

History of the Book in Yukon: A Discussion Paper¹

PETER MITHAM

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Between 23-25 May 1997, an international gathering of scholars met at the National Library of Canada in Ottawa to determine the potential for a history of the book in Canada, and what direction and shape such a project might take. Discussion papers examined the scholarly resources and theoretical issues confronting efforts to construct a history of the book for Newfoundland, the Maritimes, Quebec, Ontario, the Prairies, British Columbia and the Yukon. Bringing insights from similar projects in other countries, as well as the expertise of disciplines ranging from library and information science to history and anthropology, participants engaged in a stimulating series of discussions and ultimately conceded that such a project was indeed possible, and desirable. The paper addressing the Yukon, a version of which follows, underlined that the main difficulty confronting scholars of the book in northern Canada was a dearth of pertinent scholarly research.

Realizing this, and conscious of the wealth of documents and archival material at the Yukon Archives and elsewhere that could be used to develop a history of the book in the territory, the paper focussing on the Yukon suggested landmarks that could guide such a project. In keeping with the object of the original paper, which was intended as a basis for further discussion of the development of printing and publishing activities in the Yukon, and the readers, market forces and geography that affected these endeavours,² the version that follows is an eclectic survey of events rather than a comprehensive history. It merely highlights possible avenues and directions for further discussion.

Like the history of the Yukon itself, the history of the book in the territory is marked by two events: the discovery of gold on Rabbit Creek near present-day Dawson in August 1896, and the construction of the Alaska Highway in 1942. Both events were quick, disruptive, and catalysts for the development of Yukon publishing. The gold rush that followed the Rabbit Creek discovery spawned numerous mining ventures and invested the territory with significant economic importance. The eruption of hostilities between Japan and the United States in December 1941 lent it a strategic value. The Aleutian Islands were closer to Tokyo than to Seattle, and the most direct overland route to Alaska was through the Yukon. The United States government therefore set

about building a highway to link its northern possession with the South. Over 40,000 soldiers and civilian workers, a number many times greater than the territory's 4,900 residents, constructed more than 1,500 miles of road in under nine months. The highway became a defining feature of the Yukon in the latter half of the twentieth century, creating new opportunities for publishers and signalling a change in the territory as decisive as the discovery of gold had been almost a half-century earlier.

First Nations and the Advent of Print

The steamers that brought prospectors to the Yukon in 1897-98 and the bulldozers that ploughed through the territory in 1942 exposed local indigenous peoples to waves of migrants bearing printed material and an appetite for more of the same. Natives retained a traditional oral culture for many years after contact, however, due in part to the integral role oral tradition played in social relations and the territory's isolation from centres of printing and European culture. The encounter between indigenous oral culture and European printed culture, each of which informed the other, offers a starting point for sketching a history of the book in the Yukon.

The tension between orality and literacy continues to resonate in discussions of Native culture, especially in discussions of how printed texts have had an impact on traditional oral narration. Folklorist Phyllis Morrow notes that print requires a different form of closure on stories because a printed work enjoys a dispersed, indeterminate audience unlike one that is physically present to the storyteller. While printed works can claim a stability distinct from the fluidity of oral texts, this can discomfit those unfamiliar with the conventions of print. As Morrow observes, "In transmitting stories in a print medium, in another language, to another audience, we are never so sure when to stop."³ Yet the work of Old Crow journalist Edith Josie demonstrates how oral narration can also define the shape of written narratives. The foreword to a 1966 compilation of her writing notes, "Edith writes exactly as she talks in English, just as the other women of her age group talk in Old Crow."⁴ Josie's ability to capture an element of oral narration in her written work was key to its popularity. Documenting the ways in which Josie and other indigenous authors have addressed the relationship between oral and printed texts will be one task of researchers documenting the history of the book in the Yukon.

European contact with indigenous peoples, on the other hand, led to the development of materials that sought to capture the words of an oral culture in print. Vocabularies were compiled to assist traders and missionaries, and eventually these were printed for broader distribution as the numbers of these people increased. These were exclusively English in origin; the Russian traders who established posts along the Pacific coast and interior of Alaska prior to 1867 apparently had no printed vocabularies issued either by the companies that employed them nor the imperial government. When

Vitus Bering's expedition contacted Natives on the Pacific coast of Alaska in 1743, communications were reportedly facilitated by an English book, "de la Hontan's Description of North America."⁵ Basic vocabularies passed from trader to trader only gave way to more substantial material with the advent of missionaries, for whom printed texts were a vital tool in the work of evangelizing and civilizing the region's indigenous peoples.

When Robert McDonald of the Church of England arrived at Fort Yukon, near the juncture of the Yukon and Porcupine Rivers, in 1862, he was able to build on vocabularies of local dialects that Hudson's Bay Company employee Alexander Hunter Murray had begun compiling fifteen years earlier. McDonald quickly learned Tukudh, the language of the local Gwich'in (Loucheux) people, and began translating portions of the Old and New Testaments, prayers, and hymns for the people to read and memorize.⁶ The first book of translations, featuring the four gospels and the three letters of John, was published at London in 1874. The Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge and the British and Foreign Bible Society subsequently published several other of McDonald's translations.⁷ Surveyor William Ogilvie stated in 1888 that the Gwich'in continued to use the books McDonald had translated for them, noting, "They hold every Sunday a service among themselves, reading from their books the prayers and lessons for the day, singing in their own language to some old tune a simple hymn. They never go on a journey of any length without these books, and always read a portion before they go to sleep."⁸ Whatever the faith of these Natives, this observation highlights the reverence they had for the printed word, either in itself or as a talisman of the greater power that was theirs through Christ.

Only a limited range of texts, all religious, became available in local languages. All were published in England. The lack of books concerned Anglican missionary William C. Bompas, eventually appointed first bishop of Selkirk (later Diocese of Yukon) in 1891. He noted during his first years in the region that teaching the native peoples to read the language they spoke was commendable but of little real use unless they had reading material in that language. Bompas therefore applied to the London-based Church Missionary Society in 1867 for "a small quantity of large printing type, with ink and paper."⁹ The request was denied but not on practical grounds: as early as 1852, shipboard printing was practised in Arctic waters (and pack ice). Mechanical and physical difficulties, such as frozen ink, occasionally occurred. Yet the use of presses on board ships to print handbills and official forms indicates that printing was both needed and possible in the North. The equipment was cumbersome, however, and a press would have been second to provisions and other necessities when it came to determining what to take into the territory.¹⁰

Even printed materials were often luxuries, however necessary to daily life. Those who entered the Yukon prior to 1896 packed a variety of items unavailable on the frontier, such as documents and materials vital to the particular work each sought to

accomplish—maps, journals and calendars; scientific texts for explorers; ledgers and account books for traders; religious texts for missionaries. In turn, each new generation of visitors to the territory took home fodder for a growing number of publications about the region. These were generally journals, maps and other works intended to prepare the prospective traveller rather than entertain the casual reader. The reports of William Ogilvie, for example, were originally written for Canada's Department of the Interior in the early 1890s but were made generally available almost immediately upon news of the Klondike discovery reaching the outside. Yet there was also a market for travel narratives, and following the discovery of gold in the Klondike some of the formerly scientific accounts were republished to appeal to a more general audience. In Ogilvie's case, his report was eventually revised and republished as *Early Days on the Yukon* (1913).¹¹

The narratives produced by former residents of the territory and casual visitors tinted the literary backdrop against which people entered the Yukon following 1896. Technology, according to Dianne Newell, played an equally vital role in impressing the territory on people's minds in a relatively short period of time. She cites advances in the quality of film and cameras, as well as the development of wire services that allowed the exchange of information and transmission of good-quality photographic images in the print media. "While communications between the Yukon and the outside world were slow and irregular, information once outside the Yukon could spread very quickly and widely," she writes.¹² The printed word effected dramatic changes in the territory by attracting people who brought with them an ability to read and who would soon clamour at the chance to hear the latest news from a broadsheet, perhaps months old, brought in from the South.

Reading rooms played a significant role in the development of a literate culture in the Yukon during the initial years of settlement, when newspapers, magazines, and books for personal reading were rare. Nevertheless, as the population increased, so did the supply and diversity of reading material. Miners living at Forty Mile, a short distance down the Yukon River from the future site of Dawson, could enjoy the benefits of a small library and reading room maintained by the Anglican Church. The Presbyterian mission in Atlin also had a reading room. Works of history and travel, and especially popular magazines such as *Leisure Hour* were in great demand.¹³ The situation was similar at other posts throughout the region, but none boasted a large library. Reading rooms were also centres for a broader literate culture, the one at Forty Mile hosting debates and conceivably serving as a venue for the exchange of stories among prospectors. This reiterates the importance of oral literacy in the Yukon among Indigenous peoples and newcomers alike. The ballads and recitations that formed a significant portion of the miners' entertainment grew out of an established oral tradition, and eventually served as the basis of written works by Robert W. Service and others.¹⁴ These camp ballads underline the importance of oral culture to the history of the book

in the Yukon, providing common ground between Indigenous and European cultures.

The Yukon was little different from any other location across the remote northwestern frontier of North America during the nineteenth century. Efforts first to communicate with the region's Indigenous peoples, then to publish literature, usually religious, in languages they would understand, and the desire to have a readily available supply of reading material for the literate portion of the non-Native population, marked the early history of the book in the vast territories northwest of Lake Superior as it had on other frontiers elsewhere in the world. The advent of a sizable non-Native population and the establishment of a system of government created a demand and a market for the services of printers. This transition occurred in the Yukon most dramatically with the discovery of gold on Rabbit Creek (renamed Bonanza) in mid-August 1896. The subsequent influx of prospectors created a demand for newspapers and led to the establishment of many printing outfits.

From Newspapers to Books

The discovery of gold attracted a diverse crowd of people to the Yukon. Many were literate, due in part to nineteenth-century literacy campaigns. Based on public records, Richard Altick has estimated that the male literacy rate in England at the turn of the century was 92.2 per cent, while in the United States it was 89.9 per cent. Even more striking, a survey of the mining and manufacturing sectors in the United States in 1909 indicates that literacy among English Canadian and British (English, Irish, Scottish) male immigrant workers was 99.0 and 98.2 per cent, respectively. The mean rate across thirty-five national and linguistic groups in the same survey was 85.3 per cent.¹⁵ These figures suggest that a high literacy rate existed among those rushing north in 1898, and a corresponding desire for reading material. The war in South Africa (1899-1901), another significant contemporary event that left a substantial cultural legacy, was one of the most literate military campaigns in history; the Klondike was arguably the most literate gold rush the world had yet witnessed.¹⁶ Participants were used to the ready availability of newspapers, books, and other reading material, but the frontier offered few substitutes. Demand for the reports of business, sports, and politics that filled newspapers outside the territory outstripped supply. The establishment of dance halls for the miners' amusement created an equally strong demand for sheet music.¹⁷

Contemporary accounts record the voracity for newspapers along the trail. They were a source of news from home, or at least of somewhere closer to home than the Yukon or Hootalinqua Rivers. G. B. Swinehart of Juneau issued the first newspaper in the territory early in 1898 at Caribou Crossing (now Carcross).¹⁸ The *Caribou Sun* relocated after one issue to Dawson where it began publication on 11 June 1898 as the *Yukon Midnight Sun*. Dawson was already home to one paper, the *Klondike Nugget*, a typewritten sheet produced by Eugene Allen and first issued on 27 May 1898. Allen,

conscious of the importance of securing readers in advance of his competitor, employed his typewriter until a portable army flat-bed press supplied by the Metropolitan Printing and Binding Company of Seattle, arrived on 10 June 1898.¹⁹ Competition between Swinehart and Allen prompted both publishers to transport the printing equipment and supplies across the White Pass, rather than by the longer route up the Yukon River from St. Michaels, Alaska. These first newspapers illustrated the ambition, mobility, and versatility required of the earliest publishers.

Each community along the trail north, from Skagway to Dawson, was a potential centre of publishing activity. The main centres for publishing in the territory soon emerged as Whitehorse and Dawson, however. Publishing ventures in the smaller communities either did not survive or eventually were relocated to the larger centres. The Bennett Lake *Sun*, for example, first appeared in 1898 but in 1899 moved its printing operations to Whitehorse. It seems to have become the Whitehorse *Star* in 1900 when completion of the White Pass and Yukon Railway, with its depot in Whitehorse, diminished the early importance of Bennett Lake as a stopping place for prospectors crossing the Chilkoot Pass into the Yukon. The scenario replayed itself in 1939 when the fledgling *News Miner* removed from Atlin, just south of the territory's border with British Columbia, to Whitehorse within its first year of operation. Atlin had witnessed three earlier publishing ventures but none survived.²⁰ The community, politically part of British Columbia but very much tied to the Yukon by common interests and transportation routes, relied as much as Bennett and other towns along the White Pass and Yukon railroad on Whitehorse for newspapers. The increase in mining activity between the First and Second World Wars allowed several smaller communities to support local newspapers. Copies of papers published at Mayo in 1926, 1935-38, and 1940 exist at the Yukon Archives, for example. A similar boom in publications would reoccur with the resurgence of the local mining industry in the 1970s—an indication of the impact economic vicissitudes had on local publishers.

Even government printing played a less significant role than the mines in developing the Yukon printing trade. While the government printing office had been one of the first of the trade to set up in other jurisdictions, in the Yukon it continued to be done in Ottawa following the formal establishment of the Yukon as a territory in 1897. The Dawson *Sun*, described by Eugene Allen as “nothing but a government propaganda sheet,” did double-duty as the official government gazette, and was formally recognized as such in 1901.²¹ Legislation creating the position of a government printer was not passed until 1904. The King's Printer was responsible for printing “*The Yukon Gazette*, the Ordinances of the Yukon Territory, the Proceedings of the Yukon Council, and . . . all such other duties as are from time to time assigned to him by the Commissioner.”²²

Although Dawson boasted seven newspapers at the height of the Klondike gold rush, few survived very long and all eventually gave place to the *Daily News*, including

the *Sun*, whose nemesis lay in the establishment of an official government printer in 1904. The *News* thenceforth became the foremost newspaper in the territory until mid-century when Dawson lost its status as seat of government in the territory. The paper's fate paralleled the decline of the city with the routing of the Alaska Highway 300 miles to the south through Whitehorse and along the shore of Kluane Lake. The *News* was rivalled during this period only by the Whitehorse *Star*—whose fortunes waxed accordingly with the transfer of the seat of government to the city in 1953.

Yet the Dawson *News* was an aggressive paper and despite the decline in population that followed the Klondike gold rush, it expanded the capabilities of its printing equipment to enable the local production of books and magazines. A souvenir book of Yukon scenes garnished with quotations from the verse of Robert W. Service appeared in 1908, probably from the press of the Dawson *News*, and a few years later it issued the first major Yukon imprint, Marie Joussaye Fotheringham's *Selections from Anglo Saxon Songs* (c. 1916-18). Half the proceeds from the fifty-six page volume were intended for the relief of Yukon soldiers fighting in the First World War.²³ In 1909 the *News* issued a souvenir magazine to promote the Yukon for distribution at the world fair in Seattle that summer. Copies were also made available to *News* subscribers. No similar publications, either books or magazines, appear to have been issued by the other major paper in the territory at the time, the Whitehorse *Star*.

The career of Robert W. Service illustrates the more common route Yukon-based authors pursued. Though the drama of the gold rush captured popular imagination and served as fodder for Jack London, Rex Beach, and other writers, Service is unique because he achieved success while a Yukon resident. Though his time in the territory was relatively short—he arrived at Christmas 1904 and took up residence in Europe eight years later—he was the first Yukon-based author to win national and international recognition, striking literary gold with *Songs of a Sourdough* (1907). Yet by sending his work to Toronto for publication—as did his contemporary, H. A. Cody, the Anglican rector of Whitehorse—he underlined the city's dominance in Canadian publishing circles, regardless of the strides being made by local presses.

The Alaska Highway and After

The construction of the Alaska Highway in 1942 made the Yukon more accessible to the outside than ever and facilitated not only the delivery of supplies to publishers but the distribution of printed matter produced both inside and outside the territory. This became especially important as tourist traffic increased throughout the 1950s. A desire by residents of the territory to inform those on the outside about conditions in the Yukon had provoked innumerable volumes through the years. Now, local printers could meet some of the demand for promotional material.

The years following the Second World War also witnessed an impulse on the part

of veterans of the Klondike gold rush to commit their memories to print. Many prepared manuscripts and solicited the interest of publishers; most failed. The correspondence accompanying the sampling of these manuscripts at the Yukon Archives makes poignant reading. A consideration of the reasons for the failure of these books to find publishers and markets could illuminate the place of the Yukon in the broader literary culture of North America, as well as the factors shaping cultural production in the middle of the twentieth century.

The focus of publishing activity in the territory shifted southwards following construction of the Alaska Highway. The Dawson *News* reflected the economic decline of Dawson itself when it went from tri-weekly to weekly publication in 1946. It ceased publication altogether in 1954.²⁴ By contrast, the office of the Whitehorse *Star* was required to expand its staff and operating hours to accommodate the demand for printing services during construction of the Alaska Highway. Curiously, the weekly circulation of the paper itself remained steady throughout the period at approximately 300.²⁵ Similarly, local publications at Haines Junction on the Alaska Highway, and in the mining centres of Elsa, Faro, and Mayo, paralleled the buoyant economy that prevailed in the southern Yukon during the 1970s. Economic prosperity was vital to the survival of local publishers. Today, the *Klondike Sun* of Dawson and the *Watson Lake News* are the only papers published outside of Whitehorse. Their existence reflects the economic health and significance of the two communities they serve; the former is a tourist mecca while the latter is a major stopping point on the Alaska Highway.

Newspaper publishing in the Yukon has targeted a territorial audience rather than a local readership in recent decades. Improvements in the local communications infrastructure made it easier for correspondents in outlying areas to communicate with editorial offices both within the Yukon and elsewhere. Wire services and other tools enhanced the abilities of papers to present stories from around the world in a timely manner, as well as giving them a broader range of stories from which to choose. Magazines also appeared occasionally during the latter half of the twentieth century, perhaps the most notable example being the *Yukon Reader*. It appears irregularly but is the most enduring of several such publications launched over the years. Stories display the proud provincialism that distinguishes Yukon culture. Copies of several other magazines exist at the Yukon Archives but apart from a directory of Yukon newspapers, a comprehensive list of local periodicals does not exist.²⁶

Yukon publishers have rarely issued publications in languages other than English. The *Yukon News* runs a regular column supplied by the territorial Francophone society, and Whitehorse also has a monthly French-language newspaper, *L'Aurore Boréale*. Native-language publications are a rarity, however. This may be due to declining numbers of people proficient in local indigenous languages, a trend paralleled in other regions of Canada, although a resurgence of interest in these languages could one day result in an audience sufficient to support such publications. On the other hand, it might

revive the oral tradition instead, or instead find an outlet through newer electronic media (which are ideally suited to mixing both oral and written texts). For the moment, however, the major examples of Native-language publications remain the religious texts produced by the nineteenth-century missionaries.²⁷

An electronic revolution is already underway that is giving local publishers a chance to compete with those located in Vancouver, Toronto and elsewhere. Although most publishers are small houses or self-publishers, such as Beringian Books, Wolf Creek Books and Pathfinder Publications, each with its own publishing program and intended audience, some companies are making a play for national attention. Lost Moose Publishing, established in 1993, is a small book publisher rooted in the collaboration of four independent home-based businesses. Each of the company's six partners have other jobs that provide primary incomes; partners Wynne Krangle and Peter Long run a desk-top publishing business that doubles as the company's production studio.²⁸ Production takes place almost entirely through electronic file transfer or over the Internet, although one of the partners will visit the printer to examine the page proofs of full-colour work to ensure house standards are being met. While the Internet has become an increasingly vital tool for publishers around the world, in regions such as the Yukon it has allowed publishers to overcome barriers that had hitherto imposed severe restrictions on the production process.

Tourism has aided Lost Moose's marketing and distribution strategy by providing a ready market for the company's books rather than forcing the company to rely solely on a local market for its titles, which usually cover environmental subjects and local history. The approximately 250,000 tourists who visit the territory annually account for 80 per cent of its annual sales. While Krangle notes that tourists are a convenient focus for marketing efforts, she admits that it's difficult to make direct contact with those most interested in the company's publications. Ultimately, what makes Lost Moose viable is a combination of factors, says Krangle: "I suppose it is because people up here buy books, tourists buy books as keepsakes, we produce good quality products that take a lot of time and effort and it shows, [and] there is not a great deal of competition when it comes to Yukon book production."

Krangle's explanation for the success of Lost Moose reflects both historic themes in Yukon publishing and book culture, as well as the advantage technological advances have given the company. The earliest publishers in the territory would appreciate the claim that a healthy portion of the population is interested in buying books and nod that competition is not tight. Yet they would marvel at the electronic tools that have greatly reduced the cost of book production—though perhaps not so much as to allow the partners in Lost Moose to relinquish their primary jobs. The company can only afford to issue a handful of titles each year. Yet even this, given the isolation of the Yukon and the difficulties confronting previous publishers, is a notable achievement in the history of the book in the Yukon.

Conclusion

In his summary of the several discussion papers that sought to determine a direction for a history of the book in Canada, U.S. scholar Robert Gross remarked that each lamented a dearth of scholarly resources in their respective regions. "As for the Yukon," he concluded, "there is no gold to be found."²⁹ Indeed, while the Yukon is a unique area for historians of the book, and one that shares the concerns of scholars studying other regions of Canada and North America, seldom have scholars mined the documentary evidence in local libraries and archives or recorded the experiences of living witnesses to the history of the book in the territory for the treasure they seek. This limits serious assessments of even the most general aspects of printing, publishing, authorship, literacy, and other aspects of the history of the book in the territory.

From a bibliographical standpoint, the raw materials outnumber critical assessments and discussions. The most extensive of collection of unpublished resources exists in the Robert C. Coutts collection at the Yukon Archives, Whitehorse. It includes books, manuscripts, typescripts, clippings, and ephemera, as well as the literary remains of several veterans of the Klondike gold rush. Significant collections also exist at the National Library of Canada, the Public Archives of Canada, and various repositories in British Columbia and the states of Washington and Alaska.

Scholarly research, in indexed journals and elsewhere, has hitherto been scant in regard to Yukon printers, publishers, readers and writers. Memoirs shed some light on historical events, but monographs are nonexistent. *The History of the Book in Canada: A Bibliography* (1993) lists nothing for Yukon.³⁰ *The Union List of Canadian Newspapers* (1977) records several titles and complements *Yukon Bibliography*, which details publications to 1984. *Yukon Bibliography* does not list newspapers, the most recent introduction stating, "books, government and consultant reports, theses and items from periodicals; unpublished materials are incorporated only when the present owner has agreed to provide access to the document to any bona fide researcher. Maps, newspapers, air photos, films and other non book materials are not included."³¹ Sources focussing on Alaska are of some help but they are mostly checklists of material. These include Elsie A. Tourville, *Alaska, A Bibliography: 1570-1970*, a checklist arranged by author and indexed by subject, and *Pacific Northwest Americana: A Checklist of Books and Pamphlets Relating to the History of the Pacific Northwest* by Charles W. Smith. Valerian Lada-Mocarski, *Bibliography of Books on Alaska Published Before 1860* is concerned chiefly with Alaska during the Russian era but offers a detailed descriptive, annotated bibliography of the titles it includes. Other bibliographies review material relating to specific historical eras.³² Yukon author bibliographies are non-existent, limiting an understanding of the role local printers and publishers may have played in the careers of local authors. A bibliography of Robert W. Service exists, but as his work

was not generally published by local publishers (outside of the occasional periodical contribution), it can only define Yukon books as items produced outside the territory rather than an integral part of the local economy and culture.³³

Meanwhile, a history of the book in Canada, led by members of the Bibliographical Society of Canada has been launched that will be headquartered at the University of Toronto. Early in 2000 it received a commitment of up to \$2.3 million in funding from the Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council of Canada that will support a five-year project to prepare a three-volume history published in English and French.³⁴ Yukon-based scholarship can make an important contribution to the project, with the history of the book in the territory providing illuminating counterpoints to the history of authorship, publishing, and reading in Canada as a whole.

Peter J. Mitham is a freelance writer based in Vancouver, British Columbia. His most recent scholarly publication is *Robert W. Service: A Bibliography* (Oak Knoll Press, 2000).

Endnotes

1. A previous version of this paper was submitted for discussion at the founding conference of the History of the Book in Canada project at the National Library of Canada, Ottawa, 23-25 May 1997. I am indebted to Amanda Graham, managing editor of *The Northern Review*, for her advice at various stages of the paper's development.
2. Robert Darnton, "What is the History of Books?" *Daedalus* (Summer 1982): 65-83, lays the theoretical framework for studies in the history of the book, a term adapted from the French phrase *l'histoire du livre*. It had earlier been exemplified in his landmark work, *The Business of Enlightenment: A Publishing History of the Encyclopédie, 1775-1800* (Cambridge, MA: Belknap Press, 1979).
3. Phyllis Morrow, "On Shaky Ground: Folklore, Collaboration, and Problematic Outcomes," *When Our Words Return: Writing, Hearing, and Remembering the Oral Traditions of Alaska and the Yukon*, Phyllis Morrow and William Schneider, eds. (Logan, UT: Utah State University Press, 1995), 46. Julie Cruikshank, *The Social Life of Stories: Narrative and Knowledge in the Yukon Territory* (Lincoln, NE: University of Nebraska Press, 1998), also discusses the relationship between oral and printed texts and the several means in which Yukon First Nations are struggling to accommodate printed media within traditional ways of remembering the past and passing on knowledge in the present.
4. "Publisher's Foreword" in Edith Josie, *Here Are the News* (Toronto: Clarke, Irwin, 1966), vii.
5. Allen A. Wright, *Prelude to Bonanza: The Discovery and Exploration of the Yukon* (Sidney, BC: Gray's Publishing, 1976), 3. I have been unable to locate a more exact citation for this work. However, Wright refers to Sven Waxell, *The Russian Expedition to America* (New York: Cromwell-Collier, 1962) as the source of the quotation that mentions the book and its

utility. Louis-Armand de Lom d'Arce, baron de La Hontan was born in France in 1646. He arrived in Québec in 1663. Between 1687 and 1689 he travelled extensively in the lower Great Lakes area and as far as the Mississippi and Wisconsin rivers and recorded his observations. He returned to France in 1693. His travels were first published in three volumes beginning in The Hague in 1703: *New Travels of Monsieur le baron de Lahontan in Northern America, Recollections of Northern America, or the Travels Continued and An Addition to the Travels of Baron de Lahontan, wherein one will find a curious dialogue between the author and a wise, well-travelled savage*. Other editions of his works subsequently appeared. It is not clear from Wright which of the three books is intended or how the word lists might have helped the Russians "carry on a limited conversation with some of the natives" (3).

6. Wright, *Prelude to Bonanza*, 57, 88.
7. A discussion of the publication of these texts appears in Joyce M. Banks, "Books in Syllabic Characters Printed for the Use of the Church Missionary Society Among the Cree, Sauteaux, Slave and Tukudh Indians and the Eskimos of Little Whale River in the Diocese of Rupert's Land: 1852-1872," Ph.D. thesis, University of London, 1988. McDonald's translations are available in the Canadian Institute for Historical Microreproductions series of pre-1900 monographs. The title page of the Tukudh gospels and epistles (CIHM no. 25661) reads: NUWHEH KUKWADHUD JESUS CHRIST | VIH KWUNDUK NIRZI | MATTHEW, MARK, LUKE, JOHN | HA RSIOTITINYOKHAI KIRRE | KWITINYITHULUTH KWIKIT. | JOHN RSIOTITINYOO VIH ETUNETLE | TIG HA | TUKUDH TSHA ZIT | THLETETEITAZYA. | LONDON, | 1874.
8. William Ogilvie, *Information Respecting the Yukon District* (Ottawa: Department of the Interior, 1897), 47. See also Robert Campbell, *Two Journals of Robert Campbell, Chief Factor, Hudson's Bay Company, 1808-1853* (Seattle, WA: printed by John W. Todd, Junior, 1951), quoted in Wright, *Prelude to Bonanza*, 62. Campbell, a factor of the Hudson's Bay Company in the territory during the first half of the nineteenth century, observed: "Indians are proud to be intrusted with letters, which they regard with awe, as a mysterious form of speaking." The awe towards letters not only sets the attitude towards religious texts in context, it begs consideration of the role indigenous people played as couriers prior to establishment of a formal communications network by the newcomers.
9. H. A. Cody, *An Apostle of the North: Memoirs of the Right Reverend William Carpenter Bompas, D. D.* (Toronto: Musson, [1908]), 64.
10. Elaine Hoag, "Shipboard Printing on the Franklin Search Expeditions: A Bibliographical Study of the Plover Press," *Papers of the Bibliographical Society of Canada* (Spring 2000), 7-71.
11. William Ogilvie, *Information Respecting the Yukon District* (Ottawa: Department of the Interior, 1897); *Early Days on the Yukon* (Ottawa: Thorburn & Abbott, 1913).
12. Dianne Newell, "The Importance of Information and Misinformation in the Making of the Klondike Gold Rush," *Journal of Canadian Studies* 21.4 (Winter 1986-87), 99. Newell's article discusses the trade in information that the gold rush spawned, with a particular focus on long-distance communications networks. She also charts the market for the writing about

the gold rush, both non-fiction and fiction.

13. Cody, *An Apostle of the North*, 267-68.
14. A recent book documenting the ballads and entertainment of the miners' camps is Jean A. Murray, comp., *Music of the Alaska-Klondike Gold Rush: Songs and History* (Fairbanks: University of Alaska Press, 1999).
15. Richard D. Altick, *The English Common Reader: A Social History of the Mass Reading Public 1800-1900* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1957), 171; Harvey J. Graft, *The Legacies of Literacy: Continuities and Contradictions in Western Culture and Society* (Bloomington, IN: Indiana University Press, 1987), 367, 376.
16. Malvern van Wyk Smith, *Drummer Hodge: The Poetry of the Anglo-Boer War (1899-1902)* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1978), 156-58.
17. George L. Parker, *The Beginnings of the Booktrade in Canada* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1985), 147.
18. *Ibid.* *The Union List of Canadian Newspapers* (Ottawa: National Library of Canada, 1977) omits the paper at Caribou Crossing while recording several earlier titles, all published at Dawson: *Klondike Morning Times*, 1897; *Yukon Sun*, 1897-1904; *Klondike News*, 17 July 1897; *Dawson City Ranger*, 25 September 1897; *Midnight Sun*, 11 June 1898; *Klondike Nugget*, 16 June 1898.
19. Russell A. Bankson, *The Klondike Nugget* (Caldwell, ID: Caxton Printers, 1935), 17, 93.
20. *The Union List of Canadian Newspapers* cites the *Atlin Claim* (1899-1908), *Atlin Globe* (1899-1900) and *Atlin Nugget* (1936).
21. Bankson, *The Klondike Nugget*, 94; *Consolidated Ordinances* (1902), ch. 16, p. 134.
22. *Consolidated Ordinances* (1914), ch. 75, p. 705.
23. *Scenes from the Land of the Midnight Sun* (Dawson: Landahl's Emporium, 1908). A copy of *Selections from Anglo Saxon Songs* exists at the National Library of Canada, Ottawa; Carole Gerson has sketched the life and colourful career of Fotheringham, who also published a newspaper at Mayo, in "Only a Working Girl: The Story of Marie Jousaye Fotheringham," *The Northern Review* 19 (Winter 1998), 141-60.
24. "The Dawson News Stops Publication." *Weekly News* [Dawson, YT], 25 March 1954, 1.
25. "Administrative History," *Star* [Whitehorse], 90th anniversary ed., 16 June 1990, 3-15.
26. Amanda Wearmouth, *Checklist of Yukon Newspapers, 1898-1985* ([Whitehorse]: Yukon Archives, 1987).
27. Notably, the Anglican Church continues to produce Native-language texts, most recently in *The Book of Common Praise* (Toronto: Anglican Book Centre, 1999).
28. Wynne Krangle, electronic communication to the author, 24 February 1997. All subsequent references to and quotations from Ms. Krangle are from this source.
29. Robert A. Gross, "Books, Nationalism, and History," *Papers of the Bibliographical Society of Canada* 32.2 (Fall 1998), 112.
30. Mark C. Bartlett, Fiona A Black, and Bertrum H. MacDonald, eds., *The History of the Book in Canada: A Bibliography* (Halifax: Bertrum H. MacDonald, 1993).

31. Geraldine A. Cooke, ed., *Yukon Bibliography Update to 1984*, Occasional Publication No. 8-13 (Edmonton, AB: Boreal Institute for Northern Studies, 1987), v.
32. Three such bibliographies are: *Alaska Highway, 1942-1991: A Comprehensive Bibliography of Material Available in the Yukon Archives and MacBride Museum* (Whitehorse, YT: Yukon Education, Libraries, and Archives, [1993]); Pierre Berton, *A Klondike Bibliography* (Kleinberg, ON: s.n., 1958); and Helen Dobrowolsky, *Fort Selkirk Bibliography* (Whitehorse, YT: Yukon Tourism, Heritage, 1988).
33. Peter J. Mitham, *Robert W. Service: A Bibliography* (New Castle, DE: Oak Knoll Press, 2000).
34. Patricia Fleming and Yvan Lamonde, "Important Announcement from the General Editors," posting to the History of the Book in Canada, vol. 1, listserv (hbic1@library.utoronto.ca; also posted to listservs for vols. 2-3, hbic2@library.utoronto.ca and hbic3@library.utoronto.ca, respectively), 14 February 2000. Further information on the project can be found on the project's homepage (www.hbic.library.utoronto.ca).