FORTY MILE
FORT CUDAHY
AND
FORT CONSTANTINE HISTORIC SITE

MANAGEMENT PLAN

APPENDIX ONE – HISTORIC SUMMARY

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FORTY MILE, FORT CONSTANTINE, AND FORT CUDAHY HISTORIC SITE: A BACKGROUND HISTORY

Prepared by T.J. Hammer, 2003

Introduction

The historical background sketch of Forty Mile is intended to provide an historical context for the Forty Mile Management Plan. Furthermore, it can be used as a tool by planners to aid in the development of the historical interpretation of the site including themes and general historical trends including regional historical developments both pre- and post-contact.

Based on our present knowledge, the history of Forty Mile spans a period of at least 500 years. Of that five hundred it is only the last 65 years of that history (1885–1950) that can be readily observed as one walks through the former townsite. Recent archaeological investigations at the site, however, demonstrate that there is also a rich history of material culture buried within the soils of the former townsite revealing generations of Hän and First Nation history.

The purpose of this historical background of Forty Mile is to summarize our current understanding of the history of the former townsite. Therefore, by necessity it is an account of two different cultures and uses a mix of disciplines including anthropology and history. The scope of the project neither allowed for extensive in-depth archival research nor oral interviews. It relies heavily on secondary historical sources, primarily that of Michael Gates (1994) and William Ogilvie (1913). Both are excellent resources regarding the early history of the Yukon. These two sources deal exclusively with the period of Yukon History between 1860 to the Klondike Gold Rush. The manuscript by T.J. Hammer in 2000,which attempts to synthesize the archaeological data documented to date within the Hän Traditional Territory, was the principal resource as was Osgood's 1971 ethnography of the Hän.

The history described below demonstrates the various data gaps in our understanding of Forty Mile history. It is somewhat peculiar that these gaps fall primarily within the time period of post-contact times of Yukon history. This is likely due to the focus of study undertaken to date rather than lack of actual resources.

1. Little is known regarding the actual progression of buildings at Forty Mile to 1896 as well as building function within the townsite. We have a good understanding of the services available at Forty Mile during its boom but not where they were located. Archaeological work as well as detailed photograph analysis backed by archival research would significantly close this gap.
2. A second gap is the importance that agriculture played within the townsite's economy. The fields present and the farming equipment suggest that it played a significant role at one time. Again further archival research would shed light on this aspect of Forty Mile history.
3. A third gap is in our knowledge of the decline of the Forty Mile townsite with respect to dates and the demise of the numerous structures that were once located on the site.
4. The third gap goes hand in hand with the fourth, which is our lack of understanding of the post 1900 history of the site including non-First Nation and First Nation use and ultimate abandonment.

These gaps could be lessened through research of newspaper articles, especially Dawson newspapers, and other governmental records including the Department of Indian Affairs. A valuable source of information for information on this period of Forty Mile likely rests in the minds of the Tr'ondëk Hwëch'in elders as well as other old timers in the region. Interviews asking how they used the Yukon River between Dawson and Forty Mile would be invaluable to our understanding of site use after the big rush.

The historical background of Forty Mile begins with a review of previous research and the more important sources used in this paper. This section is followed by a description of the natural setting and a section on the prehistory of the Forty Mile area and of the Hän traditional territory. A synopsis is then given on the Hän traditional lifeways including subsistence, trade and relations with neighbouring groups. The contact period or fur trade is discussed in the next section focusing not only on the first European history within the region but also the reaction of the Hän to its introduction. Pre-Forty Mile history is discussed documenting the transition in the economic emphasis from the trade in furs to the trade in gold dust followed by the beginning and establishment of the Forty Mile townsite 1886-1894. This section includes a social history as well as a chronology of events. The First Nation presence in Forty Mile is then discussed, as are the missionaries and the church at Forty Mile. From this point the events from 1894 to the end of the Klondike gold rush that impact Forty Mile are outlined and discussed. Lastly, Forty Mile in the post-1900, post Klondike Gold Rush period rounds out the presentation of the history of Forty Mile followed by a conclusion pointing out general trends in Forty Mile's history and recapping significant events.

Previous Research at Forty Mile

The history of and the physical remains contained within the former townsite of Forty Mile have been of interest to researchers for decades. Academic studies regarding the human history of the general area began in the 1950s. Documents from such investigations are scattered throughout North America, contained within Territorial, Provincial and National Archives, museums throughout Yukon, Canada and the United States as well as various universities. Scores of publications exist documenting the early history of the Yukon from miners' sagas to the memoirs of government officials; however, very few dedicate themselves to the history of Forty Mile exclusively.

Ethnographers and archaeologists first came into Hän Traditional territory or the Dawson/Forty Mile area in the 1930s. Cornelius Osgood produced an ethnography of the Hän in 1971 where he details their traditional lifestyle (Osgood 1971). His ethnography was largely compiled from the field notes of R. Slobodin and Catherine McClellan and primary historical sources with little actual fieldwork carried out by him.

Early writings by the pioneers in the region provide excellent source material on traditional lifeways of the Hän. Many of them have been published. The first explorers and traders not only document their time in the region but also comment on the local inhabitants as well. Campbell (Johnson and Legros 2000; Wilson1970), A. Murray (1910), F. Schwatka (1988), G. Dawson (1987), W. Ogilvie (1913), and F. Schmitter (1906) all provide valuable information on the Hän. The latter author was a doctor for the Medical Corps, United States Army, who wrote specifically on the Eagle Hän during his tenure at Fort Egbert in the early 20th Century.

Archaeological work also contributes to our knowledge of human history within the Hän Traditional territory. R. MacNeish, W. Irving and F. Haldiegh-West began investigations in the late 1950s and

into the 1960s. Local archaeologist, J. Hunston built on this work in the 1970s and D. Clark, of the Canadian Museum of Civilization, carried out work at Fort Reliance in the 1980s. While there, Clark not only documented the post operated by Harper and McQuesten but also unearthed a significant historic era First Nation occupation. The archaeological work including a summary of Hän ethnography has been brought up to date by T. Hammer (Hammer 2000) in a paper prepared for Parks Canada.

Other recent writings on the Hän include work carried out by S. Robinson for the Dawson City Museum in the late 1970s and K. Kosuta's short summary compiled for the then Dawson Indian Band. H. Dobrowolsky (1998) wrote a history of Tr'ochëk, a Hän fish camp located at the mouth of the Klondike River, which includes oral history documentation speaking to the larger region. The most comprehensive work carried out regarding the Hän is Mishler and Simione's ethnography of the Hän for the National Park Service due to be published in the near future.

M. Gates' book *Gold at Fortymile Creek: Early Days in the Yukon* is the most recent and by far most comprehensive work documenting the non-First Nation history of Forty Mile (Gates 1994). Except for Pierre Berton's (1958) article in the Toronto Quarterly, Gates' book is the only published work dealing specifically with the townsite of Forty Mile. There are, however, a few works documenting the Forty Mile Mining district (see Gates 1999). Ogilvie's *Early Days in the Yukon* provides much information on the former townsite and is referred to by all who research the early mining in the Yukon. B. Barrett produced an informative summary of the site's history for the Heritage Branch in the 1980s that has recently been followed up by the Branch with their commissioning H. Dobrowolsky to compile a comprehensive bibliography of sources pertaining to Forty Mile.

The Clinton Creek Historical Society appears to have been the first organized group to conduct heritage work at Forty Mile. The Society was formed in 1970/71 in response to the decay and wonton pillaging of the site. With an initial grant from Cassiar Asbestos and fundraising events in Dawson such as their Discovery Day tea, the 37 members carried out a number of projects at the townsite of Forty Mile. Over the fours years of their existence they had several work parties at the site raising collapsed floors, cleaning and preserving the graveyard, stopping the site from being used as a make shift rifle range and hiring a caretaker. They collected any remaining artifacts including a tiny, axe-damaged, pump organ said once to have belonged to the wife of Bishop Bompas (Sutherland-McCall 1978). Further research is needed to determine where the collections gathered by the Society reside.

The Department of Indian and Northern Affairs carried out a survey of the townsite in 1972, as part of a comprehensive survey of the river from Lake LaBerge to Forty Mile, excluding Dawson City. The "Yukon Waterway Site Survey" concentrated on mapping the extant buildings remaining at the site including architectural drawings of each structure. These plans remain a valuable resource for heritage work at Forty Mile.

During their 1980 study of five sites along the Yukon River, Settlement Surveys Ltd. conducted an initial archaeological assessment of the site of Forty Mile. This work included a general survey and testing of the area as well as a magnetometer survey around the extant structures of the RNWMP Post, the Telegraph Office, and the James Anglican Church. The study concluded that restoration activities on the three structures would not impact significant archaeological resources but did note middens located between the police post and the telegraph station, which may include a building foundation. A First Nations' component was documented near St. James church as well. Historic cultural remains were also documented on Mission and Gibson's islands. Settlement Surveys Ltd.

noted that Forty Mile was an extremely large and artifact-rich archaeological site containing numerous building foundations and outlines and several hundred related features. They continued to state that a "comprehensive survey to map and test the surface features at the site would require a large crew of archaeologists several months over at least two field seasons" (Settlement Surveys Ltd. 1980: 48).

Since Settlement Survey's work the former town site of Forty Mile has been subject to little in the way of systematic archaeological survey until the present undertaking from the Tr'ondëk Hwëch'in and Heritage Branch, Government of Yukon. T. Hammer and the Tr'ondëk Hwëch'in carried out this work in 1998, 1999, 2000, 2001 and 2002.

During the summer of 1998 testing of the site began and a week was spent to determine the extent of the historic occupation and to further locate and refine the First Nation occupations present. The project consisted of a surface survey and a shovel testing program. The shovel testing results indicated that the main concentration of First Nation use was located at the northern tip of Forty Mile Island. The results of the historic survey indicated that Ogilvie's map of 1891 accurately reflected the extent of the historic occupation of the site.

The summer of 1999 saw a small crew return to the site. The purpose of these investigations was to conduct an initial survey of the Fort Constantine and Fort Cudahy areas across the Fortymile River from the Forty Mile townsite and to further investigate the First Nation occupation at the tip of Forty Mile Island. A total of ten features were documented associated with Fort Constantine and 12 associated with Fort Cudahy. Considerable destruction of subsurface heritage resources was documented at the site of Fort Constantine, caused mainly by natural processes including frost heaving and permafrost melt sink holes. The northern end of Fort Cudahy, however, appeared to be intact, at least archaeologically speaking. No extant structures were documented, however, seven features were identified relating to the presence of former structures. Furthermore, one privy depression was identified as well as one small metal container midden or refuse area. It was concluded that significant archaeological features existed within this area and that further systematic investigation was warranted.

The further testing of the tip of Forty Mile Island focusing on the First Nation use of the site proved very positive results. At least three occupations were identified including

1. the first Nation historic and non-First Nation historic levels.
2. a protohistoric occupation, which is considered to be the time of indirect contact with Europeans,
3. A prehistoric or precontact level approximately 60–70cm below the surface was further exposed.

Within the protohistoric and First Nation historic levels trade beads, reworked bottle glass, caribou bone and a birch bark basket were documented. Within the prehistoric level a large fire pit or hearth was unearthed and a stone end scraper accompanied by several stone flakes from the production and maintenance of stone tools were recovered atop of the hearth. Another test pit, approximately 20m north of the hearth, produced a second hearth of the same type and at the same level as the first hearth observed. Both hearths are similar to those excavated at the site of Tr'ochëk dated at approximately 200 years ago. The presence of the hearths and their related artifacts coupled with the protohistoric occupation indicate a significant First Nation occupation of the site underlying the historic occupations is present.

Six weeks were spent at Forty Mile during the summer of 2000. Investigations concentrated solely on the mapping of the historic features present at the site. Prior to mapping, the entire site was subject to an intensive pedestrian survey where features were first identified then flagged for future mapping. It is estimated that 500 features were identified during this survey. A north south baseline was established beginning at survey post 10L1005, 2000, located at the southern end of the Forty Mile townsite. This post was designated as N500W200 so that the grid incorporated the entirety of the site including Mission Island, Fort Constantine and Fort Cudahy. During the mapping activities a total of 202 historic features were mapped including 19 former building locations. Other features included single artifacts that included heavy machinery, artifact clusters, extant and collapsed buildings, rectangular and circular depressions, linear berms, linear depressions and raised platforms. Despite the large number of heritage resources mapped, the 2001 survey covered only a portion of Forty Mile Island leaving a portion of the island, all of the 'mainland' and all of Mission Island unmapped. As a result of the work undertaken, a preliminary Forty Mile Heritage Resources Map and map detail were created digitally. The sheer abundance of post-contact heritage resources at the site clearly demonstrated its significance for scientific and humanistic study and for interpretation. However, the site is extremely vulnerable. .

The six week archaeological investigations carried out at the site of Forty Mile during 2001 generated a large amount of data regarding not only the historic occupation of the site but also its pre-contact First Nations occupation. Over the past two years, a total of 357 were documented on Forty Mile Island and 17 historic features were documented on Mission Island.. Furthermore, the 2001 archaeological testing of seven building outlines (FMBO-1–7) indicated that there are buried intact building features present. It also appears that there are enough artifacts remaining in and around the former structures to provide insights into building use and time of use. The collection generated from the excavations of the First Nations locality is representative of two cultural groups– First Nation and non-First Nation. It appears that most of the material culture recovered can be confidently associated with the Hän or First Nation use of the site over the last 500 years.

The excavations of the First Nations locality located near the tip of Forty Mile Island produced a large collection of cultural remains. Furthermore, a total of four features were identified that could be directly associated with First Nation use of the site. One post-contact cache/midden was identified where numerous items of First Nation, European and those of a blended nature were recovered. Three pre-contact hearths were identified on the 5th organic buried below surface. Radiocarbon dating indicates that they represent at least two occupations likely occurring between 300–500 years ago. The artifact assemblage associated with the precontact occupations includes two end scrapers, a bone point, a flake-stone axe/adze and an incised bone piece. A small debitage collection was also recovered and was subjected to an analysis the results of which suggested late stage reduction of raw material through the free hand reduction technique. In simpler terms, occupants were sharpening and shaping their stone tools.

A further six weeks of archaeological investigations were carried out in 2002. Additional mapping was completed bringing the total amount of historic features identified within the former townsite to 552, on Mission Island features to 19 and at Fort Cudahy and Forty Constantine to 23. Excavations of the First Nations locality continued and documented three additional Hän historic pit features. The 2002 investigations confirmed the presence of a second living floor predating the 300-500 year old occupation identified in previous years. Testing was also carried out on Mission Island. A number of depressions, which have been tentatively identified as possible First Nation dwellings, produced a

relatively large collection of artifacts. The data is still in the process of analysis at the time of this writing.

Natural Setting

The site of Forty Mile falls within the traditional territory of the Hän, which encompasses the Yukon River corridor from 64° latitude north to 65°30' latitude north including both parts of the Yukon and Alaska (Crow and Obley 1981). The confines of the Hän traditional territory adequately sets Forty Mile in geographic and environmental context. The Yukon River winds through the middle of the Hän traditional territory in a northwest direction. The major tributaries, from south to north, are the Klondike, Chandindu, Fifteenmile, Fortymile, Seventymile, Tatonduk, Nation, Kandik and Charley rivers. The region encompasses at least three ecoregions as defined by Oswald and Senyk (1977) including the Klondike River, the South Ogilvie Mountains and North Ogilvie Mountains ecoregions.

The Klondike Ecoregion, which makes up that portion of the territory west of the Yukon River, is within the unglaciated portion of the Klondike Plateau physiographic subdivision (Bostock 1966). Low plateaus dissected by deep, narrow and V-shaped valleys characterize the area. Elevations along the Yukon River are about 300 metres. Vegetation on better-drained areas, which lack permafrost, consists of white spruce, paper birch, aspen and poplar. On wetter sites black spruce dominates. The understory consists of ericaceous shrubs, willow and shrub birch.

The portion of the Hän Traditional Territory east of the Yukon River includes the western portion of the South Ogilvie Ecoregion and the southwestern portion of the North Ogilvie Ecoregions. These areas are characterized by steep, rugged mountains including the Tombstone and Cloudy ranges. The ranges form the headwaters for the eastern tributaries of the Yukon River. The area was affected by limited glaciation during the last ice advance leaving surficial deposits in the valley bottoms that are morainal, glaciofluvial and alluvial in nature. Within the North Klondike Valley the terrain is rolling with hummocky ground cover. Vegetation includes black and white spruce, aspen, willow with an understory of moss/lichen, shrub birch and a variety of herbaceous flora. The Yukon River offers a rich riparian zone with its islands thickly populated with aspen, poplar, white and black spruce and willow.

Ecosystems are never static. The climate, plants and animals changed over the millenia, at times quickly and at other times slowly. It appears, however, that the modern environment as it is known today was firmly established by at least 4,000 BP at the end of the warming trend called the Hypsithermal-beginning at the start of the Holocene (Pielou 1991).

During the Wisconsinan glaciation (+12,000 BP) the majority of the area around Forty Mile was not glaciated, making it part of what has been termed as periglaical Beringia (Young 1982). Areas in close proximity to the large ice sheets of the Cordillera would have been characterized by unstable outwash plains with rivers that had marked seasonal discharge, katabatic winds and large amounts of aeolian silt deposition and deflation (Schweger 1982; Young 1982). The area would likely have been subject to some of these phenomena but to what degree is uncertain. A recent study in the Kluane region, by S. Smith, looking at the effects of aeolian silt deposition originating from the Slims River indicates that such deposition enhances vegetal growth. For regions further away from the ice's edge, Schweger (1982: 110) proposes two broad vegetation types that include "an upland xeric tundra dominated by sedges, *Artemisia*, and grasses as well as numerous, but less abundant, herbaceous

meadow (or tundra) with frequent willow shrubs" and the lower "steppe" like vegetation of *Artemisa*, *Dryas* and sedge–*Salix* meadows in wetter areas and tundra type meadows with mixed grasses along dryer terraces (Schweger 1982: 110-111).).

Although not glaciated during the last glaciation, glacial retreat and the resultant melt water as well as seasonal fluctuations likely had a significant effect on the drainage pattern and level of the Yukon River. Fuller (1986), based on his Yukon River evolution study, suggests that the Yukon River only lowered to its present level approximately 7,000 years ago. This unpredictable time, which would have had impacts on flora, fauna and humans, likely lasted into the early to mid-Holocene.

Paleontological remains from 30,000 BP to the beginning of the Holocene in Alaska and the Yukon indicate a faunal community twice as diverse as it is today in the same region (Matthews 1982). Species represented between 18,000 and 16,000 BP include mammoth, bison, horse, archaic musk ox, musk ox, mountain sheep, saiga antelope, moose and caribou (Guthrie 1982). Around 14,000 BP, as the climate warmed and the glaciers retreated, the steppe-like tundra in Beringa began to disappear. With this change in environment the faunal and floral landscape changed as well. Pleistocene megafauna began to lose their niches faster than they could adapt resulting in their extinction. Some species surviving into the Holocene moved out of Yukon and Alaska while others remained including bison, sheep, caribou and moose. Some mammals such as bison, sheep and some carnivores were reduced in size. This "Holocene dwarfing" was likely the result of environmental stress deriving from the reduction of the steppe-like Beringian landscape (Guthrie 1982).

The palynological data for changes in the environment over the last 10,000 years come primarily from southwestern Yukon. The pollen record indicates that a tundra-like vegetation covered the landscape ca. 10,000 BP to 8,500 BP with high proportions of dwarf birch, juniper, sage, grasses, soapberry and balsam poplar. Cwynar (1988) describes the vegetation as being *Populus* woodland with an understory of soapberry in gallery forests with open areas of grassland shrub vegetation. Initially the climate was cool, however, a warming trend occurred ca. 9,000 BP with a corresponding rise in alder, juniper, sage and willow and a decline of dwarf birch (Cwynar 1989; Stuart et al. 1989).

Spruce first appears in the palynological record by ca. 9,250 BP - 8,500 BP (Cwynar 1988. By 8,000 BP a boreal forest dominated by white spruce was established. Black spruce was present but in low frequencies (Cwynar 1988: 1276; Cwynar and Spear 1991; Keenan and Cwynar 1992; Stuart et al. 1989). Extensive stands of white spruce, trembling aspen and balsam poplar with an under story of juniper and soapberry characterized well drained slopes, and in wetter valley bottoms small dispersed stands of black spruce likely occurred (Cwynar 1988).

Between ca. 6,000 BP and 4,100 BP, spruce frequencies seem to switch with a sharp decline of white spruce and an increase of black spruce (Keenan and Cwynar 1992). Alder rose to its maximum by 4,000 BP and dwarf birch all but disappeared (Stuart et al. 1989: 349). This implies a drier climate during this time; however, after 4,000 BP white spruce increased and black spruce decreased and pollen frequencies appear to have stabilized to those of the present day (Cwynar 1988, Keenan and Cwynar 1992).

It is likely that by 8,000 BP the fauna within the study area resembled the fauna in the region during the last century. The frequencies of different fauna and their distribution over the landscape probably varied over the past 8,000 BP likely correlating with local and regional changes in climate and vegetation. Two exceptions do exist, however, that influenced humans in times past. Prior to the

1920s the Forty Mile Caribou herd was estimated to have numbered over 500,000. By the 1970s it was reduced to approximately 7,000 animals (Urquhart and Farnell 1986) but is now slowly making a come back. As well, bison were native to the region up to approximately 200 years ago but disappeared until their recent reintroduction to southwestern Yukon. Other important large mammals within the study area include moose, mountain sheep and goat (McClellan and Denniston 1981). Muskrat, squirrels and hare constitute the important small game animals with the important fur bearing mammals being fox, wolverine, lynx, marten and beaver. Migratory waterfowl such as ducks, geese and swans are important species occupying the small lakes, ponds and river estuaries. Local lakes support a variety of fish including trout, whitefish, grayling and pike. Pike and grayling also occur in a number of streams and rivers including the Fortymile. Salmon do occur in significant quantities within the Yukon River and some of its tributaries and include the King or Chinook salmon and the Chum or dog salmon. Important food plants within the study area include bearberry, low and high bush cranberry, blueberry, currants, soapberry, Hudson's Bay tea, "bear roots" and rose hips (McClellan and Denniston 1981).

The climate and the resulting distribution of faunal and floral resources over the landscape would have influenced the settlement patterns and the technology of the local human inhabitants of the study area. Although the environment has been more or less stable over the last 4,000 years, two geological events outside of the study area likely influenced human settlement patterns and therefore the archaeological record. Two major volcanic eruptions, originating in the White River area near the Yukon-Alaska border, blanketed southwestern and western central Yukon as well as eastern portions of Alaska with a layer of tephra. This White River ash is evident throughout the affected areas today and makes for a convenient time marker for archaeologists. The earliest eruption, referred to as the North lobe, occurred approximately 1,900 BP and is evident in west-central Yukon and eastern-central Alaska. The south lobe, which was deposited 1,260 BP, extends southwest from its origin and blanketed much of southwestern Yukon; even as far as the Northwest Territories (Clague et al. 1995; Lerbekmo et al. 1975; Workman 1972, 1978). A small amount of North lobe ash is evident within the Forty Mile area today. Evidence for the actual impact of the ash falls on the environment is not well understood, however, Workman (1972, 1978) suggests that the eruptions made areas with the greatest ash fall, which can be up to a number of metres thick, uninhabitable for a time. This likely forced the abandonment of these areas and likely saw people moving to the north or south. (Workman 1972).

A geological third event occurred ca. AD 1680–1820 referred to as the "Little Ice Age" (Workman 1978). Its impacts, with respect to glaciation, appear to have been confined to the areas closest to the St. Elias Mountain range in southwestern Yukon and likely had no direct impact on the people of the Forty Mile area.

Human Prehistory of the Forty Mile Area

The Forty Mile region was not glaciated during the last glaciation called the Wisconsinan glaciation, which covered most of Canada and parts of the northern United States in a blanket of ice of up to 3.2km thick. As mentioned earlier the region around Forty Mile formed the eastern margins of Beringia, legendary for its large cold adapted mammoths roaming wide, wind-blown grass steppes. As a result there is a potential for finding archaeological sites predating 10,000 BP (BP stands for before present in radio carbon years, present being ca. 1955). This potential dominated the mindset of those who practiced the early archaeology in the northern and central Yukon. Their search was one

for the earliest indications of human habitation on the North and South American continent, which were reasoned to be located in the Alaska-Yukon region based on the understanding of the land bridge. The new colonizers are known to have entered into the uninhabited, game rich continent via the Bering Land Bridge. This "bridge", which was some 1,600km wide in places, was uncovered as the massive northern hemisphere glaciers grew retaining enough of the earth's water; to ultimately lower sea levels by 100-200m.

Within the Hän Traditional territory there are 163 archaeological sites on the Canadian side of the border and likely up to 5060 on the Alaskan side. Evidence for late Pleistocene or ice age human occupation in eastern Beringia does in fact come from the Dawson area along with collections from the famous Bluefish Caves near Old Crow. The Old Crow artifacts, estimated at ca. 25,000 to 30,000 BP, consist of flaked mammoth bones, bone cores and modified ivory specimens (Morlan and Cinq-Mars 1982). Although substantially later in time, a caribou antler punch, which was likely used in the production of stone tools was recovered from secondary contexts, meaning not in its original location, from Locality 16 along Hunker Creek (KiVl-1in the Klondike district. This punch was dated to 11,350 BP (Morlan 1999) and represents the earliest physical evidence of human occupation of the Forty Mile area.

The date of the punch is contemporaneous with the Nenana cultural complex, a technological complex, documented at sites located along the Tanana and Nenana Rivers in central Alaska (Dixon 1999). This complex dates, from ca. +11,600 to 10,000 BP and is characterized by triangular and tear drop-shaped points (Chindadn points), straight and concave based lanceolate points, perforators, endscrapers, sidescrapers, burins, hammer and anvil stones and unifacial knives and scrapers (Dixon 1999: 167).

In Yukon, collections that either radio carbon or stylistically date to the Nenana Complex or even as late as 7,000 years ago are grouped with what has been termed the Northern Cordilleran tradition (Clark 1993; Gotthardt 1990). People using this technology are believed to be the first inhabitants of the Forty Mile/Dawson region. They are believed to have hunted and gathered in a largely treeless environment relying on the mainstays of the large bison and caribou herds and possibly even the mammoth in earlier times (Gotthardt 1989, 1990, 1999; Greer 1989b). Within Yukon the early Holocene (10,000-7,000 BP) Northern Cordilleran tool kit consisted of large, concave and round based lanceolate spear points and in later times side-notched Kamut points, transverse burins and a formalized large blade technology.

A total of ten sites are associated with the Northern Cordilleran tradition within the Hän traditional territory. None are in the immediate vicinity of Forty Mile. Most (n=7) are concentrated in the Tombstone Mountain and North Klondike River area. A Northern Cordilleran component may be present at the Moosehide site consisting of a stone flake in association with an 8000 year old date (Hunston 1977). The only other dated site is the Hunker creek antler punch. A site that produced a large lanceolate Paleoindian-like point was documented near Galena Creek south of Dawson near the Stewart River. The ten sites documented suggesting a Northern Cordilleran presence are indicative of late Pleistocene-early Holocene big game hunters that had a relatively widespread distribution within Hän Territory (Hammer 2000). Except for an obsidian flake, which suggests trade, the raw material utilized was local chert and basalt. No evidence has been documented as yet to provide data on shelters, diet and other aspects of life ways (Ibid.).

A second cultural group believed to be separate but contemporaneous with the people utilizing

Northern Cordilleran technology has been documented in Yukon and Alaska. The microblade technology used by these peoples has affinities with the Diuktai culture in Siberia. Some researchers argue that there is strong evidence supporting the hypothesis that the appearance of microblade technology in Alaska and Yukon coincides with the arrival and spread of the Na-dene speakers of which Athapaskan is a part (Magne and Fedje 2002). This technology in the north has been called by many names including the American Paleoarctic Tradition, Northwest Microblade tradition, Denali culture or even the Beringian Tradition (Clark et al. 1999). In Yukon this tradition is presently referred to as the Northwest Microblade tradition (NWMt). Like their Northern Cordilleran counterparts, people producing the NWMt stone tools hunted the caribou and bison. They arrived in the continent slightly later and have a presence in Yukon and Alaska from 110,000-5,000 BP.

The hallmark of the NWMt is microblade technology. Microblades are small parallel-sided stone blades struck from wedge-shaped, conical and/or tabular cores. These blades were likely used as insets in bone or antler for use as knives or even projectile points (Clark 1991; Dixon 1999; Greer 1989b). Other stone implements associated with the tool kit include burins, specifically the Donnely burin, bifacial biconvex knives, round based points and end scrapers.

Although no sites occur within the immediate area of Forty Mile, NWMt technology has been documented at 13 sites within the Hän Traditional territory (Hammer 2000). A total of eight sites are located along the Yukon River in Yukon and Alaska and three sites are located in the Seela Pass or the headwaters of the Chandindu River. The remaining site is located in the North Klondike River Valley.

The only dated site within the region is Moosehide. Charcoal associated with the microblade technology, which not only included microblades but also wedge-shaped microblade cores, provided at date of 5.600 BP. Other artifacts within the collection include two lancoelate straight based points, one constricting base or slightly side-notched point, a burinated endscraper and a notched cobble (Hunston 1977). Faunal remains or animal bones recovered include large and small mammal. The presence of the notched cobble suggests that the occupants were fishing to some degree although no fish remains were identified. The majority of raw material types identified with the Moosehide collection could be found locally. The obsidian or volcanic glass specimen suggests trade and one of the obsidian flakes was chemically sourced to have originated from Mount Edziza in Northern British Columbia. The other obsidian may have originated from the same location, however, other possibilities exist including Batza Tena along the Koyukuik River in northern Alaska, the Kluane area in southwestern Yukon, or even further a field than Mt. Edziza.

Although the sample of microblade sites documented within the region is small and only a few of the sites have been tested, the data suggests a wide distribution both in Alaska and Yukon. As evidenced from the Moosehide collection people were hunting large game, likely caribou, and smaller game. The obsidian clearly is indicative of early established and far-reaching trade networks (Hammer 2000; see Clark 1991: 80 for obsidian sources in Western Canada and Alaska).

In Yukon, traditional thinking has it that microblade technology, thus the NWMt, fades from the archaeological record by about 4,500 BP (Workman 1978). There is some evidence, however, suggesting this technology may have persisted in Yukon for another two to three millennia (Hare and Hammer 1999). In the Healy Lakes area of Alaska, and in British Columbia microblade technology has been documented to occur up to 1,000 BP and in a few instances even later into the Athapaskan period (Cook 1975). Within Alaska these microblade sites that contain notched points are grouped

into what has been termed the Late Denali complex.

Across from the Moosehide site is the Deadwood Creek site that appears to have an assemblage of microblades and notched points. The site contained five microblades and a base of a notched point as well as two burin spalls and two large boulder spall scrapers all recovered from 10-15cm below surface. This site has neither been dated nor extensively tested so its association with the Late Denali complex must remain tentative at this point. It may be that the artifacts recovered from Deadwood Creek represent two different occupations.

The next tradition within the culture history of the greater region arrives with the dispersal of notched projectile points. The Northern Archaic tradition as it is called begins approximately 5,000 BP, lasting to 1,260 BP. It was firmly entrenched in the western Subarctic by 5,000 BP distributed throughout Alaska, Yukon and northern British Columbia. This technological tradition was first defined by Anderson (1968) from assemblages recovered from the Onion Portage site in northwestern Alaska. The notched point is indicative of a new hafting technology and new artifact types were identified as well. The tool kit is characterized by side-notched spear points, simple end scrapers, semi-lunar bifaces, drills, slate whetstones and cobble implements including moose skin scrapers and notched "net-sinkers" (Clark 1991; Greer and LeBlanc 1893; Workman 1978).

It appears that with the arrival of the Northern Archaic a new cultural pattern is emerging that may be associated with the stabilization of the environment into its modern boreal forest regime. Fishing appears to become more important and sites are typically larger with more frequent use (Workman 1978) suggesting an established seasonal round, possibly even with in an established territory. It has not been determined if the arrival of the Northern Archaic on the landscape signifies a new people or simply a diffusion of ideas; however, it clear that there is continuity of technology into the Athapaskan period (Late Prehistoric) (Clark 1987).

The Northern Archaic tradition within the Hän Traditional territory is not well documented. Only five sites have been found in the region of which three are dated. LaVk-14 (near Fort Reliance) dates to 1670 BP, Moosehide dates to 1400 BP and 49-EAG-70, near Eagle Alaska dates to 1900 BP.

The site near Fort Reliance along the Yukon River is the only site that may have the presence of traditional dwellings. Clark collected fragments of fire-cracked rock, which was used in the cooking process by First Nations before the advent of the metal pot, and a burned bone artifact from an elongated pit feature 7mx0.5m (Clark 1995). Clark believes this pit to be a house-pit and states that is was likely larger prior to the walls slumping in. A second oval pit (5.5m x 8m) was documented. It possesses a gap suggesting a possible entrance along one side. Tests of this feature, however, proved negative. Clark did not describe the third pit identified during his investigations. The two larger pits at the site have affinities with the winter-type houses of the Hän as described by (Osgood 1971). Their presence suggests that Hän-like dwellings were in use some 1,600 years ago.

The Moosehide collection provides the most complete assemblage within the region dating to the Northern Archaic. Although the Moosehide occupation dates to 1,405BP, Hunston (1977), who spent three seasons excavating the site, designates the occupation as a Late Prehistoric/Athapaskan period occupation. A second date comes from Moosehide slightly closer to the surface at 220 BP. Therefore, it is likely that the assemblage is representative of a transitional stage(s) from the Northern Archaic tradition into the Late Prehistoric/Athapaskan period. The collection includes cut and worked bone, two endscrapers, a biface fragment and a beveled bone, and a bunting arrow point

(Hunston 1977). A copper awl is also included in the collection. The presence of copper is significant because the appearance of copper signals the beginning of the Late Prehistoric period. Moreover, the bunting point is an arrow point and is indicative of bow and arrow technology. This technology is a defining element of the Late Prehistoric period and associated with the diminutive stone Klo-kut or Kavik point. One such point was collected at Moosehide by R. MacNeish but was not recovered in a buried context.

Athapaskan or Late Prehistoric assemblages date from 1,260 to the contact period in Yukon. Such assemblages are characterized by a shift in emphasis to a bone and antler technology and the appearance of copper as a raw material and the bow and arrow. This switch in emphasis, however, may be more apparent than real since preservation of organics becomes less likely as one moves back in time. Time and soil acidity are the likely culprits. Ice patch research in southwestern Yukon, however, appears to support the shift in emphasis from stone to bone. A suite of dates has been taken from various spear and arrow points and their shafts and there is a marked increase in frequency of bone and antler points after ca. 1,300 BP (Hare personal communication. 2002). Besides bone points awls, fleshers, scrapers and leisters (a pronged fishing implement) are included in the Athapaskan assemblage. Lithic technology is present in the form of whetstones, mauls, hammers, Kavik and other diminutive notched points, adzes, axes, boiling stones and various chipped scrapers and wedges (Clark and Morlan 1982; Workman 1978).

Twenty-seven sites within the Hän traditional territory have been identified as Late Prehistoric or Athapaskan period sites. It is likely that these sites represent use by ancestral Hän or at the very least Athapaskan speaking peoples. Of those sites, 21 are located along the Yukon River. Other sites located along the Yukon River include the mouth of Chandindu and Tatonduk rivers as well as sites near the mouths of the Nation, Kandik and Charley Rivers. Fort Reliance, West Dawson and Tr'ochëk (ca. 200 BP) also represent important Athapaskan period sites. Outside of the Yukon River basin, sites exist at the headwaters of the Tatonduk, Miner and Ogilvie rivers. A caribou fence is reported to have existed near the Miner River, however, attempts at its relocation in the late 1990s proved negative. This is located at the periphery of the Hän traditional territory where it overlaps with the Tukudh Gwich'in who eventually amalgamated with the Vuntut Gwitch'in or moved to Moosehide (Greer 1989b). A hunting blind was also located in the Seela Pass and likely dates to the Athapaskan period as well.

Other sites located along the Yukon River have produced a variety of material culture including a 5 inch unilaterial bone arrow point, numerous sites consisting of fire cracked rock, schist and basalt moose hide skin scrapers or Athapaskan Chi-thos, quartzite and boulder spall scrapers along with diminutive side-notched stone arrow points (see Hammer 2000 for a the Borden numbers associated with these sites). Native copper implements, indicative of trade with the Tanana and Ahtna neighbours to the west, include the copper awl from Moosehide, a copper fleshing tool collected form West Dawson and a copper piece from Fort Reliance. Obsidian was also collected from Fort Reliance. Camps at this period tend to be larger and concentrate along the Yukon River indicating the it figured prominently in the subsistence base; a pattern that continues into the proto-historic and historic periods.

It is within the Late Prehistoric/Athapaskan period where we find the first evidence of human, likely Hän, occupation at Forty Mile (Hammer 2002). Recent excavations at the site have yielded cultural material in the form of triangular shaped, chert end scrapers (n=4), a double beveled bone point, a

flaked-stone axe likely also used as a wedge, birch bark and wood remains and a small sample of lithic debitage. The material was recovered from in and around two hearths located on what has been identified as the 5th organic. Charcoal samples were taken from each hearth and provided dates of Cal AD 1470-1660 (Cal BP 480-290 or 310±40BP uncalibrated) (Beta-162899) from N980W221 and Cal AD 1320-1340 (Cal BP 630-600 or 520±40 BP) and Cal AD 1390-1440 (Cal BP 560-510 or 520±40 BP) (Beta-162898) from the hearth in N980W221*. In conventional terms the two hearths, which are separated by 20 metres, are separated by 200 radio carbon years; however, in calibrated terms the two hearths may only be separated by 30 calendar years. The dates do indicate that statistically the hearths are the result of two different occupations.

The hearths documented at Forty Mile were packed with burned and calcined bone fragments that were unfortunately unidentifiable. Of the identifiable fragments small mammal, bird and fish are represented within the hearth material (Hammer 2002). A total of 7411 bone fragments were recovered from each of the hearths weighing just over 2kgs. The amount of bone coupled with the large amount of fire cracked rock suggests that the primary activity centered around the fire pits was for cooking rather than fires used for smoking meat. Other bone, which appears to be green, recovered from outside of the hearth, likely represents caribou. A number of fish scales were also recovered but have yet to be identified to species. A third hearth of this type was identified during the 2002 investigations within a shovel test but was not subjected to excavation.

The features documented and the cultural assemblage recovered from Forty Mile indicates significant First Nation use of the site as a camp. Activities inferred from the cultural remains indicate food processing and preparation, woodworking and manipulating birch bark likely for baskets and stone tool maintenance. The latter is indicated by the debitage analysis carried out by I Corriveau and T. Hammer that suggested the debitage was the result of late stage reduction (Corriveau and Hammer 2001). The presence of the bone point indicates hunting occurred as well and it was likely caribou judging from the faunal remains. The fish remains and the sites proximity to the Forty Mile and Yukon rivers provide strong evidence that fishing was an activity carried out at Forty Mile. The ethnographic record indicates that the Hän used the site of Forty Mile as a spring grayling fishing spot and a fall caribou interception point.

No remains were identified indicative of dwellings, however, it must be stated that only a small portion of the site has been excavated to date. The hearths documented are distinctive and are near identical to the hearth excavated at Tr'ochëk located across the Klondike River from Dawson City. In the 2000 season a cottonwood stake was recovered in association with the hearth at Tr'ochëk that may have functioned as a hide tie-down for a dwelling (Hammer 2001: 21). The stake was documented *in situ* at a 40 degree angle 2m east of the hearth and is considered to represent the outside of the dwelling that would have been approximately 5.2m in width and at least that in length.

Although a leap in analogy, the same type of structure may have surrounded the hearths at Forty

* Unfortunately the dates for the hearths at Forty Mile (LcVn-2) could not be presented in a more simple fashion. Cal stands for calibrated, meaning that the date has been calibrated to a master chronology or calibration curve to corrected for variations in 12C and 14C as well as providing an actual calendar date range (AD). Radio carbon years are also provided since they have been used in the preceding discussions on the prehistory of the area. When dates are calibrated they always noted as Cal. The date provided for the hearth in N980W221 intersects the calibration curve at two points thus providing two date ranges where the actual date has a 95 percent probability of being within one of the two ranges. Both ranges must be provided when the dates are presented.

Mile. Historic photographs of Hän dwellings at Tr'ochëk show that they were constructed of poles and canvas or similar material. The photographs were taken during the summer showing relatively open dwellings consisting of pole frames with pole and canvas roofing. The canvas appeared to be stretched taut suggesting the use of tie downs. It appears the main objective of this type of summer housing was to provide shelter from the rain and escape from insects.

Tr'ochëk is known to have been an important salmon fishing spot for the Tr'ondëk Hwëch'in Hän. The hearth at Tr'ochëk is dated to approximately 200 calendar years ago, however the date is problematic. The hearth at Tr'ochëk is clearly pre-contact in origin and the date indicates a terminus post quem (date after which)of Cal AD 1660 (Hammer 2001: 18). This is the approximate ante quem (date before which)of the Forty Mile occupation and thus the occupation for which the hearth is associated at Tr'ochëk is younger than that of Forty Mile. A second similarity besides the hearth is that from within the Tr'ochëk hearth a total of nine end scrapers were collected, eight of which are similar in shape and size to those recovered from Forty Mile. This suggests that the endscrapers are either associated with domestic activities and possibly associated with fishing-grayling at one site and salmon at the other.

Irving, in the 1960s, documented two hearths apparently similar to those at Forty Mile and Tr'ochëk at a site near Clinton Creek only a few kilometers up the Fortymile from its confluence with the Yukon River. (Irving 1968). The cultural remains associated with the hearth prompted Irving to remark of their similarities with those recovered from Klo-kut in northern Yukon. Unfortunately the whereabouts of these collections (LcVn-1) is not known at present.

The late prehistoric collection and features identified at Forty Mile dated between 500-200 years ago are the first physical evidence of human use of the site. The remains have strong affinities with Tr'ochëk, a site that is clearly associated with the Tr'ondëk Hwëch'in Hän. Such strong material affinities can be confidently translated into strong cultural affinities and it is likely that the occupants using Forty Mile as far back as 500 years ago were ancestral to the Hän utilizing the region today.

Forty Mile, like the site of Tr'ochëk has a relatively continuous archaeological record from the late Athapaskan period into the protohistoric and continuing into the time of direct contact and non-First Nation use. The archaeological evidence suggests that it is at the end of the Northern Archiac and at the beginning of the Late Prehistoric/Athapaskan period that the Hän lifeway is established (Hammer 2000). The regional distribution of archaeological sites over time in the region suggests that as one moves toward the present, sites tend to be larger and more concentrated along the Yukon River (Ibid.). There is a hint of fishing within the tool kit of the microblade using peoples, but becomes firmly established at Moosehide, Tr'ochëk and Forty Mile within the last 2000 years. Based on the technology of the times-fish weirs, traps and dip nets-it is likely that the fishing concentrated on the shallow tributaries of the Yukon River rather than on its deep, fast flowing waters. Furthermore, the apparent emphasis on riverine camps may also be related to new strategies in the hunting of caribou as postulated by researchers studying sites in northern Yukon. It has been argued that the later, larger riverine camps on the Porcupine River are a result of the use of caribou fences and river interception points in later times rather than the earlier lookout sites (Irving and Cinq-Mars (1974) cf. Gotthardt 1990: 268).

The Ethnographic data appears to support such conclusions. It indicates that the site of Forty Mile was used by generations of Hän prior to European contact in the pursuit of fishing for spring grayling and intercepting the fall migration of caribou. The archaeological record at Forty Mile attests to this

use by the Hän.

The Hän

The Hän are grouped by anthropologists not only on their cultural similarities but also because they share the same language-Hän. The Hän belong to the Athapaskan language family. Their language is most similar to that of their northern and eastern Athapaskan neighbours the Gwich'in speakers and less similar to their southern Northern Tutchone and western Tanana Athapaskan neighbours (Crow and Obley 1981: 506). At the time of contact the total Hän population is estimated to have been 1000 (Crow and Obley 1981). However, in the early 20th century, diseases such as influenza and smallpox likely took hold of the Hän, significantly altering the population even before their first face-to-face contact with Europeans.

According to Mishler and Simeone (*in press*) the Hän were divided into four matrilineal clans organized into two moieties. The Tr'ondëk Hwëch'in's two exogamous clans were Crow and Eagle and the two Alaskan Bands' were the Crow and Seagull. There is debate within the current literature on the number of clans making up the moieties of Hän. Osgood (1971) and Crow and Obley (1981) indicate that there were three clans, two in one moiety and one in the other. Researchers do agree that there were two moieties and that they were indigenous to the Hän. These moieties had a reciprocal arrangement regarding ceremonies such as death potlaches that functioned to create bonds with individuals between bands providing security during visits (Osgood 1971:41).

The basic unit for organization was the extended family (Osgood 1971). This was also the economic unit but the most typical pattern was two such families that hunted and fished together during most of the year. Families usually consisted of parents with their adult married daughter and her family. Another common grouping was two brothers with their respective families. In the first few years after marriage the preferred residence pattern was uxoriclocality (the husband would go and live with his wife's parents/family) or the newlyweds would reside with or near the brides parents (Crow and Obley 1981; Osgood 1971). It is not clear whether or not this was a form of bride price but it is likely that the new groom would have become an important economic part of the bride's family.

The Hän consisted principally of three bands, each with an established territory. The northernmost band was Charley's Band located at the mouth of the Kandik River in Alaska, the middle band, situated near present day Eagle Alaska, was identified as David's or Johnny's Band and the southernmost band was the Klondike River Band or Tr'ondëk Hwëch'in located at their main camp at the mouth of the Klondike River. These camps are related to these groups' major salmon fishing locations. The band was the major political unit and consisted of several families divided into households (i.e., two extended-type families) that shared the same basic seasonal round (Mishler and Simone in press). Band size did vary and was dependant on the abundance or scarcity of resources. Defensive need and task magnitude also influenced band size.

The social organization of the Hän is very similar to other northern Athapaskan groups living within the northern boreal forest. According to Ives (1990:60) the social organization of groups living within such a harsh environment had to allow for small, highly mobile bands in order to pursue the widespread resources of their territory. When stress did occur flexible social organization and inter-band associations were imperative to allow members of local groups to affiliate themselves to those in more fortunate regions (Ives 1990). Perry (1989) suggests that matrilineality and matrilocal residence, of which uxoriclocality is a form, enabled groups in the western Subarctic to adapt to local

conditions. Males were recognized as the principal hunters and there likely would have been a high degree of male absenteeism while hunting and retrieving food from summer and fall caches therefore creating a core group at the base camp that would consist of consanguineally (blood) related women (Perry 1989). Furthermore, matrilocal residence would function as an effective strategy to enhance cooperative hunting activities between blood related males who would be widely dispersed within the region in other family units (Perry 1989). The clan and moiety system of the Hän would have further heightened inter-band association and cooperation in times of stress and in cooperative hunting projects such as the construction of caribou fences and surrounds.

The name Hän is derived from the Gwich'in. The Gwich'in referred to their southern neighbours as the Hän-Kootchin or people of the river (Crow and Obley 1981; Osgood 1971). Such a name is likely the result of the observation by the Gwich'in of the significance that the Yukon River played in the Hän life way. The most important and relied upon resource for the Hän within their territory was the salmon (Mishler and Simone in press; Osgood 1971). In fact, Hän families spent a majority of their time both in winter and in the summer at the edge of the Yukon River usually where a major tributary was located.

Although the Hän focused their livelyhood on the Yukon River, they did have an established seasonal round that effectively utilized all segments of their territory. During the summer, groups ranging between 20-50 individuals settled at established camps along the Yukon River to await the arrival of the salmon (Mishler and Simone in press; Osgood 1971). The first of two species of salmon to make their way from the Bering Straight up the Yukon River and into Hän territory were the Chinook or King salmon (*Oncorhynchus tschaytscha*). They usually arrived in late June continuing to the end of July to much pomp and ceremony. Shortly after the Chinook, the Chum or dog salmon (*Oncorhynchus keta*) commenced their run to the spawning grounds in August and September.

Salmon where caught in the Yukon River with long handled dip nets made of sinew and/or babiche (Osgood 1971). Funnel shaped basket traps and gill nets were used on the more shallow tributaries of the Yukon with wooden weirs constructed to guide the salmon into the traps. The construction of such weirs was of such importance that the Klondike Band or Tr'ondëk Hwëch'in were identified as those people who used hammerstones to pound in fish weir stakes (Dobrowolsky 1998). The Hän's expertise at salmon fishing comes to life in the following description by Schwakta, who explored the full length of the Yukon in 1883. On arrival at Johnny's or David's Village the American Army Lieutenant stated:

> *It was at this village that what to me was the most wonderful and striking performance given by any natives we encountered on the whole trip was displayed. I refer to their method of fishing for salmon... The water is about nine or ten feet deep on the fishing banks in front of the houses, where they fish with their nets; or at least that is about the length of the poles to which the nets are attached. The salmon I saw them take were caught about two hundred or two hundred and fifty yards directly out from the shore in front of the houses. Standing in front of this row of cabins, some person, generally an old man, squaw or child, possibly on duty for that purpose, would announce, in a loud voice, that a salmon was coming up the river, perhaps from a quarter to a third of a mile away. This news would stir up some young man from the cabins, who from his elevated position in front of them would identify the salmon's position, and then run down to the beach, pick up his canoe, paddle and net, launch the former and start rapidly out into the river, the net lying on the canoe's birch deck in front of him, his movements being guided by his own sight and that of a half dozen others on the high bank, all shouting advice to him at the same time. Evidently, in the canoe he could not judge well of the fish's position, especially at a distance; for he seemed to rely on the advice from the shore to direct his movements until the fish was near him, when with two or three*

> *dexterous and powerful strokes with both hands, he shot the little canoe to a point near the position he wished to take up, regulating its finer movements by the paddle used as a sculling oar in his left hand, while with his right he grasped the net at the end of its handle and plunged it into the water the whole length of its pole to the bottom of the river (some nine or ten feet); often leaning far over and thrusting the arm deep into the water, so as to adjust the mouth of the net, covering about two square feet, directly over the course of the salmon as to entrap him...How these Indians can see at this distance the coming of a single salmon along the bottom of a river eight or ten feet deep, and determine their course or position near enough to catch them in the narrow mouth of a small net, when immediately under the eye a vessel holding that number of inches of water from the muddy river completely obscures an object at its bottom, is a problem that I will not attempt to solve...In vain they attempted to show members of my party the coming fish. I feel perfectly satisfied that none of the white men could see the slightest trace of the movement to which their attention was called (Schwatka 1988: 256-258).*

Schwatka did note that this method resulted in a single salmon 30 percent of the time suggesting it was likely not the principal means of culling the abundant salmon. Gill nets set on the back eddies and traps and weirs set up in the shallows, sloughs and Yukon River tributaries were the principal methods used in the traditional fishery.

The salmon season was a busy time for the Hän. Once fish were caught, they were efficiently processed by the women and children and hung on racks along side of the river to dry and be smoked. Surpluses were stored in underground caches for the leaner times to come in the upcoming winter and spring season. As well, salmon roe would be stored in salmon skin bags and cached (Osgood 1971: 105). At the time of contact the main fish camps of the Hän were at the mouth of the Klondike River, Nuclaco across from Fort Reliance, a camp near Eagle, and at the mouth of the Kandik River (Mishler and Simone 1997; Crow and Obley 1981; Osgood 1971).

During late summer extensive plant gathering took place including blueberries, low bush cranberries, goose and salmon berries, wild onions, bear root and wild rhubarb. These would be placed and packed in birch bark baskets and then stored in underground caches, protected by a cover of willow branches and moss (Mishler and Simone in press: 27).

After the last run of salmon and the onset of fall the Hän would move into the hills or uplands to hunt caribou. During this time they also hunted Dall sheep and moose and collected berries and other floral resources. The Hän would have had access to two major herds of barren land caribou-the Fortymile herd to the west and the Porcupine herd to the north and east. It is likely that they would have utilized river crossing interception points in spring and fall such as Forty Mile site for culling caribou as well. Caribou surrounds and drift fences were also used to gather the caribou where they then would be dispatched by the use of snares, spears and the bow and arrow. The Hän would reach the caribou hunting grounds located to the east and west of the Yukon via the tributary rivers such as the Chandindu and the Fortymile. Caribou came only second to salmon as an important subsistence species for the Hän (Mishler and Simone 1997; Osgood 1971). Caribou and other such large game not only provided meat but also raw materials such as hide, bone and antler for dwellings, tools and ornaments (Crow and Obley 1981; Mishler and Simone in press; Osgood 1971).

The types of caribou fences and surrounds have not been well documented for the Hän but it is likely that they used a similar technology to that of other Athapaskans in northern Yukon and Alaska. Fences are known to exist in the Ogilvie and Blackstone area and Mishler and Simeone (in press: 17) report the remains of a fence existing up the Fortymile River, Comet, Eureka, Pittsburgh, Gold and American creeks as well as one near Chicken, Alaska. Locations for caribou fences were based on the observation of the caribous' migratory patterns over several years (Greer and Le Blanc 1982).

The presence of caribou at a location was not the sole determining factor for fence location and other important attributes included an abundant supply of wood, topography of the valley (i.e., shallow valley) and sufficient brush cover to help camouflage the fence (Ibid.). Construction of the fence was a cooperative effort and depending on the size of the fence to be constructed it could take upwards of 40 to 50 individuals a month to a summer to complete (Ibid: 3.6). Fences were constructed transverse to the valley using spruce tripods or standing dead trees spaced several metres apart with stacked logs or rails in between that, then bound by willow or spruce root. Smaller brush-like fences or drift fences were used to guide the caribou into the larger fence. Once along the fence, which could be as long as several kilometers, caribou would be snared at openings along the fence or at the snares grouped in threes placed at right angles to the movement of the caribou spaced 100m apart along the fence (Greer and Le Blanc 1982: 3.3; Mishler and Simone in press: 16). Spears and/or arrows would be used to dispatch snared caribou. Although it took a great deal of effort to construct these fences, a good catch during the fall would ensure an ample supply of meat for a large group of people through the winter months (Ibid.).

Like the salmon, surplus caribou meat was processed and cached for the up coming winter. With the winter cold, some Hän moved back to the semi-permanent fishing camps located along the Yukon River. Keeping warm in their two family, pole framed, semi-subterranean moss houses they lived on the stored salmon, berries and caribou meat from the summer and fall. During the winter, young men would make forays into the hills to track and kill lone moose and lone caribou. As winter progressed and foods within the caches were depleted, groups would split into smaller units and search for game.

The portable dwelling used during winter hunting was a domed structure covered by moose or caribou skins with the hair side turned inwards. These had an elliptical ground plan approximately 5-6m in length by 3-4m in width with a smoke hole (Mishler and Simone in press; Osgood 1971). If a house was to be occupied for any length of time rocks were brought in to create a mounded hearth. Klondike chronicler Tappan Adney (1900) described such a structure while moose hunting with the Tr'ondëk Hwëch'in in the winter. He indicated the tent as being 10 feet in height and housing two families and their dogs, one family on each side sharing the central hearth. He also noted the use of toboggans and above ground caches. A hairless variety of domed tent was used in milder type weather.

In the spring the Hän would begin to move to nearby lakes or certain rivers to hunt the returning waterfowl, muskrat and beaver. As well, grayling were fished in earnest at the end of March and April. The mouth of the Fortymile River was not only a caribou interception point but also a favoured grayling fishing spot for the Eagle and Tr'ondëk Hwëch'in Hän (Mishler and Simone in press: 13). At the end of the spring the Hän moved back to the Yukon River salmon fishing camps to prepare their birch bark and moose skin canoes, their spruce root and babiche nets, and other fishing implements in time for the arrival of the summer's salmon.

The seasonal round varied depending on the location of resources and band preferences. In some years, at the end of the fishing season the Tr'ondëk Hwëch'in Hän would canoe to Coal Creek or the Tatonduk or Nation River and when freeze up occurred they went up the valleys to winter in the Ogilvies. By the end of the winter they had made their way to the north Klondike valley and when the ice went out they constructed moose skin boats and traveled down the North Klondike to the mouth of the Klondike River (Mishler and Simone in press: 19). At times they would carry out the

same route but by spring they reached the headwaters of the Stewart River (Ibid: 5). The more northern bands did the same or made their way up the Charley River, along the ridges to the White River and then onto the Yukon and back to their salmon camps (Ibid: 5). The Fortymile River was also traveled in winter into Tanana territory where both groups (the Hän and the Tanana) are said to have shared a caribou hunting camp (Ibid.). The Tanana camp of Ketchumstock is located near Mosquito Fork of the Fortymile just above Ketchumstock Creek. The second village or camp was located on Whiteman Creek on the North Fork of the Fortymile River (Buck 1902). It is most likely that a variety of rivers and creeks were used by the Hän to effectively utilize their traditional territory from year to year.

The Hän were successful and aggressive traders, known for making great excursions far beyond their homeland (Kosta n.d.; Mishler and Simone in press; Osgood 1971 Reynolds and Jordan 1983). At the time of contact the Hän apparently went as far south as Fort Francis, which was Campbell's first post in the Yukon, located at the narrows of Francis Lake, southeast Yukon, and north to Fort Yukon in the late 1840s (Osgood 1971; Robinson n.d.: 14). They also made excursions into the lands of the Upper Tanana land via the Fortymile and Charley rivers as well as to the east into the Tukudh and Tetlit or Peel River Gwich'in territory. The Hän would have had red ochre and salmon to trade for native copper, dentalium shells, obsidian and other materials not abundant in their territory (Kosuta n.d.: 8; Renoylds and Jordan 1983: 37). The complexities of Hän trade are not well understood but their networks were sufficient to have at least indirect contact with Russian Traders along the coast of Alaska and direct contact with the coastal Tlingit. Their middleman position in the traditional trade with the coastal Tlingit and their motivation to guard that profitable position may have prompted them to help the coastal Tlingit sack the Hudson's Bay's Fort Selkirk Post in the early 1850s (McClellan 1975: 216).

The Hän also welcomed their neighbours into their homeland. During his Yukon River expedition Schwatka (1988: 246) passed the Hän village of Nuclaco located on the opposite side of the river from Fort Reliance. At the village, which consisted of a mix of traditional housing and canvas, he estimated 150 individuals of which approximately half were Tanana people. They were likely there to trade and establish social ties through celebrations and feasts. The explorer also describes a long-established trail that the Tanana used to visit the Hän from their homeland-"From this point a trail leads south-westward over the mountains to a tributary of the Tanana, by means of which these Indians visit Noo-klak-o" (Ibid.). Archaeologist S. Greer (1989) describes a First Nation trail that the Tetlit and Tukudh Gwich'in used to travel back and forth from the Blackstone uplands to Moosehide. It was part of a larger and older First Nation trail that the Gwich'in used to reach the Yukon River via the Chandindu from the lower Peel River area (Ibid.). Gotthardt (2000) depicts a trail from Eagle that followed Tatonduk and Miner rivers to reach the Whitestone Village area-also in Gwich'in homeland. Gwich'in contact with the Hän was well established prior to European contact. The two groups bonded by trade and intermarriage. During the Klondike Gold Rush, a large number Gwich'in families lived at Moosehide and remained until the first ten years of the twentieth century (Slobodin 1963).

The Hän in the Contact Period (The Fur Trade)

The appearance of European goods in the form of trade goods marks the beginning of the protohistoric period. This is a little understood period within the history of the Hän and is not well represented in the archaeological record, likely due to the resolution in dating techniques. Radio-

carbon dating is ineffective due to the error rates. The alternative method, dating via material culture, has more resolution and accuracy when there is an abundance of time sensitive artifacts. Indirect contact likely occurred in the mid-1700s/1800s with the arrival of Russians on the north coast and the firm establishment of the Russian American Fur Company trade along the Alaskan coast. Since the Hän, as did many other interior First Nations, had access to the coast via the trade with the Tlingit, it is likely Russian goods made their way into Hän territory at this time through the traditional trade routes. Osgood (1971) and Francis Jr. (1988) suggest that the hallmarks of this trade were copper kettles, guns and blue wire-spun glass beads. Russian goods were evident when John McLeod made his way into the Upper Laird River basin in 1831 and John Bell noted the presence of such goods during his initial foray into the Yukon's interior in 1839 (Coates 1991: 19).

Direct contact was not firmly entrenched until after the purchase in 1867 of Alaska by the United States from the Russians. The Hän, however, did have contact with Hudson's Bay Company (HBC) traders with the establishment of Fort Francis (1842), Pelly Banks (1842) and the Fort Selkirk (1848-52) to the south and Fort Yukon established by Murray at the confluence of the Porcupine and Yukon rivers in 1847. The Hän are said to have traded at most of these locations. Robert Campbell floated through their territory from Fort Selkirk to Fort Yukon in 1852 and is said to have stopped at Charley's village during this trip (Dawson 1898).

Kosuta (n.d.: 8) notes that upon the establishment of Fort Yukon, Murray was somewhat apprehensive of the Hän who appeared angry that a fort was constructed so close to their territory. The post's establishment compromised their middleman position from trading in goods from the coast to northern groups. Bell and Murray had experienced this before in their initial attempts at an exploration of a route into the Yukon interior from the Peel River Post (Fort MacPherson) that were thwarted by Peel River First Nations wanting to keep their middleman status in the trade (Coates 1991). The most forceful example of First Nations' manipulating the traders to maintain their middleman positions is the destruction of Fort Selkirk in 1852. Although not the only reason for the sacking of Fort Selkirk by the Chilkat Tlingit, the post's establishment did compete with the Tlingit's profitable coastal trade. The post, however, also compromised the 'big man' trading position of certain members in Northern Tutchone groups (Legros 1981) as well as the middleman position of the Hän, who may have aided the Chilkat in ransacking of Fort Selkirk (McClellan 1950 cf. Kosuta n.d.: 8).

Four of the 13 Protohistoric/early historic camps documented within the Hän traditional territory have been subjected to limited excavation and include *Nibaww Zhoh* close to Fort Egbert, Eagle Alaska, Forty Mile, Fort Reliance and the site of Tr'ochëk or Chief Isaac's fish camp. Both Fort Reliance and *Nibaww Zhoh* have evidence of pit-like houses similar to the winter houses described by Osgood (1971) and likely relate to season of occupation. Tr'ochëk appears to have mainly functioned as a summer fishing camp and Forty Mile as a spring and fall camp. All four sites demonstrate a mix of traditional technologies supplemented with goods of European manufacture. The sites clearly demonstrate that the Hän did not automatically or passively replace their traditional tools with those of the European fur traders. (Clark 1995).

The site of Tr'ochëk, more specifically Locality 2, is likely the best example of the retention of traditional tool kits into the Historic era. This locality is believed to date to approximately the late 1860s as evidenced by the presence of seed beads. Excavation recovered four bone awls, two schist moose skin scrapers, a bone valve and an antler point. The antler point and the bone valve, which

was used for fishing salmon, appear to have been manufactured with metal knives (Hammer 2000; 2002). This suggests that the implements better suited to carry out traditional tasks such as hide processing and fishing were retained with little alteration.

The site of Forty Mile has at least two occupational horizons (Level IV and VII) assigned to the time period prior to the establishment of the gold rush townsite in 1887. A terminus post quem for these layers, however, is uncertain but is likely around AD 1800. Much of the material culture associated with these levels are items of European manufacture. Beads are present of which the most common types include blue, white and Cornaline d'Aleppo beads commonly referred to as 'white hearts' or 'Hudson's Bay beads". The Cornaline d'Aleppo beads are red-on-white glass tube-drawn or cane beads of Venetian origin and are said to have first entered North America ca. 1825 (Allen n.d.). The blue beads have been identified as tube-drawn, however, tumbling is apparent and may be obscuring their actual method of manufacture. The Cornaline d'Aleppo beads and blue beads are common throughout Yukon and Alaska and have been recovered in contexts such as Fort Selkirk, Tr'ochëk, Lapierre House, and Fort Reliance (Clark 1995; Frances Jr. 1988, n.d.; Gotthardt personal communication 2000; Hammer 2000b, 2002a, 2002b).

A certain type of feature begins to appear in association with the Hän encampments of the Protohistoric/historic era, at least at the sites of Forty Mile and Tr'ochëk. During the investigations at Forty Mile, four pit caches were documented containing numerous artifacts of both First Nation and European origin. The caches at both sites have complex life histories, appearing first to be used as caches then refuse areas and then caches once more. Implements recovered from the major cache at Forty Mile dated to the 1850-1890s include a cached drill steel, axe and pick head, reworked bottle glass traditional scrapers, bone tools that are likely awls, ammunition including cartridge casings and shot, tobacco plug pin, ceramics, utensils, trade beads, bow saw, nails of which the vast majority were machine cut, metal container lids and various other miscellaneous items. Mixed with this material are fish remains and large mammal bone fragments including caribou mandibles and what appear to be moose long bone elements. Save for the large amount of bone, the contents of the cache are not much different from the caches excavated at Tr'ochëk. Features such as these demonstrate the use of European goods by First Nations but, like Locality 2 at Tr'ochëk, traditional tools, even if they are fashioned from European raw material, are retained.

The presence of beads is a hallmark if not a cliché of the fur trade in general. The beads are in significant quantities at all of the protohistoric sites tested. Fort Reliance has the most diverse sample of bead types as compared to Forty Mile, Nibaww Zhoh and Tr'ochëk. At the latter three sites tube-drawn white beads and the red-on-white Cornaline d'Aleppo beads are the most numerous with blue tube-drawn beads coming in third. Forty Mile's bead collection included a blue faceted "Russian Trade Bead" that is not Russian at all, but rather a common trade bead of the Hudson's Bay Company (Francis Jr. n.d.). Seed beads are present but not in significant quantities.

Fort Reliance was the first post established within Hän traditional territory and signals the American Commercial Company's (ACCo.) debut into the interior Yukon Valley after having purchased the assets of the Russian-American Fur Company immediately after the purchase of Alaska by the United States (Johnston 1940; Kitchener 1954). Such a diverse range of bead types at Fort Reliance is likely the result of it being the location of the fur trading post rather than being reflective of consumer choice of the local Hän (Hammer 2000). The evidence suggests that this is indeed the case and that with the Hän of Forty Mile, Tr'ochëk and Niboww Zhoh the Cornaline d'Aleppo beads and

white beads were most popular.

In looking at the fur trade it is all too easy to ignore the trade in First Nation goods that occurred during this time. The Hän had well established links with the Tanana to the west that in turn provided the Hän with access to the Southern Tutchone (McClellan 1975: 509). Schwatka, during his military reconnaissance trip down the Yukon River in 1883, noted that a large group of Hän and Tanana were camped across from Fort Reliance at the village of Nuclaco (Schwatka 1987). Henry Allen, in his military expedition to Alaska in 1885, noted the numerous trips that the Tanana made to Fort Reliance and the mouth of the Forty Mile to trade (Allen 1900 cf. Cruikshank 1975: V-46). The Hän also kept very close ties with their Gwich'in neighbours to the east and north. A dentalium shell, which would have been traded in from the Coast, was recovered from the main historic cache at Forty Mile and demonstrates that these relations and trading partnerships were maintained and in use during the fur trade era.

The literature documenting the effects of the fur trade on aboriginal peoples is voluminous. Coates (1991) provides an account of the impact of the fur trade on northern indigenous peoples. Disease was clearly a devastating impact of indirect and direct contact (Coates 1991; Crow and Obey 1982). On economic terms, however, the fur trade was easily incorporated into the seasonal round and fit well into the established trade networks of the day. Furthermore, First Nations maintained the upper hand or at the very least were equal partners in the trade. This was to slowly change as the trickle of prospectors led to the flood of stampedes with the onset of the Klondike gold rush.

From Trader to Prospector: Pre-Forty Mile History

By the mid-1850s, Campbell's attempts at establishing a profitable fur trading post at Fort Selkirk was were at an end. The HBC's Fort Yukon, located at the mouth of the Porcupine, stood as the major trading post in the Alaska-Yukon interior at this time. Furs gathered at Fort Yukon beginning their long journey east via the Porcupine and Bell Rivers to Fort McPherson, and then up the Mackenzie to points east. Missionaries began to arrive in the 1860s in their quest for souls and First Nations generally carried out acquiring furs and trading within their seasonal rounds.

The purchase of Alaska in 1867 by the United States marked the demise of the Hudson's Bay Company in the Yukon and the rise of the Alaska Commercial Company. This company played an important role in the social development and non-First Nation economic development with the building of extensive river commerce in the interior (Archibald 1981). In 1867, H. Hutchinson of Hutchinson, Kohl & Company accompanied United States dignitaries to Alaska for the ceremony of its turnover. Prior to the ceremony, Hutchinson apparently went ashore and negotiated with Prince Maksutouff, the Russian general manager of the Russian American fur Co., for the sale of its assets (Johnston 1940: 5). This included its ships, houses and all property on the Pribilof Islands as well as transportation facilities and trading business (Ibid.). The ACCo. Company was then formed on January 31, 1868, and took over the assets of Hutchinson, Kohl & Co. estimated at $1,729,000. They then obtained a lease from the US government granting the exclusive right to take seals on the Pribilof Islands (Ibid.).

The sealing and whaling trade proved very valuable to the ACCo; however, the furs already known to exist in the Alaska-Yukon interior and the belief in the profitability of this trade enticed the company inland as well. US Captain C.W. Raymond, on request from the ACCo., was sent to investigate the reports of the HBC's presence on now American soil at Fort Yukon (Dawson 1898).

Upon proof of their illegal presence, in 1869 the HBC abandoned their post and built Rampart House further up the Porcupine River in a location thought to be in British Territory. This post burned and the HBC rebuilt Rampart House (II) a short distance up river from the original in 1871. The post, however, was not far enough east and had to be moved once again in 1890 to a location just east of the boundary. A short time later, 1893, the HBC abandoned their operations within Yukon.

With the help of the Mercier brothers the ACCo began establishing trading posts along the Yukon River including reoccupation of the abandoned post of Fort Yukon. Francis Mercier was stationed at St. Michael's, which was the gateway into the Alaska-Yukon interior via the mouth of the Yukon River, and Moses took on the task of trading at Fort Yukon. It is during this period a small number of prospectors began to enter the Yukon who, staying ahead of civilization, followed the strikes in California, the US Rocky Mountain area and British Columbia (Clark 1942; Berton 1958; Innis 1935; Wright 1976).

The Yukon prospector's story begins in the Liard River basin in 1871. LeRoy Napoleon, or simply Jack, McQuesten arrived at the headwaters of the Hay River to trap and trade in 1871/72. McQuesten was a quintessential frontiersman who had traveled west and then north into British Columbia and the Territories working as a prospector, trader and even for a short time as an HBC voyageur (Wright 1976). Hearing about the Yukon from Company traders, McQuesten became determined to get there. With his party, which included Albert H. Mayo a retired ex-circus acrobat, he attempted to enter the region via Campbell's Liard River Route; however, slow progress was made and they decided to winter at Nelson Forks, planning to resume again in the summer (De Armond 1973; McQuesten 1952; Wright 1976). Over the course of the winter they trapped 400 marten to trade with the HBC.

At the same time, a seasoned miner named Arthur Harper, born in Ireland, and having spent much time in the California and British Columbia in search of gold, was leading a second party into the Liard area. Previous study of western North American maps prompted his expedition. He "noted that the Liard and the Peace, important branches of the Mackenzie had their sources in the proven auriferous areas of British Columbia, and that the upper tributaries of the Yukon River had their sources in the same area"(Wright 1976: 124). He thus reasoned that if gold was present on the headwaters of the Mackenzie then it should be plentiful in the Yukon (Ibid.). The prospecting party, consisting of Federick Hart, George Finch and two others, embarked on a winter journey from the Peace River country and made their way into the Liard. On crossing the high ground from the Peace to the Liard and entering Nelson Forks that the Harper and McQuesten parties met. These two personalities would prove to be fundamental to shaping the early days of the Yukon mining era.

That spring the parties decided to team up and enter the Yukon via the McKenzie, Peel River Post and Bell River route. McQuesten and Mayo had business at Slave Lake so they departed and the others continued on. McQuesten and Mayo arrived at Fort Yukon with one addition, a Mr. Nicholson, on the 15th of August 1873. There they received the generous hospitality of Mr. Moses Mercier of the ACCo and saw their first repeating rifle (McQuesten 1952: 3; Ogilvie 1913). Harper and company had arrived at Fort Yukon earlier but he along with two others had been enticed to proceed down the Yukon River after being shown a large copper nugget of native origin. McQuesten and party wintered up the Yukon River near Goat Mountain (Ogilvie 1913).

Harper's journey down river took him to the mouth of the White River, the area where the nugget was to have originated. On their way down the men prospected; however, they "were discouraged [by some First Nations]...from prospecting a stream which appealed to them. It was later to be

known as the Fortymile River" (Wright 1976: 125). This may have been Harper's first but not his last contact with the Hän.

The results from Harper's initial prospecting assessment were encouraging. He found colours everywhere along the Yukon River (Wright 1975). This, of course, was no surprise to the fur traders, missionaries and First Nations who had all knew of the presence of gold but were clearly not interested. Campbell noted traces of gold at Fort Selkirk and Reverend MacDonald of the Anglican Church Missionary Society apparently found gold in the Birch Creek area, the same creek that would spark the mad rush to Circle in another thirty years (Coates 1991; Friesen 1978; Ogilvie 1913: 84).

The Harper and McQuesten parties met up again at Fort Yukon in the spring and made their way down to St. Michaels after McQuesten's brief sojourn to Lapierre House where they met ACCo Agent Francis Mercier on June 25th, 1874. It is at this point that McQuesten, Mayo and Hart joined the ACCo, Harper was to join the ranks as well. At first, employment was as company employees but this switched in 1875 to a commission basis where the traders were basically independent as to the location and the inner workings of their stores or posts (Archibald 1981; Wright 1976). Whether or not this loose association was an intended company policy or due to the shear cumbersome logistics and remoteness of the posts–5,000 miles of river and ocean navigation from head office in San Francisco–is uncertain. Company directives were issued and did slowly make their way down to the posts along the Yukon River when required.

McQuesten and party then began to make their way back up the Yukon River. The previous winter near Goat Mountain proved poor in the way of trapping and hearing of the good prospects near "Tron Deg" now named the Klondike, he decided to set a post up in central Yukon (Ogilvie 1913). First dropping Harper off at the mouth of the Tanana, McQuesten continued up river. "It was finally arranged the I should go up the Yukon and locate at some suitable place...We had an old Chief called Catsah and ten of his men aboard-they were Trondiak Indians...We selected a location near Trundeck about 350 miles from Fort Yukon" (McQuesten 1952: 4-5). Catsah or Cateah is reported to have been the Chief of the Klondike band or Tr'ondëk Hwëch'in. He is said to have traveled to Fort Yukon to entice the ACCo. to open a post in his area and is the likely source of McQuesten's inside information on the area (Mishler and Simone in press).

McQuesten and party arrived on a high riverbank flat across from Nuclaco on the 20th of August 1874. McQuesten and a man named Barnsfield were left to build winter quarters and employed some First Nations to help. Fort Reliance was constructed that fall. During the winter all three tons of goods were traded for furs and on the break up of the River on the 10th of May 1875, McQuesten proceeded down to St. Michaels.

Fort Reliance remained in operation from 1874 to 1886 and was run by various individuals after McQuesten left it in the summer of 1875 for Fort Yukon. There was a brief break in operation ca. 1876 when Mayo and Harper ran into trouble with the local First Nations over missing tobacco.* McQuesten, who had moved operations from Fort Yukon to Tanana Station, returned to open Fort Reliance. He left the former because new competition in the area, possibly the Western Fur and Trading Company, depressed prices such that commission was not paying well (Clark 1995; Wright 1976). The Western Fur and Trading Company finally sold out to the ACCo in ca. 1883 (McQuesten 1952:5).

* See Clark 1995: 36-37 for an annual account of locations of Fort Reliance traders from 1868-1901.

On his way to Fort Reliance, McQuesten stopped at Charley's Village, a Hän village at the mouth of the Charley River, where he was informed by Chief Charley not to proceed because the First Nations near Fort Reliance were angry. This anger arose because some Hän died as a result of eating what they believed to be flour but was actually rat poison retrieved from the stores in the Post. McQuesten recounts the story:

> *there was an Indian by the name of Shenerthy came down to Charley Camp that belong to Fort Reliance be [sic] told me to go on up and it would be all right as Charley Chief was talking for his own interest, as he wanted the station there as his place...*
>
> *When we arrived in sight of the station they began firing off guns to salute us–they kept shooting until we were very near the landing. Being received so friendly relieved the feelings of my interpreter and the Indians I had with me as they were opposed to coming, thinking they would all be killed. Before landing the goods I had a talk with the Indians in regard to the goods they stole from Mayo. Catsah the Chief had taken charge of the goods and received pay for them and turned the furs over to me so that part was settled.*
>
> *In regard to the poison, they had to break the lock to get into the Store – I told them that the poison was put in the store to destroy mice and it was out of the way of children and the old people ought to know better and the people that died it was their own fault for breaking into the store and taking things that didn't belong to them. There was one blind girl about sixteen years old that got poisoned – her father said she was a great deal of help to her mother and he had taken one of our dogs to replace the girl, but if I would pay for the girl he would return the dog. I told him I would think the matter over and let them know later on. Finally I told them the girl's Mother could keep the dog, so that settled the matter and that was the last that I ever heard about the poison.*
>
> *The next day we unloaded the steamer and prepared to buy furs. The Indians had a large amount of furs and they traded them all without any trouble.*

This event demonstrates the relationship between the trader and the First Nations. After this occurrence McQuesten maintained a good relationship with the Hän demonstrated by their visiting him regularly from all three villages when he hurt his back and was recovering at Fort Reliance (McQuesten 1952). Moreover, it is clear form his account that their relationship was one of equals. It also demonstrates the later competition between the individual Hän bands in respect to the location of ACCo. posts. Chief Charley was somewhat placated in his desires for a post near his village when F. Mercier, now working for the Western Fur and Trading Company, opened a post on Belle Isle, near Eagle David's or Johnny's band, in the same year.

The interior fur trade remained the main focus of the ACCo. up until the mid-1880s. There were, however, ever increasing number of prospectors entering the country. In 1875 Harper went from Fort Reliance to Eagle and crossed to the North Fork of the Fortymile River. Here he continued and crossed over to the Sixtymile where he found good pay. Such good pay that he intended to import a tank of quicksilver but ran into time and financial difficulties (Ogilvie 1913). McQuesten and Joseph Ladue also prospected the Sixtymile. Elsewhere, gold was being found, albeit in small paying quantities in flake or "flour" form.

News of the promising prospects made it to the outside. In 1874/75 George Holt was the first to cross the Chilkoot Pass followed by Edmund Bean with a party of Californians in 1880, although the majority of this group returned that same year (De Armond 1973; Gates 1994). By 1882 there were 50 miners wintering over in the interior and by 1886 there were approximately 200 (Stone 1983: 204). Of course the summer population would have been much higher with just the hardiest souls challenging the winter. McQuesten, a prospector himself, realized the opportunity that the ACCo was missing by just focusing on the fur trade. In 1885 he left the Yukon River basin for company

headquarters in San Francisco determined to convince the company to let him import mining supplies. His arguments were successful and in the summer of the same year McQuesten arrived with fifty tons of mining supplies (Webb 1993: 75). It just so happened he arrived to hear of the success on Chapman and Steamboat Bars along the Stewart River (Ibid.).

It was Boswell and Fraiser making their way over the spring ice of the Stewart who discovered good paying quantities of gold on Chapman's Bar in 1885 (Gates 1994). The bar was located 90 miles from the mouth of the Stewart. Over the summer $6,000 worth of gold was extracted by rocker. A further nine miles up the Stewart, Morphat and Bertrand were working Steamboat Bar and are reported to have mined $35,000 worth of gold (Ibid.). Gates (1994: 21) states that of the 75 miners that came into the Yukon for the summer over half worked the Stewart River. Hearing of the good prospects 200 miners in Juneau were set to come into the interior in 1886.

The spring of 1886 saw a great deal of activity along the Stewart with prospectors reaching as far as the falls and even venturing up the McQuesten. Cassiar bar was also worked, bringing in a reported $6,000 in one month (Gates 1994). Joseph Ladue, who had arrived in the country in 1882 with William Moore, later known as Captain Moore, with others went up the Trondeg River, or Klondike River. They tested the bars as they went; ironically they found nothing of real interest (Gates 1994). This heightened activity and the good prospects of gold on the Stewart prompted McQuesten, Harper and Mayo to close Fort Reliance and open a post near the mouth of the Stewart River. A small scatter of desolate cabins centred around Fort Nelson, that named after famed naturalist Edward W. Nelson who had been stationed at St. Michael's with the US Army Signal Corps from 1887 to 1881. There in the fall of 1886, all prepared for a long, cold winter. In September, McQuesten again left for the outside for more supplies.

Regardless of the excellent pay taken from the Stewart, some were not convinced that this was a river worth further prospecting (Ogilvie 1913). Howard Franklin and Henry Madison went up the Stewart as far as the falls, which are now known as Fraser Falls, but did not much care for their prospects. Their theory was that the riparian zone of the Stewart had the wrong kind of trees in addition to wild onions growing on its banks (Ogilvie 1913). This was not the recipe for paying ground so they quickly left the Stewart river valley in search of better ground. The pair made their way up the Fortymile River, which had been prospected years earlier by Joe Ladue. Twenty-three miles up river they discovered coarse gold on bedrock. They returned to the mouth of the Stewart where at Fort Nelson they began "proclaiming, according to the code of the country, their discovery" (Ogilvie 1913: 111).

There does appear to be some confusion over who and the number of people to be credited with the discovery of gold on the Fortymile River. De Armond (1793: 115) cites Frank Bateau (1967) who stated that gold was discovered by Howard Franklin, Mickey "Red" O'Brien, Tuck Lambert and a man reported only as Madden. Gates (1994) cites Ogilvie as does Coates (1991) and Coates and Morrison (1988). Gates (1994 endnote 1 Chapter 5) acknowledges this discrepancy between Ogilvie and Bateau but goes with Ogilvie; however, he does not state his reason for doing so. Whether or not this will ever be resolved is not the important point; rather, it is that this discovery was the first of its kind. It was the first discovery of coarse gold in the Yukon-Alaska interior. Moreover, its find sparked the initial rush and ultimately the establishment of Forty Mile.

The fact that it was coarse gold reaffirmed the amount of attention and effort that prospectors were giving to the Yukon River valley. Up until this point, the gold being rockered or panned out of the

gravel bars of the various rivers was flour gold. This gold is very fine and is the result of millions of years of the erosion of quartz veins (Gould 2001). It is this is the type of gold Harper encountered during his investigations of the Sixtymile and his desire for quick silver or mercury was to aid in extracting this flour gold from the black sand it is usually accompanied with. Coarse gold, which has the same general origin as the flour gold, is simply larger in size, ranging from the size of a wheat grain to specimens of many grams in weight. It is in coarse gold deposits where one is most likely to encounter the much desired gold nugget. In addition, it was the general belief at the time that the presence of coarse gold suggested one was that much closer to the gold-bearing quartz veins that would ultimately pave the way to the 'mother-lode'.

The flour gold recovered, however, played an important role in changing the nature of trade within the Yukon River valley interior from one of furs to one of gold. The pelt as a standard unit of exchange was replaced by a poke of gold. One ounce had an accepted value of $17.26 and all carried scales where payment and change for goods purchased was carried out in gold dust as easily as one trades coins today (Coates and Morrison 1988; Archibald 1981: 10; Ogilvie 1913). Furthermore, the trade emphasis switched as well, signified by the abandonment of Fort Reliance to a post in the Stewart River. At least in the British territories, no longer would ACCo posts be placed were it was convenient for the fur trade and therefore the First Nations. Post placement now depended on where the best gold strike was situated and supplying the miners was becoming a mainstay of business (Coates 1991; Webb 1993).

The Beginnings of Forty Mile 1886–1894

The news of the coarse gold strike along the Fortymile just missed McQuesten as he left for the outside to replenish goods for what he thought would just be those at Stewart. Harper, however, knew that there would be a larger rush once the news made it out of the valley and that McQuesten would not have enough supplies for all the gold seekers flooding to the Forty Mile (De Amour 1975; Gates 1994). Harper decided to write a letter telling McQuesten of the strike and to bring more supplies. He then asked for and received a volunteer from the group of miners at Fort Nelson. Tom Williams said he would carry this letter to Dyea in the dead of winter so that it might get to McQuesten in time.

Tom left December 1st, 1886, on a winter trek, some hundreds of miles through rough terrain, never before attempted by a miner (Gates 1994: 33). With a dog team and a First Nation named Bob they worked their way towards the coast. It was a grueling trip, first due to the warm weather making the river ice very difficult to navigate, then fighting the bitter cold only heightened by the wind. The two found themselves snowed in at Stonehouse, just below the foot of the Chilkoot Pass having abandoned the dogs and lost the mail they were carrying (De Amour 1975; Gates 1994). When Williams contracted pneumonia, Bob decided they should make a break for Dyea. Williams soon failed and Bob carried him on his back through deep snow and strong winds. It was a group of Chilkat who found the two and helped them reach the newly built Healy and Wilson Post (Gates 1994: 34).

Williams died shortly after but he did manage to relay the news of the Fortymile strike. This caused quite a stir at the post and on J. Healy's trip to Juneau with Bob, the news became common and many prepared for a spring run to the Fortymile. Healy eventually retraced Williams' and Bob's tracks and recovered the lost bag that confirmed the news and included a map (De Armond 1975; Gates 1994). Although Tom Williams' story is a tragic one, it was his and Bob's news that may have

averted a much larger tragedy.

The winter of 1886 saw the actual beginnings of what was to become the thriving townsite of Forty Mile. The gold discoverers already staked claims and they decided to winter over at the mouth of the Fortymile. Other men came to winter over as well, one of whom was a French Canadian named Frank Buteau (Buteau 1967: 96; Gates 1994). Buteau arrived at the mouth of the Fortymile on the 13th of October, 1886. On an Island about a mile above the mouth of the river, his party, which numbered sixteen, built a camp consisting of three small cabins (Gates 1994). The island was soon to be known as Liars' Island and they as the Forty Liars as designated by the five camping at the mouth due to the yarns spun there to pass away the cold winter (Gates 1994; Ogilvie 1913: 291). According to Gates (1994) these 21 men can be considered the first citizens of Forty Mile.

There were actually three rushes or stampedes to the Fortymile River in 1887 (Gates 1994: 36). The first to the creeks were those who had wintered over at the river's mouth. The second consisted of those men from the Stewart River and other bars and tributaries along the Yukon. This latter wave left the small camp around Fort Nelson at the mouth of the Stewart virtually abandoned. The third and largest rush consisted of those from Juneau and other areas of the Alaskan Panhandle who upon hearing of Tom's news made their way to the new gold field via the Chilkoot Pass that spring.

In the spring of 1887, the flood of stampeders stopped at the mouth of the Fortymile just long enough to view the notice board situated there that provided information and directions for points up river (Gates 1994). Mining activity that summer was brisk with a reported 300 miners prospecting and mining sporadically as they searched for and found good paying ground. That year they took out between $60,000 and $200,000 dollars worth of gold depending on whom you cite (Barrett 1986, Dawson 1898; Gates 1994; Ogilvie). As their outfits dwindled, however, they were forced to make their way back to the mouth of the Forty Mile in hopes that the steamer would arrive and replenish their supplies.

A steamer, which was likely the *New Racket* that began on the Yukon River in 1882 for the ACCo., arrived with Mayo and Harper and 10 tons of supplies. Harper set up a crate for a counter and a set of scales as a cash register and sold the merchandise off of the barge to the provision hungry miners (Gates 1994: 40). Within 48 hours all ten tons were gone. Shortly after, a second steamer, which was either the Yukon, which was the earliest ACCo. steamer put on the river in 1869 or the St. Michael once owned by the Western Fur and Trading Co. and put on the river in 1879, arrived with a 100 tons of goods. On its arrival word was sent up the creeks. Gates (1994) notes that liquor was stocked but rubber boots were forgotten. Their importance to the miners, however, was reflected with one miner's journey back to Juneau in order to acquire an adequate supply of rubbers (Ibid.)

On September 7, 1887, William Ogilvie arrived as part of the Canadian Yukon expedition, to determine the location of the Alaska-Yukon border (141st meridian). He noted McQuesten and Harper building the ACCo. post (Ogilvie 1913). This structure is considered to be "the first real building in Forty Mile" (Gates 1994: 40). The building was a two story log structure approximately 30ft. by 60ft. in size constructed on the flood terrace at the confluence of the Forty Mile and Yukon Rivers (Gates 1994: 74). A second plank structure known as the ACCo. warehouse was to be constructed (in 1895-1901) to the west of this building that likely left the footprint for FMBO-1 (Hammer 2002: Forty Mile Heritage Feature Map).

The townsite of Forty Mile* was concentrated at the confluence of the Fortymile and Yukon Rivers. It was situated on the flat flood terrace of both rivers approximately 1.5–2m in height from the normal level of the Yukon River. A slough running north from the Yukon River into the Fortymile creates a 48.6 acre Island reminiscent of the outline of a foot; it is at the tip of this 'foot' that is where the major concentration of settlement occurred. The slough fills during the high water with water flowing north or from the Yukon into the Fortymile. Settlement also occurred on a four acre Island to the south of the town site. Also across Fortymile River from the main townsite or the north bank of the Fortymile River cabins were constructed on Gibson's Island and further north along the shore of the Yukon River. Prior to intensive settlement the area was covered by spruce with aspen and poplar along the shorelines (Ogilvie 1887). Although higher the than the two rivers skirting the north and east sides, only the respective shorelines of the terraces can be considered as well drained. Since the terraces converged at the confluence of the two rivers, the driest area was the tip of Forty Mile Island–the area of initial construction.

The earliest map of the townsite of Forty Mile appears to be Ogilvie's sketch of the confluence drawn in 1887/88 (Ogilvie 1887). In his depiction of this area he shows the location of the ACCo. store located at the tip of Forty Mile Island. He also noted Cone Hill and some geological features such as the location of galena just up river from the first bend of the Fortymile. Lt. F. Schwatka named Cone Hill during his trip down the Yukon in 1883, he also named the Fortymile River the Cone Hill River. In the first year or two, Forty Mile consisted mainly of tents surrounding the ACCo Store. McConnell, who accompanied George Dawson and Ogilvie on the Canadian-Yukon Expedition, noted that the town consisted of "thirty or forty men...waiting for reports from the various prospecting parties which were exploring the surrounding country, and ready to start at a moments notice" (McConnell 1891: 139D cf. Settlement Surveys Ltd. 1980: 16).

The temporary nature of the townsite changed in a few short years. New mining innovations allowed miners to work in the winter. Larger steamers brought in more supplies for over wintering. Ultimately, these two factors increased the permanent resident population of Forty Mile. In his winter quarters, Ogilvie was visited numerous times by various miners in 1887/88. After lessons on Canadian mining regulations, discussions often turned to the problem or impossibility of reaching the bedrock because of the frozen ground. To date miners had been sluicing or rocking the top layers of gravels for gold; but, it was generally held that it was deeper, near bedrock where the "best pay would be found at the lowest depths" (Ogilvie 1913: 140). Remembering the method of getting to defective gas lines in the dead of winter in Ottawa, Ogilvie suggested burning their way down (Ibid.). Miners had used this thawing technique to some extent during the early part of winter when the low water would expose gravel bars not normally accessible, but had never applied the technique in this form. This new freeze/thaw technique enabled the miners to reach bedrock during the winter. They then would 'clean up' or sluice the overburden with their sluice boxes in the spring and summer when water began to flow again. This innovation significantly increased the miners' desire to over winter in the area.

As the population steadily increased and miners saw the benefits of over wintering to 'clean-up' in the spring, the ACCo. began to see the limitations of their supply system and small steamers. Up until the construction of the *Arctic* in 1889, which was almost twice the length and much more

* Throughout this background Forty Mile is used in referring to the town site, whereas Fortymile is used when referring to the River. This is following Gates (1994).

powerful than any on the River at the time (Wright 1976: 247), only enough provisions could be brought in for 100 miners to winter over* (Ogilvie 1913; Wright 1976). Now with the *Arctic*, *New Racket, St. Michael's* and the *Yukon* steamers plying the river between St. Michael's and Fort Selkirk regularly by 1890, enough winter provisions could be brought in to sustain a growing population (Ogilvie 1913: 112). There still was risk, however. The main supplier of the Yukon interior up to 1893 was the ACCo., which received its wholesale goods from San Francisco some 5000 navigation miles away (Berton 1958). Thus, need had to be anticipated. The problems of navigating of the ever changing gravel bars within the Yukon made surety of the supply impossible. In 1889, the failure of goods to arrive at Forty Mile because of the wrecking of the *Arctic* on her maiden voyage (Green 1982: 33) prompted McQuesten to request miners go 'outside' for the winter so that famine would not take hold. Compliance with McQuesten's request avoided such a tragedy (Coates and Morrison 1988; Gates 1994). The *Arctic* was back in regular service in 1890 (Gates 1994: 58).

After 1890, with motivation for sustaining a winter population in the creeks and the problem of provisioning greatly reduced, the settlement of Forty Mile was free to blossom and grow. Tents, which were quickly erected up around the new post, began to be replaced by log buildings and as time went on timbered plank structures began to appear. Little, however, is known on the specific evolution and individual life histories of the buildings at Forty Mile*. It grew very quickly over a few short years and had little order as to the placement of buildings. Adding to the growth of Forty Mile was the discovery of gold on Miller Creek a tributary of the Sixtymile River that could be easily accessed via the Fortymile (Gates 1994).

Institutions began to appear on the scene in short order. J.W. Ellington of the Anglican Church established a Church Missionary Society Mission called St. John's or Buxton Mission on the southern Island called Mission Island, in 1887. It was called Buxton after a generous contributor based in London (Gates 1994). A post office was established in 1889 with address of Mitchell Alaska, and Jack McQuesten as the postmaster. Not formally an institution per se, in the same year the first saloons at Forty Mile opened their doors serving as one of the premiere social centres of the townsite. Soon they were to number 10 (Gates 1994; Wright 1976). On Ogilvie's return to the region in 1888/89 for further boundary work, the small camp he had sketched in 1887 was no longer. The stark transformation prompted Ogilvie to remark that it was "the worst jumble I ever saw" (cf. Barrett 1986; Wright 1976).

Ellington, whose primary focus was on ministering to the First Nations, was the butt of many a miner's practical joke and with his obvious frail nature, he had a difficult time coping in the lonely, frozen north. It took such a toll on his mental state that he had to leave. Bishop W. Bompas replaced Ellington in 1892. He finished the Buxton Mission that Ellington and the local Hän living on the Island had started. It consisted of a two story residence with a shed summer kitchen and a Mission schoolhouse, as well as a shed or cache for storage.

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* It is assumed what is meant by this since quite frequently more than 100 miners over wintered in the valley is that enough supplies to sustain 100 individuals without supplementing their diet with wild game either by hunting it themselves or purchasing it from First Nations.

* See Barrett 1986 and Hammer 2002 for a detailed description of the Heritage resources at the site including extant buildings and building outlines. A detailed archival photograph analysis would be required as well as extensive archival research to gather even a rudimentary chronology.

After coping well with her first Yukon winter, the miners at Forty Mile gave Mrs. Charlotte Bompas a large nugget. She wrote of the town in January 1893:

> *The miners make this, Forty Mile Creek, their headquarters during the winter. They have built themselves neat, comfortable cabins, some of them with kitchen garden. Many of them are well educated men...Here is a good lending library and a billiard-room. Here at least six saloons, several doctors, two blacksmiths, one watchmaker, and one dressmaker, with the latest fashions from Duncan. (Archer 1929: 137-138).*

Clearly the town was developing rapidly with a diverse and growing infrastructure. Adding to this growth, and breaking the ACCo.'s hold on the area, the North American Transportation and Trading Company (NAT&TCo) established Fort Cudahy along the Yukon River's edge north of the Forty Mile townsite. Captain J.J. Healy, who first established a post at Dyea in 1886, garnered support from Chicago's business elite to form a company to carry out transportation and trade in the interior of Alaska-Yukon. Thus the NAT&TCo was formed in 1892. The steamer *Porteous B. Weare*, which was named after the Company's first president, arrived at Forty Mile in 1893 with Healy and full of supplies. Healy quickly went about erecting large storehouses, living quarters, trading shops, and a sawmill (Ogilvie 1913; Gates 1994). Forty Cudahy, as the complex was called, also contained a free reading room and a Billiard hall (Gates 1994: 75). This new post, although reluctant to grubstake miners, did reduce the prices. Flour was reduced almost $10.00 per 100 pounds (Gates 1994).

By 1894, Ogilvie's jumble had in a few short years two well equipped stores (ACCo. and the NAT&TCo), a lending library, billiard room, ten saloons some with Chippendale chairs, two restaurants, a theatre, an opera house with San Francisco girls, two doctors, two blacksmiths, a hardware/tin smiths shop, a barber, a baker, a watchmaker, a dress maker as well as numerous distilleries (Barrett 1986; Gates 1994; Sola 1897). The businesses were surrounded by 80 to 90 log cabins and the townsite serviced a population at its peak of about 600 (De Windt 1898: 139; Gates 1994: 76).

Forty Mile: Social History

The list of services available at Forty Mile is impressive and somewhat surprising for a remote northern outpost. The living conditions, however, were what one would expect in an isolated frontier town of the north. DeWindt (1898: 139) described the town as "a collection of eighty or ninety dismal-looking log huts on a mudbank...with no attempt at regularity, the marshy intervening spaces being littered with wood shavings, empty tins, and other rubbish...". The log huts were one room affairs usually without windows with sod roofs at times supporting a garden. The walls were chinked with moss and heating came from a Yukon stove (Burton 1958; Gates 1994).

The population of Forty Mile was always in flux with people moving back and forth from the gold fields to their claims and back to the town for supplies. While in town they usually burned off some of the cabin fever as they had the chance (Gates 1994). DeWindt (1898) noted that the town was quite cosmopolitan with a population made up of American, French, German, Russian, Swedish and British; although, it was the Americans who were clearly the majority of the population (Gates 1994; Ogilvie 19130). Burton (1958: 414) with a touch of hyperbole describes the American portion of the population as "frontiersmen from the American West, men who could not sit still and who had been in every mining camp from Tombstone to the Black Hills". Although, not noted by many in their accounts of the population of Forty Mile, the local Hän also lived at the townsite on a seasonal basis, having their residences next to the Buxton Mission (Coates 1991; Gates 1994).

An outright famine although close at times, never occurred. Provisions purchased from First Nations as well as hunting always provided supplements to the diet. With winter, however, came scurvy. Each winter it did afflict a few miners in winter with some unfortunates passing away (Ogilvie 1913). However, no serious disease outbreaks have been recorded for Forty Mile during this time comparable to those that occurred in Dawson during the gold rush.

Social life for the miners at the town site was centred around the saloon. Berton (1958) stated that to refuse a 50 cent glass of whiskey was considered an insult unless one accepted a 50 cent cigar. Furthermore, to watch the bartender determine your payment with scales was an attack on his integrity and to buy one a drink was to buy all a drink. This is likely an overstatement on Berton's part; however, the saloon was a meeting place where, at times, eight month old news of the outer world that had arrived with the latest steamer was enthusiastically discussed. One, however, could count on hearing the main two topics always discussed: "the scarcity of provisions and the abundance of gold" (DeWindt 1898: 144). High stakes gambling also passed the time away (Gates 1994). At some games "the cost to draw a card was as much as fifty dollars, and games with stakes of $2,000 were common" (Gates 1994: 78).

George Snow's theatre or Opera House opened in 1894 outfitted with a troop of San Franciscan 'music hall' girls, providing a new diversion for the populace. Some considered the shows excellent while others described the hall as a "dive of the lowest description" (DeWindt 1898: 140). According to Morgan (1998: 27) these dance hall girls, likely not known to Snow, were the North's first bona fide demimonde–dance hall girl, legitimate actress and prostitute. The latter facet or profession is not well documented at Forty Mile; however, Coates (1991) states that this activity occurred between the Miners and the local First Nation women but not in any sort of formal or institutional setting.

An odd social event that did occur from time to time but not necessarily linked with prostitution was the "squaw dance". The description by J. Spurr, a US government geologist who was in Forty Mile in the 1890s, provides the best description of this event:

> *We were attracted by a row of miners who were lined up in front of the saloon engaged in watching the door of a very large log cabin opposite....They said there was going to be a dance, but when or how they did not seem to know....*
>
> *The evening wore on until ten o'clock, when in the dusk a stolid Indian woman with a baby in the blanket on her back, came cautiously around the corner, and with the peculiar long slouchy step of her kind, made for the cabin door, looking neither to the right nor to the left....She was followed by a dozen others, one far behind the other, each silent and unconcerned, and each with a baby upon her back. They sidled into the log cabin and sat down on the benches, where they also deposited their babies in a row: the little red people lay there very still, with wide eyes shut or staring, but never crying....*
>
> *The mother sat awhile looking at the ground on some one sport, then slowly lifted their heads to look at the miners who had slouched into the cabin after them....A man with a fiddle struck up a swinging, sawing melody and in the intoxication of the moment some of the most reckless of the miners grabbed an Indian woman and began furiously swinging her around in a sort of waltz while the others crowded and looked on.*
>
> *Little by little the dusk grew deeper, but candles were scarce and could not be afforded. The figures of the dancing couples grew more and more indistinct and their faces became lost to view, while the sawing of the fiddle grew more and more rapid, and the dancing more excited. There was no noise, however; scarcely a sound save the fiddle and the shuffling of the feet over the floor of rough hewn logs; for the Indian women were as stolid as ever and the miners could not speak the language of their partners. Even the lookers on said nothing, so that these silent dancing figures in the dusk made an almost weird effect.*

> *One by one, however, the women dropped out, tired, picked up their babies and slouched off home, and the men slipped over to the saloon to have a drink before going to their cabins. Surely this squaw dance, as they call it, was one of the most peculiar balls ever seen...*(cf. Berton 1958: 418-419).

The frequency of this aspect of First Nation and miner interaction has not been well documented. Coates (1991) remarks that relations between miners and First Nations occurred. The Anglican mission was charged with taking the unwanted children that resulted from these unions (Coates 1991: 83). It was not unusual for miners to take on First Nation wives while in the country, as did traders such as Arthur Harper. Their commitment to them, however, once out of country was not always carried through (Coates 1991). Liquor consumption was a factor bringing First Nation and Non-First Nation together within a social setting (Coates 1991: 82).

Liquor was a staple of the townsite. If it was not imported from the outside it was distilled right in the town. McQuesten and Thomas W. O'Brien, who later was to open a brewery at Klondike City, are said to have been part of the "whiskey gang" that distilled hootchino selling it not only to the miners but also to First Nations (Coates 1991; Gates 1994). Hootchinoo was made of molasses, sugar and dried fruit and fermented with sourdough or hops (Berton 1958; Gates 1994). It was also referred to as "Forty-rod Whisky" at times flavoured with anything handy, including old boots (Ibid.). The Forty-Rod spoke to the distance from which it could kill. Its production required little more than an empty oil can, and the recipe, much to the dismay of Bishop Bompas, was passed to the First Nations who produced it as well. This local production likely reflects the caching of bottles that occurred at the town site (Hammer 2002). Bottles were stored carefully with bottoms up so no water would drip in and freeze, in underground caches likely in wait for the next batch of Hootch. Hootchino was sold cheaply and often supplemented the town when premium liquor ran short (Berton 1958; Gates 1994).

Liquor was not the only entertainment within the townsite. Celebrations such as Christmas were often carried out in a mixed atmosphere with both First Nations and non-First Nations. McQuesten (1952: 11) talks of a Christmas tradition originating in Fort Reliance that included feasting, playing games and the giving of ammunition to First Nations to shoot off as well as tossing people up in the air with a moose hide and then catching them. "That practice has been kept up at Forty Mile ever since. When the Indians are all there and the whites always joined in the sport and everyone living near the town had to be tossed up...". Other social gatherings included storytelling, a tradition started at Forty Mile by the sixteen residents on Liars Island. Sessions where the yarns were spun were said to be so enjoyable and well attended that a club with regular meetings was established (Ogilvie 1913: 291). The practical joke was also a form of entertainment. It also functioned as a leveler. The group often focused on an individual who was not demonstrating cooperative group behaviour (Power 1976). As well, there was a regular Sunday service at the Mission.

Despite the frontier nature of the town and the apparent excessive drinking and gambling, there was little crime. This basic peacefulness is the result of a number of factors, likely the most important of which was the miners' meeting that stemmed out of the unique nature of Yukon miners' society. Ogilvie (1913: 294) described the mining population as having "communistic ideals". Power (1974: 7) states that the initial society of Miners in the Yukon basin is comparable to egalitarian societies such as the Inuit and Australian Aborigines. This, she argues, is the result of their inherent reliance on each other facing a common foe–the unknown and harsh environment. For example, partnerships between miners constantly changed and individuals freely and frequently moved from not only region to region but also from group to group or party to party (Power 1974: 45; Stone 1983). This in

a sense connected the groups and bred familiarity or acquaintances between groups much like kinship and residence patterns link bands of hunter gatherers. This familiarity could be utilized in times of need, of course inherent in this was the reciprocal nature of help provided (Power 1974). An example of this is the open cabin or cache and the northern code of helping oneself but being respectful and leaving something in return or replacing items when one could.

This ethic was also championed by the ACCo. not only through the likes of Jack McQuesten and Arthur Harper but also within the upper echelons of the company. In the shipment of goods to St. Michael's in recognition of the shortage of goods in the interior in 1886, Lewis Gerstle, president of the ACCo, stated in a letter to M. Lorenz agent at St. Michael's, dated May 7th, 1886 that:

> *It must not be understood, however, that the shipment referred to is made for the purpose of realizing profits beyond the regular schedule of prices heretofore established. Our object is to simply avoid any possible suffering which the large increase of population insufficiently provided with articles of food, might occasion....In this connection we deem it particularly necessary to say to you, that traders in the employ of the Company, or such other as draw their supplies from the stores of the Company, doing business on their own account, must not be permitted to charge excessive profits, otherwise all business relations with such parties must cease, as the Company cannot permit itself to be made an instrument of oppression towards anyone that they may come in contact with.* (Kitchener 1954: 44).

McQuesten and Harper took this one step further in their grubstaking, a phenomena that was an important factor in the early mining development of the Yukon. Grubstaking consisted of the lending of an outfit consisting of a years grub and needed mining supplies to prospectors on the basis that it be repaid upon their next "clean up". On several occasions miners were grubstaked many times over before they were eventually able to pay it off; very few took advantage of this (Ogilvie 1913). On one occasion a miner owing his grub stake to McQuesten arrived in town with pay from his claim but appealed to McQuesten that he could not pay it back as yet since he had not had his spree. The spree as it sounds was a binge of drinking and running wild. McQuesten let the miner go and both agreed that he would come and pay when he was done. Predictably, the miner on return to McQuesten was flat broke. Not only could he not pay McQuesten back, he in fact needed to be grubstaked once again (Gates 1994).

Furthermore, post proprietors kept an eye on the distribution of items. Goods were not necessarily sold to individuals just because they had the means necessary to acquire the goods, rather distribution of non-surplus items was based on need (Ogilvie 1913). In Stewart, as goods were running low in the winter of 1886, Harper refused to sell Missouri Frank more butter even at any price since others would need it as well (Ogilvie 1913: 267). Harper would only sell those items that had a surplus or were not bare necessities. Missouri Frank raided Harper's cache and ultimately was banished from the interior for his misdeed.

Although the early miners were in search for gold, the ultimate goal for many was remaining away from civilization. Miners' society was principally egalitarian. For example, when gold was discovered at Fortymile claim size was reduced so all could have an equal opportunity to stake their claim. One of the original Fortymilers, Frank Buteau described the decision this way "During the winter of 1886–87, the sixteen of us who were living on the Island agreed to locate claims of 300 feet each instead of the 1,500 feet allowed by the laws of Alaska* in order to make room for others who might want to locate in that district" (Buteau 1967: 101-102). To further illustrate the egalitarian

* When Ogilvie arrived in the area in 1887, little was known of Canadian mining laws by the mostly American miners. As well there was always the uncertainty of which country one was mining in.

nature of the society the spree can be seen as leveling mechanism with respect to wealth and/or status. Quite often, miners who had a very good clean up would go into town and spend it all in the saloon with their friends or as was not uncommon some went 'outside' taking their friends to whoop it up over the winter only to return broke and asking for another grub stake then hitting the creeks once again in search of wealth (Power 1976: 56).

Coming out of this egalitarian/communal society was a system of justice that was to last until the arrival of the North-west Mounted Police in 1895. Until its deterioration in the mid-1890s, the miners' meeting held up and supported the code of the old timer–honesty, helpfulness, and generousity. Miners' meetings were called to consider any question pertaining to the camp. They deliberated on issues of not only of a criminal and civil nature but devised mining regulations and town rules where none existed (Coates and Morrison 1988; Ogilvie 1913; Stone 1983). This latter function was similar to meetings held in the California gold rush. Ogilvie (1913: 247) describes the process of the miners' meeting. Once called, a chair was elected as well as a secretary. Each party was given the chance to state their case with questions asked by any in attendance at any time. When arguments were finished they were discussed openly followed by a vote. All in attendance voted and thus acted as jurors and the majority carried the judgment. In serious matters such as stealing or attempted murder the punishment was always banishment (Power 1976: 24). Banishment was enforced by the threat of being shot on sight if the guilty was seen in the vicinity again. Miners' meetings have also been characterized as a form of forward justice, in that a person's character greatly influenced the verdict (Coates and Morrison 1988). This, coupled with banishment functioned to weed out those that did not conform to the miners' moral standards and relieved the country of undesirables (Power 1976).

Coates and Morrison (1988) argue that an additional factor making miners' meetings the primary form of justice instead of vigilantism was due to the experiences in the gold fields of California and to a lesser degree British Columbia. Most miners saw their presence in the Yukon as a stint. A short period of time was to be spent in the north seeking their fortune. This was motivation first for good behaviour and second for using the miners' meeting as a way to seek justice so that on return to civilization the miner would not be known as a desperado or vigilante. In essence, the miners' meeting shifted "responsibility for punishment to the community as a whole, absolved the individual miners; none of them could be held individually accountable for the community's actions" (Coates and Morrison 1988: 63).

The first miner's meeting at Forty Mile occurred when the Buteau group met to decrease the size of the Fortymile claims. The second meeting occurred in July of 1887 (Gates 1994). A group waiting for the steamer to bring supplies called a meeting to discuss opening the cache that was situated there by an individual unknown to the group. They discussed its opening and because their supplies were so short decided it was best to open the cache. It is assumed that on the steamers arrival all was returned. Berton (1958) reports that at one of the meetings at Forty Mile a hanging sentence was given to two First Nation people who participated in a murder*.

The success of the Fortymile gold fields, however, marked the demise of the effectiveness of the miners' meetings. Called the "nearest approach to democracy that the world has seen" (Rickard cf. Berton 1958: 415), the meetings functioned well for a number of years. However, the rise in Forty

* This occurrence has not been substantiated by other sources.

Mile's population created divisions within the community and meetings started to become nationalistic in tone (Ogilvie: 913: 247). Furthermore, saloons were starting to be the locations of choice for miners' meeting with the consumption of liquor prior to and during such meetings resulting in the skewing of verdicts (Ibid.; Power 1976). Moreover, saloons had a derelict or loafer component to them that were equally counted as present in miners meetings (Ogilvie 1913: 248). An example of this occurring at Forty Mile was the case of French Joe. Joe was making his way down from the Fortymile gold fields when he passed a cabin and a miner asked him to take two ounces of gold and give it to Bill Smith as payment for a debt. Joe agreed, thinking nothing of it, and on arrival at Forty Mile he immediately looked up Bill Smith and gave him the gold. Upon weighing the gold Smith stated that he was owed three ounces. Joe said he was not aware of this and was only given two ounces. Smith insisted Joe give him the other ounce and upon Joe's refusal he called a miners' meeting. The case was heard, Joe lost and not only had to cough up the ounce of gold but also had to pay $20.00 for the use of Bob English's saloon and had to buy everyone a drink (Ogilvie 1913: 247-249). Ogilvie attributed this verdict to the fact that it was well known that when Joe came to town, he 'spreed' so it was believed that he "might as well spend a few dollars in the way they made him, as in his own" (Ibid.: 249).

The case that is held by most as an example of the corruption of the miner's meeting is that involving the manager of the NAT&TCo trading post Fort Cudahy in 1895. C.H. Hamilton had hired a female house servant. She would sneak out until late hours of the night with her boyfriend. After several warnings Hamilton dismissed the girl. On prompting of her boyfriend, who was a miner himself, a miners' meeting was called. The verdict was in favour of the servant girl and Hamilton was ordered to pay a year's wages as well as her fare to the outside. Hamilton at first refused, however, to avoid a lynching he complied (Gates 1994). This prompted Captain Healy to write a letter to his friend Sam Steele of the NWMP, whom he had known from their Montana days, stating that law enforcement was very much needed at Forty Mile.

First Nations in Forty Mile

In the recollections and records left by the first miners to the area, there is little mention of a Hän camp or village in the area. It may be that most miners did not care to write about First Nations; however, it may also be that Forty Mile acted as a seasonal camp for the Hän and likely would not have been occupied in the fall until after the last salmon stopped running at the end of September or the first part of October.

The fur trade did continue during the Forty Mile era, although First Nations had to adjust to the inconvenient placement of posts. It was still a good living (Coates 1991). Post location, however, was likely not much of a bother, rather just one more stop in their seasonal round. It appears that the transition in emphasis from furs to gold was only a minor disruption to the First Nation way of life. Coates (1991: 35) states that with "the combination of seasonal wage labour and a continued fur trade offered a new level of affluence for those Natives able to participate in mining". It is likely, however, that since the existence of the trading posts was no longer solely based on furs, the negotiating position of First Nations in terms of what goods were traded and how they were traded, would have been weakened.

Competition for country resources was beginning to occur between the miner and the First Nations. Some miners had to supplement their income and turned to trapping, fishing and hunting. This competition, however, did not really have much of an impact of First Nations until the drastic rise in

population with the Klondike gold rush.

Prejudice was a factor and greatly reduced the avenues or amount of control First Nations had over their labour beyond that of their seasonal round (Coates 1991). Rarely did First Nations work their own claims; rather they tended to work as packers, mine labourers, woodcutters and provisioners (Coates 1991). At Forty Mile, a First Nation packer could make up to 30 cents a pound carrying supplies into the gold fields (Ibid.). As mine labourers, First Nations could make between four to eight dollars a day; whereas, non-First Nation labourers made up to six to ten dollars a day. The most lucrative endeavour was that of provisioning. As the population increased, the demand for country foods increased. Salmon was sold for dog food and moose, caribou and other game was a welcome supplement for the miner who subsisted mainly on can goods. During the 1889 supply shortage, it is reported that Hän First Nations staying at Forty Mile ran short of supplies that winter as well, but went out hunting and brought back with them over a ton of caribou, which they in turn sold to miners (McQuesten 1952). Bompas commented that the Natives "become rich by trading meat and fish with the miners, and working for them." (Bompas cf. Coates 1991: 35). Hän women were also part of the First Nation non-First Nation economy in that they fashioned and sold durable winter garments much sought after by the miners.

The type of labour that the First Nations were involved in was seasonal by nature and fit in well with little adjustment to their established seasonal around (Coates 1991). The sheer fact of demographics made First Nations economically valuable on the labour starved creeks (Ibid). Prior to 1896 First Nations outnumbered non-First Nations by four to one. After the Klondike Gold Rush, this changed to eight non-First Nation to every one First Nation, and First Nations became marginalized from the dominant economy (Ibid: 40). The Forty Mile economy, however, was seen by the Hän as valuable as evidenced by their prevention of the Tanana for contacting Forty Mile.

The local Hän's entrepreneurial spirit and willingness to participate in the economy and society of the Forty Mile non-First Nation population is further exampled by their construction activities on Mission Island. Coates (1991: 71-80) reports that the Hän decided to build a dance hall on Mission Island in order to attract money to their village. However, as the "walls were going up, Bishop Bompas interceded. Bompas later used the wood to construct a new church"* (Coates 1991: 80).

As mentioned previously, First Nations participated actively in the new culture present at Forty Mile. Even though the population of white women was low, prostitution was not endemic within the First Nation community although to some degree it did occur. First Nations participated in celebrations with non-First Nations as well as in social functions and recreational drinking. Bompas with good intentions, was ever the defender of First Nation virtue. His major aim was to ensure that First Nations did not succumb to the ills of the miners' society and when he believed he was beginning to lose the battle, he began to write letters to the Canadian Government asking for their intervention.

Missionaries and the Church at Forty Mile

Missionary presence in within the Yukon River valley occurred at quite an early date. Reverend W.W. Kirkby traveled to Fort Yukon in 1861 and met with the Gwich'in living in the area (Coates

* Coates cites the Bowen Papers, however, none of the other literature reviewed specifically Gates and Ogilvie mention the building of a Mission Island dance hall. Ellington, however left Forty Mille 1889/90 and the area was left unattended by the Anglicans until Bompas' moved there in 1892. Therefore, it could very well be that the Hän were in the process of turning what they had built for Ellington into a dance hall.

1991). He returned in 1862 and recommended that the Anglican Church Mission Society (CMS) establish a permanent mission within the interior. Reverend MacDonald arrived in 1862 and spent considerable time with the local Gwich'in (Coates 1991). In 1864 an ailing MacDonald was joined by W.C. Bompas who divided his time between the Yukon and Mackenzie area. Bompas was soon to become Bishop of the Athabasca diocese (1870) and then of Selkirk (1891) and played a prominent role in the CMS's establishment at Forty Mile. T.H. Canham arrived in the Yukon in 1881 and worked at several stations including Tanana, Forty Mile and Fort Selkirk. V.C. Sim served throughout the Porcupine area and traveled to Fort Reliance and beyond from 1881 to 1885 when he died (Ibid.).

The church immediately championed the cause of the First Nation. At first the main quest was one of conversion. The fur traders were seen as a relatively benign force when it came to the 'corruption' of the First Nation – the HBC did no trade in liquor with First Nation people and no record has been encountered suggesting the ACCo. engaged in the liquor trade. The activities of the CMS indicate that the clergy had a fairly relaxed approach with respect to First Nation customs and beliefs and did not overtly attempt to undermine the culture. "On an institutional level, church missions sought to eliminate Native spirituality and to lift Native society towards a more civilized norm" (Coates 1991: 115). The CMS trained Native catechists and bibles were translated to help make Christianity more accessible to their target audience.

Catholic presence in the Yukon valley did occur, however, it was not a significant force until the onset of the Klondike Gold Rush. Gates (1994) describes Catholic missionaries arriving at Stewart or Fort Nelson and spending some time there. Their intention was to minister to the First Nations, however, much of their time was spent tending to the miners (Gates 1994).

With the arrival of the miners, protecting the First Nation people from the ills of these rough frontiersmen became a crusade for the CMS. It appears that with Bompas, this focus became almost an obsession (Coates 1991; Gates 1994). With news of the strike at Forty Mile, Reverend John W. Ellington after serving at Rampart House and Fort Yukon in 1886, was dispatched by Bompas to the townsite of Forty Mile (Gates 1994: 55). Ellington was to primarily minister to the First Nations of the area (Coates 1991). The missionary arrived at Forty Mile in 1887, and immediately hired the local Hän to build a Mission House or Buxton Mission on a four acre island now known as Mission Island (Gates 1994). The placement of the Mission house on the Island may have been a secondary location* but was strategically chosen. It reflected the CMS's focus of bringing the ministry to the First Nations of the area. The island was isolated from the townsite separated from it by a slough of the Yukon River and thus the miners. Here, the church could have the undivided attention of the local First Nations. Ellington made trips throughout the area ministering to the First Nations living in and around Fort Reliance and those at Fort Selkirk (Ibid.).

It appears that Ellington's weak nature, or lack of maturity as Bompas believed it to be (Gates 1994: 55), was evident enough that the miners of the area saw him as a prime target for their practical

* Gates (1994: 55-57) talks of Ellington's demise and of Ellington not completing the mission and on Ellington's surprise visit to Rev. Canham at Tanana Station he states "The Buxton Mission had been disassembled and was being moved to a new location, but he was not able to have it rebuilt...Later the Forty Mile missionary wrote Canham saying he was busy rebuilding the mission house and was determined to stay at Buxton Mission" Gates (1994: 56). On page 17, Gates states that J.W. Ellington began constructing in 1888, and it now consisted of two large log buildings, the residence and the school. It is not stated whether or not this is at the same location.

jokes. This coupled with the extreme isolation led to mental instability. After having considerable trouble with the miners, his First Nation parishioners and in debt to the Company store (Gates 1995) He was taken out of the country in 1889/90 leaving Forty Mile without the benefit of clergy for two years.

Bompas asked for and received an assignment in the Yukon including the Bishopric of Selkirk in 1891 (Coates 1991). Bompas and his wife arrived at Forty Mile in 1892, apparently at the same time the Hän were attempting to build a dance hall on Mission Island (Coates 1991). Convincing them otherwise, Bompas and the First Nations set about finishing what Ellington had started two years prior. Two hewn log buildings were constructed: one a mission house residence and the other a school. A third building acted as a cache or storage facility. As one arrived at Forty Mile from up river, these buildings were the first seen.

The school was established by Bompas assisted by his wife, Benjamin Totty and Ms. Margaret MacDonald, the school teacher. It was a day and a boarding school that catered mostly to First Nation orphans or abandoned children (Coates 1991: 145). It was the first of such in Yukon and was intended for native children but the missionaries soon found that adult First Nations were filling the seats, thirsting for knowledge of the foreign culture in their lands.

Rev. R.J. Bowen arrived in Forty Mile in 1895 to replace Reverend Totty. He set out to learn the language of the Hän, but was also charged to minister to the miners of the area (Gates 1994: 98). At Forty Mile he built the St. James church, a small log cabin with a bell tower, located across from Mission Island on Forty Mile Island (Barrett 1986; Coates 1991). In addition, Bowen took his ministry on the road to the miners. On his first trip he broke trail in front of a teamster freighting supplies, staying at the various Roadhouses as he made his way through the creeks (Ibid.). His robust nature began to endear him to the local miners. A second episode that firmly established his good relationship with miners was when he expertly pulled a tooth for one of the miners and did not accept payment. The recipient of Bowen's fine dental work afterwards went to the saloon and bought a round for the house raising his glass to the Reverend (Ibid.). Bowen often carried out non-religious functions for the miners maintaining his relationship with them (Ibid.).

Father Judge, a catholic priest, arrived a year prior to R.J. Bowen. The Catholic priest rented two cabins from which to minister but soon left unable to supply his ministry with the proper sacraments (Ibid.).

Bowen was reassigned to Circle in 1897 and Judge, having been stuck at Forty Mile during the winter of 1886/87, made his way to the new town of Dawson City. Bompas remained at Forty Mile until 1900, when he moved the mission to Caribou Crossing (Carcross). The school at Forty Mile operated until 1901. From Caribou Crossing, Bompas lobbied the government to open and maintain a school(s) in either Whitehorse or Carcross for First Nations. The government, however, refused so Bompas moved the school at Forty Mile to Carcross in 1901 (Coates 1991). The St. James church was to remain activity until its permanent closure in the 1930s.

Forty Mile 1894 to the Klondike Gold Rush

Of the two major types of settlements that developed in the Yukon prior to and during the Klondike gold rush, Forty Mile can be considered the type referred to as a service and distribution centre (Duerden 1980: 16). This was the first of such centres in Yukon. This type of community is characterized as metropolitan, consisting of a variety of services and functioning as the hub for

distribution and transportation. For most of the gold seekers these centres were jumping off points rather than final destinations. The other type of settlement were those that serviced the lines of communication (Ibid). They were primarily single purpose settlements consisting of a small resident population. Examples of these types of settlements during the hey day of Forty Mile would be the various roadhouses spread throughout the Fortymile gold fields.

It appears that in general, the physical nature of the townsite did not change between 1891 and 1896. Of course the strike on Birch and Glacier creeks and the resulting establishment of Circle City in 1894 did much to bleed the population of Forty Mile; however, it was not until the Klondike gold rush that the townsite was virtually abandoned. A comparison of the map of the Forty Mile townsite dated 1891 and attributed to Ogilvie (Barrett 1986) and the map of the townsite presented in Gates (1994: 72) dated 1896 and excludes Mission Island, Gibson Island, Fort Constantine and the Fortymile north mainland, shows an increase of one building. Besides this slight discrepancy the maps look exactly the same* suggesting that the main townsite change little during the 1890s.

Gates states that the main businesses, which included saloons and supply stores, were placed along the bank of the Fortymile River. Behind this row were a number of other businesses and log cabins (Gates 73-74). The maps suggest some semblance of order rather than just a jumble; but as is often the case in Yukon, the buildings never followed the surveyed lot plan established for the site in the late 1890s (Fawcett 1899). It is clear the mainland part of the site was much more structured than those buildings located on Forty Mile Island. Buildings on the mainland are in two distinct rows roughly parallel to the slough. There is also a row of buildings proceeding up the Fortymile River forming a V-shape with the second row along the slough. A scatter of buildings is present within this V. On Forty Mile Island, the largest concentration is at the tip, the driest area of the townsite, where approximately 26 buildings are clustered together. From here, four lines or rows of buildings proceed south: one along the Yukon River with another along the slough and the other two in between these two rows. Drainage ditches were used throughout the Forty Mile townsite helping to make the lower areas on Forty Mile Island and the mainland habitable. They also appear to have been used to open up new areas previously uninhabitable.

Gate's map of 1896 depicts the opposite side of the Forty Mile River showing Fort Constantine and Forty Cudahy. Both are highly ordered as compared to the townsite of Forty Mile. Fort Constantine was constructed as a square with a centre courtyard. Fort Cudahy was aligned with the Yukon River in a determined linear fashion, abutted to a north-south running boardwalk connecting the two forts. This high level of organization is somewhat typical of one-industry, single-purpose settlements, where either a company (NAT&T) or a single individual (Constantine/NWMP) determines the structure of the settlement (Hammer 1999). Although these two establishments are included within the historic site of Forty Mile, their separation from the townsite and their tendency for order suggests an intentional separation rather than a lack of land within the townsite. It is likely that the intent was separate, exclusive communities. Mission Island can be considered in the same light, however, the map depicts only two buildings (Hammer 2002).

The high level or organization at Fort Constantine and Fort Cudahy may be reflective of the difference in the social mindset or worldview between the communities. The orderly lifestyle of the

* Unfortunately Gates does not cite the sources used in the creation of the map on page 72, the similarities of the two maps discussed suggests that they are based on the same map. The difference of one building appears to be the result of an interpretation by gates of a building cluster located along the slough on Forty Mile Island.

NWMP is to be expected. They were a not a civil force rather a semi-military, semi-political body first created to carry out Canada's National Policy (Morrison 1990: 85); therefore, one would expect a highly regimental and structured environment. Captain Healy, who was a relative newcomer to the interior, appears to have run an ordered business. He refused to grant credit to the miners and was generally disliked by them despite his company bringing in competition and lowering prices. By comparison, the ACCo's commissioned trader, Jack McQuesten, was as much a miner and oldtimer as a proprietor and Company representative. McQuesten appears to have carried out business in a somewhat lackadaisical fashion granting credit in the form of grubstakes where none should have been granted. It is clear he was a integral part of the mining community and most looked on him as well as Harper as father-like figures (Ogilvie 1913). It is reported that at Circle, McQuesten's "extension of credit was so liberal that the Company's ledger was, in reality, a directory of every one in the region" (Kitchener 1950: 189). This likely occurred at the Forty Mile store as well. This so called cognitive difference between the sourdough or the oldtimer and the cheechakoo or the newcomer and how it manifested itself in the material culture and the built environment has been explored by other researchers. Based on this idea, a comparison of the communities within the townsite of Forty Mile would be an interesting research topic (Burley 1985; Stevenson 1989a; 1989b).

Both maps show a cultivated field west of the last large bend of the slough before it enters the Fortymile River. Agriculture is reported to have begun as early as 1891 with McQuesten using two moose to draw a plough (Gates 1995: 60), however, little is known of its progression, contribution or sustainability. There is a maze to ditches draining field(s) (there is a second possible farming field located behind the St. James mission) (Hammer 2002). The cultivated field was surrounded at one time by a pole fence and was part of the ACCo.'s reserve as depicted on a map dated 1899 (Fawcett 1899). The ACCo reserve was bordered by 3rd Street to the north, 6th avenue to the east, 8th avenue to the west and 5th street to the south. Farming equipment documented not only near this field, but also on Forty Mile Island, and consisting of harrows and large seeders, suggests that farming was more than just hobby farming and did see some expansion from the mainland to Forty Mile Island, likely during or shortly after the Klondike gold rush.

Forty Mile Society 1894

The year 1894 marks the point of irreversible change to Forty Mile society. It was in 1894 that the first North-west Mounted Police arrived in Forty Mile to carryout a reconnaissance mission. This was in response to the Canadian Government receiving continued appeals for their presence in Yukon. Bompas decried the lawlessness of the area and the harm it was doing the local First Nations, this was seconded by Healy having had his employee swindled by the unfairness of the miners' meetings and lastly Ogilvie warned of potential sovereignty issues that could arise if the government kept its current policy of hands off.

The oldtimers at Forty Mile realized that their society was changing with the arrival of newcomers and it appeared to most of them that things were not changing for the better (Burley 1985; Gates 1995; Ogilvie 1913; Power 1976). They were beginning to witness the deterioration of the miner's code of honesty, helpfulness and generosity and saw this manifest itself in the mess of questionable verdicts of their cherished institution–the miners' meeting. In response to this deterioration a Miners Association of Yukon was formed at Forty Mile in 1894 (Gould 1995, Power 1976).

The first three meetings were held on April 28th, 1894, June 1, 1894 and in July of 1894. During these meetings a constitution and bylaws were drawn up and the Yukon Order of Pioneers was established. The meeting of December 1, 1894 saw an executive elected with McQuesten as president and Dinsmore as Vice president (Gould 1995: 1). Eligibility to become a YOOP was open to all those who were in the country by 1888 inclusive (Ibid.). Article 1 of the constitution and its four sections sum up the intent of the group and to a certain extent reflects in a sentimental nature the values of the once small, highly mobile mining community. Gould (1995: 1-3) lists them as follows:

> *Section 1 – This order shall be known as The Yukon Order of Pioneers*
> *Section 2 – Its purpose shall be the advancement of the great Yukon Valley. The mutual protection and benefit of its members. To unite the members in the strong tie of brotherhood, and to prove to the outside world that the Yukon Order of Pioneers are men of truth, honor and integrity.*
> *Section 3 – The motto of this order shall be, "Do unto others as you would be done by."*
> *Section 4 – The emblem of this order shall be. "The Golden Rule."*

All agreed to use George Snow's opera house for the meetings that were to be held weekly on Thursdays as they still are today (Ibid.). Reminiscent of the meeting to lessen the size of the claims on the Fortymile, at the December 7th meeting it was decided to extend the charter eligibility to January so that those miners still on the creeks would have the chance to become charter members. A seal was drafted and approved on February 1895, as was a motion to extend eligibility to those in the country by 1889 (Ibid).

The YOOP was immediately active implementing their mandate arising out of their constitution. In 1895, a committee was formed to visit a resident who had frozen his feet. Help was needed and provided by the YOOP in the form of a letter of credit that went the ACCo. for $500.00. Again in 1895, Joe Navaro became ill and had no wood or money for his doctor bills. The YOOP stepped in and found a cabin for him at Forty Mile, ensured he had wood and paid the doctor bills (Gould 1995: 4). Unfortunately, Joe died in 1896 and was buried at the cemetery in Forty Mile (Ibid.). The YOOP also championed the Yukon to the outside, writing a letter the Prime Minister and the British Columbia Board of Trade lobbying for a supply route into the interior via Telegraph Creek (Ibid.).

The YOOP started to open chapters throughout Yukon and Alaska, with Forty Mile initially being the Grand Lodge. Circle City became Lodge No. 1 in 1895 with an initial enrollment of 200 members. In September of 1897 Frank Buteau from the Forty Mile Lodge handed over "$619 and 9 pins as the lodge at Forty Mile was no longer active" (Gould 1995: 7). It is at this time that Circle became the Grand Lodge. Dawson was to take this honour in early 1898. Later in the YOOP history lodges were established as far north as Nome and extending south to Seattle, Washington.

The NWMP Arrive in Yukon

It was in the late 1880s that the Canadian Government began to pay attention to the western portion of its Northern territory. The British and the Americans had negotiated a boundary as well as various terms of entry and use (Green 1982). With the concession of the Alaskan Panhandle by the British, the 141st meridian was chosen as the line demarcating the border between Yukon and Alaska with a few jags to incorporate the panhandle. The first substantive effort on Canada's part toward the north was the Canada-Yukon Expedition lead by George Mercier Dawson in 1887. The trek was charged with scientific reconnaissance of the area and to determine the location of the boundary line on the Yukon River. This brought Mr. William Ogilvie into the Yukon for the first time. As Dominion Land Surveyor, Ogilvie was responsible for locating the boundary where it crossed the Yukon River.

Along with McQuesten, Harper and Mayo, William Ogilvie had a significant influence on the early days of the Yukon. He became a valuable source of information for the miners on the laws and codes of Canada. The Canadian government also relied on him as their eyes and ears and placed a great deal of weight on his opinion on the happenings of the North and he was appointed as Commissioner of Police in 1887 for his trip to the Yukon District (Ogilvie 1913: 261). The actual authority this gave him in the region was not totally clear.

He wintered over on the Alaska-Yukon border in 1887-88, charting the heavens to determine the position of the 141st meridian. This was his first introduction to the miners who visited him often that winter (Ogilvie 1913: 39). He left the region in March of 1888, and met with the Deputy Minister as well as the Minister of the Interior (Ibid.: 142). At this time he advised them that:

> *As the country was in a very unsettled state, and our mining laws, so far as known, unsatisfactory to the miners, even of our own nationality, any attempt to take charge of affairs on our side of the line would hinder prospecting by driving most of the prospectors to the American side... (Ogilvie 1913: 12).*

The Minister ultimately followed Ogilvie's advice and left the region to its own devices. Ogilvie's words hint at what the short term motive may have been in not pushing Canadian law and regulations. Dawson, a more than competent geologist, determined that it was only a matter of time before a large strike would be discovered (Dawson 1987). Furthermore, as indicated on Ogilvie's early maps, mineral deposits other than gold were being documented by the miners who scoured the region. Thus, to drive the largely American population back would hamper the exploration of this area and the knowledge of its mineral wealth generated by these prospectors would be lost.

Ogilvie, however, was soon to change his advice to Canada. In September of 1893 he wrote from Juneau, Alaska, to the Deputy Minister that it was time Canada established a presence in the area or they may "have to face annoyances, if not complications, through possession...by American citizens" (Ogilvie 1913: 144). On his arrival back to Ottawa from assessing the Taku–Telegraph creek route into the interior, Ogilvie met with the Government to discuss its plans for the organization of the Territory. Canada wanted to appoint an Agent-General to represent the government with an adequate number of NWMP (Ogilvie 1913: 151). Ogilvie was then asked if he wanted the Agent-General position, however, he declined due to the death of his son.

The sovereignty issue, coupled with the complaints by the clergy and businessmen of the region regarding the reputed lawlessness associated with northern society, prompted the Canadian Privy Council to send an NWMP into the Yukon (Morrison 1974). The action was approved by the Governor General in May 26, 1894. Inspector Charles Constantine, who was appointed special Commissioner of Police, and Staff Sergeant C. Brown left for the Yukon immediately, arriving at Fort Cudahy on the 7th of August 1894. The NWMP reconnaissance mission was to determine the needs of the area, halt bootlegging, administer lands, collect customs and provide law and order (Gates 1994: 70).

Constantine left for Ottawa, leaving Brown behind to winter over in the fall of 1894. He brought with him $3,248.88 in custom duties (Gates 1994: 70) and provided a written report to Government detailing access to the gold diggings, international boundary concerns and corruption of the Natives as well as other topics (Barrett 1986). He recommended that a detachment of 45–50 NWMP be dispatched to the region immediately (Ogilvie 1913). Ogilvie had previously recommended to the Deputy Minister that not less than ten and no more than twenty men would be required (Ogilvie 1913: 151). On Constantine's return to Ottawa he was directed to meet with Ogilvie and "he

[Constantine] wanted a much larger number than I thought were required and we took some time to come to terms on this point" (Ogilvie 1913: 152). The number they came to was twenty, including Constantine who had been appointed Agent for the Yukon District. Reluctantly, Ogilvie agreed to accompany Constantine, likely to help out but also to determine the location of the boundary in respect to the Fortymile and Sixtymile gold fields (Ogilvie 1913).

The contingent of NWMP, which included D'Arcy Strickland, arrived at Forty Mile on the *Portus B. Weare* on July 24th, 1895. With their arrival, the westernmost portions of Canada's North West Territories and the Yukon District saw the first physical assertion of Canadian sovereignty. Work on the first NWMP post in the Yukon District was begun immediately (Gates 1994). Constantine selected a swampy piece of ground on the north bank of the Fortymile opposite the Forty Mile townsite. This placement was based purely on strategy since the swampy nature of the terrain would make construction difficult. Its location gave it a prominent place on the landscape. Fort Constantine was in clear view to all those traveling up or down the Yukon and Forty Mile rivers.

D'Arcy Strickland and a small crew were sent to the mouth of the Twelvemile River to gather adequate building logs for the construction of the Fort and float them down to the building site (Gates 1994: 91). Using the NAT&TCo sawmill, a fort was constructed, complete with a stockade fronted by a more impressive spruce palisade façade and bastions at the southeast and northwest corners (Plan of Fort Constantine n.d.). Within the stockade eight hewn log buildings were constructed against the inner walls of the stockade forming a parade ground. Buildings included a staff sergeant's quarters, two officer's quarters, a doctor's quarters, a hospital, a building incorporating an orderly room, a quartermaster's store, a carpenter shop and a washroom, a building containing the guard house and a prison and a building containing the barracks room, mess hall and kitchen. It is reported that it took 960 logs to construct the buildings within Fort Constantine (Innes-Taylor n.d.). Drainage ditches were excavated on the outside of the south and north walls of the stockade and one apparently went through he middle of the compound and parade ground (Ibid). The map in Gates (1994: 72) indicates Constantine and Strickland's quarters were outside of the Fort along the boardwalk within the NAT&TCo. complex of Fort Cudahy.

The transition from a largely ungoverned American population to one governed by Canadian law went smoothly. Staff Sergeant Brown, who had spent the winter alone, collected customs without mishap (Gates 1994; Ogilvie 1913). The majority of his customs were collected from the NAT&TCo, with McQuesten evading him every chance he could (Zaslow 1989). A couple of miners' meetings attempted to continue to administer justice; however, their decisions were overturned by Inspector Constantine without incident (Gates 1994; Ogilvie 1913). The smooth transition into Canadian law and the acceptance of the NWMP in the region was likely due to two major factors. First, the rush to Circle in 1894 had greatly reduced the population of Forty Mile and second the "American miner found the practical convenience of accepting the authority of the state greater than the incentives to follow their older tradition of local autonomy" (Zaslow 1989: 139). Furthermore, since there was rich ground in the US at Circle those that did not want to abide by the NWMP likely left the area or remained on the American side of the Forty Mile gold fields (Ogilvie 1913). As well, Constantine did allow for a few improprieties. One example of this was that he allowed one miner who turned to distilling hootch to proceed up the creeks and sell it (Ogilvie 1913). Constantine did, however, collect excise from the bootlegger on the estimated worth of his hootch.

The NWMP arrival in the Yukon district was a significant event in terms of the establishment of

Canadian law and sovereignty in the region. In the case of Forty Mile, which was feeling the impacts of the Circle Rush, the most significant impact on the dwindling population was the disappearance of the miners' meeting and the appearance of Canadian taxes. The NWMP took over many duties such as the post office, Gold Commissioner's office, magistrate, customs collector, land agent as well as policing responsibilities. In 1895, D. Davis arrived, taking over the custom duties and A. Fawcett took over the Gold Commissioners duties in June of 1897 (Ogilvie 1913). Although a detachment was to stay at Forty Mile until the 1930s at least on a seasonal basis, Constantine and the NWMP headquarters quickly moved to Dawson on the heels of the great gold strike, establishing Fort Herchmer there in 1897.

The Forty Mile Gold Fields

The Fortymile Gold fields, of which the majority of the area was in American territory, were central to the existence of the townsite of Forty Mile. The main function of Forty Mile was to service the gold fields, acting as a distribution centre and a base for miners when they were not on the creeks.

The Fortymile and its tributaries drain 6,562 square miles or 16,995.5 square kilometers of the Yukon-Tanana uplands (Waldman 1976). The principal sections of the river include Dennison and Mosquito Forks (486 km of named streams), the Middle and North Forks (528 km of named streams) and the South Fork and Fortymile River that make up the primary drainage (372.5 km of named streams) (Ibid.). The Fortymile River ranges from 9–15m in width with an average gradient of 10ft. per mile. The Fortymile basin is characterized rolling hills, and the river and streams are bordered by bedrock outcrops and terraced gravel benches deposited by the waterways in antiquity. These terraces are the source of the placer gold (Ibid.: 9). Only the last 32 kilometers of the Fortymile River are located in Canada.

A number of mining methods were carried out on the creeks. The earliest method was skim mining that involves working the surface of the bar and rocking or sluicing out the gold from the sands and gravels. Drift mining or the freeze/thaw method was first used in the Fortymile gold fields and its innovation is credited to Ogilvie and/or Hutchinson (Ogilvie 1913). This method was a winter method whereby the miner would dig a shaft down to bedrock by lighting small fires to melt the frozen ground. Once thawed, the miner would shovel the dirt out with aid of a bucket and windlass and start another fire in the shaft to thaw the next level, hopefully hitting the pay streak thought to be located just above the bedrock. The winter's freezing temperatures coupled with the permafrost kept the walls from slumping in and shafts proceed downwards with relative safety. The paydirt that was excavated was then sluiced when the water began to flow in the spring and early summer. The hydraulic method of mining came to the Forty Mile in 1890. Frank Buteau and George Matlock managed to gather 24 feet head (vertical water pressure) that "ate the ground away in giant bites" (Coates and Morrison 1988: 57). The ground that washed away from the creek terraces was then put though sluices and the gold recovered.

Dredge work occurred on the Fortymile River after 1900. Naske (cf. Gates 1999: 5) reports tons of dredge parts arriving at Forty Mile from Dawson by horse drawn sleds to be taken up the Fortymile River and assembled at their destinations. By 1907 two dredges were operating at the upper end of Walker fork and after 1908, a bucket dredge was on the South Fork of the Fortymile. Dredging continued up to the 1930s (Gates 1999).

Other activities carried out in the goldfields related to mining included logging for the winter fires

and building of flumes to carry water to the miner's sluices. At times these were great under takings where miners would work all winter to construct a flume only to be disappointed in the spring when runoff was lower that expected (Gates 1999). One of the most ambitious projects carried out on the Fortymile was by the Peterson brothers. They cut a canal across the neck of a large loop in the Fortymile to divert water to the canal thereby opening up an area of 2.5 miles of original riverbed. They planned to hydraulic mine this area. The plan, however, did not work out to expectations and after near disaster was abandoned. This portion of the Fortymile River became known as the 'Kink' (Whitehorse Star 1901).

In 1892, a number of businesses opened in Forty Mile to freight goods into the gold fields (Gates 1991). Packers, dogs and even horses were used for this endeavor. Horses made their first appearance in Forty Mile in 1893, arriving via the Dalton Trail as did some cattle (Ibid.: 101). Winter packing with the use of dogs was the preferred way to haul goods into the goldfields, being thirty percent less expensive than attempting to haul the same goods in summer (Ibid.). Teams usually consisted of six to seven dogs that would haul freight-laden sleds. A normal freight train consisted of three narrow, sleds enabling relatively easy manipulation of them by the teamster (Ibid.). A series of roadhouses, usually one to two room affairs, were established along the Fortymile and at junctions of the forks or busy creeks. They became an integral part of the transportation system.

Barrett (1986) provides a summary of the output of the Fortymile and Sixtymile creeks. In 1887, the first season of mining, 300 men worked the creeks cleaning up between $60,000-$200,000 in gold. The five years between 1888–1893 saw fluctuating results that were dependent on the number of miners working and the level of water in any particular year. The yields of these years were between $40,000 to $150,000. Gates (1994: 61) notes that mining in Fortymile began to stabilize in 1893 with miners beginning to remain at reliable creeks rather than rushing from one discovery to another. Despite the rush to Circle, 1,000 men were working the creeks in 1895 with a take of $300,000 and in 1896 $400,000 was taken by 700 miners. The majority of this pay is believed to have come from Miller Creek on the Sixtymile (Gates 1994). After the initial rush to the Klondike in 1897, a 1,000 miners were working the Fortymile area, however, no yield for this or future years is provided. The breakdown of the population on the creeks for 1898 is as follows: 175 on Canyon Creek, 50 men on O'Brien Creek, 500 on the North Fork, 175 on the Chicken and Mosquito Forks and 250 on other tributaries (Innes-Taylor n.d.). An approximate return during this year on the Fortymile creeks is provided in pans. Twenty to 60 cents a pan was the standard on most creeks except for on Chicken which produced $2.50 a pan (Ibid.)

Continued activity in the creeks well into the 1930s is likely one of the major reasons that Forty Mile was not completely abandoned during the Circle and Klondike Gold rushes.

Forty Miles Decline

The decline of Forty Mile is not well documented as to specific dates and times and is deserving of further research. Two Creole brothers, after being grubstaked by McQuesten, discovered gold on Birch Creek in 1893. They tried but failed to keep it a secret and the rush to Circle was on. In September of 1894, two posts were being constructed, one of which was McQuesten's the other the NAT&TCo's, and by the summer of 1896 Circle "had eclipsed Forty Mile as the major mining centre in the Yukon basin and claimed the title of largest log city in the world" (Gates 1994: 114). Sam Patch replaced McQuesten and ran the ACCo. store at Forty Mile to 1900.

It appears that even before the eclipse of Forty Mile by Circle in 1896, the slow flow of miners to Circle since 1893/94 was taking its toll. Ogilvie (1913: 205) provides the following epitaph for the townsite:

> *During the preceding summer [1895?] it seemed that Fortymile Camp was exhausted, the known ground was all filled to overflowing, and no new fields were in sight. Many new adventurers were coming into the country, as well as many who had tried it before. At Fortymile inquiries, and sometimes search, soon showed that there was not much hope either of their doing anything or getting anything there, and they soon passed on down the river to the next camp, Circle City, from where, after repeating the experience at Fortymile, they passed to the next, and so on to the mouth of the river, and of them, even without means, found their way back to the old home, many only to be lured back the following season by the strangely delightful wander they had had down the great river of the north...*

The townsite, however, did survive the rush to Circle City albeit in a reduced state. It was with the discovery of gold in the Klondike region and the ensuing rush that the townsite was all but abandoned. In 1898, the NAT&TCo closed Forty Cudahy and moved its operations to Dawson City leaving only the ACCo. to service the Fortymile gold fields (Coutts 1980). By 1897 all the saloons had been shut down with some reopening for a short time in 1898 (NWMP 1899: 74 cf. in Settlement Surveys 1980). In 1900 a telegraph office was established at Forty Mile being part of the route from Dawson for the US Signal Corps system. Forty Mile did experience a brief revival after the initial excitement of the Klondike gold rush with a 1000 miners working the Forty Mile gold fields in 1898 but this subsided and Forty Mile never fully recovered and proceeded into a 50 year decline.

Forty Mile Post 1900

By 1900 Forty Mile was reduced to one trading store; the ACCo. In 1901, in response the lack of profit in that year by all trading companies, the ACCo merged with the International Mercantile Marine Company and Alaska Goldfields Ltd. (Kitchener 1954: 46). Two corporations were formed: The Northern Navigation Company and the Northern Commercial Company. According to Kitchener (1954: 46), the ACCo. officials remained in charge of the trading arm and the biggest change to the trading operations was replacing AC with NC. The NCCo was to keep its doors open at Forty Mile until 1915.

It is difficult to determine the nature of economic actitivity at Forty Mile after 1900. With the ACCo. putting a reserve on the field in 1899, it appears that farming may have played a large part in the economy of Forty Mile possibly sponsored by the NCCo. (Fawcett 1899). It is more likely, however, that the NCCo. remained open because the workings on the Forty Mile gold fields made it profitable to do so. Forty Mile's post 1900 role in servicing these goldfields is not well documented. It likely remained in a servicing function well into the end of the dredging period in the 1930s (Gates personal communication 2002). Percy DeWolfe and Pete Anderson did freight in supplies during the winters up until 1910. Forty Mile also operated as a fuel stop for the steamers with cord wood loaded on as they headed down and up the Yukon River (Barrett 1986).

In later years the physical focus of the town changed. Gates (1994) states that the main businesses at Forty Mile during its heyday 1894/96 where lined along the banks of the Forty Mile River. This, however, changed to the shores of the Yukon River. The NCCo. moved approximately 200m south and faced the Yukon River, Swanson's General Store faced the Yukon River and in 1901 the RNWMP detachment was moved and also faced the Yukon River shoreline. Therefore, the switch in

emphasis was from the shores of the Forty Mile River to that of the Yukon. This is likely reflects the waning importance of the Fortymile goldfields and the rise in importance of supplying and servicing Yukon River transportation.

The slow erosion of the once robust police presence at Forty Mile demonstrates the slow decline of Forty Mile. It was during the Klondike gold rush that the headquarters was moved from Fort Constantine to Dawson. In 1901, the Fort was abandoned and the NWMP moved to a building next to the St. James' Church. Roman numerals on the back of this 1901 building suggest it was moved, possibly from Fort Constantine itself. In 1910, this building was abandoned and the smaller now Royal North-west Mounted Police contingent began to rent three cabins at Forty Mile. In 1932, the then even smaller forced moved into a single building known as the Roadhouse. In 1938, the one man permanent detachment was closed (Barrett 1986).

The post 1900 population of the townsite declined to a low in 1911 of 38 individuals. This, however, was just a beginning with 23 present in 1921, and in 1958 Forty Mile's last resident Mr. Bill Couture died (Barrett 1986; Settlement Surveys 1980).

Bompas moved the Mission from Mission Island in 1900 and moved the Mission School to Carcross in 1901. The brief presence of the Catholic Church ended with the Gold Rush. The Anglicans, however, kept a presence at Forty Mile until 1935 when the St. James Church was abandoned. Mr. Bob Munroe, who helped move Mr. Couture out of Forty Mile remembers pews and First Nation prayer books still in the Church at this time (Bob Monroe, personal communication 2002).

The seasonal occupation of the site was continued by local Hän First Nations. In 1915 a total of 40 First Nations were at a village located on Mission Island (Hawksley 1915). Hawksley, who apparently once was a CMS member stationed at Forty Mile in the early 1900s (Coates 1991), in 1915 was the Indian Agent for the Department of Indian Affairs. He visited the village along with the Anglican Bishop. Hawksley comments that it was one of the cleanest Villages in territory with cabins and outhouses. His observations are in stark contrast to Inspectors Scarth's comment in 1901 that the First Nations in the area were the worst off of any. While there the Bishop gave a lecture complemented by lantern slides about how to avoid Tuberculosis. Hawksley provided the First Nations with typical government advice regarding cleanliness etc. Also in this letter he discusses the application by the Bishop to open a day school at Forty Mile stating that there were enough children, both First Nation and non-First Nation, to make it worthwhile.

On a return trip in 1917, Hawksley arrived in the spring and commented that the Hän living there had just come from a successful hunt with much caribou and moose meat out drying. He stated that that would carry the group through the spring when hunting and fishing was nearly impossible. A Reverend A.C. Field was running a school from the mission house, St. James, and stated that all students were coming along nicely. Furthermore, the missionary suggested that the band grow potatoes or other vegetables. No reports have been encountered suggesting that this horticultural experiment came to fruition. Cabins remained in good condition, well ventilated and not overcrowded. In addition some had two rooms and fences (Hawksley 1917).

Local First Nations likely felt the effects of the steadily rising population from 1870s into the 1900s with respect to the acquisition of game and fishing. Competition with whites for fishing spots, over fishing and over hunting had their impact on the location and amount of resources available to them (Coates 1991). Later, government regulations with respect to fishing also had an impact (Cox 2000).

Ogilvie noticed this depletion in the 1880s, stating that the First Nations had to go further a field to acquire caribou (Ogilvie 1898). New fishing technology such as the fish wheel and large gill nets meant larger harvests of fish off of the Yukon River but with this came a commercial fishery where miners decided that they could earn more catching fish than by working on a claim for wage labour (Cox 2000: 37). When the First Nations abandoned their cabins on Mission Island has not been documented as yet and is a typical gap in our understanding of this era of Forty Mile history.

Percy DeWolfe, famed mail carrier, and Pete Anderson, both 20th century residents of Forty Mile, arrived in Dawson in 1898 and soon acquired a net on credit and with Pete Anderson's coastal fishing experience they built up a profitable fishing business (Dawson Weekly News, March 1, 1951 cf. Cox 2000). They also carried out winter freighting in the Fortymile area and between 1898 and 1910, they constructed 16 Mile Roadhouse and Halfway House along the Yukon River (Gould 2002). They dissolved their partnership in 1910 when Percy was awarded the mail contract between Dawson, Forty Mile and Eagle. He carried out his duties through all weather conditions from 1910 to 1949. Percy's last contract was for carrying mail to Fortymile. Pete Anderson served as postmaster at Forty Mile until the office closed in 1951 (Ibid.).

A newspaper article from the Dawson Weekly News dated March 11, 1932, provides a glimpse into what life was like at Forty Mile after the stir of gold had subsided and the population of the Yukon stabilized. A synopsis of the *The Fact and Frivolity from 40-mile* is as follows: Dave Swanson the storekeeper "holds the fort against all comers" and opens whenever one needs something. Pete Anderson and his son were at their ranch three miles up the Fortymile River getting logs so that they could build another cabin this winter. Currently the Andersons reside in the building that was at one time the NCCo's and occupied by their office staff (FMCB-1). Pete was a very successful gardener with good spuds. Ex-Staff Sergeant Thompson works to get wood for the steamboats and lives here with his wife, son and daughter. Mr. and Mrs. Shulz, who had their Roadhouse burn down a couple of years ago, are living in the large cabin near the old NCCo store. Their son Elton or Mr. Shulz junior is up the Fortymile River with Ed Holbrook giving him a hand on the old dredge there; they are doing some dismantling. Elton is the electrical and radio expert of the camp. Teddie, or Mr. T. Lister, who once was in charge of the electric light plant in Dawson is well settled in a cabin near the old police barracks and Mr. R. Dryden can be spotted frequently taking his afternoon stroll along Riverside Drive. The two trappers from Coal Creek arrived. Fred Merrill and 'Spud' Murphy say they are going to start living here soon. Mr. Jenkins arrives regularly and is the "enthusiastic dog mushing missionary from Moosehide" who is usually accompanied by his henchman Jimmie Woods. There was a recent addition to the camp of the new postmaster-policemen. Of course Percy DeWolfe stops regularly making his hard and often unpleasant trip from Dawson to Eagle, it usually takes him four days. (Throughout the piece the author quips that not all the oldtimers exclusively reside in Dawson.)

Conclusions

The former townsite of Forty Mile will soon be designated as a Yukon Territorial Historic site as per the Tr'ondëk Hwëch'in Final Agreement. Although preliminary work in the form of archaeological field investigations and archival research has been undertaken, there are still many gaps in our knowledge of the day to day life that occurred before and after the contact period. The historical background provided here is just a sketch and further research endevours will provide valuable information contributing to our understanding of the areas history and prehistory. The table below

outlines the gaps and potential areas of interest for researchers and site planners.

CULTURE	SPHERE	RESEARCH AREA	SUGGESTED METHODOLOGY
First Nation	Pre-contact Use	Trail networks	Archival research, Oral histories,
		Trading networks	Archival research, Oral histories, Archaeological investigations, Material culture studies
		Presence of Caribou fences up the Fortymile	Archaeological Survey and Oral Histories
		Athapaskan period technology	Archaeological investigations, Material culture studies
		Number and dates of First Nation occupations	Archaeological investigations, Material culture studies
		Use of space	Detailed systematic Archaeological sampling, Archaeological excavations
		Site Context within seasonal round	Archival research, Oral histories,
	Contact and Post Contact Use	Impacts of indirect contact on population (Disease)	Archival research
		Nature of contact - acculturation – technological changes (Forty Mile specific)	Archival research, Oral histories, Archaeological investigations, Material culture studies, Faunal analysis
		Location and nature of First Nation occupation site after European Settlement	Archival research, Oral histories, Archaeological investigations at Mission Island, Material culture studies
		19th and 20th Century traditional sites in the area (Along the Yukon/along the Forty Mile)	Archival research, Oral histories, Archaeological survey and investigations
		First Nations and Christianity	Archival research, Oral histories
		20th Century use of Forty Mile (Salmon Fishery etc.)	Archival research, Oral histories, Historic Archaeological investigations.
		Families living at Forty Mile	Archival research, Oral histories
European	Built Environment	Progression of buildings to 1896	Photograph analysis, Archival research, Oral histories, Dencrochronology, Archaeological sampling
		Attrition of buildings to present	Photograph analysis, Archival research, Oral histories, Dencrochronology, Archaeological sampling
		Building Function/Re-use – Building s' life history	Photograph analysis, Archival research, Oral histories, Dencrochronology, Archaeological sampling,
		Community organization and use of space (historic era) – Land Use	Photograph map and feature analysis, Archival research, Oral histories, Historic archaeological investigations
	Industry/Economic	Importance of agriculture to the towns economy	Archival research, Oral histories
		Forty Mile as a staging point for the Gold Fields – Industries present (logging, machining)	Archival research, Oral histories, Archaeological/ historical survey of goldfields, Material culture studies
		Forty Mile and its economic sphere	Archaeological/historical survey of

CULTURE	SPHERE	RESEARCH AREA	SUGGESTED METHODOLOGY
		of influence	goldfields, Archival research, Oral histories
	Historical/Social	Post Fortymile Gold Rush society of Forty Mile	Historic Archaeological investigations, Archival research, Oral histories
		Social History of Forty Mile	Historic research, Oral histories, Historic archaeological investigations
	Fort Constantine	Built Environment (all)	Archival research, detailed archaeological survey and feature identification, Archaeological testing and excavation, Dendrochrology, Oral histories
		Historical/Social (all)	Archival research, Oral histories, Archaeological/ historical investigations, Material culture studies
	Forty Cudahy	Built Environment (all)	Archival research, detailed archaeological survey and feature identification, Archaeological testing and excavation, Dendrochrology, Oral histories
		Industry/Economic (all)	Archival research, Oral histories, Archaeological/ historical investigations, Material culture studies
		Historical/Social (all)	Archival research, Oral histories, Archaeological/ historical investigations, Material culture studies

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