

## **“Men of Frontier Experience”: Yukoners, Frontier Masculinity, and the First World War**

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Abstract: During the First World War, the *Dawson Daily News* actively produced a localized version of frontier masculinity that was used to define the many characteristics of the Yukon’s soldiers. In editorials and stories, local articulations of Anglo-Saxon frontier masculinity connected to broader imperial tropes, but also adopted distinctive forms that reflected how Yukoners imagined their particular identities. Utilizing this local newspaper coverage, this article explores how Yukoners understood masculinity, how they tied that masculinity to the war effort and how it shaped their experience of the war. 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.

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On 8 July 1916, Charles Settlemer, editor for the *Dawson Daily News*, explored the special characteristics of the “Prospector-Soldiers” of the Yukon.<sup>1</sup> “It is a safe assertion,” Settlemer noted, “that nowhere in the world will more capable men be found for the purpose of soldiering than those going from the Yukon.” While the editor did not intend to disparage other soldiers fighting in the war, and applauded their courage, he believed that men of a different quality were required on the front to defeat a resourceful and determined enemy. A central problem—in the mind of an editor thousands of kilometres away from the trenches—was that when men “without experience of having relied on themselves” lost their officers, they ceased to function effectively. “This,” Settlemer concluded, “is where the Yukoner will prove superior.”

The “older communities” of Canada and the Empire could not provide “men of frontier experience,” the editorial suggested. Men who had “roamed the leagues of northland stretches, men who mush in the sub-Arctic wilderness in winter, scale the heights and hustle their own way through the unmeasured realms of the Canadian hinterland, depending on naught but their own wits and their good right arms and their rifle and ax, know what and how to do for themselves without directions from others to do the figuring and the thinking.” The men of the Yukon had the initiative and resourcefulness to operate in one of the most challenging natural environments on the planet, and Settlemer was confident that the “self-reliance and the ‘know’ which was acquired in this remote frontier” would be readily transferable to the battlefield. A Yukon man would follow the orders of his superiors, but would also be ready to act on his own if necessary. The prospector, the miner—the “Northland frontiersman”—had a “thousand attributes ... not found in others.” The greatest of these characteristics were his “initiation, individuality, his self-reliance. These characteristics he will take with him to the front, and when he is detailed on duty that will afford the opportunity to throw himself, his genius will assert itself.”<sup>2</sup>

Throughout the First World War, the editorials of the *Dawson Daily News* and the letters published in the paper from Yukon soldiers and community members often commented on the masculine attributes of the territory’s recruits. These depictions of the manliness of Yukon’s frontiersmen soldiers reflect popular ideals of frontier masculinity and the imperial adventurer or pioneer that spread throughout the Anglo-Saxon world in the years before the war. Imperial historian John MacKenzie has shown how books such as Robert Baden-Powell’s *Scouting for Boys* created

a “composite image” of frontier masculinity, which different locales and groups embraced and used to characterize their own manliness.<sup>3</sup> As historians J.A. Mangan and James Walvin have emphasized, however, localized adaptations of masculinity can develop within general frameworks established by popularized ideals such as frontier manliness.<sup>4</sup> Examples include the Australian outrider, the western cowboy, the lumberjack, or, in the Yukon’s case, the prospector-miner.

Sociologist R.W. Connell has observed that masculinities are defined collectively and actively produced, constructed, and sustained by institutions.<sup>5</sup> Historian Graham Dawson echoed these sentiments in his observation that “masculine identities are lived out in the flesh, but fashioned in the imagination.”<sup>6</sup> Often these identities are constructed and reinforced through interaction with and in response to particular environments. “Gender identities,” geographer Rachel Woodward explains, “are not neutral to space, but shape the ways in which different social spaces are perceived and the ways in which they are discursively constructed and politically controlled.”<sup>7</sup> Arguments about the construction of masculinities fit with new studies of frontiers that, as Australian studies scholar Richard Nile has highlighted, emphasize their creative and transformative nature, viewing them as “cultural spaces, zones of interpretation, in which specific cultural identities are made and differences established between periphery and centre.”<sup>8</sup>

This article explores these themes by interrogating the localized version of frontier masculinity that was actively produced in the pages of the *Dawson Daily News* during the First World War and was used to define the manly characteristics of the Yukon’s soldiers.<sup>9</sup> In the context of the Yukon, the unique and harsh environment was used not just as a place where men could develop their “splendid physiques,” but as the source of certain mental attitudes that made them effective on the frontier and concomitantly forged them into particularly good soldiers.<sup>10</sup> Local articulations of Anglo-Saxon frontier masculinity connected to broader imperial tropes, but these articulations adopted distinctive forms that reflected how Yukoners imagined their particular identities. Accordingly, local newspaper coverage offers a lens through which historians can examine how Yukoners understood masculinity, how they tied that masculinity to the war effort and, in turn, how military and frontier masculinities could be mutually constitutive.

### Situating “Frontier Manliness”

In recent decades, historians and scholars of gender have carefully mapped out how ideas and understandings of masculinity evolved in the British Empire over the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries.<sup>11</sup> During much of the Victorian period, the middle-class breadwinner with an established household constituted the ideal symbol of manliness. This “bourgeois masculinity” emphasized a “self-consciousness about occupation,” a focus on self-control and the exclusive male responsibility for the family income, which led to “Victorian valorization of work as both moral duty and personal fulfillment.” Masculinity and domesticity were welded together, and the latter held in higher esteem than adventure and violence.<sup>12</sup>

As the end of the century neared, however, concerns about the detrimental impacts of urbanization and industrialization on British manliness had taken root in British society. During the Boer War, in particular, the poor health and performance of British soldiers shocked the country and led to loud calls for the revitalization of British manhood. Worries about masculinity became a prominent part of the pessimism that was an “all-pervasive” characteristic of Edwardian imperialism.<sup>13</sup> During this period, popular depictions gave manliness a “sharper, more aggressive edge.”<sup>14</sup> Across the Anglo-Saxon world a new masculinity stressing neo-Spartan virility, endurance, and hardness emerged,<sup>15</sup> and the burgeoning number of rifle, hunting, and sports clubs, and other societies devoted to “manly pursuits,” embodied these values.<sup>16</sup> The construction of manliness in militaristic terms became common throughout the Empire. In their studies of masculinity in pre-war Ontario, historians Mike O’Brien and Mike Moss have highlighted how the “warrior” became the ideal masculine figure,<sup>17</sup> while war was depicted as the “ultimate form for the exercise of masculinity.”<sup>18</sup> Alongside warfare, the “Empire now also occupied an unprecedented place in the masculine imagination,” historian John Tosh explained, and it beckoned young men away from domesticity.<sup>19</sup> The soldier-hero and the imperial adventurer quickly became the “most potent and widespread images of idealised masculinity in cultural circulation.”<sup>20</sup>

Within this re-definition of masculinity, the frontier took on ever greater importance in late Victorian and Edwardian society.<sup>21</sup> The frontier represented the ideal venue for physical manliness, courage, and violence—all of which were deemed essential in the development of men. The imperial pioneer, the hunter, the soldier, and even the administrator had to possess a fine physique, energy, resourcefulness, bravery,

individualism, sportsmanship, knowledge of nature, and resilience to thrive on the frontiers of the Empire.<sup>22</sup> The ideal man on the frontier and the perfect imperial adventurer were single and free from the “constraints of domesticity.”<sup>23</sup>

In his Romanes Lecture at Oxford in 1907, Lord Curzon, former Viceroy of India, focused on the connection between the frontier and manliness. The frontier offered an “ennobling and invigorating stimulus for our youth, saving them alike from the corroding ease and the morbid excitements of Western civilization.” Curzon applauded the “savage, chivalrous, desperate, adventurous, alluring” life to be found “in this larger atmosphere, on the outskirts of empire, where the machine is relatively impotent and the individual is strong.”<sup>24</sup> After describing the various frontiers encountered by the men of the Empire, Curzon highlighted the incessant struggle between nature and man that shaped life in these zones. “Outside of the English Universities no school of character exists to compare with the Frontier; and character is there moulded, not by attrition with fellow men in the arts or studies of peace, but in the furnace of responsibility and on the anvil of self-reliance ... The breath of the Frontier has entered into their nostrils and infused their being.” Along with self-reliance, the man on the frontier needed courage, tact, patience, and initiative, which Curzon identified as the “the complex qualifications of the modern school of pioneers.”<sup>25</sup>

Such ideas were embedded throughout Robert Baden-Powell’s *Scouting for Boys* (1908), which he wrote to address the “boy problem” he observed during a tour of England as Inspector General of Cavalry. In his guide, Baden-Powell emphasized martial values, but also the peacetime work possible on the frontier. The “frontiersmen of the world,” the book explained, were “peace scouts—men who in peace time carry out work which requires ... pluck and resourcefulness.” Such frontiersmen included the “pioneers and trappers of North America, the colonists of South America, the hunters of Central Africa, the explorers and missionaries over Asia and all wild parts of the world, the bushmen and drovers of Australia, the constabulary of NorthWest Canada and of South Africa.” Baden-Powell identified these scouts as “real men in every sense of the word,” who could find their way anywhere, track and hunt effectively, and were willing to give up all personal comforts to complete their work. “They are,” Baden-Powell concluded, “strong and plucky, ready to face danger, and always keen to help each other.”<sup>26</sup>

A strong public discourse developed around the imperial adventurer and the frontier, and literature, newspapers, children’s stories, educational

institutions, and other mediums disseminated the notion of frontier manliness across the Anglo-Saxon world.<sup>27</sup> A “conscious effort” was made by the upper class to “sweep up the lower class” with a fascination and appreciation of the imperial pioneer.<sup>28</sup> Accounts of the activities of imperial adventurers, soldiers, and settlers on the frontier served to “reassure the British that they were indeed a plucky and manly lot.”<sup>29</sup> Furthermore, this growing literature on the frontiers of the British Empire coincided with and often reflected American views on the frontier’s role in shaping the national character of the United States, best embodied by Frederick Jackson Turner’s “The Significance of the Frontier in American History” and the works of Theodore Roosevelt. Turner’s gendered ideology—of rugged and masculine American individualism forged on the frontier—emphasized strength, acuteness, inquisitiveness, the inventive mind, boundless energy, and the exuberance that emanates from freedom (what Turner called “the traits of the frontier”).<sup>30</sup> In his writings, Teddy Roosevelt emphasized the “virile virtues” of the dynamic hunter and cowboy, notably their extreme individualism, courage, and thirst for conquest.<sup>31</sup>

Many of these ideas of frontier manliness permeated into popular depictions of Canada prior to the First World War.<sup>32</sup> British literature and popular accounts narrated the Dominion as a country of hunters and sportsmen, with a frontier that offered adventure and ample masculine pursuits.<sup>33</sup> Carl Berger has shown how popular visions of the harsh Canadian frontier bred a “northern” manhood that was physically strong, vigorous, pure, straight thinking, strongly individualistic, and self-reliant.<sup>34</sup> These ideas clearly permeated the image of the Royal Northwest Mounted Police (RNWMP), a constabulary force designed specifically for the frontier, as it projected Canadian sovereignty and oversaw peaceful, orderly development westward and northward in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries.<sup>35</sup> They also framed the “militia myth” that held up Canadians as hardy, adaptable men inherently suited to combat.<sup>36</sup> Carman Miller has highlighted how Canadian soldiers gained a reputation during the South African War as men who could “think for themselves”—a key attribute of the frontiersman.<sup>37</sup> As Tim Cook has argued, during the First World War these stereotypes played a key role in Max Aitken’s construction of Canadians as “natural soldiers who through their northern heritage and innate abilities as hunters and backwoodsmen had qualities that, when combined with their adventurous, colonial mindsets and their pioneer disdain for discipline, produced brilliant battlefield performances.”<sup>38</sup>

Within Canada, the Yukon served as a quintessential frontier where ideals of frontier manliness became firmly embedded in popular understandings of the territory and its history. Located on the northwestern fringes of British North America, the rugged individualism associated with gold prospecting and the fur trade coloured the formation of the region's Anglo-Saxon identity. The early miners' meetings at Forty Mile, a community on the Yukon River close to the American border, embodied a spirit of direct democracy associated with the isolation and self-reliance of men on the mining frontier. The disproportionate presence of Americans in this part of Canada (over which the Dominion government had yet to secure de facto sovereignty) led to the arrival of the North-West Mounted Police to establish authority in the mid-1890s. The miners' meetings ended, and the Mounties played a central role in governing the region as an orderly British society compared to the raucous, violent Alaskan frontier towns to the west. Even during the Klondike Gold Rush, when tens of thousands of outsiders flooded to Dawson City, a strong police presence (backed by the short-lived Yukon Field Force) ensured that law and order prevailed. With Americans continuing to constitute a high percentage of the Yukon's population even after the rush, the territory's identity was not only cast in a British-Canadian imperial frontier mould, but also in a broader Anglo-Saxon one that could unite the American and British experiences.<sup>39</sup>

Depictions of Yukon soldiers in British newspapers during the war certainly built upon these ideas and ideals. A reporter for the *Derby Daily Telegraph* interviewed a Yukon soldier in 1917, and his article reflected popular conceptions of frontier masculinity (and the poems of Robert Service) when he explained that Yukoners were a "bull-dog breed, grit to the core." The Yukoner was a resourceful man, who had to depend on himself to survive when he was cut off from the world for five months a year. He was the kind of man who could only find "satisfaction in the broad and open conditions" and the "sense of freedom and of bigness" they inspired.<sup>40</sup> When *The Daily Sketch* profiled "Joe Boyle's Half Hundred" — the first unit of Yukon soldiers to arrive intact in England — it explained that these were trappers, hunters, and miners. "And some men, too. You could drive nails into them, they'd never feel it ... Trappers, highly skilled in woodcraft, hunters who would contemplate suicide if they wasted a bullet, gold miners, mainly from Boyle's dredges, all trained to the minute."<sup>41</sup> In April 1918 the *Falkirk Herald* stressed some of the characteristics of the Yukon man — the ability to withstand terrible physical suffering and disappointment through "unflinchable determination"



to find gold. The same characteristics, the newspaper argued, would be needed by the people of England as they faced another year of wartime hardships.<sup>42</sup> When *The Despatch* reported on Frank Slavin, an Australian boxer who had spent considerable time in the Yukon, it described the man using the terms commonly associated with frontier manliness—“grisly, raw, honest and full of virility,” a son of the “old fierce pioneer school.” The newspaper asserted that “baked by Australian suns, frozen hard by Klondike frost and snow,” Slavin would be “almost as nice to meet in a rush with the steel as a grizzly on a love-making expedition.”<sup>43</sup> These English newspapers used popular notions of frontier masculinity and the conditions in the Yukon to sketch out for their audiences the characteristics of Yukoners serving overseas.

#### **The Men from the “Last Frontier”<sup>44</sup>**

The editorials of the *Dawson Daily News* and the letters published by the paper throughout the war conceptualized the Yukon as a frontier space that shaped the territory’s manhood in a dramatic way. As reservists ventured south to join their units in Europe, and Joe Boyle started to fund and recruit his Yukon battery in August and September 1914, Charles Settlemier, editor of the *Daily News*, wrote that the “Yukon is doing her part in contributing from among the flower of her manhood, and her seasoned and tried frontier sons will count mightily.” These frontiersmen were “accustomed to the rifle and the ways of the outdoor life” and would be “among the most efficient in campaigning.”<sup>45</sup> Later that month, another editorial noted that the men of the Yukon were the kind of rare “ready type which had made it possible to open a frontier” and they would trust in their pluck and luck to win the fight, just as they had “to write success after their names in the North.”<sup>46</sup> As the Yukon Infantry Company started its long journey to the front in June 1916, the *Dawson Daily News* stressed that “A more all-round experienced body of men in frontier work is not to be found in any army.”<sup>47</sup>

In February 1917 Dawson resident James McEachern wrote an “Epic to the Black Contingent,” which immersed the Yukon’s recruits in the imagery of the frontier:



They volunteered from the mines and the rockers,  
They have trekked o'er the frozen trails.  
They have tramped from the salt sea waters  
And faced the cold Arctic gales.  
They are the pick of the frozen mountains,  
The glaciers and rose covered flats  
And hyperborea's crystal fountains  
And they have enlisted to help the Pats.

We blessed them before they departed,  
Their hearts felt buoyant and glad,  
They knew that our souls were reputed  
For helping the down-trodden and sad.  
We have given you the pride of our manhood,  
Men who faced death on the trail;  
Oh, King, you just watch their war mood;  
They like the song of the wild wolf's wail.

They shook hands with old death in the rapids,  
Where Whitehorse showed its mane;  
They followed the trail of the trappers  
For a meager [*sic*] pittance and gain;  
They were always opposed to serfdom  
That follows the brave pioneer's trail;  
And once more he strikes for freedom.  
Watch his nerve. He never fails.

O! Briton, when we have defeated the Teutons,  
And you have adjusted the scroll of fame,  
You will surely remember the Yukoners  
Who never were laggards or lame;  
They came from the snow-capped mountains,  
Away where the wild wolf wails;  
From hyperborea's crystal fountain.

McEachern ended his poem with the promise that the Yukon's "manhood never fails."<sup>48</sup> This type of amateur wartime poetry, typical of the grassroots interpretations of the war proffered in small-town newspapers across the country, may have lacked sophistication, but it helps us to understand, as Jonathan Vance shows, "how the First World War imprinted itself upon the consciousness of Canadians"<sup>49</sup>—and was articulated in distinctly regional and local terms.

Simple residency in the Yukon proved manliness and the hardy characteristics required to succeed on the battlefield. The *Daily News* consistently reinforced the idea that the men of the Yukon took on “greater value because of having lived in this region”<sup>50</sup> and “trained in the ways of the frontier.”<sup>51</sup> Stories reiterated time and again that the “Empire’s Farthest North” produced a unique kind of man.<sup>52</sup> When Norman Watt, a member of the Yukon Territorial Council and a lawyer, joined the Yukon Infantry Company, he wrote to the paper that “no part of the world can produce men more accustomed to all-around frontier experiences and the great experience of hustling for themselves in face of emergency.” While any man could be trained for “ordinary soldiering,” it required “years of frontier life” to be able to handle all the kinds of difficulties the Yukon threw at a man which tried him to the “uttermost.”<sup>53</sup> Likewise, John A. Macdonald, a recruit with the Yukon Infantry Company, made the simple point that “experience on the frontier counts.”<sup>54</sup> After the Boyle battery’s first engagement on the Somme, the *Daily News* pointed out that “had they not been of such splendid stuff they would not have deserved to be known as Yukoners—bred of bulldog strain and strong for the red rage of battle. Weaklings do not penetrate the Arctic frontier, hence the Yukon had taught to send but the best type of manhood.”<sup>55</sup>

The “Bard of the Yukon,” poet Robert Service, had done more than anyone to create popular imagery of the rough manliness of the northern frontier. Influenced by Kipling and “steeped in the spirit of the Klondike,” Service’s masculine poetics furnished colourful and apparently “realistic” depictions of Yukon life (even if he had never been present for the gold rush events that he invented in his poetry) through “virile,” manly verse.<sup>56</sup> He served during the First World War with an American ambulance unit and later with Canadian army intelligence, producing unsettling poetry that was often gruesome and fixated on broken bodies, disillusionment, loss, separation, and disjointedness.<sup>57</sup> The *Dawson Daily News* did not disseminate these wartime poems, however, instead choosing to reproduce Service’s “The Law of the Yukon” in an August 1918 column about the attributes of the territory’s soldiers:

This is the law of the Yukon,  
And ever she makes it plain:  
“Send not your foolish and feeble;  
Send me your strong and your sane—  
Strong for the red rage of battle;  
Sane, for I harry them sore;  
Send me men girt for the combat,  
Men who are grit to the core,”<sup>58</sup>

The editor then wrote of the “Spartan spirit” possessed by the “hardy old miner and adventurous men of the Yukon.” These were men “called first by the lure of the North, men who stood the test in the cussedest land that is known, men of the breed who squared to the conditions the Arctic imposed and lived under her stern law.”<sup>59</sup>

The *Daily News* admitted that the men of the Yukon Infantry Company came from “every walk of life,” but the simple act of being men in the Yukon allowed them to exist within the territory’s intellectual construction of frontier manliness. As Yukon historian Michael Gates has pointed out, the Yukon Infantry Company included students, a barber, territorial councillors, lawyers, a doctor, French teacher, waiter, piano tuner, and boiler maker.<sup>60</sup> Still, as the *Daily News* underlined, all of these men had survived the “university of experience and hard knocks” and had thrived on the Yukon frontier.<sup>61</sup> This proclivity to assimilate all servicemen into a stereotypical form of masculine individualism, perhaps more reflective of placer mining in the gold rush era than the highly-capitalized industrial mining marked by dredge-work and large-scale concessions, downplayed the social hierarchies that had replaced “the rough egalitarianism of the years preceding the strike.”<sup>62</sup> Self-made manhood, rooted in the “the mythology of individual achievement and the romance of masculine adventure” associated with the stampedeers, continued to underlay newspaper representations of “masculine primitivism” that sought to unify Yukoners of all walks of life.<sup>63</sup>

### **The Masculine Characteristics of the Prospector-Soldier**

Throughout the war, the *Dawson Daily News* used editorials to construct its conception of the Yukon’s ideal form of frontier manliness, the Prospector-Soldier<sup>64</sup> (Fig. 1). This man had many of the common characteristics associated with frontier masculinity at the time: energy, virility, courage, honour, an indomitable spirit, chivalry, determination, and daring.<sup>65</sup> The idealized Prospector-Soldier was defined by several key masculine attributes, many of which took on a distinctly Yukon flavour. The key component in the masculinity of the Yukon’s Prospector-Soldier was his self-reliance and initiative. These characteristics were the central ingredient that made the Yukon frontiersman so special, just as they were key values in Baden-Powell’s *Scouting for Boys* and many other stories of imperial adventurers (as the *Daily News* noted, resourcefulness and initiative were attributes that “frontier people always are noted for”).<sup>66</sup>

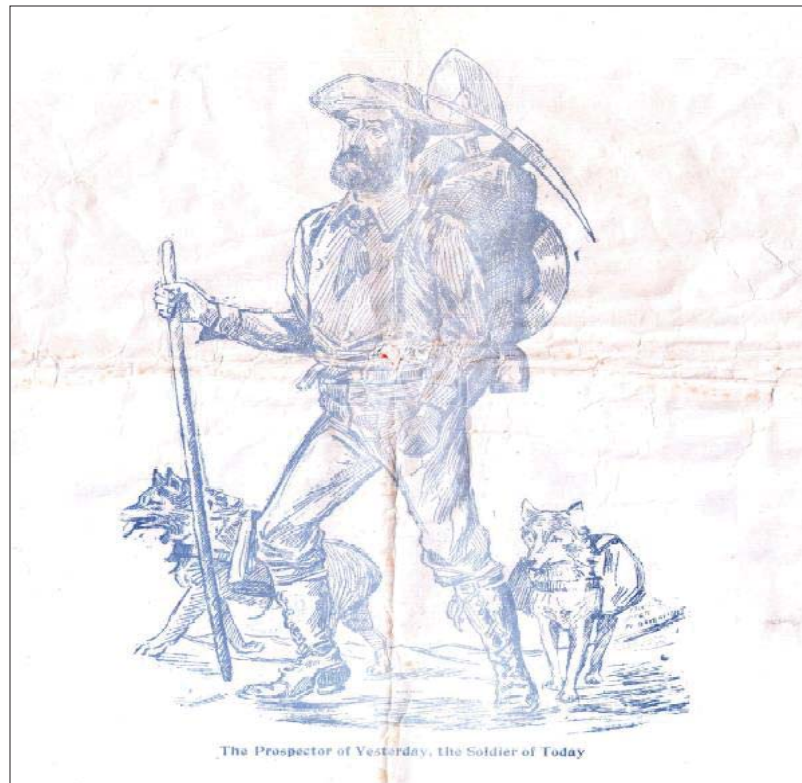


Figure 1. "The Prospector of Yesterday, the Soldier of Today," *Dawson Daily News*, 17 August 1916

In a column discussing the recruits to Commissioner George Black's Yukon Infantry Company in May 1916, the *Daily News* insisted that "Having led the outdoor life, and engaged in frontier pursuits, the Yukon boys are peculiarly fit. They are physically unexcelled."<sup>67</sup> Depictions of the masculine physique of the Yukon's recruits appear repeatedly in the paper. During the Yukon company's departure from Dawson in June 1916, the reporter from the *Daily News* described the men as "stalwart, rugged, lithe, firm of step, resolute and ready for what may come."<sup>68</sup> In a June 1918 editorial titled "Pride of Yukon," the *Daily News* stressed that "fresh from their callings of mining and other wholesome occupations ... these men, lithe of limb, robust and vigorous, are the cream of the land. They are the best of the breed Yukon."<sup>69</sup> John A. Macdonald, a man who enlisted in Dawson but was sent home from Victoria due to his varicose veins, echoed these sentiments when he wrote that the Yukon's recruits

were “lithe as wildcats and full of endurance.”<sup>70</sup> The paper stressed that “no mollycoddles or slackers could face the Yukon rigors and succeed,” only men who were truly strong and “rugged of physique” — a term often used to describe the men.<sup>71</sup> The physicality alone of the Yukon’s recruits made them a force to be reckoned with. The frontier had made them “hard as nails,” able to withstand the test of any battlefield.<sup>72</sup>

A steady stream of reports from the Outside also vindicated the emphasis in the *Daily News* on the splendid physiques possessed by Yukon men. In 1914 the Dawson newspaper reproduced a story from a British Columbian paper that reported the arrival of “fifty old stalwarts of the Yukon” with Boyle’s detachment. “Physically, they are a splendid lot of men, and the conditions with which they have to deal in the course of their daily life in the Far North should make them of special value to the war office.”<sup>73</sup> The *Daily News* also reprinted the newspaper of the 29<sup>th</sup> Battalion (Vancouver), which characterized “Boyle’s Half Hundred” as “fifty of the huskiest sourdoughs the Yukon was able to produce. They are all strapping big fellows, and are splendidly equipped.”<sup>74</sup> When the Yukon Infantry Company made it to British Columbia for training, the newspaper reported that medical examiners thought “that no better physical specimens have come under their notice than the men of the Yukon now at the Willows.”<sup>75</sup> When W.F. MacKenzie of the Dawson post office visited the men of the Yukon Infantry Company at Sidney, British Columbia (BC), in the summer of 1916, he reported that they “are the admiration of all military men of the region, and have won a reputation for superior physique and excellence which has become famous.”<sup>76</sup>

In training, particularly on the rifle range, the men from the Yukon excelled — at least according to reports sent back to the local paper, which reinforced notions of their superior frontier manliness. In 1915 the *Daily News* quoted a reporter from the *Vancouver News-Advertiser* who had visited with Boyle’s detachment in training camp, claiming that, when the story of the war was told in the future, “a special corner will be reserved, among others, for the stalwart contingent from the Yukon.” They are of “splendid physique,” “public spirited,” and experienced in “stampeding and camp life in the far north and are, therefore, fitted more than most men for the campaign they have undertaken,” it boasted.<sup>77</sup> Once the Boyle detachment made it to Shorncliffe, “old-timer” Walter Johnson reported that “we have proved ourselves better than any we have run up against in shooting.”<sup>78</sup> John A. Macdonald reported that “the Yukoners were the envy of the country because of their shooting. We shot at targets at 300,

500 and 700 yards, and several of the boys were so skilled that they made bull's eye after bull's eye, and our average was far above that of any other unit."<sup>79</sup>

Newspaper depictions also highlighted that the Yukon frontier had imbued men with the fearlessness necessary for any adventure.<sup>80</sup> The *Daily News* suggested that Yukoners embodied the "ever ready type" who had the rare ability to leave at a moment's notice for adventure and war.<sup>81</sup> The miner and the prospector were men of "daring spirit" who always had the "inclination to take the long chance."<sup>82</sup> When the newspaper found out that Commissioner Black would take the company into battle in France, it cast the man in terms that could have been taken from the descriptions of imperial adventurers common in popular fiction at the time. "Despite the fact that he has not been a military man, he has been a frontiersman, and has splendid training in outdoor life," a November 1915 story trumpeted. "His many years in the woods as a miner and as a hunter peculiarly fits him for hustling in great adventures. He is in the prime of life, energetic, and possessed of all the resourcefulness of a frontiersman."<sup>83</sup>

When men such as Commissioner Black and his northern recruits committed to something, the *Daily News* asserted, they did "nothing by halves." Accordingly, in combat they would be all in: "When they fight it will be all fight."<sup>84</sup> In his October 1916 speech to recruits of the Yukon Infantry Company, Black—who had not yet seen a battle—pointed out that in war emotions can overcome the faculties of mind and soldiers can become gun-shy. The pre-war experiences of the Yukon's men, however, ensured that they would never succumb to this problem. "It may be depended on, the Yukon bunch will have that superior quality of control in marked degree," he extolled. "Being a class of people accustomed as a whole to shifting for themselves, to launching into big adventures, taking risks against nature, gambling on the fortunes of the seductive paystreak, they know how to tackle big undertakings."<sup>85</sup>

Another common ideal of popular frontier manliness was the conqueror, usually a man who used violence to subdue an Indigenous population.<sup>86</sup> In the context of the Yukon, however, the *Daily News'* idealized man was presented as a conqueror of the harsh northern environment. In describing the Yukon Infantry Company in May 1916, editor Charles Settlemier stressed that this was a "splendid body of men, and thoroughly representative of the type of manhood that had conquered the North."<sup>87</sup> Only a man of "strong heart and limb" could have "conquered this isolated and forbidding Northland." No barrier could have stopped



their conquest for they “had a great objective and they accomplished it like men.”<sup>88</sup> The editor stressed the high number of Yukon recruits who had “pioneered” their way into a “wilderness, a terra incognita [*sic*] in a frigid zone.” These men had already shown the quality of their manhood when they gave “the best years of their strenuous lives to the upbuilding of this portion of the Empire.”<sup>89</sup> Such men had blazed the trails into the Yukon when it was “remote and silent and without trail or habitation. Such men came and conquered. ‘Twas the cussedest land one could find. But they came and triumphed.” Settlemier highlighted that the war effort called for the best “Yukon breeds” — “the indomitable stock that conquered the Arctic.”<sup>90</sup> Now, the “northern conquerors” were heading towards a new objective to be overcome, and their experiences taming the Yukon frontier allegedly gave them all the skills and experience they required.<sup>91</sup>

The newspaper was conspicuously silent on the territory’s Indigenous peoples. While historian Timothy Winegard and others have highlighted the combat roles played by Indigenous soldiers, and their compelling presence in the southern Canadian narratives during and after the war, the *Daily News* did not contain a single article or editorial referring to Indigenous soldiers when constructing its ideal soldier. Ironically, many of the battlefield traits ascribed to Indigenous soldiers in other Canadian media sources—such as their ability to read the land, their rugged self-reliance, and their “natural” marksmanship abilities—bore a strong resemblance to the frontier masculinity traits ascribed to Yukoners.<sup>92</sup> By rendering Indigenous peoples invisible in the Dawson narrative of the war being waged overseas, the *Daily News* implicitly affirmed the inherent superiority of Anglo-Saxon frontier identities built through “man’s” triumph over nature (not through the erasure of Indigenous peoples).

Ironically, the self-image projected in the *Daily News* held up the ideal of inclusion rather than exclusion when it came to citizens of American and European extraction. Prior to the war, Dawson had received people from diverse nationalities and ethnic backgrounds, creating an environment of interaction and exchange.<sup>93</sup> As a result, the newspaper depicted Yukoners as a “cosmopolitan people,” having “rubbed elbows with men of all lands” and who, accordingly, would “be at home anywhere they go.”<sup>94</sup> When more men left to start training in British Columbia in October 1916, the *Daily News* highlighted “the outstanding cosmopolitan character of the broad-gauged, broad-minded men who have rallied here to go and battle.”<sup>95</sup> This open-mindedness towards others provided the men with the ability and security to function in diverse theatres of war,



in disparate units and exotic locales. While not a central component of their masculinity, Dawson's alleged "cosmopolitanism" was depicted as a distinctive attribute that made Yukon men more adaptable and dynamic than citizens of other Canadian communities.

The editorials and letters in the *Dawson Daily News* often made explicit comparisons between the men of the Yukon frontier and those from cities and rural communities in other parts of the Empire. In this way, a significant part of Yukon's frontier manliness was defined in relation to the supposed moral and physical weakness of the "older communities."<sup>96</sup> The physique of Yukoners simply could not be matched by men from other regions. "Fresh from their callings of mining and other wholesome occupations," the *Daily News* noted, "these boys are developed in a way that many men of other realms cannot hope to attain."<sup>97</sup> As the Yukon Infantry Company started to take shape in Dawson, the paper reported that its men possessed resourcefulness and self-reliance "developed far beyond the degree to be found in men whose lives have been circumscribed by existence in small communities in the older world."<sup>98</sup> As the last of the company left for training in British Columbia, the paper reported that with Commissioner Black went a "body of men" who for "mental and physical equipment and general all-around capacity for service cannot be excelled, if equaled, by any similar number to be found anywhere in the millions serving beneath the Union Jack."<sup>99</sup> Far more directly and insultingly, in June 1918 the editor of the *Daily News* wrote that "Other countries may have many slow, sluggish and inert specimens of manhood. But Yukon scarcely knows the weaker type."<sup>100</sup> The soldiers of the Yukon represented the type of manliness that could only be bred on the frontier. In sharp contrast, the paper noted, "city recruits have little if any such initiative and confidence."<sup>101</sup> As the territory's recruits marched off to war, Yukoners embraced their mental and physical superiority over men from the "older world" as a key component of their manliness.

Old did not mean weak, however, when it came to the men themselves. Age, specifically old age, played a prominent part in conceptions of the frontier manliness of Yukon men. While imagery of youth often dominated depictions of soldiers in the First World War, newspaper coverage in Dawson focused on men well into their adult years—likely reflecting the older median age of the community.<sup>102</sup> For example, the Dawson Amateur Football Association held a gathering of two hundred of its members at the RNWMP barracks on 4 November 1915. Amidst toasts to King and Country, masculine imagery ran rampant. In particular, the

men at the meeting argued that the unique qualities of Yukon men meant that they should be allowed to enlist at any age. RNWMP Sergeant Lewis McLaughlin argued “that there should be a special dispensation removing the age limit, as he knows that men of the north up to 80 can hit the bull’s-eye every time, and he saw what can be done by all ages in the caribou case.”<sup>103</sup> For a true Yukon man, age was not a detriment, but a positive—an idea that seems to have been deeply ingrained in the Yukon psyche. Walter Edwards, an old-timer from the Mayo district, wrote a letter to Commissioner Black noting that he was “well over military age” and had a family, “but I think a sourdough near 50 is more than equal, physically, and far more useful than the average man of 30.”<sup>104</sup> In August 1916 John W. Hindson, “a pioneer of the Klondike of the vintage of ‘98,” came into town from Scroggie Creek, and the newspaper commented that he had the right spirit and was still nimble enough. Hindson noted, “If I cannot endure quite so much hardship nor be quite so skookum as some of the younger fellows on the charge ... probably I can be of service by stopping a bullet which otherwise would hit a more valuable younger man.”<sup>105</sup>

In local newspaper coverage, advanced age only amplified the qualities of frontier manliness. When Commissioner Black spoke to a crowd of Dawsonites who had come to see off another group of the Yukon Infantry Company in October 1916, he exclaimed that:

A good many of these men told the doctor, without smiling, that they were born in 1871, ‘72, ‘73. The doctor must have had in the mind the fact that many men are prematurely grey and prematurely bald. The fact that these men are not in many cases young men speaks well to their spirit ... They have good judgment and they have been in difficult positions before and they have come through with colors flying every time.<sup>106</sup>

These ideas persisted through to the end of the war. For example, the *Daily News* reported in June 1918 that “the volunteer boys contained many who were not youngsters, yet they were of that hardy type which inspires every person who look upon them.”<sup>107</sup> Older age connoted greater time on the frontier, thus signifying greater experience and maturity—traits that local narratives suggested made for reliable soldiers.

The soldier frontiersman of Yukon was, above all else, a self-reliant man. In October 1914, the *Daily News* profiled the volunteers of the Boyle contingent and concluded that “a finer body of men could not have been

selected ... Trained in the ways of the frontier, possessed of those keen attributes of men who have shifted for themselves and who know the world, they may be depended on to give a good account of themselves."<sup>108</sup> On another occasion, the editor highlighted that "men who have traveled and have faced hardships and the exigencies of frontier life have evolved a confidence and adaptability that makes them invaluable in such great exploits as war. Particularly well fitted are they for such work as involved individual judgment and tasks where each man is thrown on his own resources."<sup>109</sup> The Empire would be "fortunate indeed if all its men were as accustomed to hardships, and as experienced in exploits calling for self-reliance and initiative as these brave lads from Yukon."<sup>110</sup> They were men who had experience "facing and carrying out duties under strange and venturesome circumstances and with few or no companions," which provided "the men of the high north a peculiar sense of confidence." They could carry with them to the war the "initiative and the devil-may-care spirit which characterizes every frontiersman." Attached to this self-reliance and confidence was a "high average intelligence" and better judgment.<sup>111</sup> When Norman Watt joined the Yukon Infantry Company, Commissioner Black wrote to the paper that he was "a man of resource, tact and pluck, attributes which mark the genuine Yukoner and sourdough." Watt responded that he has chosen to go to the front with the Yukoners because he believed that there were "no more resourceful men in the world."<sup>112</sup>

Once Yukoners went into battle, the newspaper placed even more emphasis on their initiative and self-reliance. By January 1918, for instance, the paper claimed that the men of Boyle's battery had gained a reputation for "resourcefulness."<sup>113</sup> In June 1918 it reported that the Germans had learned of the "mentality and resourcefulness of the northerner."<sup>114</sup> After the men of the Yukon (17<sup>th</sup>) Motor Machine Company went into action at Amiens, the newspaper announced that, "For initiative and individual resource few, if any, can excel these men who hail from the last frontier."<sup>115</sup> As the unit remained at the head of the Canadian advance in the last months of the war, the paper reiterated that "No men ever walked the earth who have more real pluck and initiative."<sup>116</sup>

### **Archetypes of Frontier Masculinity**

The *Dawson Daily News* is filled with wartime stories that actively constructed and promoted the masculine identity rooted in daring and initiative. It soon became clear, for instance, that many of the men who rushed to

join Boyle's Half Hundred in 1914 were single and left no dependants. Free from domestic constraints, they exemplified the quintessential, self-reliant frontiersman.<sup>117</sup> More dramatically, the journeys undertaken by some of the men to enlist provided unmistakable fodder for narratives that showcased their toughness, tenacity, and resolve. For example, miner Thomas Corville, a British veteran who had fought in South Africa and South America, could not afford passage on a steamship, so he walked the 571 kilometre overland route from Dawson to Whitehorse to enlist in September 1914.<sup>118</sup> In 1916 prospector-trappers William Annett and W.C. Keddy, who lived on Herschel Island, mushed hundreds of kilometres down the Porcupine River to enlist.<sup>119</sup> When former boxer Frank Britton heard that volunteers were gathering in Dawson while away from the community prospecting, the "old time ring general ... threw down the gold pan and locked the cabin door, and hiked out alone across the hills one hundred miles to Dawson."<sup>120</sup> Veteran prospector William "Bill" Forbes, his "martial spirit" awakened by the "call to arms," had been "away from civilization for over a year" before he marched on snowshoes from his camp north of Leigh to Whitehorse in the dead of winter: a total of 966 kilometres.<sup>121</sup> These feats of endurance proved that Yukoners were willing to go to great lengths to "do their bit" for "king and country."

Many of the men featured in the *Daily News* could have stepped out of a Kipling story—perhaps none more so than Andrew Hart. Born in Scotland, he served in Egypt in 1882 before he immigrated to Canada and found work as a ship's officer off Nanaimo. He ventured to the Yukon in 1894 and participated in the gold rush. At the outbreak of the Boer War, he rushed to enlist with the Lovat Scouts and served overseas. After his return, he established a unit of the pan-imperial Legion of Frontiersmen in Dawson to promote patriotism, comradeship, and preparedness on the frontier. Although in his forties in August 1914, he immediately enlisted for service in the First World War.<sup>122</sup> Hart initially joined Boyle's detachment, but grew impatient with waiting in British Columbia so he left to serve with the British 25<sup>th</sup> (Legion of Frontiersmen) Battalion, Royal Fusiliers, which was bound for East Africa. The battalion largely consisted of older men (its motto was "Old and Bold") from the frontiers of the Empire. Amongst its ranks was sixty-four-year-old Frederick Selous, the famous big game hunter who had spent time in the Yukon (and upon whom Rider Haggard had based his famous character Allan Quartermain),<sup>123</sup> as well as RNWMP member Charley Phillips from Dawson and other former Yukoners.

The descriptions of the conflict in East Africa that these men sent to the *Daily News* provided Yukoners with some of their personal stories of the war. They depicted a frontier setting where the Prospector-Soldier's unique skills could be exercised to their fullest extent and reinforce the ideals of frontier manliness. Hart presented an image of outnumbered British frontiersmen fighting in a tough terrain, with oppressive heat and constant enemy sniping,<sup>124</sup> and wrote about his experiences as a scout.<sup>125</sup> George Battersby, a soldier of the 25<sup>th</sup> with friends in Dawson, explained that the unit operated in "limitless bush country," where the frontiersmen conducted "guerilla warfare with the devil's hordes." This was a war of ambushes, where lions and leopards posed constant threats. Battersby described a typical operation:

Lying out all night concealed by the long grass and thick bush and cactus, speaking in whispers and hardly daring to move, all lying in expectation of a German patrol which our scouts have reported being in the vicinity; with magazines charged to the full capacity, machine guns in position and bayonets fixed for a final rush, is the sort of exciting life a soldier leads on active service in this portion of the empire's battlefield.<sup>126</sup>

In another letter, Battersby discussed that "the sound of the weird howl of a hyena or the yell of a jackal, or the harsh shrill call of a nightbird is a relief to that silence which a man can almost feel in the night in the African bush," where Indigenous soldiers serving the Germans, shrouded in animal skins, lurked in the shadows.<sup>127</sup>

According to the *Daily News*, Charley Phillips was the first Dawsonite killed in action during the war, and the story of his demise was wrapped up in ideals of frontier manliness.<sup>128</sup> A report from Andy Hart explained that Phillips had rode out of camp leading a small patrol, only to be ambushed by a far larger force of German Askaris who had killed the Yukoner and his men and then proceeded to mutilate their bodies. The paper ran the story under the headline, "Fearless Yukoner made a game stand against great odds."<sup>129</sup> Battersby also wrote to the paper about Phillips's death in December, which published the news under the headline, "Sixty Ugly Wounds in Klondiker: Dawson Soldier Frightfully Cut Up by African Savages." He reported that Phillips was "horribly mutilated by the Natives," being stabbed sixty-six times. A letter from Phillips's commanding officer, Major John S. Leitch, to the deceased's

mother, Mary Lessels, told a different story, noting that the Yukoner had been killed while leading a charge against a larger body of men and that all the corpses with the exception of Phillips's had been mutilated. "In your son's case they had appreciated his great bravery," Leitch reassured her, "for he lay just where he fell, and had not been touched in any way." The major stressed that Phillips "was my best sergeant" and would have been made an officer had he survived.<sup>130</sup> These testimonies, unmistakably evoking a far-flung imperial frontier, reinforced the ideals of frontier manliness for the readers of the *Daily News*.

When Yukoners finally made it into action on the Western Front, stories of their exploits confirmed the image of the Prospector-Soldier in the pages of the *Daily News*. The commanding officer of Boyle's battery, Captain Harry Meurling (who was born in Sweden and had no Yukon connection before the war), noted that his men "have shown the same enduring qualities, the same kindly helpfulness towards each other and strangers, the same fortitude and fighting spirit, the same resourcefulness and love of fair play that characterizes the country from whence they came."<sup>131</sup> These ideas persisted to the end of the war. After his men finally saw action in the summer of 1918, Commissioner/Captain Black stressed that "there were no finer men in the Canadian corps and that is saying a great deal. They were self-reliant and capable, adapting themselves quickly to all situations."<sup>132</sup> The *Daily News* used a story about the role of the Yukoners of the 2<sup>nd</sup> Motor Machine Gun Brigade in the capture of the village of Aurillers to validate these assessments and prove the superiority of the Prospector-Soldier. In this intense battle, the newspaper reported, the Yukoners took only twelve casualties, while a French battalion of 900 emerged with only twenty men. "Resource, initiative, good judgment, good training, good command and real fighting ability no doubt added to the Yukoners' success."<sup>133</sup> This summed up the newspaper's view of Yukon soldiers' contributions to the war effort more generally.

## Conclusions

From the onset of the war, the *Dawson Daily News* created an idealized image of the Yukon Prospector-Soldier and imbued him with qualities of imperial frontier manliness that reflected local self-identities. By mobilizing traits born of Yukon's particular environmental and social conditions, newspaper coverage forged a distinctive image of the Yukoner-at-arms that not only reaffirmed how Yukoners wished to see themselves but also what they considered to be the ideal traits of military masculinity.

As Yukon's soldiers reflected on their efforts on the Western Front after the war's end, it was as if the image of the Prospector-Soldier had been animated from the pages of the *Daily News* and carried into battle. Lt. Jack MacLennan of the 2<sup>nd</sup> Canadian Motor Machine Gun Brigade offered an unmistakable example. "The Yukoners had something which no other soldiers there possessed," he boasted. "They were far ahead in initiative, originality and self-reliance. It seemed the life on the frontier gave them this, and another thing was that men who launch into the great West and the North of that peculiar breed capable of taking care of themselves and undertaking new and trying duties with perfect confidence."<sup>134</sup>

By resurrecting masculine stereotypes that reminded Yukon men of their "superior" traits, borne of the frontier and the Stampeder mystique, the *Dawson Daily News* could use local experience to preordain their successes on the battlefield. To do so, the newspaper extolled the virtues of self-reliance—and also overlooked the structural changes that had occurred in Dawson society since the end of the gold rush. As Coates and Morrison have pointed out, the first decade of the twentieth century saw a transformation of the nature of gold mining from the days of the individual prospector and placer miner venturing deep into the frontier to strike it rich, to the introduction of large-scale, mechanized operations. By the time of the war, local realities meant that the dominant "symbol of the gold fields was not the pan but the dredge."<sup>135</sup> Most Dawson miners—including almost all of the men who enlisted for Boyle's battalion—worked in a group setting. The onset of the war, however, encouraged a return to the frontier identities associated with the earlier gold rush era, not the age of industrial mining driven by financiers and global market forces.

Despite the lack of violence or militarism in the history of the Klondike gold rush or the mining activities that followed, the *Dawson Daily News* channelled the Yukon's concept of frontier manliness into military prowess. The Yukon frontiersman was cast as a patriotic member of the Empire who was eager to volunteer, prepared for battle, and admirably suited to endure the arduous realities of combat. Thus, the newspaper used frontier masculinity to construct for Yukoners a more potent role than their small numbers otherwise might have allowed. The frontier had turned them into superior men and they would be superior soldiers. They were the kind of men who would thrive on the battlefield, be it the jungles of East Africa or the trenches of the Western Front. The way they depicted their masculinity underlined how they understood warfare—the need for self-reliant men to break the stalemate in France, men of frontier experience.



The notion of an individualistic prospector-miner pursuing simple self-interest on the wild fringes of North America could no longer resonate with the masculine ideal of the Prospector-Soldier. Men on the frontier, who did not want to enlist or fight, faced public ridicule in the Yukon, just as they did in the rest of Canada. Narrow self-interest and the dream to “strike it rich” on the frontier did not fit with the context of a nation and Empire at war. True frontiersmen would enlist immediately, applying their rugged individual skills to the communal, imperial efforts on new military frontiers abroad. When Yukon men did not sign up for military service, Commissioner Black sent personal letters to those he thought were eligible and chastised them for their choice. Enlisting was “a matter of individual manhood,” Black argued. “Each must decide for himself whether or not he will play the part of a man.”<sup>136</sup> Those who did not enlist were derided as “pink tea boys”<sup>137</sup> — the antithesis of frontier masculinity.

For those men who did enlist as Prospector-Soldiers out of the Yukon, their frontier masculinity was confirmed—wherever the war took them. When the London-based *Daily Mail* interviewed Sgt. James Christie of the Princess Patricia’s Canadian Light Infantry in December 1916, it tied his martial skills directly to his pre-war experiences in the Yukon. Born in Scotland in 1874, Christie eventually moved to Manitoba from where he joined the gold rush to Dawson in 1898. He remained in the territory after the rush, working as a guide and professional hunter. The *Daily Mail* reporter noted that Christie had been an “erstwhile Yukon guide, trapper and gold hunter” and looked the part. While on a trapping expedition in October 1909, Christie was severely mauled by a grizzly bear—and bore the scars on his head and wrists. “An out of doors man—the simplicity, the directness, the fearlessness, the indescribable ‘open air’ quality is his—those twenty-five or thirty years up in the Yukon and in the clean, cold spaces of the far Canadian northland have made him theirs,” the story told. “They took the Perthshire boy and of him made a soldier of their own.” The British reporter noted that Christie had fought a grizzly bear single-handed and won. The injuries he sustained, however, forced him to return to Manitoba to work in the civil service. The man’s spirit, however, never left the frontier. He missed the outdoors, the “trail of the lonesome pine, the camp fire, the virgin solitudes of the northwest, the great drilling camp wherein fighting fitness is the product of combat with natural forces, wherein man learns to scorn all that is artificial, all that is pretentious and vain, where he learns deep secrets from great Nature and breathing deeply of her, cold and clean and man-making, finds horizons

bounded by office desks stifling and small.” Christie explained that his “training ground was the Yukon,” which had made him a “veteran in endurance of hardness.”<sup>138</sup> Such a depiction of frontier manliness would have been at home in any of the literature on the imperial adventurer and the soldier-hero published over the previous two decades.

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### Notes

1. After the *Dawson Daily News* changed owners in 1908, the paper used “Dawson News Publishing Company” to head its editorial page, never revealing who was authoring its editorials. During the war, the paper was organized and administered by Arthur Hazelton Dever, Charles Settlemier, Harold Malstron (all American citizens at birth), and Otto Frederick Kastner (a British citizen). Settlemier completed the majority of editorials. Edward Bush, “The Dawson Daily News: Journalism in the Klondike,” *Canadian Historic Sites: Occasional Papers in Archaeology and History*, No. 21, accessed Apr 2016, <http://parkscanadahistory.com/series/chs/21/chs21-3c1.htm>.
2. Editor, “Prospector-Soldiers,” *Dawson Daily News*, 8 Jul 1916.
3. John M. MacKenzie, “The Imperial Pioneer and Hunter and the British Masculine Stereotype in late Victorian and Edwardian Times,” in *Manliness and Morality: Middle-Class Masculinity in Britain and America, 1800–1940*, ed. J.A. Mangan and James Walvin (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1987), 176–198 at 178 and 181.
4. J.A. Mangan and James Walvin, “Introduction,” in Mangan and Walvin, *Manliness and Morality*, 1–6 at 3.
5. R.W. Connell, *The Men and the Boys* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2000), 11. For more on these themes, see R.W. Connell, *Masculinities* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1995), 76; and R.W. Connell, *Gender* (Cambridge: Polity Press, 2002).
6. Graham Dawson, “The Blond Bedouin: Lawrence of Arabia, Imperial Adventure and the Imagining of English-British Masculinity,” in *Manful Assertions: Masculinities in Britain since 1800*, ed. Michael Roper and John Tosh (London: Routledge, 1991), 113–144 at 118. See also Graham Dawson, *Soldier Heroes: British Adventure, Empire and the Imagining of Masculinities* (London: Routledge, 1994), 167–190.

7. Rachel Woodward, "Locating Military Masculinities," in *Military Masculinities: Identity and the State*, ed. Paul Higate (London: Praeger, 2003), 46
8. Richard Nile, "Editorial," *Journal of Australian Studies* 20, no. 49, 1996: 1–3 at 1. The works in Lynette Russell's collection also present frontiers as transformative and creative spaces. Lynette Russell, ed., *Colonial Frontiers: Indigenous-European Encounters in Settler Societies* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2001). Along these lines see, Robert Hogg, *Men and Manliness on the Frontier: Queensland and British Columbia in the Mid-Nineteenth Century* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2012); and Ann Laura Stoler, *Race and the Education of Desire: Foucault's History of Sexuality and the Colonial Order of Things* (Durham: Duke University Press, 1995).
9. Historian Robert Rutherford has used newspaper editorials and accounts to explore masculinity in several Canadian communities during the First World War. He argues that depictions of masculinity in these sources offer "some measures of the style and metaphorical frames through which local perceptions take shape, apart from readers' individual sensibilities." Robert Rutherford, *Hometown Horizons* (Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press, 2004), 54–55.
10. Rachel Woodward has made a similar argument in terms of military masculinities. Woodward, "Locating Military Masculinities," 46. See also P. Whitney Lackenbauer, "Guerillas in Our Midst: The Pacific Coast Militia Rangers, 1942–1945," *BC Studies* 155 (Autumn 2007): 31–67, particularly at 46–48.
11. See, for instance, John Tosh, *A Man's Place: Masculinity and the Middle-Class Home in Victorian England* (London: Yale University Press, 1999); E. Anthony Rotundo, *American Manhood: Transformations in Masculinity from the Revolution to the Modern Era* (New York: Basic Books, 1993); Mary Poovey, *Uneven Developments: The Ideological Work of Gender in Mid-Victorian England* (London: Virago Press, 1989); J.A. Mangan, *Athleticism in the Victorian and Edwardian Public School: The Emergence and Consolidation of an Educational Ideology* (London: Frank Cass, 2000); Mangan and Walvin, *Manliness and Morality*; Mark C. Carnes and Clyde Griffen, "Introduction," in *Meanings for Manhood: Constructions of Masculinity in Victorian America*, ed. Mark C. Carnes and Clyde Griffen (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1990); Jock Phillips, *A Man's Country: The Image of the Pakeha Male* (Auckland: Penguin, 1987); Margot Fry, *Tom's Letters: The Private World of Thomas King, Victorian Gentleman* (Wellington NZ: Victoria University Press, 2001).
12. John Tosh, "Masculinities in an Industrializing Society: Britain, 1800–1914," *Journal of British Studies* 44, no 2 (2005): 330–342 at 331–332. See also John Tosh, *Manliness and Masculinities in Nineteenth-Century Britain* (Harlow: Pearson Longman, 2005), 22, 31, 34; Jessica Meyer, *Men of*

*War: Masculinity and the First World War in Britain* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2009), 6; and Wally Seccombe, "Patriarchy Stabilized: The Construction of the Male Breadwinner Norm in Nineteenth-Century Britain," *Social History* 2, vol. 1 (January 1986): 53–76. For the Canadian context, see Nancy Christie, *Engendering the State: Family, Work, and Welfare in Canada* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2000).

13. See Ronald Hyam, "The British Empire in the Edwardian Era," in *The Oxford History of the British Empire*, ed. Judith Brown and Wm. Roger Louis (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1999), 47–63. As Tosh has argued, anxieties about masculinity and empire were closely entwined in this era. Tosh, *Manliness and Masculinities in Nineteenth-Century Britain*.
14. Tosh, *Manliness and Masculinities in Nineteenth-Century Britain*, 22, 31, 34.
15. Jessica Meyer, *Men of War: Masculinity and the First World War in Britain* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2009), 5–6.
16. Hyam, "The British Empire in the Edwardian Era," 51; and Max Jones, *The Last Great Conquest: Captain Scott's Antarctic Sacrifice* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2003), 12, 245–251.
17. Mike O'Brien, "Manhood and the Militia Myth: Masculinity, Class and Militarism in Ontario, 1902–1914," *Labour* 42 (1998): 115–41 at 118. See also, Geoffrey Hayes and Kirk W. Goodlet, "Exploring Masculinity in the Canadian Army Officer Corps," *Journal of Canadian Studies* 48, no. 2 (Spring 2014): 40–69.
18. Mark Moss, *Manliness and Militarism: Educating Young Boys in Ontario for War* (Toronto: Oxford University Press, 2001), 6, 13–15, 20.
19. John Tosh, "Domesticity and Manliness in the Victorian Middle Class," in *Manful Assertions: Masculinities in Britain Since 1800*, ed. Michael Roper and John Tosh (London: Routledge, 1991), 44–73 at 67–68. See also Tosh, "Masculinities in an Industrializing Society: Britain, 1800–1914."
20. Meyer, *Men of War*, 5–6. On the image of the soldier hero, see George Mosse, *The Image of Man: The Creation of Modern Masculinity* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1996), 181–183. On the imperial adventurer, see Martin Green, *Deeds of Adventure, Dreams of Empire* (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1980), 31–35; John MacKenzie, "Introduction: Popular Imperialism and the Military," in *Popular Imperialism and the Military, 1850–1950*, ed. John MacKenzie (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1992), 1; and Graham Dawson, *Soldier Heroes: British Adventure, Empire and the Imagining of Masculinities* (London: Routledge, 1994). See also Anne McClintock, *Imperial Leather: Race, Gender and Sexuality in the Colonial Contest* (New York: Routledge, 1995); and Mrinalini Sinha, *Colonial Masculinity: The "Manly Englishman" and the "Effeminate Bengali" in the Late Nineteenth Century* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1995).
21. Historian Linda Colley has stressed the importance of the frontier in British history and encouraged historians to explore how different Britons

- experienced and understood the concept. Linda Colley, "The Significance of the Frontier in British History," in *More Adventures with Britannia: Personalities, Politics and Culture in Britain*, ed. William Roger Louis (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1998), 13–27 at 16. See also John M. MacKenzie, "The Imperial Pioneer and Hunter," in Mangan and Walvin, *Manliness and Morality*, 176–198; John Tosh, *Manliness and Masculinities in Nineteenth-Century Britain* (Harlow: Pearson Longman, 2005); and Richard Phillips, *Mapping Men and Empire: A Geography Adventure* (London: Routledge, 1997). For an overview of this period in the Australian context, see Angela Woolcott, "Frontier Violence and Settler Manhood," *History Australia* 6, no. 1 (2009): 11.1–11.15 and Martin Crotty, *Making the Australian Male: Middle-Class Masculinities 1870–1920* (Melbourne: Melbourne University Press, 2001).
22. MacKenzie, "The Imperial Pioneer and Hunter," 176–198; Allen Warren, "Popular Manliness: Baden-Powell, Scouting and the Development of Manly Character," in Mangan and Walvin, *Manliness and Morality*, 199–216
  23. Tosh, "Masculinities in an Industrializing Society: Britain, 1800–1914," 340.
  24. George Nathaniel Curzon, *Frontiers* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1907), 8 and 57 et passim.
  25. Curzon, *Frontiers*, 56.
  26. RSS Baden-Powell, *Scouting for Boys* (London, 1908), 3. See also Allen Warren, "Popular Manliness: Baden-Powell, Scouting and the Development of Manly Character," in Mangan and Walvin, *Manliness and Morality*, 199–216.
  27. Mangan and Walvin, "Introduction," in *Manliness and Morality*, 1–6 at 3; and MacKenzie, "The Imperial Pioneer and Hunter," 177. For examples of scholarship detailing the spread of these ideals, see J.S. Bratton, *The Impact of Victorian Children's Fiction* (London: Croom Helm, 1981); Bradley Deane, *Masculinity and the New Imperialism: Rewriting Manhood in British Popular Culture, 1870–1914* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2014). For an example of the literature that disseminated the idea of frontier manliness, see F.C. Selous, *African Nature Notes and Reminiscences* (London, 1908); Winston Churchill, *The Story of the Malakand Field Force* (London: Thomas Nelson and Sons, 1898); and the body of works by Rudyard Kipling, H.G. Kingston, R.M. Ballantyne, and G.A. Henty.
  28. MacKenzie, "The Imperial Pioneer and Hunter," 178 and 181.
  29. Colley, "The Significance of the Frontier in British History," 22. See also Richard Phillips, *Mapping Men and Empire: A Geography of Adventure* (London: Routledge, 1997); Martin Green, *Dreams of Adventure, Deed of Empire* (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1980); Robert Dixon, *Writing the Colonial Adventure: Race, Gender and Nation in Anglo-Australian Popular Fiction, 1875–1914* (Melbourne: Cambridge University Press, 1995); and James Eli Adams, *Dandies and Desert Saints* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1995).

30. See John Pettigrew, *Brutes in Suits: Male Sensibility in America, 1890–1920* (Baltimore: The John Hopkins University Press, 2007), 21–76, in particular 22. See Frederick Jackson Turner, “The Significance of the Frontier in American History,” in J.M. Faragher, ed., *Rereading Frederick Jackson Turner* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1998).
31. See, for instance, Theodore Roosevelt, *Ranch Life and the Hunting Trail* (Gloucester, 1985). For a scholarly analysis of the frontier myth constructed by authors such as Roosevelt, see Richard Slotkin, “Nostalgia and Progress: Theodore Roosevelt’s Myth of the Frontier,” *American Quarterly* 33 (Winter 1981): 608–637; Slotkin, *Regeneration Through Violence: The Mythology of the American Frontier* (Middletown Connecticut: Wesleyan University Press, 1973); and Slotkin, *Gunfighter Nation: The Myth of the Frontier in Twentieth Century America* (New York: Atheneum, 1992).
32. For studies on the frontier and frontier masculinity in the Canadian context, see, for example, Hogg, *Men and Manliness on the Frontier: Queensland and British Columbia in the Mid-Nineteenth Century*; Elizabeth Furniss, *The Burden of History: Colonialism and the Frontier Myth in a Rural Canadian Community* (Vancouver: UBC Press, 1999); Adele Perry, *On the Edge of Empire: Gender, Race and the Making of British Columbia 1849–1871* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2001); and Tina Loo, “Of Moose and Men: Hunting for Masculinities in British Columbia, 1880–1939,” *Western Historical Quarterly* 23, 3 (2001): 296–319.
33. Robert G. Moyles and Douglas Owsram, *Imperial Dreams: British Views of Canada, 1880–1914* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1988), 7–8.
34. Carl Berger, *The Sense of Power* (Toronto, 1970), Chapter 5, “The Canadian Character” at 129. See also D.F. Harris, “The Presentation of a British Canada in Shropshire c. 1890–1914,” in C.M. Coates (ed.), *Imperial Canada, 1867–1917* (Edinburgh, 1997), 196.
35. See, for example, Michael Dawson, “‘That nice red coat goes to my head like champagne’: Gender, antimodernism and the Mountie image, 1880–1960,” *Journal of Canadian Studies* 32/3 (1997): 119–39; Dawson *The Mountie from Dime Novel to Disney* (Toronto: Between the Lines, 1998); and Andrew R. Graybill, *Policing the Great Plains: Rangers, Mounties, and the North American Frontier, 1875–1910* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2007). On the Mounties’ march north, see W.R. Morrison, *Showing the Flag: The Mounted Police and Canadian Sovereignty in the North, 1894–1925* (Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press, 1985).
36. For the most sophisticated study of this myth, see James Wood, *Militia Myths: Ideas of the Canadian Citizen Soldier, 1896–1921* (Vancouver: UBC Press, 2010).
37. See, for example, Carman Miller, *Painting the Map Red: Canada and the South African War, 1899–1902* (Montreal and Kingston, 1993), 437–38.



38. Tim Cook, "Documenting War and Forging Reputations: Sir Max Aitken and the Canadian War Records Office in the First World War," *War in History* 10, no. 3 (2003): 265–295 at 267; and Tim Cook, *Clio's Warriors: Canadian Historians and the Writing of the World Wars* (Vancouver: UBC Press, 2006) Cook points out that while Canadians were presented as a distinct race, different from their British cousins, in fact more than 70% of Canada's first contingent was British-born, while by the end of the war only slightly more than 50% were Canadian-born. See also Desmond Morton, *When Your Number's Up: The Canadian Soldier in the First World War* (Toronto: Random House, 1993), 17, 278.
39. Adam Arenson, "Anglo-Saxonism in the Yukon: The Klondike Nugget and American-British Relations in the 'Two Wests,' 1898–1901," *Pacific Historical Review* 76/3 (2007): 373–404. On miners' meetings, see also Thomas Stone, "The Mounties as Vigilantes: Perceptions of Community and the Transformation of Law in the Yukon, 1885–1897," *Law and Society Review* 14/1 (1979): 83–114; and Stone, *Miners' Justice: Migration, Law and Order on the Alaska-Yukon Frontier, 1873–1892* (New York: Peter Lang, 1989). On concerns about diabolical American intentions, see Ken Coates and William Morrison, *Land of the Midnight Sun*, rev. ed (Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2005). For an anti-American and pro-British example, see Samuel Steele, *Forty Years in Canada* (London: H. Jenkins, 1915).
40. Our London Letter, "A Yukon Soldier," *Derby Daily Telegraph*, 15 Sep 1917.
41. "London Paper Tells of the Yukon Boys," *Dawson Daily News*, 7 Feb 1916.
42. "Gold and Our Goal," *Falkirk Herald*, 17 Apr 1918.
43. "Noted Battle of Klondiker in Flanders," *Dawson Daily News*, 28 Jun 1916.
44. "Yukoners in Fight," *Dawson Daily News*, 23 Aug 1918.
45. "Let Klondike Give Her Nuggets," *Dawson Daily News*, 7 Sep 1914.
46. "When Yukon Goes to War," *Dawson Daily News*, 26 Sep 1914.
47. Editor, "Au Revoir," *Dawson Daily News*, 8 Jun 1916.
48. James McEachern, "An Epic to the Black Contingent," *Dawson Daily News*, 19 Feb 1917.
49. Jonathan Vance, *Death So Noble: Memory, Meaning, and the First World War* (Vancouver: UBC Press, 2011), 5.
50. "What Yukon is Doing," *Dawson Daily News*, 20 Apr 1918.
51. "Yukon's Boys," *Dawson Daily News*, 7 Oct 1914.
52. Editor, "Yukon's Recruits," *Dawson Daily News*, 22 May 1916.
53. "Norman Watt has Enlisted for the Front," *Dawson Daily News*, 7 Jul 1916.
54. "Tells of the Work of the Yukon Boys," *Dawson Daily News*, 8 Feb 1917.
55. Editor, "Yukon Soldier Heroes," *Dawson Daily News*, 12 Jan 1917.
56. Sharon Smulders, "A Man in a World of Men': The Rough, the Tough, and the Tender in Robert W. Service's Songs of a Sourdough," *Studies in Canadian Literature* 30/1 (2005); James Mackay, "Bard of the Yukon: The Klondike in the Poetry of Robert Service," *Northern Review* 19 (Winter



- 1998): 93–100; and his full biography *Robert Service: Vagabond of Verse* (Edinburgh: Mainstream, 1995). Service notes that he was “steeped in the spirit of the Klondike” in *Ploughman of the Moon: An Adventure into Memory* (New York: Dodd, Mead, 1945), 350. See also Hal, “A New Canadian Poet,” review of *Songs of a Sourdough*, by Robert Service, *Saturday Night*, 8 Jun 1907, 11; and W.A. Whatley, “Kipling Influence in the Verse of Robert W. Service,” *Texas Review: Humanities in the South* 6 (1921): 299–308.
57. Joel Baetz, “Robert Service’s War Correspondence and Poetry,” *Canadian Poetry* 58 (2006): 55–78.
  58. “Yukon is There,” *Dawson Daily News*, 17 Aug 1918.
  59. Ibid.
  60. Michael Gates, “Every Picture Tells a Story,” *History Hunter*, 22 Jan 2016, accessed Mar 2016, <http://www.yukon-news.com/letters-opinions/every-picture-tells-a-story>
  61. “Bon Voyage,” *Dawson Daily News*, 7 Oct 1916.
  62. Coates and Morrison, *Land of the Midnight Sun*, 154–65.
  63. Smulders, “‘A Man in a World of Men’.” On masculine primitivism, see E. Anthony Rotundo, *American Manhood: Transformations in Masculinity from the Revolution to the Modern Era* (New York: Basic, 1993).
  64. Editor, “Prospector-Soldiers,” *Dawson Daily News*, 8 Jul 1916.
  65. See, for example, “Yukon’s Soldiers,” *Dawson Daily News*, 15 Jan 1918; Editor, “Yukon Soldier Heroes,” *Dawson Daily News*, 12 Jan 1917; Editor, “Au Revoir,” *Dawson Daily News*, 8 Jun 1916; “Yukon Spirit,” *Dawson Daily News*, 14 Jun 1918; and “Yukon’s Boys,” *Dawson Daily News*, 7 Oct 1914.
  66. “Yukon Spirit,” *Dawson Daily News*, 14 Jun 1918.
  67. Editor, “Yukon’s Recruits,” *Dawson Daily News*, 22 May 1916.
  68. “Pride of the Yukon Gets Away for War,” *Dawson Daily News*, 10 Jun 1916.
  69. “Pride of Yukon,” *Dawson Daily News*, 21 Jun 1918.
  70. “Tells of the Work of the Yukon Boys,” *Dawson Daily News*, 8 Feb 1917.
  71. “Yukon Spirit,” *Dawson Daily News*, 14 Jun 1918; “Tells of the Work of the Yukon Boys,” *Dawson Daily News*, 8 Feb 1917; and “Yukon’s Boys,” *Dawson Daily News*, 7 Oct 1914.
  72. “Good News is Brought from the Yukoners,” *Dawson Daily News*, 27 Sep 1916.
  73. *Victoria Colonist*, 27 Oct 1914.
  74. “Tobs Tigers Mighty with Pen and Sword,” *Dawson Daily News*, 21 Jan 1915.
  75. “Yukoners Glad to Join the Princess Pats,” *Dawson Daily News*, 29 Jan 1917.
  76. “Good News is Brought from the Yukoners,” *Dawson Daily News*, 27 Sep 1916
  77. *Vancouver News-Advertiser*, 6 Mar 1915.
  78. “Writes of the Yukon Boys in Europe,” *Dawson Daily News*, 12 Nov 1915

79. "Tells of the Work of the Yukon Boys," *Dawson Daily News*, 8 Feb 1917. In early 1917, Joseph W. Harkin with the Canadian mechanical transportation section in England described his experiences at the firing range, noting that he "upheld the reputations of the Yukon making 83 out of a possible 85." "Joe Harkin Writes from Old England," *Dawson Daily News*, 24 Jan 1917.
80. Editor, "Yukon Soldier Heroes," *Dawson Daily News*, 12 Jan 1917.
81. "When Yukon Goes to War," *Dawson Daily News*, 26 Sep 1914.
82. "The Miner," *Dawson Daily News*, 15 Jun 1916.
83. "New Yukon Force," *Dawson Daily News*, 3 Nov 1915.
84. Editor, "Au Revoir," *Dawson Daily News*, 8 Jun 1916.
85. "Bon Voyage," *Dawson Daily News*, 7 Oct 1916.
86. As scholar R.W. Connell has remarked: "Certainly the process of conquest could produce frontier masculinities which combined the occupational culture of these groups with an unusual level of violence and egocentric individualism." Connell, *The Men and the Boys*, 47.
87. Editor, "Yukon's Recruits," *Dawson Daily News*, 22 May 1916.
88. "Yukon Boys," *Dawson Daily News*, 2 Oct 1916.
89. "Bon Voyage," *Dawson Daily News*, 7 Oct 1916.
90. "Yukon Spirit," *Dawson Daily News*, 14 Jun 1918.
91. "Yukon Boys," *Dawson Daily News*, 2 Oct 1916.
92. See, for example, Timothy Winegard, *For King and Kanata: Canadian Indians and the First World War* (Winnipeg: University of Manitoba Press, 2012). Winegard notes that, by November 1916, two Yukon Indigenous men enlisted in the war out of a total male Status Indian population of service age of 428. This represents one of the lowest per capita of rates of service in the country. *Ibid.*, 76. On Canadian Indigenous peoples and the war, see also Robert J. Talbot, "'It Would Be Best to Leave Us Alone': First Nations Responses to the Canadian War Effort, 1914–18," *Journal of Canadian Studies* 45/1 (2011): 90–120; Richard Holt, "First Nations Soldiers in the Great War," *Native Studies Review* 22/1-2 (2013): 139–156; and P. Whitney Lackenbauer and Scott Sheffield, "Moving Beyond 'Forgotten': The Historiography on Canadian Native Peoples and the World Wars," in *Aboriginal Peoples and the Canadian Military: Historical Perspectives*, ed. P. Whitney Lackenbauer and Craig Mantle (Kingston: Canadian Defence Academy Press, 2007): 209–32. For comparative perspectives, see Winegard, *Indigenous Peoples of the British Dominions and the First World War* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011); and Noah Riseman, "The Rise of Indigenous Military History," *History Compass* 12/12 (2014): 901–911.
93. 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.
94. Editor, "Yukon's Recruits," *Dawson Daily News*, 22 May 1916.

95. "Bon Voyage," *Dawson Daily News*, 7 Oct 1916. Furthermore, while frontiersmen to the core, they had maintained their connections to the old world, and had the desire to avenge and defend their old communities. Editor, "Au Revoir," *Dawson Daily News*, 8 Jun 1916.
96. Editor, "Prospector-Soldiers," *Dawson Daily News*, 8 Jul 1916.
97. "Pride of Yukon," *Dawson Daily News*, 21 Jun 1918.
98. Editor, "Yukon's Recruits," *Dawson Daily News*, 22 May 1916.
99. "Bon Voyage," *Dawson Daily News*, 7 Oct 1916.
100. "Pride of Yukon," *Dawson Daily News*, 21 Jun 1918.
101. "New Yukon Force," *Dawson Daily News*, 3 Nov 1915.
102. "The majority of men who went to war between 1914 and 1918 were young and their youth was integral to their future self-identification as the generation of 1914. In Canada, most men who enlisted were under thirty, and the majority of these (nearly 50%) were between eighteen and twenty-four years of age." Jonathan Scotland, *And the Men Returned: Canadian Veterans and the Aftermath of the Great War* (Unpublished PhD dissertation, Western University, 2016), 22–23. While youth was the seminal part of the identity of many Canadians, in the Yukon, the opposite seems to be the case.
103. "Smoker of Footballers Lively One: Dawson League Members and Friends Gather for an Evening," *Dawson Daily News*, 4 Nov 1915.
104. "Yukon Pioneer is on the Way to the Front," *Dawson Daily News*, 11 Jul 1916.
105. "Old Timer is Anxious to go to Front," *Dawson Daily News*, 30 Aug 1916. For Second World War ideas along these lines in a Pacific Northwest context, see Lackenbauer, "Guerrillas in our Midst."
106. "Rousing Farewell Given Yukon's Soldier Boys," *Dawson Daily News*, 9 Oct 1916.
107. "Pride of Yukon," *Dawson Daily News*, 21 Jun 1918.
108. "Yukon's Boys," *Dawson Daily News*, 7 Oct 1914.
109. Editor, "Yukon's Recruits," *Dawson Daily News*, 22 May 1916.
110. Editor, "Au Revoir," *Dawson Daily News*, 8 Jun 1916.
111. "What Yukon is Doing," *Dawson Daily News*, 20 Apr 1918.
112. "Norman Watt has Enlisted for the Front," *Dawson Daily News*, 7 Jul 1916.
113. "Yukon's Soldiers," *Dawson Daily News*, 15 Jan 1918.
114. "Pride of Yukon," *Dawson Daily News*, 21 Jun 1918.
115. "Yukoners in Fight," *Dawson Daily News*, 23 Aug 1918.
116. "Yukon Valor," *Dawson Daily News*, 26 Sep 1918.
117. George Black, Vice-President, Canadian Patriotic Fund, to Sir Herbert Ames, Secretary, Canadian Patriotic Fund, 4 Jul 1916, Records of the Yukon Government, YRG1, Series 2, Central Registry Files, 1898–1950, Gov. 1866, file 29600A
118. "Walking from Dawson for Battle Front," *Dawson Daily News*, 9 Sep 1914.

119. "Come from End of Earth to Enlist Here," *Dawson Daily News*, 29 May 1916. Despite the decline of the whaling industry at Herschel Island after 1903, the site continued to be a fur trading and administrative centre for the Western Arctic. Coates and Morrison, *Land of the Midnight Sun*, 140.
120. "Hikes 100 Miles to go to the Front," *Dawson Daily News*, 13 Jul 1916.
121. "Yukoner Mushes 600 Miles to Enlist," *Dawson Daily News*, 10 Jun 1916.
122. "Boys to Sail for Outside this Evening," *Dawson Daily News*, 10 Oct 1914. On the Legion of Frontiersmen, a pan-imperial organization, see *The History of the Legion of Frontiersmen: With Particular Reference to the Canadian Division* (Regina: Dominion Headquarters, The Legion of Frontiersmen, [197-]).
123. Michael Humphries, "The Eyes of an Empire: The Legion of Frontiersmen, 1904–1914," *Historical Research* 85, no. 227 (February 2012): 133–158 at 146.
124. "Writes of the Fighting in East Africa: Klondiker Tells of the Campaign," *Dawson Daily News*, 2 Dec 1915.
125. "Klondiker is Busy Scouting in Africa," *Dawson Daily News*, 24 May 1916.
126. "Sixty Ugly Wounds in Klondiker: Dawson Soldier Frightfully Cut Up by African Savages," *Dawson Daily News*, 21 Dec 1915.
127. "African Snipers Dress in Garb of Wild Animals," *Dawson Daily News*, 7 Jan 1916.
128. The newspaper story "Popular Yukon Boys Die for the Empire," *Dawson Daily News*, 27 Oct 1915, noted that "of all who have gone to the front direct from the Yukon, Jack Watt and Charley Phillips are the first reported to have fallen."
129. "Tells of Last Fight of Chas. Phillips," *Dawson Daily News*, 11 Nov 1915.
130. "Tells of How Hero of the Yukon Fell on Field," *Dawson Daily News*, 14 Jan 1916.
131. "Yukon's Soldiers," *Dawson Daily News*, 15 Jan 1918.
132. "Capt. Black on Yukoners in Great War," *Dawson Daily News*, 9 Aug 1919.
133. "Yukon War Anniversary," *Dawson Daily News*, 7 Aug 1919.
134. "Yukon to Have a Machine Gun Company," *Dawson Daily News*, 1 Jul 1919. See also "Yukon War Anniversary," *Dawson Daily News*, 7 Aug 1919 and "Capt. Black on Yukoners in Great War," *Dawson Daily News*, 9 Aug 1919.
135. Coates and Morrison, *Land of the Midnight Sun*, 157.
136. Coates and Morrison, *Land of the Midnight Sun*, 186. "More Names Are Added to Volunteers," *Dawson Daily News*, 18 Sep 1916.
137. "Good Letter from Yukon Boys in Europe," *Dawson Daily News*, 25 Sep 1916.
138. "Sergeant Jim Christie of Yukon On Way Back to Front," *Daily News* article from Dec 1916 reprinted in the *Dawson Daily News*, 12 Jan 1917. See also Michael Gates, "The Amazing Story of 'Grizzly Bear' Christie," *History Hunter*, 17 Oct 2014, <http://www.yukon-news.com/letters-opinions/the-amazing-story-of-grizzly-bear-christie/>. Christie eventually rose to

the rank of lieutenant, and was well known for his scouting and sniping exploits. Historian Jeffrey Williams includes a testimonial from Christie's commanding officer, Lt. Col. H.W. Niven, who noted that: "His long life alone in the mountains made him the most observant man I have ever known. He saw everything and said nothing. He could put his hand on the ground in no man's land and tell whether a man had walked there one hour ago, two hours ago, three hours ago. It was uncanny, and he was never wrong. He would lie out in the open behind our trenches, day after day ... and get his sight on some part of the enemy trench and wait for someone to put his head up. If he did not put it up today, he would be there tomorrow, and sure enough some German would come to that spot, and Christie would get him. This happened year after year. I have never known anyone outside an Indian who had the patience of Christie. He would concentrate hour after hour on one spot. No white man that I know of can concentrate for more than say, three hours on one spot. Christie could do it for two days. Everything told him a story—a bent blade of grass told him something." Williams, *Princess Patricia's Canadian Light Infantry* (London: Leo Cooper, 1972), 9.