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Nugget' and American-British Relations in the
'Two Wests,' 1898-1901

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Anglo-Saxonism in the Yukon: The *Klondike Nugget* and American- British Relations in the “Two West,” 1898–1901

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During the Klondike Gold Rush, Americans and Britons connected their joint local experiences with the simultaneous colonial conquests in Cuba, the Philippines, South Africa, and China through the ideology of Anglo-Saxonism. From 1898 to 1901 Dawson's newspapers, memoirs, correspondence, and commercial photography demonstrated the power of this symbolic language of flags and balls, heated rhetoric and dazzling cartoons. The Klondike Nugget, the first newspaper in town and the only one run by Americans, took up the claims of global Anglo-Saxonism with the most fervor, although its sentiments were often echoed in the Canadian-edited Dawson Daily News. Differences re-emerged, especially over the boundary between Alaska and Canada, but this brief episode remained deeply imprinted in narratives of the “two Wests”—both of the North American frontier West and the West as Anglo-Saxon civilization—told at the turn of the twentieth century.

On the morning of January 19, 1901, readers of the *Toronto Saturday Globe* unfolded their newspapers to see a splendid party under way. Elegantly dressed women twirled around the dance floor, led by tuxedoed men. “ST. ANDREW’S BALL AT DAWSON, 4 A.M., DECEMBER 1ST, 1900,” read the caption, naming the capital of the new Yukon Territory, a town just outside the Arctic Circle that celebrated late into the almost-total winter night. The national holiday of Scotland was a popular celebration for the heavily Scottish imperial corps, and in Dawson it had been quite an event.

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“Youth and beauty, gallantry and charm, grace and gentility, starch and style will hold high carnival,” the *Klondike Nugget* announced, and fully half the following day’s edition described the grand march of dancers, the food served, and the dresses worn. Commercial photographers had “made their flash light pictures from the stage,” which were then reprinted locally in souvenir albums—and now in the *Toronto Saturday Globe*. “People in England have been accustomed to looking upon the Klondike region as a sort of wild mining country,” noted the *Dawson Daily News* modestly, but the *Klondike Nugget* had to boast: “It will undoubtedly surprise many readers of the *Globe* to know that such an elaborate affair could be undertaken in the extreme north.”¹ The *Nugget*, the photographers, and the elegantly dressed town elite were proud of their fete and proud of their place in the world.

That a rowdy mining town sought to prove its refinement will not surprise modern readers, but perhaps the decorations at the St. Andrew’s Day Ball will. Although some Scottish symbols were present, “the principal feature of the decorations,” the *Nugget* reported, were “two monster flags,” with “the American flag on the left and the Union Jack on the right.” Photographs confirm this account, showing a painting of “the man dear to the American heart, Wm. McKinley,” while “overhanging the stage front” was “a large portrait of Queen Victoria.”² The two images capture it perfectly.

1. “GOETZMAN” [sic], “ST. ANDREW’S BALL AT DAWSON, 4 A.M., DECEMBER 1ST, 1900,” *Toronto Saturday Globe*, Jan. 19, 1901, p. 1. The attribution to M. W. Goetzman is incorrect; this image exists as George G. Cantwell, “Society Event of the Year—St. Andrew’s Ball,” n.d., in Cantwell, *The Klondike, a Souvenir; Illustrations* ([Seattle] 1900), n.p., Western Americana Collection, Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library, Yale University (hereafter the Western Americana Collection). See *Daily Klondike Nugget*, Nov. 30, 1900, p. 3, and Dec. 1, 1900, p. 2; *Dawson Daily News*, Feb. 28, 1900, p. 2; and *Daily Klondike Nugget*, Feb. 23, 1901, p. 2. Beside Cantwell, the extant published image from that evening is [M. W. Goetzman], “893. St Andrew’s Ball Dawson” [1900], Hegg Album, Eric A. Hegg Photographs, University of Washington Libraries, Special Collections Division. On the role of Scottish traditions and holidays in British imperial festivities, see T. M. Devine, *Scotland’s Empire, 1600–1815* (London, 2003). Laura Beatrice Berton recalled that, even in 1907, when she arrived, “It was an eye opener to discover that within this motley collection of log cabins and rickety frame dwellings, the most elaborate events proceeded without cessation in the grandest Edwardian style” and that “The St. Andrew’s Ball was a very formal and very swish affair.” Laura Beatrice Berton, *I Married the Klondike* (Boston, 1954), 39, 53. The link to the *Toronto Saturday Globe* was likely the wife of the territorial secretary. Elizabeth Robins, *The Alaska-Klondike Diary of Elizabeth Robins, 1900*, ed. by Victoria Joan Moessner and Joanne E. Gates (Fairbanks, 1999), 271. Thanks to Erik Hirschmann for mentioning this source.

2. *Daily Klondike Nugget*, Nov. 30, 1900, p. 3, and Dec. 1, 1900, p. 2.



Figure 1. "GOETZMAN" [sic], "ST. ANDREW'S BALL AT DAWSON, 4 A.M., DECEMBER 1ST, 1900," *Toronto Saturday Globe*, Jan. 19, 1901, p. 1. Source: Toronto Reference Library.

The men and women of Dawson were expressing pride not in one empire, but in two.

While the Klondike Gold Rush has long been seen as a seminal event in Canadian history, it also embodied the emerging ideology of Anglo-Saxonism at a turning point in British and American imperialism. The gold rush occurred at the same time that the United States and Britain were fighting wars of conquest and facing new, unfamiliar insurgencies: in Cuba in 1898; in the Transvaal beginning in 1899; in China in 1900; and in the Philippines from 1898 to 1901.³ In the Klondike, by contrast, Americans and

3. For American empire at the time of the Spanish-American War, see Paul A. Kramer, *The Blood of Government: Race, Empire, the United States and the Philippines* (Chapel Hill, N.C., 2006); Paul T. McCartney, *Power and Progress: American National Identity, the War of 1898, and the Rise of American Imperialism* (Baton Rouge, La., 2006);

Britons successfully sought gold, displaced native groups, and lived together peaceably, implicitly providing encouragement for each other's imperial adventures in distant lands. Rifts between Americans and Canadians (and their British protectors) soon emerged, especially regarding the boundary between Alaska and the Yukon. Still, this brief episode in the Far North reveals an important perspective on geopolitics at the end of the nineteenth century. In Dawson, the ideology of imperial Anglo-Saxonism flourished, if only for a short time—a fact that restores the Klondike Gold Rush to wider international significance.

This article defines the ideology of Anglo-Saxonism as a set of beliefs reflecting the self-proclaimed ethnic, political, and moral superiority of individuals and traditions of British origin. Historian Paul Kramer has quipped that, “as a discourse, Anglo-Saxonism was an echoing cavern of banalities out of which even a well-lit historian might never emerge,” but Kramer, Stuart Anderson, and Gail Bederman, among others, have sketched what Anglo-Saxonism meant to its proponents in the late nineteenth century. Anglo-Saxonism claimed Germanic-Celtic racial origins for English-speaking peoples whose amalgamation had long since entered the “natural,” Darwinistic contest of civilizations with such strength that it could brook no other mixing as it conquered purportedly inferior peoples in ever-more extreme climes.⁴ Many in the United States had long assumed such superiority for their own land, as had many Britons. But the ideology that emerged in the waning days of the nineteenth century represented something new—the conviction that “Anglo-Saxons,” regardless of their geo-

William Appleman Williams, *Empire as a Way of Life* (New York, 1980). For the connection of empire to Manifest Destiny, see Anders Stephanson, *Manifest Destiny: American Expansionism and the Empire of Right* (New York, 1995), and Richard Drinnon, *Facing West: The Metaphysics of Indian-Hating and Empire-Building* (New York, 1980).

4. Paul A. Kramer, “Empires, Exceptions, and Anglo-Saxons: Race and Rule between the British and United States Empires, 1880–1910,” *Journal of American History*, 88 (2002), 1321; Stuart Anderson, *Race and Rapprochement: Anglo-Saxonism and Anglo-American Relations, 1895–1904* (Rutherford, N.J., 1981), especially 11–13, 17–25; Gail Bederman, *Manliness & Civilization: A Cultural History of Gender and Race in the United States, 1880–1917* (Chicago, 1995). For a different conceptualization, which emphasizes “the exaltation of Saxon liberties” and hence democracy as a key element, see Anna Maria Martellone, “In the Name of Anglo-Saxondom, For Empire and For Democracy: The Anglo-American Discourse, 1880–1920,” in David K. Adams and Cornelis A. van Minnen, eds., *Reflections on American Exceptionalism* (Keele, U.K., 1994), 83–96; quote on 93.

graphical location, had a joint responsibility to conquer, rule, and uplift other peoples all over the world. Rudyard Kipling expressed this in his tellingly titled poem, "The White Man's Burden," challenging Americans to join their British kinsmen in this daunting task.⁵ Partisans of both nations had a chance to practice this Anglo-Saxonism in the Klondike, starting with the first news of gold strikes on the Yukon and Klondike rivers.

The rush onto Canadian soil began in American ports when news of the gold strike reached Seattle and San Francisco in 1897; from there, the news was quickly telegraphed around the world. In the following years, stampededers charged up the seaways of Alaska and over the passes, bringing tens of thousands of Americans, Britons, and others to these formerly remote streams, before the next strike, at Nome, called them forth. As Charlene Porsild has argued, "Just 30 years after Confederation, an event of the greatest international proportions took place in the farthest northwest corner of the new Dominion. The Klondike actually gave Canadians something at a moment when we were struggling to define ourselves." The conditions of the rush, from harsh winters to conflict with Canadian Mounties over rations, taxes, and the unclear territorial boundary, spawned legendary tales of adventure.⁶ Yet the Klondike Gold Rush also made a significant contribution to America's sense of itself as a global power.

5. Rudyard Kipling, "The White Man's Burden," in *McClure's Magazine*, 12 (Feb. 1899), 290–291. For the poem and a consideration of its reception, see Jim Zwick, ed., *Anti-Imperialism in the United States, 1898–1935* at <http://www.boondocksnet.com/ai>; accessed March 2007. See also Paul A. Kramer and John Plotz, "Pairing Empires: Britain and the United States, 1857–1947 [Introduction]," *Journal of Colonialism and Colonial History*, 2 (Spring 2001), <http://muse.jhu.edu/journals/cch/v002/2.1kramer.html>; accessed March 2004.

6. Charlene L. Porsild, "Creating New Angles of Repose: Northern Canadian Communities in a National Context," in Kerry M. Abel and Ken S. Coates, eds., *Northern Visions: New Perspectives on the North in Canadian History* (Orchard Park, N.Y., 2001), 124. The classic history of the Klondike Gold Rush remains Pierre Berton, *The Klondike Fever: The Life and Death of the Last Great Gold Rush* (New York, 1959), which is built upon the primary literature of memoirs and adventure tales. Some of these were later published, including Tappan Adney, *The Klondike Stampede* (Vancouver, B.C., 1994); Martha Louise Black, *My Ninety Years*, ed. by Florence Whyard (Anchorage, 1976); William B. Haskell, *Two Years in the Klondike and Alaskan Gold-Fields, 1896–1898: A Thrilling Narrative of Life in the Gold Mines and Camps* (Fairbanks, 1998); and E. Hazard Wells, *Magnificence and Misery: A Firsthand Account of the 1897 Klondike Gold Rush*, ed. by Randall M. Dodd (Garden City, N.Y., 1984). More recent works include Charlene Porsild, *Gamblers and Dreamers: Women, Men, and Community in the Klondike* (Vancouver, B.C., 1998), and a special issue of the *Northern Review*, 19 (Winter 1998), which

In the Klondike, Americans connected their notions of Manifest Destiny and continental expansion to a global imperialist calling through a sense of racial dominance that went beyond national differences. They understood that they shared aspirations and experiences with their fellow Anglo-Saxonists in Britain. Together they celebrated those ties in print, parades, and harsh racial rhetoric. Amidst colonial wars and extreme conditions, in the narrow window of the Gold Rush, voices in Dawson championed Anglo-Saxonism as a doctrine joining two empires. Even after the joint presence in the Far North ended, these experiences left a deep imprint on the narratives of masculinity and of racial and national dominance that Americans tell of the “two Wests”—both the continental North American West, whose frontier had recently been defined as disappearing, and the West as Anglo-Saxonist civilization being enacted around the world.⁷

The alliance between Britons and Americans was new in the 1890s. The developing accord on foreign policy and global principles replaced a long history of hostility between the two nations. After winning independence from England, the United States had fought one war and threatened many others to protect its territorial claims against Great Britain and to bolster its Monroe Doctrine. After the Civil War, when British interests had sided with their trading partners in the cotton-rich, rebellious South, the two countries continued to compete in low-intensity disputes over the waters of Puget Sound, Central American canal rights, and British claims to goldfields along the border between Venezuela and British Guiana. Only after 1897, with a resolution of the Venezuelan boundary dispute and Britain’s perceived assistance in Admiral George Dewey’s capture of Manila, could observers begin to conceive of what diplomatic historians have termed “the great rap-

places the events in the North in the wider circle of international events, participation, and memory; see especially Ken Coates, “The Klondike Gold Rush in World History: Putting the Stampede in Perspective,” in *ibid.*, 21–35.

7. This phrase and my understanding of continued American expansion after the “closing” of the American West follow Paul Sabin, “Home and Abroad: The Two ‘Wests’ of Twentieth-Century United States History,” *Pacific Historical Review*, 46 (1997), 305–335. My thinking about links between metropolitan and colonial spaces has been influenced, in addition to those cited elsewhere, by Catherine Hall, *Civilising Subjects: Colony and Metropole in the English Imagination, 1830–1867* (Chicago, 2002).

prochement.”⁸ The interests of the two powerful English-speaking nations had merged, and the fledgling alliance was expressed in the vocabulary of Social Darwinist slogans and aggressive claims for manhood identified with a so-called Anglo-Saxon race.⁹

As with any brash national and racial claim, the Anglo-Saxonism of the Klondike was a carefully constructed credo, with its loyalists, its promoters, and its detractors. When leaders like Theodore Roosevelt achieved political power, this strengthened the belief that British and American nationalism could be superseded by an all-encompassing Anglo-Saxonism, an ideology that, despite its contradictions, seemed at the time a clear enough guide to aggressive conquest, a narrative of invented noble lineage, and a justification of an imperial future.¹⁰

Such Anglo-Saxonism found a particularly powerful expression in literature. While scholars like Bederman and Matthew Frye Jacobson have connected the treatment of race and masculinity in Joseph Conrad’s *Heart of Darkness* (1899) and Edgar Rice Burroughs’s *Tarzan* (1912) to the imperial projects of the era, these studies fail to address Jack London’s contemporaneous *Call of the Wild* (1903) and *White Fang* (1906), which express similar themes in a Far North setting.¹¹ Kramer and John Plotz have mused that

8. The phrase is from Bradford Perkins, *The Great Rapprochement: England and the United States, 1895–1914* (New York, 1968). Stuart Anderson has argued that “Anglo-Saxonism emerges as an influence” in the Venezuela conflict, mentioning British aid to Dewey in Manila; Anderson, *Race and Rapprochement*, 95–111, 121. Richard Mulanax has argued that Americans thought the British had kept German warships from interfering with Dewey in Manila; Richard B. Mulanax, *The Boer War in American Politics and Diplomacy* (Lanham, Md., 1994), 68. For British-American relations after the Civil War, see Scott Kaufman, *The Pig War: The United States, Britain, and the Balance of Power in the Pacific Northwest, 1846–72* (Lanham, Md., 2003), and Marshall Bertram, *The Birth of Anglo-American Friendship: The Prime Facet of the Venezuelan Boundary Dispute: A Study of the Interreaction of Diplomacy and Public Opinion* (Lanham, Md., 1992).

9. On Anglo-Saxonist empire, masculinity, and Americans at war, see Laura Wexler, *Tender Violence: Domestic Visions in an Age of U.S. Imperialism* (Chapel Hill, N.C., 2000), and Kristin L. Hoganson, *Fighting for American Manhood: How Gender Politics Provoked the Spanish-American and Philippine-American Wars* (New Haven, Conn., 1998). For the most complete consideration of this binational Anglo-Saxonism, see Kramer, “Empires, Exceptions, and Anglo-Saxons”; Anderson, *Race and Rapprochement*; and Kramer and Plotz, “Pairing Empires.”

10. Kramer, “Empires, Exceptions, and Anglo-Saxons”; Anderson, *Race and Rapprochement*; Bederman, *Manliness & Civilization*, especially 20–31, 178–184, which focuses on Theodore Roosevelt, *The Winning of the West* (4 vols., New York, 1889–1896).

11. Bederman, *Manliness & Civilization*; Matthew Frye Jacobson, *Barbarian Virtues: The United States Encounters Foreign Peoples at Home and Abroad, 1876–1917* (New York,

“empires were entangled with each other in literary, imaginative, social, political, military, and economic interactions,” envisioning “their own histories . . . with templates borrowed from others.” Kramer has gone furthest in investigating how, for government and military elites, “their respective colonial wars in the Philippines and South Africa had been compared, fused, and exchanged.”¹² Scholars have also begun to explore the equations made between Alaska tourism and big game hunts.¹³ Yet these studies miss the larger claims of Anglo-Saxonist empire, from Dawson to Manila, Cape Town to Bombay. Rather than simply abstract agreements of trans-Atlantic diplomats, in the Yukon Territory these connections were lived realities.¹⁴

An extensive reading of the region’s newspapers and an examination of thousands of commercial photographs reveal how this emerging world view played out in daily life, especially in the striking collection of newspaper editorials and images that united American and British symbols and destinies.¹⁵ Such strains were

2000), 105–138. Bederman’s book briefly mentions Jack London’s Anglo-Saxonist beliefs but calls his work “heroic adventure stories”; Bederman, *Manliness & Civilization*, 2, 23, 41–42.

12. Kramer and Plotz, “Pairing Empires,” para. 4 of online version cited in note 5; Kramer, “Empires, Exceptions, and Anglo-Saxons,” 1335–1338; quote is on p. 1344. Kramer, like Bederman and Jacobson, does not address the Far North as part of the Anglo-Saxonist imperial project.

13. Robert Bruce Campbell, “Inside Passage: Alaskan Travel, American Culture, and the Nature of Empire, 1867–1898” (Ph.D. dissertation, Yale University, 2003); Campbell, “Facing North: Jack London’s Imagined Indians on the Klondike Frontier,” *Northern Review*, 19 (Winter 1998), 122–140; Alexander Nemerov, “Haunted Super-masculinity: Strength and Death in Carl Rungius’s *Wary Game*,” *American Art*, 13 (Fall 1999), at <http://nmaa-ryder.si.edu/journal/v13n3/nemerov.html>; accessed March 2004.

14. Thanks to Benjamin Madley for pointing out the importance of the Yukon as an early testing ground for this connection away from merely elite or diplomatic settings.

15. This project is based on an analysis of each issue in the first three years of the *Klondike Nugget* and *Daily Klondike Nugget*, from June 16, 1898, to May 1, 1901, as well as nine months of the *Dawson Daily News*, from 1900 and 1901, and six months of the *Skaguay Daily Morning Alaskan*, from 1899 and 1900. Hundreds of photographs of the Yukon in the years 1896–1901 were also examined; these include those available in the Western Americana collection of the Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library at Yale University and the extensive online digital collection of the University of Washington, at <http://content.lib.washington.edu/alaskasearch.html>. At the Beinecke, the most informative were: Cantwell, *The Klondike, a Souvenir: Illustrations*; George Max Esterly Alaska Gold Rush Papers; M. W. Goetzman, “Photographs of Hunting, Mining and Scenery in Yukon and Alaska”; Eric A. Hegg, *Souvenir of Alaska and Yukon Territory*

particularly clear in the *Klondike Nugget*, the first newspaper in town and the only one run by Americans.¹⁶ Founded by Midwestern brothers Eugene and George Allen, the *Nugget* began publishing in the waning days of the Klondike gold rush, and was at its strength in the years 1898 to 1901, a crucial period in Dawson's, and the world's, transformation.¹⁷ The *Nugget* is featured because it took up the claims of global Anglo-Saxonism with the greatest fervor—although, in almost every case, its sentiments found echoes in the other independent newspaper, the Canadian-edited *Dawson Daily News*. The evidence also stretches beyond such self-conscious posturing, as glimpses of the streets and everyday life of Dawson suggest that the pairing of empires was a commonly expressed ideal for Dawson's Anglophone elite. To read world events through the pages of the *Klondike Nugget* in these years is to see a high point of Anglo-Saxonist rhetoric.

“The star of empire has ceased to take its course westward,” began the *Nugget's* first editorial, printed on June 16, 1898, for “the land of promise now lies in the direction of the polar regions, and

(Skaguay [sic], Alaska, 1900); William Henry White Papers, Western Americana Collection; *Souvenir Letter* (Dawson, Y.T. [c. 1899]); *Views of Alaska* [n.p., 1901?]; *Zaccarelli's Pictorial Souvenir Book of the Golden Northland: With 192 Original Photographic Reproductions* (Dawson, Y.T. [1908?]); the most informative from the online collection at the University of Washington were the Harriman Alaska Expedition of 1899; the Eric A. Hegg Photographs; the Frank La Roche Photographs; and the William E. Meed Photographs. For scholarship on these photographs and on the photographers active in Dawson in this era, see David Mattison, “Photo Nuggets: Klondike Photographers,” *Beaver*, 77 (Nov. 1997), 33–39; Murray Cromwell Morgan and Eric A. Hegg, *One Man's Gold Rush: A Klondike Album* (Seattle, 1967); Graham Wilson, *The Klondike Gold Rush: Photographs from 1896–1899* (Whitehorse, Y.T., 1997).

16. For the *Nugget's* history, see the history and interview with the editors in Russell A. Bankson, *The Klondike Nugget* (Caldwell, Idaho, 1935), and Ian Macdonald and Betty O'Keefe, *The Klondike's "Dear Little Nugget"* (Victoria, B.C., 1996), a slim volume of reprinted articles. On the first issue, see Bankson, *The Klondike Nugget*, 79–84.

17. Henry Guest has identified 1898 as a watershed year for the transformation of Dawson; Robert W. Service used the years 1897 to 1902 to frame his gold rush novel. Henry James Guest, “City of Gold: Dawson, Yukon Territory, 1896–1918” (Ph.D. dissertation, University of Manitoba, 1982), ix, 284; Peter Mitham, “Recalling the Gold Rush: Autobiography, History, and Robert W. Service,” *Northern Review*, 19 (Winter 1998), 101–112. Charlene Porsild's study treats the situation in 1898 as parallel with that of 1901 but misses the significance of the intervening years; Porsild, *Gamblers and Dreamers*, 201–209. On a global scale, Kramer similarly pegged his study to the years 1898–1904, and Stuart Anderson discussed the years between the Spanish-American War and the Russo-Japanese War as key moments of Anglo-Saxonist cooperation in the Pacific; Kramer, “Empires, Exceptions, and Anglo-Saxons,” 1318, 1320, 1344; Anderson, *Race and Rapprochement*, 13, 72.

Horace Greeley, if now alive, would doubtless advise the young man to go north instead of west." With the bravura of mining town journalists, the newspaper addressed Dawson's denizens through its American miners, sending "to our brethren in the states a message of good cheer."¹⁸ In the only significant study of Dawson newspapers, Edward F. Bush pigeonholed the *Nugget* as an American newspaper, "particularly as an opposition organ to the territorial government," and painted the government-sponsored *Yukon Sun* as having a "strongly nationalist and anti-American bias." Bush titled his study "The *Dawson Daily News*: Journalism in the Klondike," and he focused mostly on the lone survivor and the decades after the other local papers had closed. One must be wary of Bush's claim that the *News* "restricted itself to copious factual reporting and catering to patriotic sentiment." Indeed, on a number of occasions, the *News* participated in Yukon Anglo-Saxonism. When Bush noted a "typical . . . chauvinism found in all the Dawson papers," he dismissed it, arguing that "this was not peculiar to the Klondike during the twilight years of the 'white man's burden' and colonial empire."¹⁹ Bush far undervalued the importance of this language by focusing on U.S.-Canadian relations and not on the larger Anglo-Saxonist conquest just then encircling the globe. His analysis missed the unique place of the Klondike for both British colonialism and the nascent American empire.

Newspapers played a prominent role in announcing (some would say concocting) the Klondike Gold Rush. News syndicates sent men and women to cover events as they happened, with new technologies that made the rush one of the first real-time international news events.²⁰ The reporters soon found out how isolated the Yukon truly was. As Scripps-McCrae correspondent E. Hazard Wells wrote in his diary on October 12, 1897, "next to a letter from home the most prized piece of reading matter is the latest newspaper, only a couple of months old." Rumors flew up and down the trail; Wells wrote that, in the ice-locked North, they wondered if "Cuba may be free, Hawaii annexed and Africa partitioned; any of

18. "GOOD MORNING GENTLEMEN," *Klondike Nugget*, June 16, 1898, p. 2.

19. Edward F. Bush, "The *Dawson Daily News*: Journalism in the Klondike," *Canadian Historic Sites*, 21 (1979), 88, 73, 82, 73, 95, 82.

20. Dianne Newell, "The Importance of Information and Misinformation in the Making of the Klondike Gold Rush," *Journal of Canadian Studies*, 21 (April 1987), 95-111.

the crowned heads of Europe may have died with a whole consequent recasting of European politics." Wells listed these concerns even before worries of "the possibilities of death, fire, flood, financial crash, riot, etc., in our own beloved land!"²¹

The coincidence of the gold rush and the colonial wars fed local passions. When the U.S. war with Spain did come, another journalist-adventurer, Frederick Palmer, noted how the miner found his world reoriented by the news. "When he left home the Klondyke was the ruling general topic of the hour in the newspapers," Palmer wrote; "When he reached his destination he [*sic*] was quite forgotten, and public interest was entirely absorbed in the invasion of Cuba." Not being able to fight was a poor existence for an American, Palmer surmised: "Least of all he liked waiting in latitude 64 degrees for a month or more for news of progress of the only war yet waged by his country in his generation." Kathryn Morse has noted that "American men were attracted to both mining and warfare," and she found miners' letters reflecting this dilemma. For instance, Lynn Smith wrote that, "had I been at home very likely I should have gone to the war," while Jonas Houck opined, "I believe I had rather go to war than do what I am doing."²²

Men who had never ventured beyond the Rockies were now connecting the Yukon to the Philippines, and to Anglo-Saxonist geopolitics as well. Palmer found that the lack of reliable information fed the miners' "weakness of exaggeration"; he related how "twice, up on the creeks, I heard that the Continent has declared war against England and the United States; in the second instance, the detail of an Anglo-American naval victory off the coast of Bohemia perhaps was supplied." Without missing a beat, Palmer continued from these imagined wars to the imagined community of the Yukon. "Such rumors were the natural fruit of the desire of Americans and Englishmen to pay compliments to one another," he wrote, "at a juncture when the Anglo-Saxon alliance of the Klondyke

21. Wells, *Magnificence and Misery*, 137; quote is from 95–96. Frederick Palmer, *In the Klondyke: Including an Account of a Winter's Journey to Dawson* (New York, 1899), 182–184.

22. Palmer, *In the Klondyke*, 163; Kathryn Morse, *The Nature of Gold: An Environmental History of the Klondike Gold Rush* (Seattle, 2003), 122; Lynn Smith, Aug. 31, 1898, Robert Lynn Smith Correspondence and Diaries, box 1, Herbert Heller Collection, University of Alaska at Fairbanks, and Jonas B. Houck, June 30, 1898, Jonas B. Houck Papers, University of Alaska at Fairbanks, both as quoted in Morse, *The Nature of Gold*, 122. Thanks to Kathryn Morse for alerting me to these letters.

was quite ready, without any assistance from London or Washington, to stand in arms against the whole world.”²³

By the St. Andrew’s Day celebrations in 1900, these exuberant claims gelled into picture-perfect form. But no consensus on how to balance national, racial, and international allegiances was obvious to the American editors back in 1898. In its first July edition, the *Klondike Nugget* saw cause to fly only the American banner on its pages, while its account of Canada’s Dominion Day festivities ran on page four of the same issue. The front page was dominated by the Americans’ Fourth of July events. The editors comically portrayed sleeping Mounties roused from their beds by Americans shooting off pistols at midnight in celebration and noted that barking dogs “stampeded as never before in their lives,” a description heavy with the symbolism of invasion.²⁴ The revelers went to sleep only to rest before the sports contests of the next day, events that gathered men of all nationalities off the creeks to form teams. Even the local Native groups were invited to participate, as competition in foot races and in a “kickfest” of soccer in early years, and later as spectacle, for “Indian pie and bun-eating.”²⁵ Resident Martha Black recalled, “in the afternoon there was a baseball game on the Sand Bar,” with “the bats made of boat masts and the balls of twine or wood blocks.” Celebrations concluded with a night of toasts to both the Queen and the President, and with the singing of both “God Save the Queen” and “The Star-Spangled Banner.”²⁶

Editors Eugene and George Allen quickly came to understand holidays as times to celebrate national as well as personal fellowship and to boost Dawson’s importance by claiming two powerful homelands for the newly united Anglo-Saxonist adherents. The

23. Palmer, *In the Klondyke*, 183–184.

24. *Klondike Nugget*, July 5, 1898, pp. 1, 4; section also reprinted in Macdonald and O’Keefe, *The Klondike’s “Dear Little Nugget”*, 26–27. A similar account is in Black, *My Ninety Years*, 55.

25. Michael K. Heine and Kevin B. Wamsley, “Kickfest at Dawson City’: Native Peoples and the Sports of the Klondike Gold Rush,” *Sport History Review*, 27 (1996), 86 (n. 60), 81, 79. Men sought teammates in the newspapers; see, for example, the *Dawson Daily News*, June 20, 1900, p. 4, and June 26, 1900, p. 1, and the *Daily Klondike Nugget*, June 23, 1900, p. 2, and June 30, 1900, p. 2. Cole Harris has addressed the significance of holidays and athletic events in the lives of mining towns with mixed American and Canadian populations in his pioneering article: Cole Harris, “Industry and the Good Life around Idaho Peak,” *Canadian Historical Review*, 66 (1985), 315–343.

26. Black, *My Ninety Years*, 55; *Klondike Nugget*, July 5, 1898, p. 4.

images and rhetoric in the *Nugget* changed accordingly. The following year, the newspaper ran a cartoon showing both John Bull and Uncle Sam joyously sitting down with firecrackers to “observe the Fourth.” It noted how American organizers for the Fourth of July, 1899, spoke at their meeting of “the hospitable action of the British . . . in allowing the Americans to help celebrate the Queen’s birthday” and said that henceforth it would be a “mistake . . . to make the [Fourth of July] celebration a purely American affair.”²⁷ The Allens ran a large, front-page illustration of Victoria for her birthday and marked the New Year and the Fourth in 1900 by displaying the British and American flags together.²⁸ The Canadian-run *Dawson Daily News* also learned to run the American eagle on the Fourth and an elegant portrait of Washington on his birthday; late in November the *News* declared, “EVERYBODY WILL EAT TURKEY.”²⁹ Even the Canadian government organ, the *Yukon Sun*, wrote on July 4, 1900, that “We assure our American cousins that so long as they continue to sojourn with us their rights and their feelings will be respected by Canadians and Britishers, from every corner of the globe.” In 1901 the *Nugget* displayed John Bull flirting with Lady America.³⁰ National holidays were enshrined as joint Anglo-Saxonist affairs.

Holidays mentioned and flags displayed, of course, should not immediately be equated with a sense of forged bonds among the nationalities present. Flags, those deceptively simple markers of nation, were common in photographs of Dawson: American, British, and occasionally Canadian, French, Japanese, and Danish banners flew at sporting events and parades. But the large number of American flags in particular is striking. Even on the main street, the Red Ensign, the Canadian banner of the era, was forced to compete with the Stars and Stripes. Instances of pride in the

27. The cartoon appeared in *Klondike Nugget*, June 24, 1899, p. 1. Quote is from *ibid.*, June 14, 1899, supplement 2. See also *Dawson Daily News*, May 1, 1900, p. 2, and May 25, 1900, p. 1, for Americans celebrating the Queen’s birthday.

28. *Klondike Nugget*, May 24, 1899, p. 1; *Daily Klondike Nugget*, July 4, 1900, p. 1.

29. *Dawson Daily News*, Aug. 21, 1900, p. 2, Feb. 22, 1900, p. 1, May 30, 1900, p. 1, and Nov. 23, 1900, p. 2. For the celebration of Washington’s Birthday and the Fourth of July by the *Dawson Daily News*, see Bush, “The *Dawson Daily News*,” 88–90.

30. *Yukon Sun & Klondike Pioneer*, July 4, 1900, p. 2, as quoted in Bush, “The *Dawson Daily News*,” 98; “John Bull Flirts with Miss Columbia” cartoon, accompanied by the words to “America,” *Daily Klondike Nugget*, July 4, 1901, p. 1.



Figure 2. "A Fourth of July Celebration, Dawson, Y.T.," n.d. Source: *Zaccarelli's Pictorial Souvenir Book of the Golden Northland: With 192 Original Photographic Reproductions* (Dawson, Y.T. [1908?]), Western Americana Collection, Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library, Yale University.

Ensign seem to have been rare, while American and British symbols abounded.³¹

While the strength and power of Anglo-Saxonist claims in the Klondike surprised the American editors, Canadian officials saw a more sinister edge. To the governments in Ottawa and London, the Yukon Territory had been empty before gold was discovered;

31. "A Fourth of July Celebration, Dawson, Y.T.," n.d., *Zaccarelli's Pictorial Souvenir Book*, and Hegg, "The Arctic Ski Club Dawson Y.T.," ca. 1899, Hegg Album. One image that is more juxtaposition than unity contains the dazed, almost bored look of a young man and woman, dressed as the two nations for a masquerade ball and standing together for the photograph. Hegg, "Masquerade Ball to Celebrate the New Year, Pioneer Hall, Dawson, Yukon Territory," ca. 1899, Eric A. Hegg Photographs. Preston Jones has noted American flags on the Alaska side and assumed they would have been matched with British flags alone in Dawson; his work correctly places Alaska in a Pacific Rim context but misses the impact of the British Empire. Preston Jones, *Empire's Edge: American Society in Nome, Alaska 1898–1934* (Fairbanks, 2007), 26, 49, 12, 45. For the Ensign amidst American flags, see Hegg, "Street Scene Dawson July 99," Hegg Album. There was only one image of a Canadian banner appearing alone among the thousands of photographs consulted: "Townsend's Garden and Green House, Dawson, Y.T.," n.d., *Souvenir Letter*, Western Americana Collection.

in order to avoid a feared American invasion from Alaska, Canada had invited a second British colonizing. Ottawa sent two different outfits of troops to the area—the Northwest Mounted Police (NWMP) and the Yukon Field Force. Drawn from throughout the British Empire, the military men squelched democratic sentiments and carried with them the rituals and trappings of the British in India and Africa. Historian William Morrison has described these events as the most obvious episode of imperialism in Canadian history: “Most of the police officers who served in the Yukon during the gold rush,” he wrote, “seem to have regarded the Territory not essentially as a distant part of Canada; rather, they viewed it as an outpost of the far-flung British Empire.” The cover of their gold commissioner’s souvenir booklet showed the Union Jack planted firmly over Dawson, with no other cities or boundaries marked—the imperial flag flying over the whole globe, including the supposedly independent Dominion of Canada.³²

Imperial service was recognized by Canadians as a way to gain status for themselves and their country; new ties with Americans, although appealing, could not compete with the concrete rewards of medals and titles for those who survived battle. The British Empire remained at war in South Africa, and the *News* called for “ANGLO-SAXON UNION” and “IMPERIAL UNITY.” In fact, many NWMP officers performed their duty to the Empire by fighting for Britain against the Afrikaaner democracies, exchanging Klondike parkas for African khakis. Their exploits were followed closely by the *Dawson Daily News* and the *Klondike Nugget*. Both publications saw the introduction of those tested by the Yukon as “A METHOD FOR BRINGING THE BOER WAR TO A SUCCESSFUL TERMINATION.”³³

32. William R. Morrison, “Imposing the British Way: The Canadian Mounted Police and the Klondike Gold Rush,” in David Anderson and David Killingray, eds., *Policing the Empire: Government, Authority, and Control, 1830–1940* (New York, 1991), 92; quote is from 100. See also Morrison, *Showing the Flag: The Mounted Police and Canadian Sovereignty in the North, 1894–1925* (Vancouver, B.C., 1985), and Hugh Dempsey, “The ‘Thin Red Line’ in the Canadian West,” *American West*, 7 (1970), 24–30. “Souvenir of the Gold Commissioner’s Office,” n.p., n.d., William Henry White Papers, folder 19, box 2, Western Americana Collection. The Yukon commissioner, also called the gold commissioner (the title officially changed after World War I), was the chief representative of the Dominion in town, intended to oversee gold standards and report to the Minister of the Interior, and de facto authority on whatever else needed deciding.

33. “ANGLO-SAXON UNION,” *Dawson Daily News*, Feb. 8, 1900, p. 2, and “IMPERIAL UNITY,” in *ibid.*, Feb. 27, 1900, p. 2; *Daily Klondike Nugget*, Jan. 9, 1900, p. 1. The

More than details of Canadian worries, British battles, or American invasions, the *Klondike Nugget* proclaimed the larger coming together of the great English-speaking powers, with the promise of uplift for all loyal Anglo-Saxonists, even in remote Dawson. In the fall of 1898 the *Nugget* editors had reported that a “treaty of defense” between the United States and Great Britain “seems imminent” and asked, “WHY THIS UNANIMITY?” The *Nugget* could not decide whether it was “the racial similarities of the two great English speaking races which has lately drawn them together,” or whether “there is something more substantial at the bottom.” The disconnect between racial rhetoric and lived experience briefly troubled the editors. From their personal experience in Kansas, Chicago, and Seattle, the Allens knew that Americans were “not an Anglo-Saxon race,” for “by far the largest portion of its population is of different extraction.” Nevertheless, the *Nugget* embraced the Anglo-Saxonist cause, the editors writing that Americans and Britons “speak the same language, read the same books, worship the same God, engage in the same pursuits, study the same branches of learning and [can] be in constant, hourly telegraphic touch.” The *Nugget* concluded that such “intimacy eventually begets mutual respect and similarity of aims.”³⁴ Daily experiences in Dawson formed the basis for a new view of international relations.

quote is from a cartoon caption, depicting the departure of Samuel Benfield Steele for Africa. Although Steele is fondly recalled for his role as a Mountie, his renown likely derives as much from colonial wars as from frontier adventures. His war efforts were covered extensively; see *Daily Klondike Nugget*, Jan. 10, 1900, p. 1; *Dawson Daily News*, April 4, 1900, p. 2, and April 19, 1901; battle accounts appeared in February and May 1900 and February 1901 in both newspapers. When Steele was knighted, this event was also reported; *Daily Klondike Nugget*, March 14, 1901, p. 1. The *Dawson Daily News*, Aug. 24, 1900, p. 3, printed a letter from Steele back home to the Yukon. The connection is evident in the subtitle of his autobiography; Samuel Benfield Steele, *Forty Years in Canada: Reminiscences of the Great North-West with Some Account of His Service in South Africa* (New York, 1972). See also an account of Frederick Russell Burnham, *Scouting on Two Continents*, elicited and arranged by Mary Nixon Everett (Garden City, N.Y., 1926); Frederick Burnham was an American who fought in Africa with the British and left to join the Klondike Gold Rush, only to return to fighting in South Africa. Thanks to Jennie Sutton for alerting me to this source.

34. *Klondike Nugget*, Oct. 5, 1898, p. 2. The Allens' background is sketched in Bankson, *The Klondike Nugget*, 15; Macdonald and O'Keefe, *The Klondike's "Dear Little Nugget"*, vi, 5; Lea Kajati Ehrlich, “A Corking Adventure: Eugene Allen and the *Klondike Nugget*,” *Alaska Journal*, 13 (No. 4, 1983), 9. Benedict Anderson would famously theorize a similar process almost a century later. Benedict Anderson, *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism* (London, 1991), especially 35.

The *Nugget* spent the next spring testing out a new, racialized vocabulary. Following the American Memorial Day observance in 1899, the editors noted that Gold Commissioner William Ogilvie spoke of “the fact that Americans and British are all of the same stock,” and their own columns soon expressed similar sentiments. The newspaper could be playfully coy at times, but also hard-headed and essentialist. Countries that objected to boxing were ribbed as “weakly continental nations” that spurned the noble sport “of Old and New England.” Anti-imperialist positions were condemned in far more serious tones: “If left alone it would take the Filipinos hundreds of years to reach the same standard of national achievement which they will now reach in a decade,” the *Nugget* declared, defending the U.S. occupation. Even more boldly, the editors wrote that “the Hawaiians would never raise [*sic*] above the level of a lotus-eating, unambitious vegetation but for the fact than an energetic nation has her with a grasp of iron.”³⁵

In 1898 the United States had boasted proudly of liberating Cuba and the Philippine Islands from Spanish rule; by the next year, native Filipino fighters had turned against the Americans as just another oppressive presence. “Ironically,” Paul Kramer has written, “what the newly connected Anglo-Saxon imperial powers had most in common by 1899 was colonial revolt.” As word of renewed fighting in the Philippines reached the Yukon, the *Nugget* confidently unified American, Canadian, and British voices. The *Nugget* published a map of the campaign in Manila Bay, and, when the British began an incursion into the Transvaal, the newspaper provided a map of the battlefields in South Africa as well. “Every son of Uncle Sam—aye, every nation of the Anglo-Saxon race,” the article explained, “may cherish with grateful devotion” these lessons in “gallantry and bravery.” The *Dawson Daily News* also traced these connections; in its first edition, on July 31, 1899, it reported on the pressure on U.S. Secretary of War Russell A. Alger to resign,

35. *Klondike Nugget*, May 31, 1899, extra, 1; *ibid.*, May 10, 1899, p. 2, and May 13, 1899, p. 2. The language resembles the declarations by Thomas Carlyle that, “before the West Indies could grow a pumpkin for any negro, how much European heroism had to spend itself in obscure battle.” Thomas Carlyle, anonymous essay in *Fraser’s Magazine for Town and Country* (1849), reprinted in pamphlet form in 1853 as “Occasional Discourse on the Negro Question,” as printed in “West India Emancipation,” in *The Commercial Review of the South and West* (later *De Bow’s Review*), June 1850, Vol. 8 (Old Series), Vol. 2: 4, 534.

given the failures in the Philippines. The *Nugget* admitted that “America’s present prolonged troubles” in the Philippines brought “much more charity . . . towards England’s similar troubles” with “the Afghans, the Arabs, the Zulus, Ashantes, Boers, etc.” Now, the editors wrote, “Americans are looking toward Africa and India” to find “how hundreds of millions can be restrained by a few handful of white troops.” As the headline put it, America found itself with Britain, “IN THE SAME BOAT.”³⁶

The theme of common imperial troubles gained a lasting form in Kipling’s poem “The White Man’s Burden,” which in February 1899 addressed America’s new responsibility for Cuba, Hawai‘i, and the Philippines. The *Nugget* was soon quoting its now-famous phrase. Faced with “an unforeseen outgrowth” of invasion, the editors noted that “Uncle Sam is rapidly ascertaining the fact that the ‘white man’s burden’ is after all quite a heavy load to carry.”³⁷ The *News* championed the local “Kipling fund,” a campaign for the widows and orphans of the South African war. It urged the community to donate the proceeds of a Washington’s Birthday celebration. Commissioner Ogilvie, again on hand, conveniently rearranged history to knit together British America. “If George Washington were here,” Ogilvie asserted, “he would join heartily in the spirit of this occasion”—donating to the widows and orphans—for “none respect and even revere him more than do up-to-date Canadians.” Such declarations of unity kept the *Nugget* confident that “the ‘white man’s burden’ will never rest upon shoulders more capable.”³⁸

The *Nugget* remained confident that the Americans and the British would face such challenges together. Those sentiments were most lavishly illustrated in the *Klondike Nugget*’s political cartoons.

36. Kramer, “Empires, Exceptions, and Anglo-Saxons,” 1335; *Klondike Nugget*, April 27, 1899, p. 2; *Dawson Daily News*, July 31, 1899, p. 1; “IN THE SAME BOAT,” *Klondike Nugget*, May 17, 1899, p. 2. The map of Manila Bay appeared in *Klondike Nugget*, April 27, 1899, p. 1, and April 29, 1899, p. 4; the map of South African battlefields in *ibid.*, Oct. 21, 1899, p. 1, and Nov. 25, 1899, p. 5.

37. *Klondike Nugget*, May 13, 1899, p. 2, and “THE WHITE MAN’S BURDEN,” in *ibid.*, June 24, 1899, p. 2. As Kramer has explained, the poem “The White Man’s Burden” was addressed to the United States regarding the Philippines; Kramer and Plotz, “Pairing Empires,” paras. 1–4 of online version cited in note 5. On the poem’s date, see Kramer, “Empires, Exceptions, and Anglo-Saxons,” 1348.

38. *Dawson Daily News*, Feb. 19, 1900, p. 2, Feb. 20, 1900, p. 2 (quote), Feb. 21, 1900, p. 4, Feb. 22, 1900, p. 1, Feb. 23, 1900, p. 1 (quote), and June 24, 1899, p. 2.

Inked by Arthur V. Buel, a fellow American, the insightful and acerbic images matched the Allens' fervor for Anglo-Saxonism. Buel's art for the *Nugget* blended local, national, and international Anglo-Saxonist messages. One early cartoon, drawn for the Fourth of July, 1899, shows John Bull looking on approvingly as Uncle Sam dances with Cuba, the most refined—and, in Buel's depiction, most light-skinned—of the new colonies. But trouble lurks at the margins of the dance floor. In an upper corner, a lonely American in Dawson drinks to the holidays and laments the Mounties' ban on fireworks. Nearby, President William McKinley seems concerned, watching the dance and hearing the complaints of the military veterans in the band who demand pensions. George Washington follows his own warning against entangling alliances, and, disapproving, begs off responsibility, saying, "I wasn't there, I cannot tell a lie." Along the edges, an American leads childlike, racialized figures who hold sparklers and American flags, while a figure with the exaggerated features of a blackface character stands at Dawson's waterfront, setting off firecrackers and chasing dogs into the river. Still another figure smirks and remarks, "A bad day for the coon." This extravagant image, full of swagger and some mystery, matches the early American vocabulary about Dawson and the new American colonies. The cartoon celebrates the American conquest and America's acceptance by Britain but seems cautious about the country's new responsibilities toward those depicted as racial inferiors.³⁹

A depiction of a military man spanking a dark-skinned figure hung over the band in this Fourth of July image. With an American flag flying over Manila, the drawing showed Admiral Dewey punishing Emilio Aguinaldo, the leader of the Filipino independence movement. Buel repeated the pose in his November 15, 1899, cartoon, which paired the challenges faced by the two

39. *Klondike Nugget*, July 5, 1899, p. 1. For the ban on fireworks for the Fourth, see *ibid.*, July 1, 1899, p. 4. Bankson, *The Klondike Nugget*, 199–200. Bankson spells the cartoonist's name Buell, but most other sources use Buel. Buel worked for the *Nugget* from April 1899 until January 1900. Not much is known about him, but he was in Nevada by 1905 and in Sacramento after 1911. Buel's portraits of politicians and others appeared in *Notable Nevadans: Snap-shots of Sagebrushers Who are Doing Things* (Reno, Nev., 1910). William H. Gerds, *Art across America: Two Centuries of Regional Painting, 1710–1920* (3 vols., New York, 1990), 3: 176–177; Nevada Department of Cultural Affairs, "Arthur Buel" in "Nevada Riches: The Land and People of the Silver State," <http://www.clan.lib.nv.us/content.asp?id=5484>; accessed Dec. 2006.



Figure 3. Arthur V. Buel, Fourth of July, *Klondike Nugget*, July 5, 1899, p. 1. Source: University of Washington Libraries, Special Collections, UW23518z.

Anglo-Saxonized empires and equated British and American actions. Here, John Bull and Uncle Sam sit facing one another, the skylines of their separate colonial spaces, South Africa and the Philippines, behind them. Each figure is using his shoe to spank the insurgent leader: Paul Kruger, president of the Transvaal Republic,

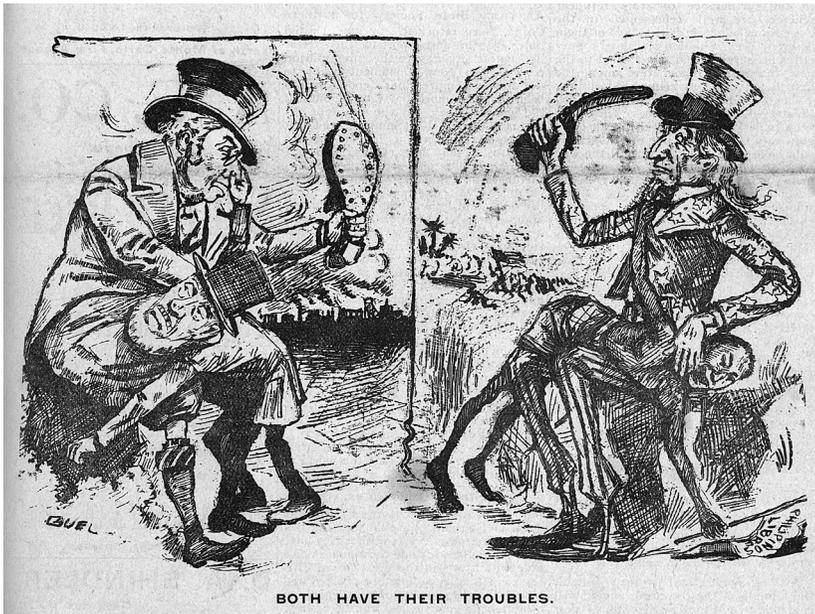


Figure 4. Arthur V. Buel, "BOTH HAVE THEIR TROUBLES," *Klondike Nugget*, Nov. 15, 1899, p. 1. Source: University of Washington Libraries, Special Collections, UW26673z.

on the left, and Aguinaldo on the right. With matching expressions of anguish, the imperial leaders shared in the caption's sentiments: "BOTH HAVE THEIR TROUBLES." As the wars dragged on, the *Dawson Daily News* came to pair these figures as well, in the raw language of the age: "President Kruger has already commenced the same game of hide and seek that has distinguished the military career of that self-appointed dictator, the greaser Aguinaldo."⁴⁰

The most nearly complete merging of Anglo-Saxonism—American, British, and Canadian—came as the Great Powers of Europe, now with the United States included, threatened war with China. The *Nugget's* headline read, "STARS AND STRIPES

40. *Klondike Nugget*, Nov. 15, 1899, p. 1. For a similar mirroring of American and British leaders in cartoons of the era, see the image of Uncle Sam copying Cecil Rhodes's pose in Kramer, "Empires, Exceptions, and Anglo-Saxons," 1333. *Dawson Daily News*, June 9, 1900, p. 2. Racial difference remained salient for the *News*: "In the end, however, Kruger will turn out to be all right, for, unlike the cruel mongrel Aguinaldo, he has many good qualities, the principal ones being honesty of purpose and loyalty to his people."

AND UNION JACK—John and Jonathan Will Invade China Hand in Hand,” while the *Dawson Daily News* cheered it as “the grandest sight that ever greeted the eyes of the nations . . . the Anglo-Saxon nations.” The *News* wrote warmly of “our friends across the border” and declared, “the colonial system of the United States may now be considered as sufficiently well established” for comparison with “the English crown colonies.”⁴¹ Yet at precisely this moment, a visit that could have enshrined the efforts of Yukon Anglo-Saxonism revealed its weaknesses.

Among all the local squabbles, the most immediate flashpoint was always the border with Alaska. By the summer of 1899, conflict over exactly where the boundary between Alaska and Canada lay had led to talk of war. Although a *modus vivendi* was quickly found and a British-American-Canadian commission was appointed to mark the permanent boundary, the issue continued to rattle in the background, causing Canada’s Governor-General to plan a visit to what he called “the debatable frontier of Alaska.”⁴² When he visited Dawson in August 1900, these tensions again came into public view—although they did not appear in the *Nugget’s* columns.

41. *Klondike Nugget*, July 29, 1899, p. 1; *Dawson Daily News*, July 10, 1900, p. 2, and Aug. 31, 1900, p. 2. “John and Jonathan” refer to John Bull and Brother Jonathan, fictional figures that represented Great Britain and the United States. While the *Nugget* embraced a global Anglo-Saxonist view and found common cause with Canadians in Dawson on some local matters, the newspaper never became trusted as a truly Canadian voice; Yukon Commissioner William Ogilvie called the newspaper “inflammatory and seditious” in letters to Minister of the Interior Clifford Sifton. Ogilvie to Sifton, Feb. 28, 1899, file 1023, vol. 4, El(a), Department of the Interior Papers, Record Group 15, Public Archives of Canada, Ottawa; quoted in Bush, “The *Dawson Daily News*,” 85.

42. Quote is from Gilbert John Murray Kynynmond Elliot Minto to Arthur Elliot, Aug. 9, 1899, in Gilbert John Murray Kynynmond Elliot, Earl of Minto, *Lord Minto’s Canadian Papers: A Selection of the Public and Private Papers of the Fourth Earl of Minto, 1898–1904*, ed. by Paul Douglas Stevens and John T. Saywell (2 vols., Toronto, 1981), 1: 113. On the dispute and the temporary resolution, see *Klondike Nugget*, June 21, 1899, p. 1 and supplement 1. The standard account of the boundary dispute is Norman Penlington, *The Alaska Boundary Dispute: A Critical Reappraisal* (New York, 1972). Historian John Dobson has claimed that “the persistent Canadian-American antagonism certainly casts doubt on the interpretation that the Spanish-American War engendered camaraderie [*sic*] between the United States and Great Britain”; John M. Dobson, *Reticent Expansionism: The Foreign Policy of William McKinley* (Pittsburgh, 1988), 154. Yet Dobson did not consider the importance of the South African War for the American-British bond, and his interpretation too easily conflates British and Canadian identity, as the eventual resolution portends. In contrast, the *Skaguay Daily Alaskan*, Feb. 26, 1899, floated the idea that the United States could settle the boundary issue by giving the Philippines to the British Empire.

By statute, Governor-General Gilbert John Elliot-Murray-Kynynmound, the Fourth Earl of Minto, was the most important imperial officer in the Dominion of Canada; by temperament and training, Lord Minto fit the part. Minto held a “firm belief in the empire, the military, the Anglo-Saxon and God” that, according to the editors of his papers, was “instinctive and unphilosophical.”⁴³ Yet he was loyal to Canada and suspicious of enthusiastic Anglo-Saxonism as an American plot. “It’s all very well for people in England to romance about the sentimental love of the Anglo Saxon Races,” Minto wrote to his brother Arthur Elliot, a member of Parliament, on February 26, 1899, “but mercifully England has the ocean between her and her love—here there is nothing of the sort.” Minto saw such bluster as “an idea encouraged by political leaders & taken up by the newspapers.” He wrote that the Canadian is left to “[read] with wonder the so-called rapprochement of the old country with a people . . . whom he thoroughly distrusts.” Sizing up America, Minto wrote to his brother that “we can, if they go on with their colonization ideas, be of immense use to them,” while “they can do very little for us.”⁴⁴

The *Nugget* and the *News* announced Minto’s visit the last week of July. As the day approached, both papers reported on plans for floats, dog teams, and “a general procession” of city organizations, all to be reviewed from a grandstand being constructed on First Avenue. Most significant, according to the *Nugget*, were “three large and beautiful arches” raised over the streets, “festooned in evergreens, flags, pictures, the coat of arms of Great Britain and monograms of the house of Minto.” No longer could Dawson be dismissed as “a barren wilderness”; the visit, the *Nugget* declared, “should mark a turning point in the history of this extreme northwestern portion of the Dominion.” Although a city as “cosmopolitan” as Dawson should hardly notice an imperial officer, the *Nugget*

43. Stevens and Saywell, “Introduction,” in Minto, *Lord Minto’s Canadian Papers*, 1: xix. Minto’s role in American-Canadian relations has been much debated; see Carman Miller, *The Canadian Career of the Fourth Earl of Minto: The Education of a Viceroy* (Waterloo, Ont., 1979), 156–171. Eton- and Cambridge-educated, Minto was a newspaper correspondent during the Carlist crisis in Spain before serving in the second Afghan War and in the Cape Colony with Lord Roberts. After leaving Canada in 1905, he became Viceroy of India; he retired in 1910.

44. Minto to Elliot, Feb. 26, 1899, in Minto, *Lord Minto’s Canadian Papers*, 1: 38. The sentence ends, “and he reads with wonder the so-called rapprochement of the old country with a people with which he, the Canadian, has no sympathy and with whom he thoroughly distrusts.”

postured, the newspaper acknowledged a “spontaneous feeling of gratification.”⁴⁵

Lord Minto and his entourage arrived on Tuesday, August 14, 1900. That morning the *Nugget* and the *News* both printed the details of the parade and the text of the welcoming letters from the leaders of the community. While “a majority of our population are other than British subjects,” the *Nugget* wrote, “the community as a whole is unanimous in extending a welcoming greeting”—a vision the newspaper saw as confirming the melding of Anglo-Saxonist empires. The *Nugget* gushed, “had Lord Minto seen fit to resign his present position and stand for a seat in the Yukon council . . . he would take a lead from the start and win out hands down.”⁴⁶

Minto’s own response to Dawson was far more subdued. Complaints about gold-dust circulation and his own observations on the possibility of taxing gambling or liquor filled most of his notes. Minto mused, “the knowledge I have gained must give me a strong position on Yukon affairs at Ottawa,” while Dawson itself left the impression of a small colonial town. Minto wrote in his journal about “this remote part of the world” and counted “its rough, adventurous, gambling population” as “about 17,000—of which 70% U.S. subjects of mixed races”; he thereby seemed to be negating the *Nugget’s* claims both to refinement and to the imagined Anglo-Saxon community. Quaint, Minto thought: “The town is a wonderful creation—all wood of course. . . . We have come away full of nuggets.”⁴⁷

Upon their departure, Lord and Lady Minto were accompanied by Elizabeth Robins, an American-born actress whose Yukon travel diary would soon provide material for a successful literary career on both sides of the Atlantic. “At the boat there are more

45. For the announcement of the visit, see *Daily Klondike Nugget*, July 23, 1900, p. 2; for the plans, see *Dawson Daily News*, Aug. 2, 1900, p. 3, and *Daily Klondike Nugget*, Aug. 6, 1900, p. 2, Aug. 11, 1900, pp. 2, 4, and Aug. 13, 1900, pp. 1, 4. Quotes are from *ibid.*, Aug. 11, 1900, p. 4, and Aug. 13, 1900, p. 1.

46. Extended accounts of Minto’s visit appear in Jeremiah Lynch, *Three Years in the Klondike* (London, 1904), 205–214, and Robins, *The Alaska-Klondike Diary*, 264–266, 272–276. Quotes are from *Daily Klondike Nugget*, Aug. 14, 1900, p. 4, Aug. 11, 1900, p. 2, and Aug. 19, 1900, p. 2.

47. Minto, *Lord Minto’s Canadian Papers*, 1: 387–388. Lady Minto was presented with a “little basket of virgin gold” as a “souvenir of the miners,” according to the *Dawson Daily News*, Aug. 24, 1900, p. 6, which also reprinted her thank-you note for the nuggets.

presentations and pleasant speeches, and then the band strikes up the national air," Robins wrote. "Most of the men uncover. I was sorry all did not." Robins did not say which anthem was played, but the *Dawson Daily News* reported it was "God Save the Queen," which by other lyrics is also "America (My Country 'Tis of Thee)." Given Robins's account, it seems some Americans resisted the call to salute his lordship.⁴⁸

More significant than the imperial officer's condescension or some caps left unremoved was a controversy that circled about the ceremonial arches. Although the newspapers failed to mention it, photographs by M. W. Goetzman reveal that the British insignias the *Nugget* had described were accompanied by the American eagle, American mottoes, dozens of small American flags—and a solitary *tricolor*, meant to represent the French Canadian population. Such a snub in symbolism in front of an imperial officer of Canada became a grave insult, upon which the *Nugget* never reported. The French consul soon complained in the *Dawson Daily News* that he had been overlooked during Minto's visit. The issue festered, and when Commissioner Ogilvie wrote to Minto a few months later, he felt compelled to mention that, "shortly after you left, . . . a prominent French Canadian [spoke] to me about the Arch erected in Your honour on Third Street."⁴⁹ "Your Excellency may remember," Ogilvie continued to his superior, "that [on] one side of this Arch was pictured clasped hands draped with the Union Jack and Stars and Stripes with the words 'One tongue one people.'" Ogilvie saw the display as "evidence of good will between the two great English speaking peoples, British and Americans," but "those words it appears gave offense to some French Canadians who resented the 'one tongue' idea." Ogilvie apologized for having to raise the issue, but nevertheless, Canadian officers like Ogilvie and Minto knew this "instance of a very undesirable feeling" had to be addressed.⁵⁰ The *Nugget* remained silent on this as well.

48. Robins, *The Alaska-Klondike Diary*, 272; *Dawson Daily News*, Aug. 24, 1900, p. 6.

49. Goetzman, "651. Dawson Awaiting the Arrival of the Governor-General," and Goetzman, "652. Some of Dawson's Decorations during Governor-General Minto's Visit," Aug. 14, 1900, in "Photographs of Hunting, Mining and Scenery in Yukon and Alaska," box 2, Western Americana Collection; Ogilvie to Minto, Nov. 25, 1900, in Minto, *Lord Minto's Canadian Papers*, 1: 440. On the French consul, see *Dawson Daily News*, Aug. 24, 1900, p. 2.

50. Ogilvie to Minto, Nov. 25, 1900, in Minto, *Lord Minto's Canadian Papers*, 1: 440.



Figure 5. M. W. Goetzman, "651. Dawson Awaiting the Arrival of the Governor-General," Aug. 14, 1900. Source: Goetzman, "Photographs of Hunting, Mining and Scenery in Yukon and Alaska," box 2, Western Americana Collection, Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library, Yale University.

The international display that greeted the Earl of Minto and the conflict it engendered provide a pendant image to the St. Andrew's Day Ball photographs. Minto's gate stood close to the end of the Klondike Gold Rush, and Anglo-Saxonist claims faded as the truly multiethnic, multilingual nature of Dawson emerged.⁵¹ Its events were reshaped and remembered into a key moment in formulating an allegedly true Canadian identity. Yet it is important to recover the ways in which these claims were shaped in reaction to a Yukon Anglo-Saxonism, an ideology that had called for a joint, and complete, global conquest.

51. In her community study *Gamblers and Dreamers*, Porsild has used the social history and demography of Dawson to move beyond fables of mining adventure to emphasize that Americans were never a majority in Dawson; that men, women, and children of many nations and classes shaped Dawson from its origins; and that factors of ethnicity served as the foundation for many of the first social networks in a city where "stability, or persistence, was at least as strong a force as transience in this northern community." Porsild, *Gamblers and Dreamers*, 23.

On December 10, 1900, the *Nugget* ran its most explicit editorial on the importance of the Klondike experience for a global racial unity. "The Anglo-Saxon is remarkable in nothing so much as for his ability to adapt himself," the editors began, explaining that, while "his natural home is in the temperate zone. . . . it is his nature to prove himself master of circumstances." The editors volunteered the Yukon as evidence: "No better example of this peculiarity could be advanced than is contained in the history of this territory during the past three years," where there is now "a city in which every comfort and luxury is obtainable," despite "the inhospitable nature" of the region. Continuing its chronicle of Anglo-Saxonist conquests, the newspaper linked the Klondike directly to the colonial wars. "While all this has been going on way up in the neighborhood of the North Pole," the *Nugget* wrote, "British soldiers in Africa and American soldiers in the Philippines have been demonstrating the fact that the tropics will yield as readily to the master hand as has the land in which snow and ice are supposed to be the ruling monarchs." The Americans and British shall lead the globe, they claimed. "In any event," the *Nugget* concluded more modestly, "it may be accepted as an indisputable fact that the Anglo-Saxon can live anywhere in the world and be happy."⁵² The fusion of vision was complete.

These boasts, however, came on the cusp of a changed era. In the first flare-up of the Alaska-Yukon boundary controversy, Buel had copied out a *New York Herald* cartoon, which depicted the fight as a minor issue between the British and American Great Powers, amused by the squabbling of mere Canada and Alaska.⁵³ As events changed, Dawson's true place became more obvious. By the middle of 1901, after Victoria's death and Aguinaldo's capture, Dawson's remote, colonial, and increasingly Canadian character grew more prominent. At the boundary on June 24, 1901, an enraged American ran up to a Canadian customs post in Skagway and cut down the pole on which the Canadian flag flew. The event received international attention, and the Earl of Minto noted "the flag incident" in his correspondence to London. Although the *Nugget* denounced "that Skagway flag" and said the man "would not . . . prove a good, patriotic American citizen," such affronts against Canada gained

52. *Daily Klondike Nugget*, Dec. 10, 1900, p. 2.

53. Arthur Buel, after Homer C. Davenport of the *New York Herald*, "An American View of the Late War Scare," *Klondike Nugget*, Aug. 30, 1899, p. 1.

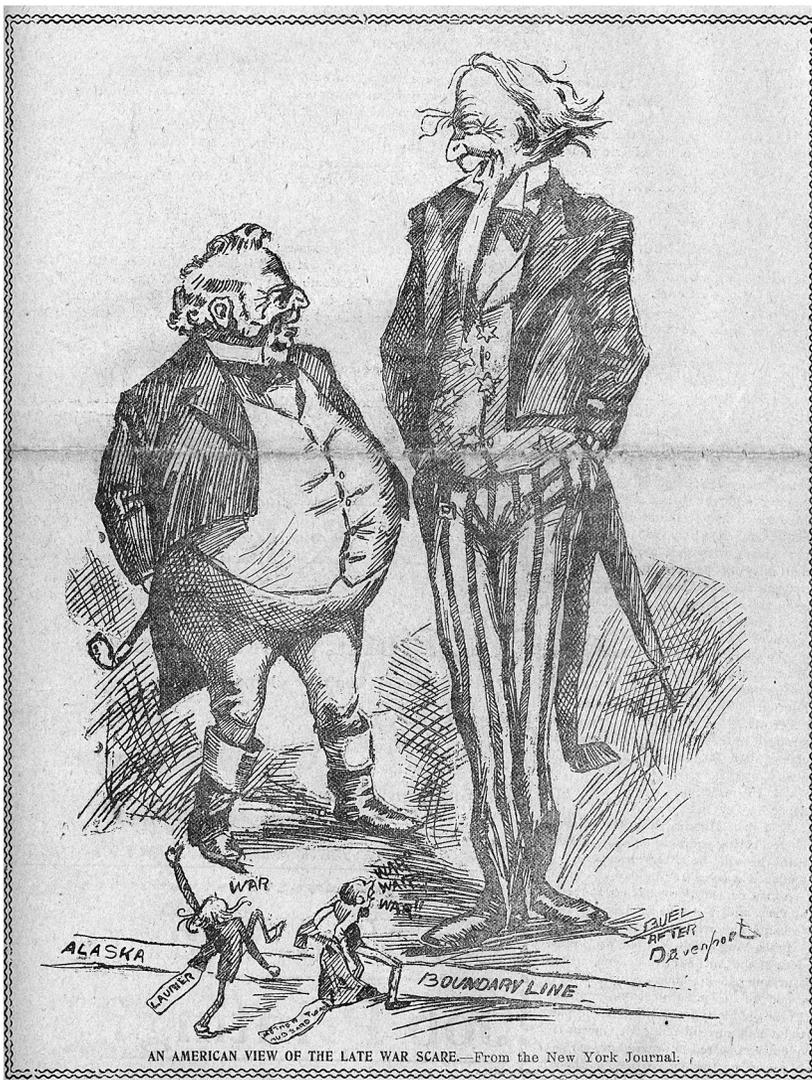


Figure 6. When it came to the boundary, the *Nugget* reprinted a *New York Herald* cartoon depicting the controversy as a minor issue between the British and American Great Powers, amused by the squabbling of mere Canada and Alaska. The editors did not realize their Anglo-Saxonism received similarly short shrift. Source: Arthur V. Buel, after Homer C. Davenport of the *New York Herald*, "An American View of the Late War Scare," *Klondike Nugget*, Aug. 30, 1899. Source: University of Washington Libraries, Special Collections, UW 26672z.

more import. In 1902 the United States and Canada agreed that neither flag would be flown on the other's territory on official business. Social displays also suffered. After the final Alaska boundary was decided in favor of the United States in 1903, Vancouver and Ottawa audiences "hissed the Stars and Stripes and forced the bringing down of the curtain," and in Montreal a theater audience "'began to yell and hoot' at the American flag and sang 'God Save the King' to the end."⁵⁴ Fueling the anger was a deep streak of Canadian nationalism, quite distinct from the rhetoric of Anglo-Saxonism.

The *Nugget* changed as well, losing ground to the increasingly professionalized *Dawson Daily News*. Buel left for the *News*, and Eugene Allen turned to a business scheme, leaving his brother George with sole control of the press. While the newspaper then seemed less eager to press Dawson's place in the world, the *Nugget's* devotion to a joint American-British outlook never faltered. Entwined American and British flags continued to fly in Fourth of July and New Year's cartoons, as the imagined community of the Klondike overshadowed the changes in the region's reality. The *Klondike Nugget* ceased publication in July 1903.⁵⁵

"In the popular imagination," Canadian historian Henry Guest has claimed, "Dawson was a wild west town transplanted to the Arctic. American journalists created that impression." References to the Klondike Gold Rush remain in American culture,

54. "HAULED DOWN BRITISH FLAG AT SKAGWAY," *New York Times*, June 29, 1901, p. 1; see also, under different title, *Washington Post*, June 29, 1901, p. 1, and the *Los Angeles Times*, June 29, 1901, p. 3; Minto to Prime Minister Joseph Chamberlain, Dec. 24, 1901, in Minto, *Lord Minto's Canadian Papers*, 2: 107; *Daily Klondike Nugget*, June 27, 1901, p. 2; "NEITHER IS TO FLY FLAG," *Washington Post*, Jan. 22, 1902, p. 10, and similar article in the *Los Angeles Times*, Jan. 22, 1902, p. 1; *Ottawa Journal*, Nov. 9–11, 1903, quoted in Norman Penlington, *Canada and Imperialism, 1896–1899* (Toronto, 1965), 113. For the final machinations of the boundary commission, see Anderson, *Race and Rapprochement*, 168–170. Clifford Sifton's biographer has claimed that "in mid-January 1898, the [Northwest Mounted Police] was ordered to establish posts at the summits of the passes [near Dyea and Skagway], although they were not to hoist the British flag to avoid irritating the Americans." David J. Hall, *Clifford Sifton: The Young Napoleon, 1861–1900* (Vancouver, B.C., 1985), 180. Evidence suggests that this policy was not followed in the early years; see, for example, Haskell, *Two Years in the Klondike*, 94; Palmer, *In the Klondyke*, 10; Wells, *Magnificence and Misery*, 151.

55. Bush, "The *Dawson Daily News*," 96, 90, 73. Buel's cartoons for the *News* addressed far more local issues; his new employer announced his arrival in *Dawson Daily News*, Jan. 30, 1900, p. 2. On the Allens, see Bankson, *The Klondike Nugget*, 334–349; on the end date, see Bush, "The *Dawson Daily News*," 73.

from the Klondike® bar to Starbucks Fortymile Blend coffee to the UConn Huskies and beyond. The Sergeant Preston radio and television dramas long held sway in American dreams; Jack London stories and Robert W. Service poems are cherished. Similarly, the names of towns like Yukon, Oklahoma, and Klondike, Iowa, link their founding to this era of American westering.⁵⁶

Such visions continue to feed a tourist rush in Dawson today. The Palace Grand Theatre, the site of extravagant St. Andrew's Day balls, still stands. It has been refurbished and made part of Parks Canada's historic district in Dawson and hosts "Gaslight Follies," a centerpiece of the "Discovery Days" festival held each year to recount the fables of the early Klondike Gold Rush. For the re-enactments, the Palace Grand is again hung with flags: the Union Jack, the Canadian Red Ensign, and the forty-five-starred American flag of the era.⁵⁷ This historically accurate display commemorates the moment of transition for Americans from the continental to the global frontier.

On the streets of Dawson, at the intersection of the "two Wests," this transformation took shape in boisterous rhetoric that blended colonial wars and elegant balls, joint holidays and flag displays. The *Klondike Nugget* sought to make that unity happen. The newspaper's words and images nurtured the founding myths

56. Guest, "City of Gold," xvi. Colin M. Coates noted how "place-names provide a living link between the present and the past"—a link to when, "for a brief time in the late 19th and early 20th century, the Klondike was synonymous with wealth, opportunity, and freedom." Colin M. Coates, "YUKON STREET, U.K.: Klondike Place-names in the United Kingdom," *Northern Review*, 19 (Winter 1998), 47, and Kenneth Coates and Colin Coates, "The Klondike Gold Rush in International Perspective," in *ibid.*, 13.

57. Parks Canada, "Dawson Historical Complex National Historic Site of Canada," http://www.pc.gc.ca/lhn-nhs/yt/dawson/index_e.asp; accessed April 2004. "Discovery Days" was founded in 1911 by the Yukon Order of Pioneers to solidify that organization's view of Dawson's founding events; Yukon Territorial Government, "Discovery Days Celebrated on 'Top 100' Events List," press release #155, July 15, 2002, www.gov.yk.ca/news/2002/Jul-02/02-155.pdf; accessed April 2004. Edmonton, Alberta, which played a minor role in the Klondike Gold Rush, is nevertheless known for its annual "Klondike Days" celebration, which combines Old West motifs with the feel of a province-wide fair and exposition. Dan Davidson, "Having a Grand Old Time at the Palace," *Klondike Sun*, Sept. 29, 2000, www.yukonweb.com/community/dawson/klondike_sun/sept29-00.html; accessed March 2004, text and photograph. Information on the current decorations of the Palace Grand Theatre—including a photograph of a St. Andrew's Day ball displayed on the premises—received in a phone interview with Bronwyn Morgan-Jones, producer and cast member of Garter Girl Productions, May 21, 2004.

of colonization, with raw materials forged in Manifest Destiny and imperial exploration and then extracted from the bitter cold of the Far North. As the newspaper pages reveal, for a brief moment, as racial rhetoric was honed and national bonds merged, the Yukon joined the Philippines, South Africa, and China as a key battlefield in the global fight for an imagined Anglo-Saxonism.

