

“The Index to a Man’s Principles”: Dawson and the Canadian Yukon Patriotic Fund, 1914–1920

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Abstract: The prevailing image of Dawson (and of the Yukon writ large) during the First World War is that of a community singularly united behind the war effort, with previous class and racial divisions bridged by the call of Empire and of nation. Using the records of the Canadian Yukon Patriotic Fund and the reports of the Dawson Daily News, this article complicates the glowing contemporary and historical assessments of the Yukon’s war effort by revealing the social divisions, frustrations, and disillusionment that also mark the community’s complex First World War experience. The war exacerbated racial and social fault lines, particularly the divide between the community and the large transient non-British workforce who found themselves under attack in Dawson’s discourse about belonging and patriotism. These dynamics do not discredit the dominant narrative of a loyal, patriotic, and generous Dawson-at-war, but they do challenge the idea that Dawson never wavered in its unity, sense of shared purpose, and enthusiasm for the war effort. A sense of disillusionment gripped the community as the war went on, and the situation only worsened when veterans returned home to find no jobs and no appropriate re-establishment plan in place. By 1919, Dawson’s pride in its patriotic contributions had been tempered by a sense of regret that it had mobilized so much of its resources to support the war effort—and received increasingly little in return. This article is part of a special collection of papers originally presented at a conference on “The North and the First World War,” held May 2016 in Whitehorse, Yukon.

At the end of October 1915, news arrived in Dawson about the deaths of Charley Phillips and Jack Watt—reported as the first Yukoners to perish in the First World War. The community held a memorial service at St. Paul’s Cathedral, which the *Dawson Daily News* described as “one of the most singularly impressive ever held in the city.” Bishop Isaac Stringer delivered a special sermon, commemorating each man’s wartime service—Phillips in East Africa and Watt in France. Stringer lamented, however, that the deaths of the two men had failed to resonate in the Yukon community. He alleged that Dawsonites treated their stories as “impersonal and almost as if they occurred in another sphere of existence in an age long past.” The Yukon had raised money to support the war effort and sent a handful of men to fight, but Stringer asserted that it had “not yet realized the seriousness of the situation.” Dawson’s isolation in “one of the most remote parts of the British Empire” had insulated it from the true effects of the war, which limited the community’s willingness to contribute. Yukoners, Stringer insisted, had to do more.¹

George F. Johnson, president of the Klondike Thawing Machine Company, felt that the “bishop meted out a just and well-deserved rebuke to those in the Yukon who have not, or will not, try to imbibe some of the principles for which these noble boys fought.” In a letter to the *Dawson Daily News*, Johnson highlighted that many community members were missing from the “subscription lists of those contributing to the various patriotic funds ... among them those earning very good salaries and well able to contribute to these funds.” In the context of the war, the subscription lists had become “the index to a man’s principles” and Johnson was shocked that so many in his community were failing to support Canada and the Empire. He insisted that a “feeling of shame should possess” those willing “to accept of the benefits of living in British territory” but unwilling to come to the “nation’s assistance in every way possible.” To the “aliens” and transient workers in the Yukon who used the neutrality of their home countries as an excuse not to support the war effort, Johnson insisted that the territory was “no place for them.” There were “plenty of our own people” quite able to take their employment who would sacrifice their pay wholeheartedly to the war effort. The businessman ended his article with a question and a challenge: “We of the Yukon have earned a very envious reputation for generosity but are we justly entitled to it?”²

The criticisms levelled by Stringer and Johnson towards their community complicate the traditional narrative about the Yukon’s—and,

in particular, Dawson's—voluntary contributions to the war effort. In the summer of 1918, Charles Settlementier, the editor of the *Dawson Daily News*, reflected on the war years and noted that “where some places give cents, Yukon gives dollars, and where some others are also generous, they nowhere equal Yukon.”³ Philip Morris also highlighted the work of Dawson in his official report on the Canadian Patriotic Fund—an organization authorized by the federal government in 1914 to provide supplemental income to the dependants (wives, children, mothers) of the soldiers serving overseas. “Everybody in steady employment in Dawson and the vicinity as well as a large percentage of business and professional men became regular monthly contributors,” Morris boasted.⁴

These glowing assessments have been echoed by historians. “In the midst of [a postgold rush] period of gloom, partisanship, and retrenchment, the First World War provided an interval of unity and a feeling of shared purpose,” Ken Coates and William Morrison suggest. “Despite the territory’s feeling of isolation and neglect, or perhaps in part because of it, Yukoners responded to the war with an enthusiasm that matched or exceeded that of all other parts of Canada.”⁵ Similarly, Yukon historian Michael Gates has argued that the territory “threw itself into the war effort wholeheartedly” and that, “throughout the war, Yukoners contributed financially amounts of money that put the rest of the country to shame.”⁶ The prevailing image of Dawson, and of the Yukon writ large, is that of a community singularly united behind the war effort, with previous class and racial divisions bridged by the call of nation and of Empire.

There are reasons for this celebratory self-image. The Dawson-based Canadian Yukon Patriotic Fund (CYPF), which organized and managed almost all voluntary fundraising in the territory, raised an impressive amount of money for the national and imperial war effort. For the Canadian Patriotic Fund alone, Yukon’s small population (approximately 7,000 in 1914) raised \$88,633, forwarding \$41,216.25 to the fund’s central committee in Ottawa for use across the country, and spending the remainder on the dependants of soldiers from the territory.⁷ While the CYPF inspired a wave of voluntarism in Dawson and the surrounding area throughout the war years, this article reveals how the glowing, uncritical contemporary and historical assessments of the Yukon’s war effort conceal social divisions, frustrations, and disillusionment that also mark the community’s complex First World War experience. While these dynamics do not discredit the dominant narrative of a loyal, patriotic, and generous Dawson-at-war, they do complicate the idea that the large

amount of money raised by the CYPF constitutes sufficient evidence that Dawson was a community that never wavered in its unity, sense of shared purpose, or enthusiasm for the war effort.

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The news of the war's outbreak in early August 1914 sparked "spontaneous outburst[s] of enthusiasm" in Dawson and inspired intense displays of British loyalty.⁸ Most Yukoners viewed themselves as part of the broader British and Canadian communities and were eager to demonstrate their support of King, Country, and Empire. Within days, the Dr. George M. Dawson and the Inspector F.J. Fitzgerald chapters of the Imperial Order Daughters of the Empire (IODE) channelled this enthusiasm into a fundraising campaign, acting upon instructions from their national president to start collecting money for the country-wide Hospital Ship Fund.⁹ By 12 August the women had raised \$6,000 in Dawson, assisted by a \$2,500 donation from Joe Boyle, the president of the Canadian Klondyke Company.¹⁰ The *Dawson Daily News* celebrated the success, noting that Yukoners had given nearly \$2 per capita, a "splendid tribute to the loyalty of the North."¹¹ For a community that had persistently sought to appear as vital and civilized as any eastern Canadian city in the decade after the gold rush, the war effort represented another opportunity to reinforce its status as an important Canadian community—"Dawson the Good"¹² could now prove itself to be "Dawson the Patriotic" when the country found itself in the throes of war.

At the beginning of September, Commissioner George Black received notice that a national patriotic fund had been established to support dependants of Canadian soldiers, British reservists, and those going to serve in other allied armies. The Dawson branch of the Canadian Patriotic Fund quickly took shape, with Commissioner Black and Member of Parliament Alfred Thompson serving as honorary presidents, J.W. Boyle as president, and other prominent male community members such as Bishop Isaac O. Stringer, Frederick Congdon, Frank Lowe, Dr. A.J. Gillis, George Williams, and William G. Radford volunteering for other leadership roles.¹³ Commissioner Black also asked the women of the IODE to start raising money for the fund.¹⁴

News of the national patriotic fund reached Dawson alongside Ottawa's acceptance of Joe Boyle's proposal to raise a machine gun battery in the community.¹⁵ With the knowledge that Yukoners would soon head overseas and leave dependants behind who might require assistance, the *Dawson Daily News* asked that people contribute in a way that was "strikingly Yukonese" and ship gold nuggets to Ottawa.¹⁶ Former

Commissioner Frederick Congdon urged Dawsonites to donate money, explaining that “the mighty stream of imperial power that shall restore lasting peace and sanity to oppressed Europe is swollen into greatness by the tiny rivulets of voluntary aid each of its little constituents most joyously contributes.”¹⁷ Donations began to flow in. As was the case across the country, Yukon’s civil servants soon committed a day’s pay to the Patriotic Fund at the behest of Commissioner Black.¹⁸ Over \$2,000 from the men working for Canadian Klondyke Power and the Canadian Klondyke Mining Company at North Fork Camp, Bear Creek Camp, Hunker Camp, and Bonanza Basin, quickly bolstered the fund.¹⁹

In December 1914 Dawson named the Canadian Yukon Patriotic Fund as the central coordinating body for the collection of all funds and the promotion of other voluntary activities in the community. Once again, prominent male members of the committee took on leadership roles, including Stringer, NWMP Major J.D. Moodie, and Dawson’s customs collector, Edmund Ironside, who fittingly chaired the solicitations committee.²⁰ The CYPF soon oversaw a burgeoning range of funds, including the Belgian, Polish, and Serbian relief funds; the Red Cross; Soldiers’ Comforts; the Queen’s Canadian Hospital Fund; Soldiers’ Disablement Fund; Princess Mary’s Christmas Gift Fund; sundry funds; Hospital Ships; Hospitals; the Homes for Soldiers and Sailors Fund; and an account to purchase two machine guns for the Canadian Expeditionary Force.²¹ Community members also established the Yukon Comfort Fund to provide spending money to soldiers departing from the Yukon.²²

By the end of 1914 Dawson’s voluntary mobilization was in full swing. Nevertheless, Yukoners’ generous donation of money to the war effort was closely tied to concerns about the territory’s economic future. When the *Dawson Daily News* noted that the community had raised \$10,000 in the first three months of the war, it also noted that many people felt anxious about the impact that the war would have on the territory’s economy. Alongside reports of the community’s voluntary contributions, the newspaper’s editor insisted that “wars may wage throughout the world, but they never will affect the richness of the Klondike paystreak.”²³ Despite such reassurances, worries about the strength of the community’s economy did not abate. During a speech to the Yukon Council in March 1915, Commissioner Black proudly listed the different funds to which Dawson contributed but also stressed the “enormous sums of money” they required. In his next breath, Black suggested that:

As the revenues of the Territory are not of a diversified or flexible nature and cannot be materially increased except by direct taxation, consisting of grants of money from the Federal Parliament, it is a matter for consideration whether Yukon can best assist the Empire by direct grant to any of the various funds previously mentioned or of a similar nature, or by the expenditure of the revenue in the development of this new and sparsely settled portion of the Dominion.²⁴

The Yukon Council continued to opt for the former option, however, and the CYPF's fundraising efforts intensified in 1915.

The women of Dawson placed a strong stamp on volunteer activities in the territory, as women did across the country and the Empire.²⁵ "This great war is a woman's war as well as a man's war," Martha Black, the commissioner's wife, told the crowd gathered for the 1916 Dominion Day celebrations.²⁶ Both established and new female voluntary societies—including the IODE, the Patriotic Service League, the Daughters of the Eastern Star, the Daughters of Nippon, and the Klondike Knitting Club—eagerly and actively raised funds in an almost endless cycle of lawn parties, festivals, bake sales, teas, concerts, patriotic bonspiels, raffles, picnics, socials, dances, theatre events, river cruises, and skating excursions.²⁷ Although the women of Dawson, like their counterparts across the country, knit hundreds of socks for the soldiers and sent hundreds of care packages overseas, their community's remoteness and isolation dictated that it was "not practical to attempt much in the way of sewing, knitting or collecting hospital supplies, on account of the enormous distances to be covered." Instead, as Martha Black noted, fundraising represented the most efficient and sensible way to contribute to the war effort in a material sense.²⁸

Dawson's remoteness also shaped the structure and activities of the CYPF. The organization started out as a regular branch of the Canadian Patriotic Fund, sending all of its money to the central committee in Ottawa. Within a few months, however, Herbert Ames, the creator of the national patriotic fund, explained to Commissioner George Black that this system was not working.²⁹ Because Dawson "is so far away from Ottawa, and it takes so long for your letters to travel," Ames explained, "I think it would be advisable for your organization to consider itself as an Auxiliary to the Canadian Patriotic Fund." As an auxiliary branch, the CYPF had the authority to raise money independently in the Yukon, disburse these

funds as it saw fit, and occasionally remit surplus amounts to the general fund.³⁰

This system provided local leaders in Dawson with more flexibility in how they mobilized their community and its resources. Regularly constituted branches of the Canadian Patriotic Fund generally established local committees that drew on the central fund to administer relief payments to the dependants of local soldiers.³¹ As an auxiliary branch, the CYPF also established local committees, but its volunteers had complete discretion as to how they distributed assistance. Former commissioner Frederick Congdon noted in 1916 that “the Patriotic Fund in the Yukon Territory is in the very best of hands—in the hands of thoughtful, careful, honest men, men who are qualified to handle funds, men of decision and of good judgment; and not in the hands of men alone, but of women who are qualified to know the needs of dependants of the men who have gone to fight.”³² Commissioner Black echoed this sentiment, noting that the administration of funds to dependants was in “the hands of a very strong and active local committee that may be depended upon to deal with all such matters equitably and regularly.”³³ In dispersing aid to dependants, CYPF members exercised significant power in the community.

The local committees had the power to judge eligibility for the fund and how much would be awarded. Congdon defended this system of assistance in a 1916 speech to Dawson residents, noting that the federal government could “make no distinction” between aid recipients, but the men and women of the CYPF had the knowledge and ability to decide who should get more and less—a popular argument used throughout Canada.³⁴ Accordingly, the system embraced by the CYPF fostered the same kind of abuses as occurred in other Canadian communities where middle-class women investigated and judged poorer women, critiqued how they spent money, preached about how to live properly, and imposed their middle-class norms and values, armed with the power to cut off financial support to any women they deemed undeserving.³⁵

Like other branches of the Patriotic Fund, the CYPF acted on the central committee’s instructions “that soldiers’ families in receipt of aid should be urged to practice economy.”³⁶ Here, however, Dawson’s small size also came into play. While committee members in urban centres rarely knew the people they were investigating,³⁷ the CYPF’s records suggest a strong familiarity between individuals involved.³⁸ For example, Private Robert Greaves of the Yukon Infantry Company wrote to Commissioner Black in December 1916, explaining his plan to marry a woman from the community who was still in the process of divorcing her present husband.

While such a story may have inspired little sympathy in the more impersonal committees of larger communities,³⁹ members of the Dawson committee knew both individuals and ruled that the woman should be wired the money.⁴⁰

The men and women active in the CYPF were also on constant guard against the complacency that isolation and distance from European battlefields could cause. George F. Johnson, president of the Klondike Thawing Machine Company, highlighted this problem in November 1915. After reading a story about the admirable efforts of Russia's poor to support the war effort, he wrote to the *Dawson Daily News* that "the witnessing of service to wounded troops and the nearness to the front acts as a stimulus in opening up the tight-wad's pocketbook." The people of the Yukon did not have that kind of incentive and it showed in the community's comparatively modest response to the war. "But we, who are far away," Johnson proclaimed, "can readily conjure up mental pictures, portraying scenes which should act as levers in prying off the lid of the casket of selfishness and allow the virtue of service ... a chance to thrive and express itself."⁴¹ Returning from a long trip in 1916, Commissioner Black also criticized that his community was not doing as much to support the war effort as he felt it should. "Here in the North," he lamented, "we are so far removed from all actual preparation for war that perhaps these facts are not so forcibly impressed on us" as they are in other parts of Canada.⁴²

Although located on the fringes of the Dominion of Canada, many residents of Dawson still conceptualized their community as an integral, though distant, part of the imperial world. "Dawson, the most northerly capital of the British Empire, realizes that, though far from the motherland, she, too, must do her duty,"⁴³ Martha Munger Black reported. When people in Dawson offered donations, they could list where they wanted to have their funds directed. In deciding to contribute to a steady stream of British patriotic funds, Dawsonites were "defining the limits of their imagined community"⁴⁴ and signifying their attachment to the Empire. Concurrently, the CYPF demonstrated strong support to Canadian initiatives. The tens of thousands of dollars that the CYPF forwarded to the central committee of the Canadian Patriotic Fund to support soldiers' families in other parts of the country highlight Dawson's identity as a Canadian community.⁴⁵ Furthermore, Dawsonites identified as part of a broader, transnational northern community. The clearest expression of this identity came when Martha Munger Black wrote to the people of Fairbanks, asking for assistance for the Yukon Comfort Fund. In her plea,

she “felt sure that all Northerners, Alaskans as well as Yukoners, would want to have an opportunity to give what they could to help make life a bit easier for the brave men of the North.”⁴⁶

While the people of Dawson considered themselves a British, Canadian, and northern community, they also embraced their distinct identity as Yukoners. Historians Coates and Morrison observe that there was a great deal of “patriotic enthusiasm for a distinctively Yukon contribution to the war effort.”⁴⁷ Yukon-specific accounts, particularly the Yukon Comfort Fund, Overseas Tobacco Fund F, and Boyle Battery Chewing Tobacco Fund, proved highly popular, underlining the loyalty and attachment people felt towards their territory and its volunteers. Furthermore, Dawson’s remoteness, small size, and impressive per capita monetary contributions engendered intense local pride about the community’s wartime accomplishments.⁴⁸ “Yukoners are largely an austere people, and many, while respecting each other, live here in the same little community side by side for years without learning the qualities of each other,” the *Dawson Daily News* noted in December 1915.⁴⁹ Patriotic events forced community members to interact and marshal their collective resources towards a broader goal. Through this engagement, civic spirit soared.⁵⁰

The cheery image of Dawson entrenching its local identity and building civic pride through a unified war effort is only part of the story. The war also exposed or exacerbated existing social fault lines in the community. For example, the stories in the *Daily News* perpetuated racial hierarchies in the community when it highlighted the patriotic activities of the local Indigenous population—under derisive titles such as “Indians Add Cash to the Big Man Fund”—and other ethnic groups, such as the Japanese, and cajoled “British Canadian” Dawsonites to make similar displays of sacrifice.⁵¹ As historian Robert Rutherford has argued in his review of the complex relationship between ethnic groups and the patriotic fund, publicity “and the applause their act of giving received, accentuated awareness, however positive, of ethnic difference.” Rather than promoting “the fictional inclusiveness the Fund was said to foster,”⁵² isolated praise for specific ethnic groups reminded people that they were actually apart from—rather than a part of—the Yukon’s collective identity as a British-Canadian-Northern community.

The greatest fault line in Dawson during the war involved transient workers. During the gold rush, Dawson had attracted people from diverse nationalities, creating an environment of interaction and exchange. While the majority of the population remained Canadian or British,

Americans accounted for a large percentage, along with dozens of other nationalities.⁵³ In the years before the war, however, a highly class-conscious society developed, which fought “to eliminate the stigma of the town’s frontier heritage” and tried “to be as modern and fashionable as their counterparts to the south.” As Coates and Morrison note, “a society that aspires to elite status must of course have people to exclude,” and in Dawson transient workers and labourers populated the bottom of the “Yukon social pyramid,” just above prostitutes, dance hall girls, and Indigenous peoples.⁵⁴ In this context, perhaps it is not surprising that the workers became targets in wartime Dawson.

In late March 1915 a letter to the *Dawson Daily News* anonymously authored by someone using the name “Canadian” angrily pointed out “the undisturbed license with which labouring men, who are non-British, come here on the last stages in the spring and obtain immediate employment at the highest wages paid in the camp, all summer, and rush out on the last boats in the fall and takeout thousands of dollars of good Canadian money to be spent—well not in Canada.” Meanwhile, the “old timers”—long-time British residents of the community—often struggled to find employment. They were eager to contribute to the various patriotic efforts, but too often they did not have the funds. “The migratory bird rarely contributes one cent to either fund,” the author accused; “very unlike most of the old-time Americans in Dawson, who cheerfully pay.” The solution to mitigate “such abuses” was obvious to the author: the territorial council should impose a tax on all transient workers in the Yukon.⁵⁵

The meetings of the CYPF and Yukon Council over the next month proved that this was not an isolated sentiment. During a public meeting of the CYPF, members discussed the large number of people who refused to contribute anything to the war effort and contemplated monthly subscriptions and other methods to inspire greater efforts.⁵⁶ In April, the Yukon Council also labelled the presence of transient workers in the community a problem. The council formed a sub-committee to prepare a memorial for the federal government to “take such steps as may be necessary to prevent the annual migration to this Territory of surplus transient labour, such annual influx working a hardship on residents of the Territory and upon labour generally.”⁵⁷

The deaths of Watt and Phillips in November 1915 brought further complaints from prominent Dawsonites that their community was not doing enough for the war effort—and that transient workers lay at the root of the problem. In his letter to the *Daily News* that month, Johnson pointedly threatened that all labourers had better start donating

“wholeheartedly” for there was “plenty of our own people” ready to take their jobs.⁵⁸ Another letter published in the *Daily News*, entitled “Tax on Transients,” complained about workers who came into the territory for the mining season but never contributed a penny to the patriotic funds. The author repeated the complaint that many British community members, “who were their equals, and often their superiors,” could not find employment and were unable to support the war effort. “In no other country would such latitude be given,” exclaimed the anonymous note. British members of the community were, however, “beginning to wake up.” They had studied the employees of the large mining companies and discovered that an “incredibly large percentage of them were enemy sympathy.” The community would now proceed with “less restraint of language” in soliciting funds from these individuals, the letter warned.⁵⁹ At the end of November, the paper published another letter, under the name “Britisher,” which complained of transient workers, particularly those of German birth, not contributing to the patriotic funds and disrespecting the national anthem at a public event. Britisher knew “of no other place outside of Dawson where they would have gotten off unnoticed with the probability of a little rough handling to help them to remember how to behave.”⁶⁰ This nativist rhetoric, while lacking the virulence of much of the anti enemy-alien hatred in other parts of Canada during the war,⁶¹ nevertheless indicates that the Yukon was not free of ethnic intolerance and that social hierarchies persisted.

Rather than endorse the “rough handling” of non-British transient workers, several community members promoted the replacement of the existing “haphazard contribution system” with the introduction of a war tax on transient labour.⁶² When the executive committee of the CYPF met in early November 1915, it acknowledged that the fund had shrunk due to fewer donations and pointed the finger at the workers. The committee decided to ask the territory’s legal advisor if a special tax for war purposes could be imposed in the Yukon.⁶³ In the meantime, the CYPF initiated a stronger solicitation campaign than ever before, directly targeting those “delinquents” who hid behind a “plea of neutrality” (obviously directed at workers from other countries) with “plain talk ... why they should help humanity.”⁶⁴

Despite its “plain talk,” the CYPF found it had little success in motivating the workers to donate. In the December 1915 meeting of the organization’s executive committee, members once again discussed “the matter of alien enemies and those not sympathetic with the cause of the allies being given employment in the Yukon Territory and being

thus put in a position to assist the enemy.” In other parts of Canada, the committee sourly noted, enemy aliens had been interned. In Dawson they had jobs.⁶⁵ The CYPF had to throw out the idea of a special wartime tax because John Black, legal advisor to the administrator of the Yukon Territory, had determined that such an act was beyond the powers of the Yukon Council.⁶⁶ Instead, the town’s customs collector and chairman of the solicitations committee, Edmund Ironside, decided to try and secure monthly contributions from the workers by speaking with their employers and the owners of Dawson’s dredging operations. In addition, the CYPF resolved to start publishing a full list of the donations made by citizens, so that those who had not contributed could be “fully exposed to the limelight of public criticism.”⁶⁷

The pressure that CYPF members exerted on the employers of transient workers to secure donations proved effective. Subscription lists started to fill up the pages of the *Daily News*, and companies ensured that their workers’ names were present.⁶⁸ In the broader Canadian context, historian Desmond Morton has emphasized how employers, expecting that their workers contribute to a cause they endorsed, blurred or destroyed the line between coercion and volunteerism.⁶⁹ With workers facing intense pressure from the community, and the spectre of losing their job if they did not satisfy their employer, it is unsurprising that the final report of the Canadian Patriotic Fund could conclude that “Everybody in steady employment in Dawson and the vicinity ... became regular monthly contributors.”⁷⁰ This apparent display of unity, however, should not be taken at face value as evidence of voluntary patriotism across the board.

When more workers began to donate to the various patriotic funds managed by the CYPF in 1916, the amounts raised in Dawson rose accordingly. These extra contributions were necessary as the number of patriotic funds in the territory continued to grow, alongside the number of soldiers’ dependants as the ranks of the Yukon Infantry Company swelled.⁷¹ Despite the increase in worker contributions, the CYPF continued to exert pressure on workers by forming a committee to interview individuals and corporations that still refused to donate.⁷² Complaints continued to arise from community members that many workers still failed to contribute enough to the war effort. In 1917 and 1918, Charles Settlemer, editor of the *Dawson Daily News*, wrote several columns on the need for a uniform tax in the territory, which would ensure that the burden fell on everyone equally. Under the current “process of voluntary contribution the most generous givers are the men of small means” argued Settlemer, while “alien enemies, pro-Germans, tightwads

and others of that ilk" saved their money. The editor called for the Yukon Council to take action and levy an appropriate tax.⁷³

This proposal, which revealed polarized views within the community, was never implemented for practical economic reasons. After discussing labour issues and transient workers in 1915, the Yukon Council had studied the situation closely. The steady stream of able-bodied men leaving the territory to serve overseas, particularly with the recruitment of the Yukon Infantry Company in 1916, drained the population of the territory and left many corporations in need of workers. Labour shortages led the council to conclude that there was "no evidence of the influx of undesirables into the Territory" — whatever popular opinion might have said to the contrary.⁷⁴ The Yukon needed transient workers and, facing grimmer economic prospects as the war wore on, the council was wary to alienate them through coercive war taxes.

In their assessment of the Yukon's role in the First World War, Coates and Morrison argue that "support for the war effort in the Yukon did not seem to dim even as the dreadful casualty statistics mounted."⁷⁵ This would seem to set the territory's experience apart from that of Canada as a whole. By the end of 1916, Morton observes, "the blithe, optimistic patriotism that had carried much of the country through the first two years of the war had been exhausted by the setbacks" on the battlefield.⁷⁶ Throughout 1917 and 1918, the people of Dawson continued to contribute great amounts of time and money to the war effort.⁷⁷ Full subscription lists could still be found in the pages of the *Dawson Daily News*, particularly the monthly list of worker contributions published by the Yukon Gold Company. Patriotic fundraising events still drew large and supportive crowds.⁷⁸ In November 1917, for instance, hundreds attended a caning of the Kaiser skating event and paid to watch the imaginary punishment of Germany's leader.⁷⁹ Nevertheless, even as the voluntary contributions continued to flow into the CYPF, there were signs of a growing sense of disillusionment within Dawson stemming from the impact of the sacrifices it had made for the war effort and the lack of reward for those sacrifices.

At the end of 1916 the *Dawson Daily News* argued that the community was contributing far more to the war effort than were other Canadian communities, but, unlike other parts of the country, they received no war orders to compensate for their generosity. The contrast between how much Dawson was giving to the war effort and how little it received in return became an often repeated theme over the last two years of the war.⁸⁰ This sentiment, the steadily increasing cost of living, the population drain, and the war's "depressing effect on the territory's economy,"

all sapped the community's morale.⁸¹ Meanwhile, the price of gold—Dawson's life blood—went on a continuous downward slump during the war.⁸² By September 1917 the *Daily News* noted annoyance at the government's failure to provide relief to Yukon's gold miners.⁸³ As the war went on, Dawson's feeling that it gave all it could to the war effort only to be abandoned and ignored by the federal government, heightened the community's sense of disillusionment.

The situation worsened in the spring of 1918 when news arrived in Dawson that the federal government planned to reduce Yukon's territorial allowance by 42% (from \$320,000 to \$185,000) and shut down several government offices.⁸⁴ The sinking of the *Princess Sophia* in October 1918 is rightly considered the community's low point during the war years, but the perceived betrayal by Ottawa also fed Dawson's growing disillusionment. In an angry editorial, the *Daily News* contrasted Ottawa's unfaithfulness towards the territory with the considerable patriotic efforts of its people. Ottawa's decision, the paper lamented, would cause the mining industry to shut down, end the territory's voluntary contributions, cut off aid to soldiers' dependants, and ensure that the troops would "find it questionable whether or not their Yukon homeland will be a land of homes when they return."⁸⁵ As 1918 wound on, it became clearer that the dark realities of Yukon's situation were clouding the community's patriotic fervor.

When men started to return home from the front lines of Europe, the economic situation in the territory had reached a new low and many veterans struggled to find employment. In early October 1918 the Dawson branch of the Great War Veterans Association (GWVA) formed and made finding employment for returned men one of its primary mandates.⁸⁶ A day after the armistice, the GWVA placed a public request in the newspaper asking that employers make jobs for returned men.⁸⁷ Neither the price of gold, nor the economy, nor the territory's outlook improved in the months that followed, however, and some of the ninety-four men who had returned to Dawson by the summer of 1919 still struggled to find full-time work.⁸⁸

Further disillusionment came when the community realized that the government's re-establishment plans for the returned soldiers ignored Yukon's unique situation. Ottawa failed to consider that soldier settlement schemes and agricultural incentives providing farm land for veterans in the south would do little to assist returned men in remote regions such as the Yukon. To make matters worse, Ottawa attached the territory to British Columbia when administering its re-establishment scheme, thus

adding insult to injury. After all the Yukon had done for the war effort, the federal government seemed to forget both the territory and its veterans now that the war had ended.

In response to the government's oversight, veterans in the community formed the Yukon Soldiers' Civil Re-establishment Committee (YSCRC) to devise a plan applicable to the territory's veterans. In conjunction with the GWVA and the CYPF, the committee applied to Ottawa for a package that included a fair share of support for the territory, an independent re-establishment committee based in Dawson, and an aid package tailored to the needs of prospectors and miners.⁸⁹ The Dawson GWVA pointed to the programs of the Australian government, which used cash, grants of rations, and equipment to attract miners and prospectors into mining areas after the war.⁹⁰ The re-establishment committee insisted that it did not believe Ottawa "intends to discriminate against Yukon," but argued that the federal government had ignored the special conditions veterans faced in the territory.⁹¹ In its view, miners in the North deserved the same kind of assistance as farmers in southern Canada.⁹²

The re-establishment committee's pleas fell on deaf ears. While Ottawa agreed to differentiate between the Yukon and British Columbia, stationing a representative of the federal Department of Soldier's Civil Re-establishment in Dawson,⁹³ it refused to grant any special concessions to miners or prospectors.⁹⁴ When Dawson's veterans again made their case in the fall of 1919, J.A. Calder, the chairman of parliament's Special Committee on Soldiers' Civil Re-establishment, reiterated that there would be no special aid for Yukon miners returned from the front. If the government made such a special provision for the territory's miners, he argued, it would be inundated with similar requests from other veterans working in the resource sector across the country.⁹⁵ The Yukon had been generous in its patriotic fund contributions during the war, but Ottawa's fear that a precedent might be set by treating the territory's men distinctly, trumped every other consideration.

As this story played out over the summer and fall of 1919, Dawsonites received Ottawa's refusal to support its veterans with shock and fury. Old fears resurfaced that the federal government simply viewed the Yukon as a frontier to be exploited rather than an integral part of the country.⁹⁶ In June the *Daily News* published an editorial lamenting how little Dawson had received in return for its incredible wartime contributions—a far cry from the patriotic editorial voice in the newspaper during the war itself.⁹⁷ Two months later, the paper wrote a scathing review of Ottawa's treatment of the Yukon noting that, for all the territory had done for the war effort, it

“did not receive back a red cent in war construction work. Yukon had no munition plants, no shipyards, and produced no crops of foodstuffs and did no profiteering.” Instead, Ottawa had slashed the territory’s budget, refused to care for its veterans, and seemed content to let the Yukon wither away.⁹⁸ That year, Dawson still faced “prices averaging two to three times the sale prices in other [Canadian] communities.” Furthermore, the territory faced a long, hard winter, with little hope of economic recovery or government assistance. Facing postwar hardship and uncertainty, the newspaper suggested that “Yukon’s war funds, owing to the peculiar isolation, long delays in re-transmission, and other singular circumstances of this territory, never should have gone to Ottawa.”⁹⁹

In this context of growing disillusionment, the Dawson branch of the GWVA and the CYPF decided to ask the Canadian Patriotic Fund to return the \$41,216.25 that the Yukon had forwarded to it.¹⁰⁰ At the same time, these organizations also asked for the return of the \$6,600 the CYPF had contributed to the Disabled Soldiers’ Fund.¹⁰¹ The community heard reports that the Canadian Patriotic Fund had a surplus of \$7 million and the Disabled Soldiers’ Fund one of \$126,000. Perhaps the Yukon donations could be put to better use in the territory itself,¹⁰² with the GWVA and CYPF arguing that the returned money would be put to good use supporting veterans who wanted to engage in placer mining around the community or go prospecting.¹⁰³ The *Dawson Daily News* supported this request, arguing that the “Yukon is entitled to every dollar of the money sent from Yukon to the Central Patriotic Fund, at Ottawa, in connection with the war ... Ottawa will do well to remember that \$40,000 will go only half or third as far in this sub-polar regions as in the old provinces.”¹⁰⁴ The Yukon’s Member of Parliament Alfred Thompson repeated the appeals for support to a federal parliamentary committee, asking for at least \$30,000.¹⁰⁵ In late September 1919 the Soldiers’ Disablement Fund answered the CYPF’s request and returned the \$6,000 that Yukoners had originally donated which, in turn, the CYPF used to give loans to disabled or partially-disabled soldiers in the territory.¹⁰⁶ The Canadian Patriotic Fund, however, did not respond to the Yukoners’ request.

Despite the discontent and disillusionment, Dawson residents still responded vigorously when the 1919 Victory Loan drive kicked off in their community that fall.¹⁰⁷ Ottawa had estimated that Dawson and surrounding area would pitch in \$150,000, but the community ultimately raised well over \$200,000. While patriotism still played a role in motivating the community, the loan program did not ask for donations; it promised to return the cash, with interest, after a five-, ten-, or twenty-year term.

Furthermore, a strong show of territorial support carried a political message. “Quite a number of Dawson people who still have a little reserve and are taking a great pride in rounding out the total and in keeping Dawson and Yukon on the map in the eyes of Ottawa are prepared, if needs be, to do their utmost to help boost up the total,” the *Daily News* suggested. Dawsonites hoped that their victory loan efforts might show Ottawa that the Yukon remained a significant contributor to the federal exchequer, deserving of a larger federal allowance and a better deal for its returned soldiers.¹⁰⁸

Yukoners ended up disappointed once again. Ottawa refused to budge on its decision to deny special compensation to miners in the territory. As a result, many veterans in Dawson faced the worrying prospect of a long winter with few opportunities and little to no government support. Unemployment amongst returned men was, however, high across the country.¹⁰⁹ To address this problem, over the winter of 1919-1920 the federal government issued the Federal Emergency Appropriation (\$40 million) and used the Canadian Patriotic Fund to distribute the funds to unemployed veterans (known as the Federal Emergency Relief Allocation).¹¹⁰ Accordingly, the patriotic fund granted the CYPF \$10,000 to distribute to unemployed veterans.¹¹¹ While nowhere near the amount requested by the Dawson branch of the GWVA and the CYPF, and representing less than one-quarter of the contributions that the CYPF had sent to the Canadian Patriotic Fund during the war, it nonetheless afforded some financial support to returned soldiers in the Yukon.

* * *

Throughout the winter of 1919-1920, veterans went to Lowe’s Store in Dawson where, if they could prove their inability to find work, they could apply for financial assistance from the Canadian Patriotic Fund.¹¹² As much as the dominant image of Dawson’s First World War experience is that of a community that punched above its weight in terms of Canadian Patriotic Fund contributions, the picture of that line of unemployed veterans at Lowe’s Store, in a community that had raised so much for the Canadian and imperial war efforts, is equally fitting. The territory’s per capita contributions to the Canadian Yukon Patriotic Fund had been impressive, exceeding that of any province in the dominion and suggesting an unequalled spirit of unity and generosity. “Dawson the Better,” the self-image that the community cultivated as it aspired to prove that in terms of vitality, civility, and morality it held its own with any city in southern Canada in the early post-gold rush era, seemed increasingly anachronistic as the town’s “golden age” faded.¹¹³ During the war (and after), however,

the idea of “Dawson the Better” again seemed appropriate, thanks to the Yukon’s financial support for the Canadian and imperial war efforts.

The story was never as simple as this triumphant narrative might suggest. A fuller, more complex examination of Dawson’s voluntary contributions highlights the deeper realities and understandings that can emerge from careful, local studies of the First World War. A recent wave of scholarship on wartime mobilization has moved “beyond and below” the analytical framework provided by the nation-state¹¹⁴ to focus on regions, counties, and provinces,¹¹⁵ urban centres,¹¹⁶ and on rural and remote communities.¹¹⁷ This scholarship highlights the value in foregoing “monolithic historical narrative[s]” to explore local responses and community contributions to the war effort.¹¹⁸ Such studies yield significant insights into how different communities experienced the conflict, answered the calls for sacrifice on the home front, and forged connections with combatants overseas—and illustrate how a wide array of variables such as size, location, class and gender roles, and economics shaped local responses.

Local coverage in the *Dawson Daily News* and in CYPF records reveals a community whose small size, remoteness, and distance from events profoundly shaped its wartime mobilization. The CYPF’s operation as an auxiliary branch of the Canadian Patriotic Fund gave it considerable independence in fundraising, administration, and dispersal of assistance. If newspaper coverage is representative of public opinion, Dawson’s geographical distance from the war also raised concerns about complacency and disinterest, which community leaders and CYPF volunteers tried to combat. Furthermore, although the war brought many Dawsonites together, the pressures of mobilization also widened the existing social fault lines in the community. Race, for example, formed an ever-present barrier to acceptance within a narrowly-defined Dawson community. The greatest source of controversy, however, related to the large, transient, non-British workforce who found themselves under attack in Dawson’s discourse about belonging and patriotism. Throughout the war, but particularly in 1915 and 1916, this group faced allegations of stealing employment from the “true” members of the community while making little to no contribution to the British-Canadian war effort. Both their employers and the broader community pressured transient workers to contribute to patriotic funds, thus blurring the line between volunteerism and coercion.

The feeling amongst certain members of the community that they were unjustly bearing the burden of the war effort while others shirked

their duty, fed into a growing sense of disillusionment in Dawson. This sentiment intensified as the war went on, costs increased while the price of gold plummeted, and the territory received none of the rewards that the southern provinces did in terms of war orders and production. Dawson's voluntary contributions were closely tied to its economic prospects, and when these worsened the community grew more concerned about how much it had given to support the national war effort. When the federal government announced its plans to slash the territory's budget in the spring of 1918, the fear that the community's financial stability would be sacrificed on the altar of government austerity—reinforcing old concerns that Ottawa viewed the Yukon as an area to be exploited rather than an essential part of the country—became a subject of explicit discussion.¹¹⁹ The situation worsened when veterans began to return home after the war to find no jobs and no appropriate re-establishment plan in place. By this point, Dawson's contributions to the war effort fueled feelings of bitterness, betrayal, and disillusionment. Thus, by 1919, Dawson's pride in its patriotic contributions had been tempered by a sense of regret that it had mobilized so much of its limited resources to support the war effort—and received increasingly little in return. If contributions to the patriotic fund served as “the index to a man's principles,” the Yukon had proven its loyalty, patriotism, and generosity. If, reciprocally, the patriotic fund could be seen as an index to a nation's recognition and respect for its most generous citizens, then Ottawa, in the eyes of many Dawsonites, ultimately failed the Yukon during and after the war.

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Notes

1. “Impressive Service in Honor of Charley Phillips and Jack Watt,” *Dawson Daily News*, 1 Nov 1915.
2. “Do Your Share!” *Dawson Daily News*, 3 Nov 1915.
3. “Yukon Doing Her Part,” *Dawson Daily News*, 17 Jun 1918.
4. Philip H. Morris, *The Canadian Patriotic Fund: A Record of Its Activities from 1914 to 1919* (Ottawa: 1920), 269.
5. Ken Coates and William Morrison, *Land of the Midnight Sun* (Montreal & Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2005), 183.

6. Michael Gates, "War is Declared in the Yukon," History Hunter, *Yukon News*, 1 Aug 2014, accessed Mar 2016, <http://www.yukon-news.com/letters-opinions/war-is-declared-in-the-yukon>
7. Morris, *The Canadian Patriotic Fund*, 269.
8. "Dawson Stirred by the News of the War," *Dawson Daily News*, 4 Aug 1914. See also Michael Gates, "Yukon's World War I Soldiers Are Not Forgotten," History Hunter, *Yukon News*, 14 Nov 2014, accessed Apr 2016, <http://www.yukon-news.com/letters-opinions/yukons-world-war-i-soldiers-are-not-forgotten/>; and Robert Rutherford, "Canada's August Festival: Communitas, Liminality, and Social Memory," *Canadian Historical Review* 77/2 (Jun 1996): 221–249.
9. The Dr. George M. Dawson chapter formed in 1913, the Inspector F.J. Fitzgerald chapter in 1914 (made up of younger ladies), with the senior chapter having around thirty members. L. Beatrice Berton, "Daughters of the Empire," *Dawson Daily News*, 17 Aug 1914. Three more chapters followed: the Klondike Chapter on 2 Jan 1915, the Martha Munger Black Chapter (based in Dawson City) on 1 Feb 1916, and the Whitehorse Chapter established on 21 Oct 1914. Every chapter was active in organizing events and raising funds for patriotic purposes during the war. Michael Gates, "Yukon Women and the First World War," History Hunter, *Yukon News*, 27 Mar 2015, accessed Apr 2016, <http://www.yukon-news.com/letters-opinions/yukon-women-and-the-great-war/%20mar>
10. "Volunteer List is Rapidly on the Increase," *Dawson Daily News*, 10 Aug 1914; "Funds Roll in Rapidly for Hospital Ship," *Dawson Daily News*, 11 Aug 1914; and "Big Sum is Raised for the Hospital Ship," *Dawson Daily News*, 12 Aug 1914. Voluntary contributions during wartime was not new for Yukon. The territory had received considerable publicity for its patriotism during the Boer War. On 15 Feb 1900, for instance, a concert was held in Dawson to aid the Canadian Patriotic Fund. The crowd threw money on the stage in response to readings of the poetry of Rudyard Kipling and eventually raised \$1,500. Faith Fenton, "Dawson City," *The Globe and Mail*, 3 Mar 1900. Also recorded in "Links of Empire," *Black and White*, 12 May 1900.
11. "Let Klondike Give Her Nuggets," *Dawson Daily News*, 7 Sep 1914.
12. Coates and Morrison, *Land of the Midnight Sun*, 151.
13. "Movement is Started With Enthusiasm," *Dawson Daily News*, 2 Oct 1914.
14. "To Raise Cash for Canadian Patriotic Fund," *Dawson Daily News*, 10 Sep 1914; and "Whitehorse Contributes to the Fund," *Dawson Daily News*, 11 Sep 1914.
15. "Yukon to Help Families of Those Who Go to the Front," *Dawson Daily News*, 4 Sep 1914; and "Boyle Offers to Equip Force—Minister Accepts Offer," *Dawson Daily News*, 4 Sep 1914.
16. "Let Klondike Give Her Nuggets," *Dawson Daily News*, 7 Sep 1914.
17. "Communications: Urges Fund for Use of Yukon Boys," *Dawson Daily News*, 25 Sep 1914.

18. R.C. Miller, Assistant Gold Commissioner to G.A. Jeckell, Comptroller, 19 Dec 1914, Records of the Yukon Government, YRG1, Series 2, Central Registry Files, 1898–1950, Gov. 1866, file 29600A.
19. “Handsome Sum is Added to Patriotic Fund,” *Dawson Daily News*, 2 Oct 1914; and “More Cash for Patriotic and Belgian Funds,” *Dawson Daily News*, 31 Oct 1914.
20. “Dawson Patriotic Fund is Growing,” *Dawson Daily News*, 8 Jan 1915; and Morris, *The Canadian Patriotic Fund*, 269.
21. President, Canadian Yukon Patriotic Fund to W.G. Radford, Secretary, Canadian Patriotic Fund, 20 Jul 1915, Records of the Yukon Government, YRG1, Series 2, Central Registry Files, 1898–1950, Gov. 1866, file 29600A.
22. Others supported the fund, highlighting that many of the volunteers had spent all their money unsuccessfully prospecting in the Chisana, and had not obtained employment since their return. “Communications: Funds for the Boys,” *Dawson Daily News*, 26 Sep 1914.
23. “Yukon War Aid,” *Dawson Daily News*, 5 Oct 1914; and “Cheer Up,” *Dawson Daily News*, 14 Oct 1914.
24. *Journals of the Yukon Council and Sessional Papers, 1915* (A.F. Engelhardt Publishing, 1915), 9–10.
25. For studies on wartime philanthropy, voluntary contributions, and the role of women in wartime mobilization, see, for example, Desmond Morton, *Fight or Pay: Soldiers’ Families in the Great War* (Vancouver: UBC Press, 2004); Margaret Elizabeth Frenette, “The Great War’s Defeats: ‘Doing Your Bit’ on Thunder Bay’s Home Front, 1914–1919” (PhD diss., Lakehead University, 1996); Tammy M. Proctor, *Civilians in a World at War, 1914–1918* (New York: New York University Press, 2010); Matthew Hendley, *Organized Patriotism and the Crucible of War: Popular Imperialism in Britain, 1914–1932* (Montreal and Kingston: McGill-Queen’s University Press, 2012); Bruce Scates, “The Unknown Sock Knitter: Voluntary Work, Emotional Labour, Bereavement and the Great War,” *Labour History* 81 (2001): 29–49; Joan Beaumont, “Whatever Happened to Patriotic Women, 1914–1918?” *Australian Historical Studies* 115 (2000): 284–285; Margaret Darrow, *French Women and the First World War: War Stories of the Home Front* (Oxford: Berg, 2000); Sarah Carlene Glassford, *Marching as to War: The Canadian Red Cross Society, 1885–1939* (PhD diss., York University, 2007); Melanie Oppenheimer, *All Work No Pay: Australian Civilian Volunteers in War* (Walcha, NSW: Ohio Productions, 2002); Katie Pickles, *Female Imperialism and National Identity: Imperial Order Daughters of the Empire* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2002); Susan R. Grayzel, *Women’s Identities at War: Gender, Motherhood, and Politics in Britain and France During the First World War* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1999); Sarah Glassford and Amy Shaw, eds., *A Sisterhood of Suffering and Service: Women and Girls of Canada and Newfoundland during the First World War* (Vancouver: UBC Press, 2012).

26. "Gay Throng at Dominion Day Celebration," *Dawson Daily News*, 3 Jul 1916.
27. "All Ready for Big Patriotic Competitions," *Dawson Daily News*, 5 Jan 1915; "War of the Beef and Greens at Hand," *Dawson Daily News*, 18 Nov 1915; "Christmas Feast for Yukon Troops," *Dawson Daily News*, 23 Nov 1915; and "Concert by Empire Club a Success," *Dawson Daily News*, 16 Dec 1915. See also Michael Gates, "The Homefront: Dawson City During the First World War," History Hunter, *Yukon News*, 1 Apr 2016, accessed Apr 2016, <http://www.yukon-news.com/letters-opinions/the-homefront-dawson-city-during-the-first-world-war/>. The war efforts of Dawson's women increased as the war went on. See, for example, "Good Work is Done by the Bachelor Girls," *Dawson Daily News*, 19 Feb 1918; "Fine Record is Made in Year's Work," *Dawson Daily News*, 20 Feb 1918; "Good Work is Done for the Boys by the K.K.K's," *Dawson Daily News*, 21 Feb 1918.
28. "Women in War: Excellent Paper by Martha Munger Black," *Dawson Daily News*, 20 Jul 1915. Women also "played their usual strong role in shaping the community's response to external events" by moulding public opinion in the territory. Coates and Morrison, *Land of the Midnight Sun*, 183–184. Community leaders often highlighted the exemplary service of Dawson's women in their pleas for greater enlistments and efforts by Yukon's men. "The women of this country have done their duty from the outset, that can be said of some of the men only, not of all," Commissioner Black proclaimed in his 1916 Dominion Day speech. To show the same spirit as the women, he suggested, they should immediately volunteer for the Yukon Infantry Company. "Able Address is Made by Commissioner," *Dawson Daily News*, 18 Aug 1916. A few months later, Frederick Congdon gave a public speech asserting that "if the men of Yukon would do as women of Yukon, why, there would be no shortage of men for one little infantry company." "Rousing Farewell Given Yukon's Soldier Boys," *Dawson Daily News*, 9 Oct 1916.
29. Herbert Ames to Commissioner Black, 3 Feb 1915, Yukon Archives, Records of the Yukon Government, YRG1, Series 2, Central Registry Files, 1898–1950, Gov. 1866, file 29600A.
30. The Canadian Patriotic Fund had three classes of associations. The regularly constituted branches of the fund adopted similar constitutions and submitted all amounts raised to a common purse, which was checked by auditors. The auxiliaries were local relief committees that raised funds in a set territory and disbursed them as they saw fit, only donating surpluses to the common purse. The third type of association was the completely independent branches that never reported to the central office of the CPF. Herbert Ames to William Radford, 31 May 1916, Records of the Yukon Government, YRG1, Series 2, Central Registry Files, 1898–1950, Gov. 1866, file 29600A.
31. See Morton, *Fight or Pay*, Chapter 3-4.
32. "Rousing Farewell Given Yukon's Soldier Boys," *Dawson Daily News*, 9 Oct 1916.

33. Commissioner Black to H.B. Ames, 5 Mar 1915, Yukon Archives, Records of the Yukon Government, YRG1, Series 2, Central Registry Files, 1898–1950, Gov. 1866, file 29600A
34. “Rousing Farewell Given Yukon’s Soldier Boys,” *Dawson Daily News*, 9 Oct 1916.
35. This observation is one of the central contentions made by Desmond Morton in *Fight or Pay*.
36. Vice-President, Canadian Patriotic Fund to W.G. Radford, Secretary, Yukon Canadian Patriotic Fund, 7 Jun 1915, Yukon Archives, Records of the Yukon Government, YRG1, Series 2, Central Registry Files, 1898–1950, Gov. 1866, file 29600A.
37. Morton, *Fight or Pay*, 62, 65–83.
38. See, for example, Commissioner Black to H.B. Ames, 5 Mar 1915; Administrator G.N. Williams to GA Jeckell, Treasurer, Yukon Patriotic Fund, 23 Dec 1916; Canadian Patriotic Fund to Dawson City Branch, 18 Oct 1915; President, Canadian Yukon Patriotic Fund to W.G. Radford, Secretary, Canadian Yukon Patriotic Fund, 8 Jul 1915; George Black to W.G. Radford, Canadian Yukon Patriotic Fund, 5 Oct 1916; W.L. Phelps, Whitehorse, to George Williams, Administrator, Dawson, 16 Aug 1917, Yukon Archives, Records of the Yukon Government, YRG1, Series 2, Central Registry Files, 1898–1950, Gov. 1866, file 29600A. President, Canadian Yukon Patriotic Fund to W.G. Radford, Secretary, Canadian Yukon Patriotic Fund, 8 Jul 1915, Records of the Yukon Government, YRG1, Series 2, Central Registry Files, 1898–1950, Gov. 1866, file 29600A; “Canadian Yukon Patriotic Fund, Re: Jack Watt Fund,” *Dawson Daily News*, 15 May 1916; “Communication from Scottie Wilson,” *Dawson Daily News*, 7 Jun 1916; and “Interesting Epistles Tell of Receipt of Yukon Funds,” *Dawson Daily News*, 7 Jun 1916.
39. See, for instance, Morton, *Fight or Pay*, Chapter 4.
40. Administrator G.N. Williams to GA Jeckell, Treasurer, Yukon Patriotic Fund, 23 Dec 1916, Records of the Yukon Government, YRG1, Series 2, Central Registry Files, 1898–1950, Gov. 1866, file 29600A
41. “Do Your Share!” *Dawson Daily News*, 3 Nov 1915.
42. “Commissioner and Mrs. Black Welcomed Back to Dawson,” *Dawson Daily News*, 9 Jun 1916.
43. Ibid.
44. Steve Marti argues that communities across the British Empire “turned wartime mobilization into a discourse on belonging” as their residents imagined “themselves as members of any number of concentric communities, ranging from their hometown, region, state or province, nation, and empire.” “Embattled Communities: Voluntary Action and Identity in Australia, Canada, and New Zealand, 1914–1918” (PhD diss., Western University, 2015), 55.
45. “Black Writes Letter on the Patriotic Fund,” *Dawson Daily News*, 14 Dec 1915.

46. "Money is Wanted for Men at Front," *Fairbanks Daily News Miner*, 20 Oct 1916.
47. Coates and Morrison, *Land of the Midnight Sun*, 185.
48. Commissioner George Black to H.B. Ames, Secretary, Canadian Yukon Patriotic Fund, 18 Aug 1915, Records of the Yukon Government, YRG1, Series 2, Central Registry Files, 1898–1950, Gov. 1866, file 29600A.
49. "Patriotic Bonspiel," *Dawson Daily News*, 7 Dec 1915.
50. Dawson's friendly competition with Whitehorse over voluntary contributions also fostered local pride. "To Raise Cash for Canadian Patriotic Fund," *Dawson Daily News*, 10 Sep 1914; "Tells of the Yukon Boys on Outside," *Dawson Daily News*, 17 Jul 1916; and W.T. White, Honorary Treasurer, to George Black, 3 Feb 1915, Yukon Archives, GOV 1866, file 29600 A.
51. For examples, see "Indians Add Cash to the Big Man Fund," *Dawson Daily News*, 30 Dec 1914; and "Daughters of Nippon Aid the Ship Fund," *Dawson Daily News*, 14 Aug 1914.
52. Rutherford, *Hometown Horizons*, 107.
53. On the significant non-British, non-American population in Dawson, see Charlene Porsild, *Gamblers and Dreamers: Women, Men, and Community in the Klondike* (Vancouver: UBC Press, 2011), 23, 70–71.
54. Coates and Morrison, *Land of the Midnight Sun*, 154–155.
55. "Communications: Dawson's Handicap," *Dawson Daily News*, 31 Mar 1915.
56. E.S. Ironside, Chairman, Soliciting Committee, Canadian Yukon Patriotic Fund, 24 Mar 1915, Yukon Archives, GOV 1866, file 29600 A.
57. *Journals of the Yukon Council and Sessional Papers, 1915* (A.F. Engelhardt Publishing, 1915), 34.
58. "Do Your Share!" *Dawson Daily News*, 3 Nov 1915.
59. "Communications: Tax on Transients," *Dawson Daily News*, 5 Nov 1915.
60. "Communications: National Anthem," *Dawson Daily News*, 23 Nov 1915.
61. See, for example, Howard Palmer, *Patterns of Prejudice: A History of Nativism in Alberta* (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1982); John Herd Thompson, *Ethnic Minorities During Two World Wars* (Ottawa: Canadian Historical Association, 1991); Paul Maroney, "The Great Adventure: The Context and Ideology of Recruiting in Ontario, 1914–1917," *Canadian Historical Review* 77/1 (1996): 62–79; P. Whitney Lackenbauer, "Soldiers Behaving Badly: CEF Soldier 'Rioting' in Canada during the First World War," in *The Apathetic and the Defiant: Case Studies of Canadian Mutiny and Disobedience, 1812 to 1919*, ed. Craig Leslie Mantle (St. Catharines: Dundurn, 2007), 195–26; and Brock Millman, *Polarity, Patriotism, and Dissent in Great War Canada, 1914–1919* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2016).
62. "Communications: Tax on Transients," *Dawson Daily News*, 5 Nov 1915; and "Right Tax System," *Dawson Daily News*, 4 Nov 1915.
63. "Steps Taken to Enlarge the War Fund," *Dawson Daily News*, 3 Nov 1915.
64. "Fresh Appeal Made to the Men of Yukon," *Dawson Daily News*, 5 Nov 1915.
65. "Meeting Held by Patriotic Executive," *Dawson Daily News*, 7 Dec 1915.

66. John Black, Office of the Legal Advisor to Administrator of the Yukon Territory, 4 Dec 1915, Records of the Yukon Government, YRG1, Series 2, Central Registry Files, 1898–1950, Gov. 1866, file 29600A.
67. “Fresh Appeal Made to the Men of Yukon,” *Dawson Daily News*, 5 Nov 1915.
68. Various companies published their own subscription lists in the pages of the Daily News.
69. Morton, *Fight or Pay*, 239.
70. Morris, *The Canadian Patriotic Fund*, 269.
71. “Much Business Transacted by Association,” *Dawson Daily News*, 28 May 1916; Important Work With Patriotic Fund,” *Dawson Daily News*, 5 Aug 1916; and “Much Work is Done by the Committee,” *Dawson Daily News*, 8 Jul 1916. The patriotic funds now included the: Red Cross, Soldiers’ Disablement Fund, Field Comforts Fund, Serbian Relief Fund, Overseas Tobacco Fund F, Yukon Co. Field Comforts, Mrs. Salt Fund, Mrs. W.E. Thompson Fund, Frank Thompson Fund, Leight Fund, McCarthy Fund, Hulme Fund, McKim’s Mother Fund, Polish Relief Fund, Mrs. Cameron Fund, POW Fund, McLeod Fund, Boyle Battery Chewing Tobacco. “Auditors’ Report for Yukon Patriotic Fund,” *Dawson Daily News*, 11 Jan 1917.
72. “Work Done by Patriotic Fund Association,” *Dawson Daily News*, 6 May 1916.
73. See, for instance, “Equalizing War Tax,” *Dawson Daily News*, 26 Jan 1917; and “System in War Burdens,” *Dawson Daily News*, 1 May 1918.
74. *Journals of the Yukon Council and Sessional Papers, 1916* (A.F. Engelhardt Publishing, 1915), 29.
75. Coates and Morrison, *Land of the Midnight Sun*, 186.
76. Morton, *Fight or Pay*, 167.
77. “Large Sum is Raised for the Patriotic Fund,” *Dawson Daily News*, 12 July 1916; “Large Sum is Netted for Patriotism,” *Dawson Daily News*, 21 July 1916
78. “Good Work is Done by the Bachelor Girls,” *Dawson Daily News*, 19 Feb 1918; “Review of the Work of the Last Year,” *Dawson Daily News*, 25 Feb 1918; “Fine Record is Made in Year’s Work,” *Dawson Daily News*, 20 Feb 1918; and Statement Showing Amount Collected in Yukon Territory for Various Patriotic and Other War Relief Funds, 1914–1917, Yukon Archives, Records of the Yukon Government, YRG1, Series 2, Central Registry Files, 1898–1950, Gov. 1866, file 29600A.
79. “Dawson Has a Great Time Caning Kaiser,” *Dawson Daily News*, 17 Nov 1917.
80. “Yukon Leads Canada,” *Dawson Daily News*, 15 Dec 1916. The people of St. Catharines, Ontario, which raised \$12 per head, or the mining community of Camrose, Alberta, which raised an astonishing \$22 a head in the early 1917 Patriotic Fund drive would have disagreed with this assessment. Morton, *Fight or Pay*, 177.
81. “Communications: Why the High Cost of Living,” *Dawson Daily News*, 1 Jan 1917; Coates and Morrison, *Land of the Midnight Sun*, 185; and Michael Gates,

- “The Homefront: Dawson City During the First World War,” History Hunter, *Yukon News*, 1 Apr 2016, accessed April 2016, <http://www.yukon-news.com/letters-opinions/the-homefront-dawson-city-during-the-first-world-war/>
82. The *Dawson Daily News* tried to console its readership about the declining purchasing power of gold, noting “Some metals and farm and factory products may soar today, but their ascendancy is temporary.” “Gold and Opportunity,” *Dawson Daily News*, 4 May 1916. See also, “What Yukon is Doing,” *Dawson Daily News*, 12 Apr 1918; and “Entitled to the Money,” *Dawson Daily News*, 6 Aug 1919.
 83. “Gold as War Aid,” *Dawson Daily News*, 27 Sep 1917.
 84. Minister of the Interior Arthur Meighen also announced the abolition of the position of commissioner and the dismantling of the elected territorial council, although he later rescinded these orders. Coates and Morrison, *Land of the Midnight Sun*, 188.
 85. “What Yukon is Doing,” *Dawson Daily News*, 12 Apr 1918.
 86. “New Local Organization Completed,” *Dawson Daily News*, 9 Oct 1918.
 87. “Veterans Ask Assistance in Work,” *Dawson Daily News*, 12 Nov 1918. For a fresh assessment of Ottawa’s re-establishment plans see, Jonathan Scotland, “And the Men Returned: Canadian Veterans and the Aftermath of the Great War” (PhD diss., Western University, 2016).
 88. “GWNA Makes Recommendation for Official,” *Dawson Daily News*, 21 Jun 1919.
 89. “Yukon’s Share,” *Dawson Daily News*, 4 Jun 1919
 90. “Dawson GWVA Gets Data on Australia Plan,” *Dawson Daily News*, 18 Oct 1919
 91. Yukon Soldiers’ Civil Re-establishment Committee to Sir James Lougheed, Minister of Soldiers’ Civil Re-establishment, 10 Jun 1919; *Dawson Daily News*, 12 Jun 1919.
 92. “Aid Asked for Returned Yukon Soldier Boys,” *Dawson Daily News*, 12 Jun 1919.
 93. “Yukon to Have Representative for Soldiers,” *Dawson Daily News*, 13 Jun 1919.
 94. “Important Work Last Evening on Re-Establishment,” *Dawson Daily News*, 4 Jun 1919.
 95. “Application of Yukon is Not Allowed,” *Dawson Daily News*, 11 Nov 1919.
 96. This is one of the central themes in *Land of the Midnight Sun* by Coates and Morrison.
 97. “Re-Establishment Work,” *Dawson Daily News*, 3 Jun 1919
 98. “Get Yukon’s Share,” *Dawson Daily News*, 2 Aug 1919.
 99. “Entitled to the Money,” *Dawson Daily News*, 6 Aug 1919.
 100. “Important Work is Done by the GWVA,” *Dawson Daily News*, 31 July 1919.
 101. “Aid to Yukon’s Returned Men is Discussed,” *Dawson Daily News*, 6 Aug 1919.

102. "Much Business Transacted by GWNNA," *Dawson Daily News*, 8 Aug 1919; and "Efforts to be Made to Get Back Money," *Dawson Daily News*, 21 Aug 1919.
103. "Memorial Sent to Ottawa on Behalf of Vets," *Dawson Daily News*, 3 Sep 1919.
104. "Entitled to the Money," *Dawson Daily News*, 6 Aug 1919.
105. "Assistance Requested for Yukoners," *Dawson Daily News*, 2 Oct 1919; and "Meeting Held by the Yukon Patriotic Fund," *Dawson Daily News*, 10 Oct 1919.
106. "Money to be Refunded to the Yukon," *Dawson Daily News*, 27 Sep 1919.
107. "Tonight the Victory Loan Works Starts," *Dawson Daily News*, 20 Oct 1919; "Tonight the Big Victory Loan Rally," *Dawson Daily News*, 27 Oct 1919; "Victory Loan Total Now \$131,400," *Dawson Daily News*, 13 Nov 1919; and "Dawson Buys \$210,950 in Victory Bonds," *Dawson Daily News*, 17 Nov 1919; and "Dawson Victory Loan Triumph," *Dawson Daily News*, 7 Nov 1919.
108. "Dawson Victory Loan May Go Over \$200,000," *Dawson Daily News*, 15 Nov 1919.
109. See, Scotland, "And the Men Returned: Canadian Veterans and the Aftermath of the Great War."
110. Morton, *Fight or Pay*, 222.
111. "Ottawa Grants \$10,000 for Yukon Soldiers," *Dawson Daily News*, 9 Feb 1920.
112. "Canadian Patriotic Fund: Federal Emergency Appropriation Department," *Dawson Daily News*, 6 Feb 1920. On employment conditions for veterans across the country, see, for instance, Scotland, "And the Men Returned: Canadian Veterans and the Aftermath of the Great War"; the opening chapters to Peter Neary, *On to Civvy Street: Canada's Rehabilitation Program for Veterans of the Second World War* (Montreal-Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2011); Neary, "'Without the Stigma of Pauperism': Canadian Veterans in the 1930s," *British Journal of Canadian Studies* 22:1 (2009): 31–62; Morton, *Fight or Pay*, Chapter 5-7; Desmond Morton and Glenn Wright, *Winning the Second Battle: Canadian Veterans and the Return to Civilian Life, 1915–1930* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1987); Craig Heron and Myer Siemiatycki, "The Great War, the State, and Working-Class Canada," in *The Worker's Revolt in Canada, 1917–1925*, ed. Craig Heron (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1998), 11–42.
113. See Coates and Morrison, *Land of the Midnight Sun*, 151–152.
114. Pierre Purseigle, "Beyond and Below the Nations: Towards a Comparative History of Local Communities at War," in *Uncovered Fields: Perspectives in First World War Studies*, ed. Jenny Macleod and Pierre Purseigle (Boston: Brill Academic Publisher, 2004), 95–123.
115. For studies at the county or provincial level in Canada, see, for instance, Barbara Wilson, ed., *Ontario and the First World War, 1914–1918: A Collection of Documents* (Toronto: Champlain Society, 1977); Andrew Theobald, *The Bitter*

Harvest of War: New Brunswick and the Conscription Crisis of 1917 (Fredericton: Goose Lane Editions, 2008); and Adriana Davies and Jeff Keshen, eds., *The Frontier of Patriotism: Alberta and the First World War* (Calgary: University of Calgary Press, 2016).

116. For studies of Canadian cities during the First World War, see Ian Maclean Miller, *Our Glory and Our Grief: Torontonians and the Great War* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2002); James Blanchard, *Winnipeg's Great War: A City Comes of Age* (Winnipeg: University of Manitoba Press, 2010); and James M. Pitsula, *For All We Have and Are: Regina and the Experience of the Great War* (Winnipeg: University of Manitoba Press, 2008).
117. For studies of remote and rural regions during the war, see, for example, Keith Grieves, "The Quiet of the Country and the Restless Excitement of the Towns: Rural Perspectives on the Home Front, 1914–1918," in *Rural and Urban Encounters in the Nineteenth and Twentieth Centuries: Regional Perspectives*, ed. M. Tebbutt (Manchester: Conference of Regional and Local Historians, 2004), 79–97; Robert Allen Rutherford, *Hometown Horizons: Local Responses to Canada's Great War* (Vancouver: UBC Press, 2004); John Herd Thompson, *The Harvests of War: The Prairie West, 1914–1918* (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1978); John McQuilton, *Rural Australia and the Great War: From Tarrawingee to Tangambalanga* (Carlton: Melbourne University Press, 2000). For studies on wartime Alaska see Preston Jones, *City for Empire: An Anchorage History, 1914–1941* (Fairbanks: University of Alaska Press, 2010); Preston Jones, *The Fires of Patriotism: Alaskans in the Days of the First World War, 1910–1920* (Fairbanks: University of Alaska Press, 2013); Preston Jones, *American Society in Nome, Alaska, 1898–1934* (Fairbanks: University of Alaska Press, 2007).
118. Such studies reflect historian Keith Grieves conclusion that wartime experiences on the home front were not so "complete and universal that one monolithic historical narrative can serve the nuances of differences, which inhabited contemporary 'lived' representations of the nation at war." Grieves, "The Quiet of the Country and the Restless Excitement of the Towns: Rural Perspectives on the Home Front, 1914–1918," 94. These local studies also reflect historian Jay Winter's call for studies that "describe the character of community life in wartime." Winter, "Paris, London, Berlin, 1914–1919," 3.
119. Yukon's treatment as in an internal colony is one of the central themes of Coates and Morrison's, *Land of the Midnight Sun*.