

Editor's Note: This article is reprinted from *The Northern Review*, Number 6 (Winter 1990). Richard Stuart (PhD, LSE) worked for Parks Canada from 1976 until his death in 2005. As the Dawson historian (1976–1984), then subsequently as chief of the western and northern historians, and finally as a manager of the new northern parks program, Stuart made significant contributions to a broader historical understanding of Canada's North. (Bio contributed by David Neufeld, Yukon & Western Arctic Historian - Parks Canada.)

Dawson and Tourism

RICHARD STUART

Introduction

There are many Canadian communities whose existence is based upon the successful exploitation of such resources as minerals, lumber, fish or furs. Unlike farming communities, these have a finite life span, based upon such variables as resource depletion, technological change, even shifts in fashion. Faced with these threats to their communities' continued existence, residents can either let them fade away or develop a new resource base. Most resource towns fade away. Those that survive do so by providing services, as an administrative or prison community for example, or turn to their renewable cultural and natural resources and become tourist destinations.

One of the first towns in Western Canada forced to face the challenge of survival after the mine (or mill, plant, trading post . . . as the case may be) shut down was Dawson City, Yukon. Over the last nine decades, its residents have proven remarkably resilient in adapting to changing circumstances, but the transition from mining the miners to mining the tourists did not happen easily. Nor was it the result of any plan. Dawson's residents attempted to avoid depending on tourists for years, not recognizing the paradox that the town's continued existence depended upon exploiting its decrepitude. It took many years, several false starts and the gradual disappearance of alternatives before the City of Gold became the Klondike National Historic Sites.

Dawson managed to avoid the fate of a Barkerville or a Fort Steele and has continued to exist as a livable community, albeit a shadow of what it once was. In a sense, tourism has saved the town, but at the price of alternate forms of development. The process whereby Dawson has been "recycled" from boom town to tourist site is the focus of this article.

1896-1946: The City of Gold

For fifty years, Dawson was the service, industrial and administrative centre of the Yukon. Tourism was, at best, a thin "icing" on the

cake of the economic prosperity provided by gold. The Klondike Gold Rush had originally called into being the city on the flats at the confluence of the Klondike and Yukon Rivers in 1896, but the end of the Rush three years later did not mean the end of Dawson. The economic needs of the Gold Rush had provided the Yukon with both an integrated river-rail transportation system to facilitate the extraction of its gold and a sophisticated urban infrastructure in Dawson City. Briefly, the largest Canadian city west of Winnipeg and north of Vancouver, its population reached 10,000 by 1900. But the boom had ended by 1903. Economic activity declined as capital-intensive corporate mining drove out the population that sustained labour-intensive individual mining. Industrial and commercial activity fell off and the city's population in 1921 was only 10% of what it had been in 1901. Dawson was not unique in its rapid descent from boom to bust but it did not disappear as so many gold camps do. Its role as the administrative and commercial capital of the Yukon and service centre for the Klondike gold fields ensured its survival, if not glory. It was heir to both the physical infrastructure and mythology of the Klondike Gold Rush which was unique not in the amount of gold extracted but as the last of the common man's gold rushes. The mythology of the individual miner's frontier passed into North American folklore in the association of "Klondike" with great wealth and through the verse of Robert Service. In spite of the best efforts of Dawson's citizens, mythology was to prove a more enduring basis for their community's survival than physical infrastructure.

There had been tourists who travelled to Dawson from the time of the Gold Rush, but distance, expense, and the narrow range of the Yukon's available attractions ensured that they would be wealthy, few in number and drawn by the exotic. The sort of tourist the local newspaper, the *Dawson Daily News*, liked to see was represented by the 1912 visitor who took in the sights in town and on the creeks—neither of which were yet dilapidated—admired the scenery and climate and proclaimed that "the country seemed to be in sound condition respecting mining" in spite of a few problems.¹ Such a visitor was common in Winnipeg, Saskatoon and Vancouver, confirming the reality of "progress" that the citizens of these other communities sought.

Already, however, Dawson had an attraction the other cities lacked, a link with the ephemeral Gold Rush provided by the cabin of the Yukon versifier, Robert Service. He had lived in it only between 1909 and 1912, then departed permanently.² Yet so well-known and so popular was he by 1915 that there were already visitors to the

cabin, some of whom made off with souvenirs. The cabin's owner recognized its significance and proposed that "... a little tablet ... be erected in front of the place to designate it as the home of the Yukon's most widely known citizen and writer, Robert W. Service."³

Dawson's residents shared the visitors' interest in Service's cabin, regarding it as a shrine and as an important link with the writer who portrayed them as they wanted to see themselves.⁴ Residents cared for the cabin, maintaining it as they felt Service had, showing it to the tourists who sought it out over Dawson's limited other attractions. Some may have travelled great distances to see the little town and the gold dredges but based on the few reports by articulate visitors as well as local newspaper accounts, the Robert Service cabin and the romantic aura it presented was the great draw.⁵

The tourists were few in number and not essential to Dawson's prosperity through the 1920s and 1930s, although the White Pass and Yukon Route certainly acknowledged their importance.⁶ The townspeople were happy to share at least the Service cabin with them, but probably had ambivalent feelings about the fact that it was Dawson's glorious past rather than its present reduced estate that drew visitors. By 1920, they were already facing a dilemma that would become acute after World War II. How could they maintain the modern viable community they wanted to live in when it was the ruins of which they were ashamed that attracted visitors?

The old abandoned wooden buildings among which they lived daily, the decaying legacy of Dawson's brief moment of urban glory at the turn of the century, were a source of embarrassment, "a ghostly disgrace to the town" which should be torn down, wrote the paper in 1917.⁷ This refrain was repeated in the *Dawson News* when the dismantling of several Gold Rush era hotels in 1945 was greeted with considerable approval.⁸ The available evidence indicates that few, if any, tourists could bring themselves to praise Dawson's urban sophistication after World War I and were only attracted by the Service cabin's association with his version of the Klondike myth.⁹

In 1942, however, two visitors struck a new and very different note. They were not likely the first to be overwhelmed by Dawson's dilapidation, but their evident delight in it contrasted strongly with residents' concern. Malcolm MacDonald, the British High Commissioner to Canada, was especially smitten by the romance of Dawson, "We cried, 'Dawson City, here we come'. But alas, we were forty years too late ... The little city, we declared, was a ruin, a wreck, a rotting corpse." MacDonald was particularly taken by the empty hotels that were to be dismantled in 1945 and which looked to him

like old “gay lights-’o’-love.” He confessed, “I have a soft spot in my heart for Dawson City because of its gallant past, its wild and beautiful setting and the friendly people who still inhabit it.”¹⁰ Finally, he set the tone for later visitors’ expectations in five sentences:

The glory of Dawson has not departed; it merely hangs in tatters in the streets. The place is a stage that most of the actors have left but the scenery still stands. True, the backdrop is beginning to fall to pieces. Yet on it features are still visible which recall pathetically the melodrama that was once played here.¹¹

Another visitor, the American Herbert Lankes, visited Dawson at around the same time. He too drank deeply of Dawson’s spirit, writing:

A stroll about the streets of Dawson was to conjure up ghosts of the past, for there were as many buildings closed and empty as there were doing business in the central part of town . . .¹²

There were few tourists of any sort in Dawson during the Second World War, which had a particularly negative effect upon the community. Gold production fell off dramatically and, although not immediately obvious, the Yukon’s centre of economic and political gravity had shifted south to Whitehorse.¹³ There would be no return to the *status quo ante bellum* and the best the president of the White Pass and Yukon Route could offer the readers of the *News* in 1945 was that “while the prospects for the immediate future did not look any too bright for this country, he was very optimistic as to the long pull.”¹⁴ The post-war world would be very different from that before 1939; Dawson’s residents now recognized that they would have to diversify the economic base of the community if it were to survive. This they attempted to do, first on their own, then with national assistance.

1946-1960: The Dawson Tourist Committee

The routing of the Alaska Highway through Whitehorse, far from the Klondike district, was to have a devastating effect on Dawson, to the benefit of Whitehorse. As early as 1945, the Whitehorse Men’s Council suggested that the territorial capital be moved to their community because of Dawson’s isolation and economic weakness.¹⁵ The threat was real, if premature in 1945, but Dawson’s residents felt that if the Klondike district were linked to the Alaska Highway by an

all-weather road, its isolation and associated high cost of living would be eliminated. Only thus could Dawson continue as the Yukon's capital and as an important mining centre.

To this end, the Dawson branch of the British Columbia and Yukon Chamber of Mines was organized in 1945. Its priority was to rescue Dawson from the threat of irrelevance but its members now realized that their community had a resource whose exploitation could provide a third "leg" besides mining and administration to the town's economic base, namely tourism.

In order to encourage tourism as a significant feature of Dawson's economy, several initiatives were necessary. The first was to reduce the cost of living in Dawson by obtaining a road link with Whitehorse as soon as possible. Second, reflecting the community's attitude towards its architectural heritage, it was necessary to "clean up" the town. Third, and closely associated with this, the Chamber of Mines declared for the first time in June 1946 "that something should be done to fix and open up numerous historic landmarks around town for the tourists' benefit when they are here." At this point, there was only one "historic landmark"—the Robert Service cabin, for which the Imperial Order of the Daughters of the Empire had just relinquished responsibility. It was "fixed" in time for the arrival of the season's visitors. A second attraction, "the old Palace Grand Theatre on King Street", was also "opened up for inspection by the tourists." Whether the theatre was considered "another interesting tourist attraction" just by the committee or by visitors too was not indicated but the latter were evidently willing to pay for admission to the Palace Grand and the funds were used to "place this building in a more presentable condition."¹⁶

In 1948, the City of Dawson took over the Service cabin from its original owner for non-payment of taxes, although the I.O.D.E. had been paying them and maintaining the cabin for years on the basis of visitors' admission payments. In effect, the transfer provided a legal basis for ownership, maintenance and presentation of the "great drawing card for tourists and visitors to the Klondike."¹⁷ Considering the increasing importance of tourism to Dawson, the city's ownership of the cabin was entirely appropriate—a fact recognized at a 1952 council meeting where "Alderman Shaw rightfully pointed out that other places had 'shrines' to honour people who helped to make these places great. Dawson could do no better than to honour Robert Service's cabin as a shrine to one who, by his pen, did so much to bring Dawson to the attention of the outside world."¹⁸

Dawson needed all the attention it could get in the early 1950s, with tourism the only positive feature of the town's economy. It

officially ceased to be the Yukon's capital which meant the loss of population, jobs and businesses to Whitehorse. With the all-weather road to Whitehorse scheduled to open in 1954, the White Pass and Yukon Route discontinued regular freight shipments by riverboat in 1953. At the same time, fixed gold prices and increasing costs squeezed the profitability of the Yukon Consolidated Gold Corporation's mining operations. The inevitable end of large scale mining in the Klondike was now visible.¹⁹

All that was left was tourism. In order to exploit the Klondike district's one sure attraction, the City Council, Chamber of Mines, Canadian Pacific Airlines and the White Pass began to plan for the future. Out of this came the Klondike Visitors Association, the K.V.A. It was the lineal descendant of the I.O.D.E. as guardian of Dawson's shrine, the Robert Service cabin.²⁰

The K.V.A.'s activities at the Service cabin were low key and met the visitors' limited needs. Less successful was a proposal by C.P. to lease the *S.S. Klondike* once the White Pass no longer needed the sternwheeler for freight traffic. The vessel was to be modified as a cruise vessel, thereby allowing wealthy tourists to "recreate" part of the Gold Rush experience in comfort. It operated in 1954 and 1955, but the scheme failed—expenses consistently exceeded revenue, and low water on the river led to a number of cancelled trips.²¹ On 26 August 1955, the *S.S. Klondike* left Dawson for Whitehorse in ballast for the last time, ending the era of sternwheelers on the Yukon River.

Canadian Pacific's belief that it could profitably exploit the Klondike myth reflected the renewed interest of Canadians in the North that followed World War II. This interest focused to a considerable degree on the Klondike region which was more accessible than most of northern Canada, had some depth of white settlement, the rudiments of a tourism infrastructure and a powerful myth in the Klondike Gold Rush. Pierre Berton played an important role in stimulating this interest. In November 1954, when he was editor of *Maclean's*, the magazine published a special Yukon issue. He also helped his mother edit her memoirs, *I Married the Klondike*, and wrote the *Golden Trail* himself.²² Over the next four years, he brought out international best sellers that earned him two Governor General's Awards—*The Mysterious North* and *Klondike*. The latter was the product of at least a decade of work. It came out of his own passion for the Klondike and did much to define the Gold Rush myth.²³ Not coincidentally, he also narrated the National Film Board production "City of Gold" which was filmed in July and August of 1954.²⁴

This renewed national interest in the Gold Rush coincided nicely with the Klondike region's economic decline. Before 1946, tourism had been secondary to mining, transportation, commercial and industrial services and administration, but these economic activities had all declined by the early 1950s. Exploitation of the city's association with the Gold Rush could provide the main economic basis for the future, but at what cost in terms of a viable community and on whose terms—those of Dawson's residents or of the visitors they would have to attract?

There are some, limited, records of a debate that ensued in Dawson this time about the community's future and the place of tourism in it. Probably most residents wanted theirs to be a prosperous, progressive little community, with a few attractions such as the Robert Service cabin, the Palace Grand Theatre and a museum (from 1954 in the old fire hall) for the visitors. A few whose livelihood depended upon catering to them would have preferred that more money and effort be put into developing tourism. But there was no immediate or obvious solution to the dilemma of resolving the conflicting demands of progress and of preservation. Dawson had to draw tourists to a ghost town in order to survive at all, but to be habitable and attract new residents it had equally to change.

A perceptive British visitor captured the essence of the debate as he witnessed it in 1952:

There are two schools of thought in Dawson on Service's poems. One harps on the days of '98, its theme *It was mighty tough on the Klondike, like Service said*. The other school holds that Service has done Dawson irreparable harm, that thanks to him it is know less as a gold-producing centre and hub for the exploration of the surrounding wilderness, than for the rootin tootin days of the Rush . . .

Service's [poems] have kept the story of the Klondike alive, and they must have encouraged many a tourist to visit Dawson, to spend in the Royal Alexander Hotel and the Pearl Harbour, in trinket shops and in the Arctic Barber shop. . . . For this, Dawson is in Service's debt, and the flow of tourists—and the debt—are likely to increase now that a road has been put through . . .²⁵

He referred to Dawson in terms few of its citizens would appreciate: "a ghost town . . . It lives in the past, its population fallen to that of 1896, and still falling."²⁶

Another author struck the same note:

Today the far famed City of Dawson, like some of the grizzled old sourdoughs who knew it in its palmy days of tinselled glory, lives largely on tradition and memories of the past.²⁷

This attitude provoked a defensive response from Dawson residents who welcomed tourists, but not at any price and said so in the pages of the *Klondike Korner*:

... We do not like the word "Ghost" employed or attributed to our busy city. (1954)

... Why forgo comfort, to leave them [bay windows on the Westminster Hotel] for visitors to gaze at and remark 'how quaint'. (1956)

... By all means let's be quaint, but let's not carry quaintness to extremes. Buildings that lean at crazy angles and ancient vehicles that rate a place in a museum are all part of Dawson's charm but the scrap-iron and junk that litter streets and vacant lots are far from glamorous. (1959)

... We are glad and proud that people like to come and take pictures of Dawson, but too often Dawson is referred to as a Ghost Town. Some of the old buildings constitute a definite link with our historic past—but there is a modern aspect of Dawson that is rarely shown outside ... (1959)²⁸

In 1955, in an article which encapsulated the dilemma between preserving Dawson as an historic site and making it into a modern town, one contributor to the *Klondike Korner* wrote,

Do you Dawsonites realize that all our old land-marks and tourist attractions will be torn down if we don't call 'HALT'? The Arcade Cafe, formerly the Flora Dora Dance Hall and originally the Exchange, which was built in 1898 and survived three fires, is being torn down ...

Let's preserve a few of the others, not all. Robert Service's cabin and the Auditorium are two that we must preserve but most of the non-historical buildings should come down. We don't want Dawson to look like the Ghost Town some think it is.²⁹

One possible approach to maintaining Dawson by making it an historic site was to call for national assistance, by emphasizing that Dawson and the history of the Klondike Gold Rush were important to Canada as a whole and should be the concern of the whole country. An anonymous writer in the *Klondike Korner* in 1954 raised this possibility for the first time.

OTTAWA has a governmental department known as the Historic Sites and Monuments Branch, [sic] to perpetuate the memory of outstanding historical events, persons and preservation of buildings. We have a building here in Dawson that perhaps we might interest this department in preserving; namely Service's cabin. This cabin attracts hundreds of visitors yearly.³⁰

The suggestion that the National Historic Sites Branch of the Department of Northern Affairs and National Resources participate in the preservation of Dawson's built heritage reflected an attitude towards the federal government expressed on other occasions, an attitude that Dawson and the Klondike gold fields had done so much for Canada in gold production and patriotism during the wars that they deserved national recognition and assistance in this (and other) times of need.³¹ The assistance would come, but at a price.

Under the St. Laurent Liberal government, Ottawa was unlikely to respond to this plea. It did not see the maintenance of an impoverished northern community as its responsibility, no matter what the historic significance of its buildings.³² That would take a more activist government, one with a "Northern Vision."

1960-1963: The Dawson Festival

In 1957, Canadians elected John Diefenbaker's Progressive Conservative government, then re-elected it in 1958 on the basis of a New National Policy, of which a "Northern Vision" was an important plank.

The implication of this change in philosophy at the national level was profound for Dawson. After years of trying to sustain their community through their own efforts, Dawson residents saw the Klondike mythology highjacked by outsiders intent on solving their problems by means of a "Dawson Festival." The experts now took over.

Jim Lotz of the Northern Co-ordination and Research Centre was both an enthusiastic participant in the attempt to save Dawson by means of a Festival and a sardonic observer of the wreckage.³³ He noted the effect Dawson and its plight had on "even the most hardened traveller ... sadness and a desire to 'do something' for Dawson, a compulsion to help."³⁴ Combined with a government committed to northern development (however vaguely defined), the richness of the Klondike's history and the need for national assistance, a change in attitude was inevitable.³⁵

The first intimation of outside interest in Dawson was modest—a \$2000 grant from the Yukon Visitors Association to the Klondike Tourist Bureau in 1958 to fix up several attractions around town.³⁶ For the first time, an outside agency professionally committed to economic development invested in Dawson tourism.

The notion of a "Dawson City Gold Rush Festival" apparently originated in 1959 at a meeting between Tom Patterson of the

Stratford Festival and officials of the Department of Northern Affairs and National Resources.³⁷ Patterson's "Canadian Theatre Exchange Limited" undertook a study to determine the feasibility of such a festival. Not surprisingly the study found that a festival was feasible. This led first to an announcement by Alvin Hamilton, the Minister of Northern Affairs and National Resources, in March 1960 that it would take place in 1962, then to the establishment of a federally chartered "Dawson City Festival Foundation." The festival was designed specifically to increase tourism to Dawson in order that, in Lotz's words, "... Dawson can continue to exist."³⁸ It was also hoped that the federal commitment would convince Dawson residents of outside interest and that Festival publicity would provide a long term basis for tourism.

How carefully the idea of a Festival was considered by its promoters is unclear. Certainly Lotz felt, after the fact, that it was a classic example of outsiders' attempts to save a community with minimal local participation. It was announced by the Minister of Northern Affairs without consulting Dawson residents. According to Lotz, the President of the Festival told a public meeting in Dawson seven months before it opened that "whether the people of Dawson want it or not, they had a Festival on their hands ..." because Pierre Berton, the Minister and the press said so.³⁹

Besides the Foundation, two federal agencies found themselves caught up in the festival. The first was the Historic Sites and Monuments Board of Canada which advised the Minister of Northern Affairs and National Resources on persons, places or events of national historic significance. The second was the National Historic Sites Branch of the Department of Northern Affairs and National Resources which executed the Minister's policies. The former recommended, the Minister decided and the latter implemented.

Dawson drew the attention of the Board by a circuitous route. Initially, interest in the Yukon was limited to the Alaska Highway. In 1952, Walter Sage, the British Columbia member, travelled to the territory "in connection with the proposed marking of the Alaska Highway and other points of historical interest."⁴⁰ That July, in an apparently unrelated initiative, the former Yukon Member of Parliament, George Black, wrote the minister to request that the Department

... take over the care of the following objects of historical interest:

1. The old Yukon River boats now occupying the abandoned boats graveyard here at Whitehorse.
2. Robert Service cabin at Dawson.

3. Sam McGee's cabin at Whitehorse.

I may say as to Sam McGee's cabin, the Imperial Order of the Daughters of the Empire is in charge of that building and giving it good and proper care. I fear the same is not so as to Service's cabin as poor old Dawson has become such a 'Ghost Town' that people are listless about such things.⁴¹

The Historic Sites and Monuments Board of Canada was not impressed by Black's plea. At its 1953 meeting, Sage moved

That in the opinion of the Board these structures are more of local than of national importance and consequently it is unable to recommend to the Department that any action be taken towards their preservation. Carried.

The Board was pleased to note the interest that the IODE is taking in Sam McGee's Cabin.⁴²

It was not a promising start. However by 1955, the Board was beginning to consider the possibility of supporting a museum relating to the riverboats in Whitehorse, and in 1957 "noted with pleasure" the intention of the department to assist museums in Whitehorse and Yellowknife. Such was not to be the case for the Dawson Museum, which Sage dismissed as "mainly a tourist bureau ... [with] ... articles on display ... not attractive or interesting".⁴³

At the Board's 1958 meeting, the question of Dawson's buildings came up again, this time on the initiative of the Prime Minister.⁴⁴ Walter Sage was requested to describe the buildings, which he did at some length. He spoke of the Pearl Harbour [Bonanza] Hotel, which "had not been changed greatly since the Gold Rush Days ...", the Auditorium [Palace Grand] Theatre, "still in use as a movie theatre. The caretaker-curator, Mr. Alex Adams, who came over the Chilkoot Trail in 1898, acted as guide and recalled the early days of the theatre. Alexander Pantages, Douglas Fairbanks Sr., Tex Rickard and many others got their start on the stage of the Auditorium", and of a number of other buildings. He also noted "the suggestion ... [similar to that of George Shaw in 1952, above] that the cabin where Robert Service wrote many of his poems might be preserved by the Federal Government as a literary shrine." His report on the condition of the buildings and reference to the fact that "Dawson is not on the Alaska Highway and is not particularly convenient for tourists" persuaded the Board to refer the whole question of "places of historical interest in the Yukon Territory ..." to a special committee.⁴⁵ At the same meeting, the Board recommended that one or more of the Yukon sternwheelers be preserved.⁴⁶

At its May 1959 meeting the Board again recommended that “the purchase of one of the stern-wheel riverboats at Whitehorse be arranged and that steps be taken for its preservation.” Evidently, the special committee had reconsidered the question of Dawson buildings, with the result that “the Board agrees that the *Auditorium Theatre* and the *Robert Service Cabin* are of historic importance, but makes no recommendation with regard to the *Administration Building* nor the *Commissioner’s Residence*.”⁴⁷

That summer, the White Pass and Yukon Route offered the federal government the four sternwheelers in Whitehorse: the *Klondike*, *Keno*, *Casca* and *Whitehorse*. All were accepted. The question now was what to do with them.

At the November 1959 meeting of the Board, Alvin Hamilton, Minister for Northern Affairs and National Resources brought together the new government’s “Northern Vision”, the HSMBC and the future of Dawson. He informed members that:

The Yukon, particularly areas associated to the Gold Rush Era have [sic] tremendous tourist potential. It is essential that a true historical picture be extricated from the mess of romance and legend. The Board is asked to give this matter thought. Since this is a federally controlled region, consideration should be given to adapting municipal regulations to the needs of historical preservation.⁴⁸

The Board responded with a recommendation that “Dawson be regarded as a ‘historical complex’ of national importance and studied as such; . . . the Department acquire and preserve the Auditorium [Palace Grand] Theatre, [and] . . . the Original Gold Discovery be commemorated by a standard tablet. . . .” It also urged that the National Historic Sites Branch undertake general studies of Gold Rush history and specific studies of Dawson buildings.⁴⁹ The Minister agreed, providing the original justification for a National Historic Sites Branch presence in Dawson distinct from, but complementary to, the 1962 Dawson Festival.

In June 1960, a departmental representative arrived in Dawson to “conduct a survey of some of Dawson’s older buildings” and “see about having one of the old paddle wheel boats restored to Dawson.”⁵⁰ Eleven months later, the department acquired the Palace Grand Theatre. Of the four vessels in Whitehorse, only one, the *Keno*, could fit under the bridge at Carmacks. It had the least association with Dawson’s history of the four, but it was the only one that could make it down river to what the department hoped would be a “Museum of Early River Navigation.”⁵¹ In August, the *Keno*

made the last voyage of a sternwheeler on the Yukon River, reaching Dawson on August 28, 1960. In the words of the engineer responsible, there was “considerable confusion concerning the point at which the boat was to be taken out”, but it was decided that the site of the recently burnt Museum would be satisfactory. The *Keno* was hauled out of the water by 12 September, “to find her final resting place on the bank of the Yukon River on the site of the old Fire Hall and Museum.”⁵²

By the spring of 1961, two originally distinct concepts—the one that Dawson and the sternwheeler were of national historic significance, which would be commemorated by means of the Palace Grand and the *Keno*, the other the Dawson City Gold Rush Festival—came together. The Palace Grand quickly proved itself useless as a theatre for the Festival, so it was demolished and a replica put up in time for the off-Broadway production of “Foxy” in July of 1962. Any notion that the *Keno* would be merely a museum was abandoned in favour of the racier “Boiler Room” casino during the Festival. The department contracted basic historical research on the Gold Rush and on Dawson buildings to Alan Innes-Taylor and Victoria Faulkner.⁵³ Little information was available for 1962, but their research did much to lay the foundation for later acquisitions, research and interpretation.

The other organizations were local, and provided the ideas, time and energy the Festival needed. They did not cover the entire spectrum of the community and often consisted of the same people wearing different hats. The Klondike Visitors Association was heir to the old tourist bureau and its predecessors. It was incorporated in December 1959 (originally as the “Klondike Tourist Bureau”) “to promote tourist interest in the Yukon Territory, and in particular the Dawson district . . .” and “to purchase and provide facilities, through which the tourist will prolong and enjoy his stay in the Dawson district.”⁵⁴ The K.V.A. took responsibility for the Robert Service Cabin, put on “Klondike Nights” entertainment, ran a campground and put up signs and benches. The Dawson City Museum and Historical Society had started a museum in the old fire hall in 1954. The Society was formally registered in December 1959, lost its museum to fire in June 1960, but obtained a new site in the old Administration Building in 1962, just before the Festival began. It acquired and attempted to conserve structures and artifacts, but was chronically short of funds.

During 1961 and 1962, most of the energies of Dawson’s enthusiasts, whether Festival Foundation, K.V.A. or Museum Society members, were consumed by the Festival. The National Historic Sites

Branch built a new Palace Grand and repaired the *Keno*, but took no other direct part in the 1962 Festival. Much hope, energy and money was invested in it but it failed either to raise Dawson's profile as a tourist destination or to provide the community with a secure financial base for the future.

At one level it succeeded. The estimated number of 8,000 in 1961 grew to 18,000 visitors in 1962, but fell back to 4,500 in 1963.⁵⁵ However, distance from major population centres, the cost of getting to Dawson from most of Canada or the U.S., the limited (and deteriorating) range of attractions, the negative attitude of many Dawson residents to the festival and sub-standard accommodations all had ill effects. Federal, territorial and private investments totalled \$1.6 million; the visitors spent only \$1.9 million.⁵⁶ Too much was expended for the return earned and the necessary effort could not be sustained the next year. In a sense, Dawson was where it had been in 1959. The seat of government was long gone. The end of corporate gold mining was obvious. Prospects for other minerals were encouraging but not sufficiently so to replace large scale gold mining. Only tourism offered any prospect for future economic security. But the limited results for the efforts of Dawson residents before the Festival showed that external economic support was necessary. In the words of a member of the Yukon Council, the Festival did not "work out as planned."⁵⁷ Another approach was needed.

1963-1966: The Klondike Visitors Association

1963 brought Dawson a fiscal hangover and only 25% of the 1962 total of visitors. There was no question of a repeat in 1963, but some means would have to be found to preserve and present Dawson's heritage that did not strain local resources again.

In retrospect, it is apparent that Dawson in 1963 possessed "assets" it had lacked before 1960. First was the experience that residents who worked on the Festival gained and brought to the K.V.A. and the Museum Society. Second, the federal government now had a stake in the success of tourism in Dawson. It had accepted the Historic Sites and Monuments Board's recommendation that Dawson was of national historic significance, so its commitment was not merely to the Festival. On a more concrete level, the National Historic Sites Branch was responsible for two assets in Dawson, the *Keno* and the new Palace Grand Theatre. Finally, and paradoxically, there was the negative lesson provided by the failure that an instant solution such as the 1962 Festival provided.

The period from 1963 to 1967 represented a second attempt by Dawson residents to establish tourism as a basis for the town's economy. They received limited assistance from either the federal or territorial governments but they were able to define their own area of expertise.

The immediate problem for both Dawson and the National Historic Sites Branch was to fill the vacuum left by the failure of the Festival. In June 1962, the federal government, the City of Dawson and the Dawson City Festival Foundation had signed an agreement whereby the latter two assumed responsibility for operating the Palace Grand and the *Keno*.⁵⁸ Within five months, the National Historic Sites Branch had to resume full responsibility for them. During the winter, it agreed to reimburse the territorial government \$100 per month for maintenance of the theatre and to request that the Mining Recorder in Dawson act as its agent. He would oversee the upkeep of the *Keno* and of the Palace Grand, under the distant supervision of the Chief of National Historic Sites. However, on the questions of usage of the two structures, he would send requests to the Yukon Commissioner. Thus three distinct branches of the Department of Northern Affairs and National Resources were involved in Dawson City—a recipe for indecision and confusion. The remarkable thing is that this system functioned at all.

The K.V.A. was still in operation in the summer of 1963 and leased the *Keno* and the Palace Grand from the federal government for its casino and show. What they provided visitors was a pale reflection of the frenzy of 1962. Members of the K.V.A. dressed up in appropriate costume to meet visitors at the plane as they once had done for boat arrivals. The few tourists who reached Dawson that year could tour the gold fields, go up the Dome, view the buildings opened up (or built) in 1962, visit the shrine at Service's cabin, go through the museum, Palace Grand or *Keno* and even buy "relics". Lotz observed in 1963 that "generally speaking, the tourist attractions of Dawson are 'passive' rather than 'active.' No one comes to Dawson for a gay time and the quietness of the town has a great appeal to tourists."⁵⁹ A far cry from the much ballyhooed Festival!

Lotz also noticed in 1963 that the debate over the place of visitors in the life of Dawson continued. "The local people tend to look upon tourists as a blessing and a nuisance. The tourists aid the economy of the declining city, but they also tend to upset the even tenor of life in a small settlement." The "pilgrims" were welcome, but more for the money they spent in the community than their delight in Dawson's sights.⁶⁰

Tourism was the means to a very specific end: the continued survival of the community of Dawson. However, it alone could not generate sufficient revenue to ensure this. There was no question of another festival but in 1963 the Dawson representative to the Territorial Council made an alternative suggestion. George Shaw moved, and the council agreed unanimously, that legalized gambling be permitted in Dawson to “give the community the economic boost it needs” . . . “at absolutely no cost to the Canadian taxpayer.”⁶¹

Legalized gambling was eventually approved, but not before at least one false start. Between 1963 and 1966, the K.V.A. ran “Klondike Nites” on the *Keno*. This started innocently as “phony gambling”, but at some point real money was introduced. The RCMP notified the National Historic Sites Branch agent in January 1966 that “if gambling is held on the steamer in the future, charges will be laid under the Criminal Code.” In August, “Klondike Nites” closed down. This provoked an anguished cry from a writer in the *Klondike Korner*:

. . . The K.V.A. are having a struggle trying to raise funds to preserve our historic buildings . . . Unless someone comes up with a new scheme to make money honestly or the Government realizes that the history of the Klondike Gold Rush of 1898 is not a civic responsibility but affects the history of Canada as a whole, the few unpaid workers will have to take a rest and let come what may.⁶²

Another curious suggestion for securing Dawson’s economic future came up in a meeting George Shaw had with Premier W.A.C. Bennett of British Columbia. The Premier apparently “said that if amalgamation [of B.C. and the Yukon] took place, Dawson would get the same restoration treatment as recently done at Barkerville.”⁶³ Unlike legalized gambling or an increased federal commitment to Dawson, this proposal was never taken up.

During the five years between 1962 and 1967, the two levels of government and the K.V.A. worked out a *modus operandi* which enabled the latter to function, although in the end to no one’s satisfaction. The federal department leased the vessel and the structure to the K.V.A. at nominal rents but accepted responsibility for maintenance. The K.V.A. then used them for its casino and show in order to raise sufficient revenue to operate. It also obtained a grant from the territorial government, private donations from businesses and funds from other smaller sources. It made over \$4000 profit in 1965 but the next year expenses exceeded revenue by \$2000.⁶⁴ As the tone of the anonymous correspondent in the *Klondike Korner*

(above) indicated, the K.V.A. felt that it had done all that it could with the resources available. Neither it nor any other Dawson organization interested in preserving the town's cultural heritage could continue to provide entertainment and facilities for visitors as well as maintain derelict buildings on its slim revenue base.

By 1966, the situation in Dawson was becoming equally unacceptable to the National Historic Sites Branch. Its agent in Dawson was responsible to two different superiors but had only limited authority to authorize expenditures or to approve the activities undertaken in the two structures. By July 1966, he reached the point where he could no longer be both Historic Sites agent and Mining Recorder. He suggested that "the National and Historic Resources Branch [sic] . . . have a full-time employee in the territory to look after their historic sites." The Territorial Commissioner no longer wished to participate in the control of the sites, returning full responsibility for them to the National Historic Sites Branch.⁶⁵

At the same time, it was becoming obvious to federal officials that administration at a distance was impossible. Two of them travelled from the regional office in Calgary to Dawson in May 1966 to find out what was happening. As a result of this visit, they successfully recommended that, to meet immediate needs, an employee of the branch, resident in the Yukon, be made directly responsible for the historic sites in Dawson and Whitehorse. Second, they suggested that

. . . Leasing the operations of the Palace Grand and the Keno for all except events meaningful to the historic interpretation be discontinued. In the past many of the activities carried out on these have not been in keeping with the normal concepts of Historic Sites . . .

Looking to the longer term, they suggested that the department clarify its intentions in the face of "rumours in the area that the Minister has made a commitment for some sort of restoration of Dawson's historic buildings" and that it initiate research and acquire historic resources as the basis for an "overall Historic Sites program."⁶⁶

The department also cancelled its agreements with the City of Dawson (and the ghost of the Festival Foundation) which made possible the K.V.A.'s use of the Palace Grand Theatre and the *Keno* between 1963 and 1966. It also decided to establish two permanent positions in the Yukon, a superintendent for all historic sites located in Whitehorse and a caretaker in Dawson.⁶⁷

By the end of the year, both Dawson and the National Historic Sites Branch accepted the need for a permanent basis for Dawson

tourism. The former lacked a secure fiscal base of its own; the latter did not want to see a repeat of the Festival but was now too firmly committed to the support of Dawson, both as a national cultural resource and economically, to back away. Once committed, the department increased its involvement to the point in 1967 where it established its own nationally-funded program in conjunction with the community's activities, but beyond Dawson residents' control.

1967-1970: The Klondike National Historic Sites

Early in 1967, the community received two indications of the massive federal government involvement in its future. The first was negative. The National Historic Sites Branch announced that it alone would determine appropriate use of its two structures. This meant that the *Keno* would be devoted solely to "proper interpretation of the Sternwheeler life", not gambling, a casino, or showing movies.⁶⁸ The K.V.A. could no longer charge admission for tours of the Palace Grand, nor put it to use other than for its show. On the other hand, this meant no further responsibilities except for the rental of the theatre.⁶⁹

On a more positive note, the Historic Sites and Monuments Board of Canada proposed to hold its June 1967 meeting in Dawson. The Board asked that local organizations "send representatives to present suggestions and opinions for restoration."⁷⁰ The Board was determined that this was not to be another one shot, externally-imposed response to Dawson's plight, but a long term program planned and executed with as much local input as was compatible with a nationally-funded program.

Eleven members of the Board spent almost two days in Dawson. During this period, they were treated royally and presented with a brief by thirteen community organizations. The *Klondike Korner* probably spoke for the entire community when it said "We all hope that these gentlemen enjoyed their visit and left favourably impressed by our historic area."⁷¹

The community's brief summarized its belief in the national (indeed, international) historical significance of the Klondike Gold Rush and in Dawson's contribution to the economic life of Canada—this latter a familiar refrain. The brief expressed the hope that "the restoration and preservation of the town's historic features would not only augment the economic potential of the community but would also provide funds to defray at least part of the cost of restoration."⁷²

The petitioners must have been pleased by the Board's recommendations and the Minister's approval of them. These included the

immediate acquisition of material relating to the Gold Rush in the Klondike region; the acquisition and preservation of a number of listed Dawson buildings and the protection of several others; the commemoration of the history of gold mining in the Yukon; and the commemoration of Yukon transportation in Whitehorse.⁷³

Once the recommendations were approved by the Minister, the department moved to implement them. In the background, it began planning and research for building acquisition, restoration and interpretation. A full time custodian was hired for Dawson by October 1967 and by April 1968 there was a superintendent for Yukon historic sites in Whitehorse. That summer, a Historic Sites Planning Committee visited Whitehorse, Dawson and the Klondike gold fields in order to begin implementation of the 1967 recommendations.⁷⁴

After the buildings to be acquired were identified, the department determined their value and began negotiations for their purchase. Some owners settled quickly, happy to dispose of what they regarded as merely derelict structures, or else to contribute to the new national historic site. Others held out for what they felt was a more reasonable price for valuable cultural resources. Eventually, all settled, aided by a process which involved George Shaw in Dawson and the superintendent in Whitehorse conducting negotiations. In at least two cases, the Orpheum Theatre and the Westminster Hotel, structures never considered by the Historic Sites and Monuments Board were offered by their owners. Neither were economically viable businesses, but the owners hoped to dispose of them if at all possible.⁷⁵ Another building which had caught Malcolm MacDonald's eye back in 1942, and captured much of the essence of the romance of Dawson, was Strait's Store. However, its advanced state of decay was such that the Planning Committee felt it could never be preserved, much less restored. It was removed from the list of buildings for acquisition, in spite of considerable pressure brought by residents of Dawson and at least one tourist for its retention.⁷⁶ This demonstrated that from now on it would be federal agencies, not Dawson residents, who would determine what was of national significance.

One building that proved surprisingly difficult to acquire was the original Dawson shrine, the Robert Service cabin. The city had owned it since 1948, but the K.V.A. had been maintaining and presenting it to tourists for years. Indeed since 1966, the "Spirit of Robert Service" had read the poet's verse daily, a more active form of interpretation than most of K.V.A.'s efforts. Negotiations over the cabin's acquisition extended over six months. Initially, the city

refused to consider anything more than a ninety-nine year lease. This was based, in part, on an attitude exemplified by one alderman's wife who "apparently has developed a possessive attitude towards it" and the fear that the recent removal of a portion of Jack London's cabin to California, as well as the removal of a large number of artifacts over the years would be repeated. The city finally agreed to the transfer of title of the cabin on two unusual conditions—that it remain on site and that no part of the cabin be removed. Both were accepted, and the original "historic landmark" in Dawson became part of the Klondike National Historic Sites in 1970.⁷⁷

While the federal government acquired the structures that were to comprise the K.N.H.S., private developers and the K.V.A. continued to function independently, secure in the knowledge that they were operating in a national historic site. The most bizarre example of the former was an individual whose ambitions recalled the wilder excesses of the 1962 Festival. He purchased the Bank of Montreal building after it was closed in 1968 as well as some 700 hillside lots. He proposed to operate the former as a "first class restaurant known as 'Sourdough Sue's'", the latter as "comfortable log cabins with conveniences." His scheme collapsed into bankruptcy, as had many before.⁷⁸ The K.V.A. continued as it always had, but it found that the expansion of the federal government's financial commitment to Dawson's restoration would be partly at the price of its freedom to operate as it had before. It was still sufficiently autonomous in 1968 to take responsibility for recommending the expenditure of \$15,000 from the Yukon Visitor's Association on the restoration of "buildings of historical importance."⁷⁹ It also took the lead in successfully preventing the demolition of the old Administration Building.⁸⁰ But National Historic Sites determined the limits of its autonomy. It could no longer use the Palace Grand or the *Keno* as it saw fit and in 1968, the Western Regional Director for what was now Parks Canada urged that the superintendent maintain close contact "with the Association in order to exert the desired influence on their planning as it affects our property."⁸¹ The National Historic Sites Branch no longer needed the K.V.A. for site interpretation or research, but now operated in accordance with its own standards. By the end of 1970, in spite of minor conflict over the terms of the Palace Grand lease, the K.V.A. and Parks Canada were working well together. Dawson's transformation was complete. The boom town of 1897 was now the national historic site of 1970.

Conclusion

The process that began in 1952 with the first expression of interest by the Historic Sites and Monuments Board of Canada in the Yukon was completed by 1970. Dawson City and the Klondike goldfields were officially recognized for their contribution to Canadian history. This meant that the taxpayers of Canada would share with Dawson's residents responsibility for the upkeep and maintenance of the Klondike National Historic Sites.

The boom town was long gone. In its place was neither the prosperous mining, administrative and commercial centre of the 1930s nor the ghost town that many other mining camps had become. Rather, in large part because of the efforts of its citizens and their strong belief that Dawson was not just another resource town destined for oblivion, it was brought to the attention of the federal government as a site of national historic significance deserving of federal financial support. It had become a national historic site within which a small northern community continued to survive.

For Dawson, the price of survival was the loss of autonomy. Paid for and developed from the outside by the Canadian taxpayer, Dawson depended upon external decisions for its future development. The boom town was now well and truly recycled—into a tourist attraction.

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NOTES

- ¹ *Dawson Daily News*, 18 June 1912 [hereafter cited as DN]
- ² See R. Stuart, "The Robert Service Cabin, Dawson, 1902-1970", Parks Canada, Microfiche Report No. 90, 1983.
- ³ DN, 5 November 1915.
- ⁴ Stuart, pp. 14-22.
- ⁵ See, for example, C. Cameron, *A Cheechako in Alaska and Yukon*, London 1920, pp. 102-103, 111-132; J.W. Hutchinson, *North to the Rime-Ringed Sun*, Glasgow, 1934, pp. 46-47; H.A. Franck, *The Lure of Alaska*, New York, 1943, pp. 92-99; L. Berton, *I Married the Klondike*, Toronto, 1974, pp. 71, 143, 200; DN, 12 December 1921, 3 December 1923, 8 August 1925.

- ⁶ Stuart, p. 34.
- ⁷ *DN*, 25 August 1917.
- ⁸ *DN*, 2 August 1945.
- ⁹ See Cameron, Hutchinson and Franck, *op. cit.*
- ¹⁰ M. MacDonald, *Down North*, Toronto, 1943, pp. 85, 92-93.
- ¹¹ MacDonald, p. 96.
- ¹² H.C. Lankes, *Highway to Alaska*, New York, 1944, p. 77.
- ¹³ See R. Stuart, "The Impact of the Alaska Highway on Dawson City", pp. 188-204 in K. Coates (ed.), *The Alaska Highway*, Vancouver, 1985.
- ¹⁴ *DN*, 31 July 1945.
- ¹⁵ Stuart, "Impact", p. 197.
- ¹⁶ See *DN*, 16 April, 13 June, 11 July 1946 and 16 January 1947.
- ¹⁷ *DN*, 10 June 1948.
- ¹⁸ *DN*, 17 July 1952.
- ¹⁹ For a description of Dawson during this important transition, see Barbara Gutsell, "Dawson City" *Geographical Bulletin* No. 3, 1953, pp. 23-35.
- ²⁰ *DN*, 22 October 1953.
- ²¹ A. Roos, "A Narrative History of the S.S. Klondike", Parks Canada, Manuscript Report Series No. 402, 1981, pp. 54-58.
- ²² See *Saturday Night*, August 1987, p. 24.
- ²³ Ten years earlier, he had been initiated into the Yukon Order of Pioneers as "Visiting Scribe" while in Dawson "Writing Up Yukon." *DN*, 10 June 1948.
- ²⁴ *Klondike Korner*, 20 May, 27 July 1954. [hereafter cited as *KK*].
- ²⁵ F. Illingsworth, *Highway to the North*, New York, 1956, pp. 277-279.
- ²⁶ Illingsworth, p. 274. He was wrong about the population.
- ²⁷ A.C. Hinton, *The Yukon*, Toronto, 1954, p. 97.
- ²⁸ *KK*, 27 July 1954, 31 May 1956, 14 May and 16 July 1959.
- ²⁹ *KK*, 28 July 1955.
- ³⁰ *KK*, 23 September 1954.
- ³¹ See, for example, *DN* 25 March and 15 April 1921, 8 March 1951.
- ³² See K.J. Rea, *The Political Economy of the Canadian North: An Interpretation of the Course of Development of the Northern Territories of Canada to the early 1960s*, Toronto, 1968, p. 59 for an indication of the attitude of the Minister of Northern Affairs, Jean Lesage.
- ³³ Lotz worked on the Yukon Research Project as part of the Northern Co-ordination and Research Centre's work on the Canadian North. After this was disbanded, he became a trenchant critic of the federal government's northern policies. His first studies, "Dawson City, Y.T. A Survey of the Planning and Community Needs involved in the 1962 Dawson City Festival", Ottawa, 1962 and "The Dawson Area: A Regional Monograph", No.2 in the Yukon Research Project Series, Ottawa, 1965 reflected his views as a government researcher. *Northern Realities*, Toronto, 1972, took a very different approach.
- ³⁴ Lotz, *Northern Realities*, pp. 246.
- ³⁵ Rea, p. 94; Lotz, "Dawson ... Survey ...", pp. 2, 36.
- ³⁶ *KK*, 24 July 1958.

- ³⁷ Lotz, *Northern Realities*, pp. 246-251; “Dawson ... Survey ...”, p. 3.
- ³⁸ Lotz, “Dawson ... Survey ...”, p. 2.
- ³⁹ Lotz, “Dawson ... Survey ...”, p. 4.
- ⁴⁰ See Historic Sites and Monuments Board of Canada, 27 May 1952 Meeting. Minutes, p. 22 [hereafter cited as HSMBC. Date of Meeting. Minutes.]
- ⁴¹ HSMBC. 26 May 1953 Meeting. Agenda Paper U. 325-10, p. 68.
- ⁴² HSMBC. 26 May 1953 Meeting. Minutes, p. 20.
- ⁴³ HSMBC. 12 December 1955 Meeting. Minutes, p. 9; 3 June 1957 Meeting, p. 37; and 27-30 May 1958 Meeting, p. 28.
- ⁴⁴ HSMBC. 3 November 1958 Meeting. Agenda Paper HS.10-180, p. 31. The Prime Minister passed on a letter he received from a St. Catherine’s Ontario couple who suggested “that as many as possible of the romantic and historical spots in the Yukon, especially those in Dawson City, be preserved.” See also C.J. Taylor, *Negotiating the Past*, Montreal, 1990, p. 171.
- ⁴⁵ HSMBC. 3-7 November 1958 Meeting. Minutes, p. 59.
- ⁴⁶ HSMBC. 3-7 November 1958 Meeting. Minutes, p. 20.
- ⁴⁷ HSMBC. 25-29 May 1959 Meeting. Minutes, p. 20.
- ⁴⁸ HSMBC. 25-27 November 1959 Meeting. Minutes, Appendix A, p. 19.
- ⁴⁹ HSMBC. 25-27 November 1959 Meeting. Minutes, p. 4.
- ⁵⁰ KK, 23 June 1960.
- ⁵¹ Canadian Parks Service, File 8441/D61-9, T.C. Fenton—Divisional Supervisor, Steamship Inspector, 22 July 1960 [hereafter cited at CPS].
- ⁵² CPS, File 8441/D61-9, T.C. Fenton—Chief Engineer, 20 September 1960; KK, 22 September 1960.
- ⁵³ KK, 19 January 1961.
- ⁵⁴ CPS, File 8441/D61-14, “Constitution of the Klondike Tourist Bureau”, 21 December 1959; KK, 18 February 1960.
- ⁵⁵ Lotz, “regional Monograph”, p. 67.
- ⁵⁶ Lotz, “Regional Monograph”, p. 61.
- ⁵⁷ Rea, p. 94.
- ⁵⁸ Much of the following is taken from the CPS, 8441/D61-14, Memorandum by J.R.B. Coleman, Director of the National Historic Sites and Parks Branch, 26 November 1965.
- ⁵⁹ Lotz, “Regional Monograph”, p. 68.
- ⁶⁰ Lotz, “Regional Monograph”, p. 72. See also pp. 66, 68.
- ⁶¹ Lotz, “Regional Monograph”, p. 8; Rea, p. 94; KK, 5 December 1963.
- ⁶² CPS, File 8441/D61-14, G.R. Cameron—J.B.R. Coleman, 7 May 1965, D.W. Gairns—Commissioner, 21 January 1966; KK, 11 August 1966.
- ⁶³ KK, 4 March 1965.
- ⁶⁴ CPS, File 8441/D61-14, G.R. Cameron—J.R.B. Coleman, 7 May 1965; K.V.A. Statement of Revenue and Expenditure, 1 January to 15 September 1965. KK, 23 September 1966.
- ⁶⁵ CPS, File 8441/D61-14, D.W. Gairns -Supervising Mining Recorder, 29 July 1966; Director, Northern Administration Branch—Director, National and Historic Parks, 27 September 1966.

- ⁶⁶ CPS, File 8441/D61-9, Memorandum by H. Tatro, 19 May 1966.
- ⁶⁷ CPS, File 8441/D61, J. Nichol—C.M. Bolger, 24 October 1966; J. Nichol—F. Fingland, 11 October 1966.
- ⁶⁸ CPS, File 8441/D61-9, Director, Historic Sites—Director, Western Region, 4 July 1967.
- ⁶⁹ CPS, File 8441/D61-9. Director, Western Region—Director, Historic Sites, 10 February 1967.
- ⁷⁰ KK, 9 February and 9 March 1967.
- ⁷¹ KK, 29 June 1967.
- ⁷² HSMBC, 27-28 June 1967 Meeting. Agenda Paper 1967-17, pp. 186-188.
- ⁷³ HSMBC, 27-28 June 1967 Meeting. Minutes, pp. 4-5.
- ⁷⁴ KK, 6 June 1968.
- ⁷⁵ CPS, File 8616/D61, Alfred Berger—Director, National and Historic Parks, 2 January 1970; Fabien Salois—Director, National and Historic Parks, 10 January 1970.
- ⁷⁶ MacDonald, pp. 94-95; CPS, File 8616/D61, Director, Historic Sites—Director Western Region, 4 August 1970; Acting Director, Western Region—Director, Historic Sites, 10 August 1970; Tommy Rea—John Turner, 13 August 1970; Tommy Rea—H.B. Robinson, 22 September 1970.
- ⁷⁷ Stuart, “Robert Service Cabin”, pp. 59-61.
- ⁷⁸ KK, 19 September, 1 November 1968; 10 January, 13 February 1969.
- ⁷⁹ KK, 23 May 1968.
- ⁸⁰ KK, 12 December 1968, 16 January 1969.
- ⁸¹ CPS, File 8441/D61-19, Director, Western Region—Chief of Operations, 21 November 1968.