usually been the result of careful planning by large companies and federal and provincial governments. Little attention seems to have been paid to planning for the decline of settlements. In the past, people just left boom towns and gold mining settlements when the rich ores were exhausted. In the western United States and northern British Columbia are the remains of many settlements that grew up swiftly in the course of a gold or silver rush, briefly flourished, then decayed and died. Sometimes these towns took on other functions and managed to remain, in a reduced form with smaller, more settled populations. But the extraction of precious minerals from the earth is an activity with only a limited life. In the Klondike this life has extended for nearly seventy years.

Dawson was nurtured and grew up in a tradition of abundance - and impermanence. From 1896 to 1898 Dawson and the Klondike formed an extension of the mining frontier, hundreds of miles beyond the northern limit of settlement. Potter (1954) questions the accepted ideas of the influence of the frontier on the American character, social, political and economic behaviour, and ascribes much of it to the influence of the abundance of natural resources. The attitude of the white residents of Dawson seems to bear out his conclusion that abundance, not the Frontier life, has been the most significant influence on social and economic development in this area. Despite its northerly latitude and frontier location, Dawson arose in a few years fully equipped with all the modern services and facilities of a city. The levels of expectation of most of the residents in the period around 1900 was probably considerably less than the level of realization possible in a city and a region where a fortune, at least in the early days, could be gained easily from the ground. This early abundance established the level of expectation in the Dawson area. After 1900 a steady decline set in as many of the population moved away. But even in the depression of the thirties, Dawson remained a desirable place to live, the capital of the Territory, equipped with modern services, a well organized social life, and a reasonably sound economic base. Now both the physical and the social fabric of the town are falling apart. Instead of starting from rough and ready beginnings, as did the major urban centres of Canada, Dawson started life in luxury and abundance, and has

declined in importance and wealth since its founding. People leave Dawson now; they do not set out from the south to establish themselves there, except in unusual circumstances.

Although the traditional basis of the economy - gold mining - has declined, the city has taken on other functions which can only be carried out by a settlement located in the northern Yukon. The government functions (administration of resources, policing, hospital, welfare services, education) have to be carried out in or from a central locality. The oil and mineral exploration crews need a base from which to operate. As has been pointed out, the changes in the transportation system in the Yukon have aided Dawson's economy by cutting costs of deliveries, aiding tourist access, decreasing inventories, and generally making it easier and less expensive to get into the area. But these roads, particularly in an area with a harsh climate and marginal, seasonal economy, have also enabled people to leave the area more quickly and cheaply. The people who leave are liable to be those with special skills, capital or experience, who feel that the climate, society and economy of the Dawson area do not offer them enough opportunities. Their level of expectations is not set by the land and its resources, but by the outside world, the world of new cars, refrigerators, mild climate, paved roads, variety in entertainment facilities, etc. Where Dawson had much to offer in the early days, it is now noticeably lacking in even certain minimal facilities. For those who live or could live off the land, another dilemma arises. In the 1920s and 1930s the way of life of the "river people" and of the placer miners provided everything needed for a simple life based on a subsistence economy. Furs or a good clean-up might make them suddenly rich, but this represented an unusual bonus, not an expected return. Those who try to live on the land must now reside in the city for part of the year, so that their children can go to the school and they themselves can receive medical treatment, enjoy entertainment facilities, obtain casual wage employment, and apply for welfare and social security benefits. All these opportunities and benefits have had the effect of increasing "centripetal" forces that pull people into urban areas, and of decreasing "centrifugal" forces that send them on to the land. One "centrifugal" force tending to send people out of the city has been the Tote Trail Assistance Programme. This has opened up more remote areas for placer mining and lumbering. The major road networks that connect with the road system of British Columbia have not so much had the effect of opening up the area so that the local people can reach and use the land resources more intensively, as they have provided convenient, cheap escape routes for those wishing to leave the area either seasonally or permanently.

Those who stay are trapped socially, culturally and economically, unless they are the representatives of large outside based agencies or possess special skills that enable them to obtain a job anywhere in Canada. Over one third of the Dawson population and half the city's children belong to poor families. These families could have made a reasonable living in the old days, by using every land resource they could find, by doing without schools, piped sewer and water systems, etc. Now they congregate in the city, preferring the certainty of the settled life and its comforts, to the prospect of venturing into the hinterland where the chances of obtaining even a subsistence living are slim. The children in these families are being brought up in an environment that offers them little opportunity to follow the old subsistence way of life, and does not fit them for a place in the technological world of airline companies and oil exploration, except at the lowest and most unskilled levels.

Indications are that the Indian people in Dawson prefer settlement life and wage employment, but that the group of whites, who usually associate with them and who have married Indian women, are oriented more to the land and its resources. As long as they can earn a living from trapping, hunting and fishing, these men will stay on the land and only accept wage employment under certain conditions. The Indians, on the other hand, appear to be willing to accept wage employment when it is offered to them, but are reluctant to turn to the land for a livelihood. The Indians in the settlement have in fact moved into a "poor White" type of subculture, As James (1963:728) points out a "poor" family tends to be considered "Indian" in cultural orientation. White men who followed the traditional subsistence "Indian" way of life in the twenties and thirties and who seldom came to town, probably formed a significant portion of the Territory's population. Now they have almost completely disappeared.

Both sets of people are trapped, economically and socially. If jobs become fewer, they will be the first to be fired (because of "irregular" habits). Their inability (because of social or cultural factors) to hold jobs precludes them from obtaining skills, and the alternative of living from the land resources appeals less as the individuals become older; the younger generation, trained in the schools, are unable or unwilling to become committed to a way of life that involves living in the bush (this is especially true of the girls and young women), and travelling and working under difficult conditions for minimal returns. The old occupations like trapping that offered good returns and status no longer provide either. The small number of local Indians employed by Y.C.G.C. seems to dispose of the idea that employment as unskilled labourers is the first step towards the eventual integration of the Indians into the labour force. The Indian people in the Dawson area have less the characteristic of an ethnic group than of a socio-economic level - the poor. There are no Indian peoples in business, and no Indian peoples have taken up placer mining. Few have full-time

jobs in government at any level. Work on the roads, in mining exploration and development and as casual labourers offer the best possibilities for employment, and many of these activities are highly seasonal; opportunities for employment also vary widely from year to year for both Indians and whites. The town offers a narrow range of economic opportunities; the intelligent and the ambitious soon leave. Special skills needed for opening up this part of the North are lacking in the residents, and labour must often be brought in from "outside".

Merely to keep Dawson in existence requires ever increasing sums of money, and most of this money comes from outside sources. In 1961-62, the gross expenditure by the Territorial government in the Dawson area amounted to \$803,030; this figure included expenditures on roads in the area. Total net expenditure (gross expenditures less recoverables from Federal agencies) came to \$298,418. These figures were abstracted from the Public Accounts of the Territory. The 1963-64 gross expenditure of welfare \$1,069,172 and net expenditures \$572,425. Gross expenditure of welfare increased from \$12,157 in 1961-62 to \$75,380 in 1963-64, mostly on account of the take-over of the hospital nursing home. Health expenditures went from \$2,832 to \$45,897 again due mainly to the Territorial take-over of the hospital-nursing home. Very little capital is being generated from private sources in the city itself.

The permanent residents of the area who do not depend on welfare payments, casual wage employment and subsistence activities and who make up about fifty per cent of the Dawson population, are marginal business and mining operators, entrepreneurs, and wage employees of less prosperous undertakings and those generally in employment whose returns and wages are lower than the salaries of government employees and highly skilled "outsiders". This group, which contains many long established Dawson residents, wants to live at a comfortable level. On April 16th, 1964, the Whitehorse Star ran a cartoon showing a dilapidated sewer and water system in Dawson. Accompanying the cartoon was a letter from "Dawson City Tax-payers" which stated "What once was accepted and tolerated by the Oldtimers is not being done by a new generation Progress demands a modern water system in keeping with the modern way of life". This sums up better than the writer can the dilemma of Dawson - can this economically marginal area support a modern town? If it cannot support a modern town, who pays the money to keep this town in existence? How much money is needed to keep the town in existence and what proportion of this cost should the local tax base provide? And who benefits mainly from the "outside" money put into the town? It appears obvious from the present conditions in Dawson that despite the large sums of money being put into Dawson by the Federal and Territorial governments, many people there are living at a minimal level.

Dawson's continued existence is not due entirely to historical or economic inertia. Dawson acts as a centre for small placer operations, as a tourist attraction and as a minor service, communications, and government centre for the northern Yukon. There is a need for some sort of settlement in the northern Yukon to perform these functions. Can Dawson, with its decayed physical structures, inadequate services and large number of poor families, serve this function adequately and without heavy subsidy in the future? Or will a new town, smaller and more economical to operate, have to be established, either by consolidating the existing buildings of Dawson, or by founding a new settlement, as was done in the MacKenzie Delta? This is the question that will have to be answered in the next few years.

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