

The Teacher and the Superintendent

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The Teacher and the Superintendent: Native Schooling in the Alaskan Interior, 1904–1918
Compiled and annotated by George E. Boulter II and Barbara Grigor-Taylor

**THE TEACHER
AND
THE SUPERINTENDENT**

NATIVE SCHOOLING IN THE
ALASKAN INTERIOR, 1904–1918

Compiled and Annotated by
George E. Boulter II and Barbara Grigor-Taylor



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The map that appears on p. vii is adapted from a map that was compiled by Alaska Branch from all the available sources, chiefly from maps created by the US Geological Survey and the US Coast and Geodetic Survey and for the Department of the Interior US Geological Survey.

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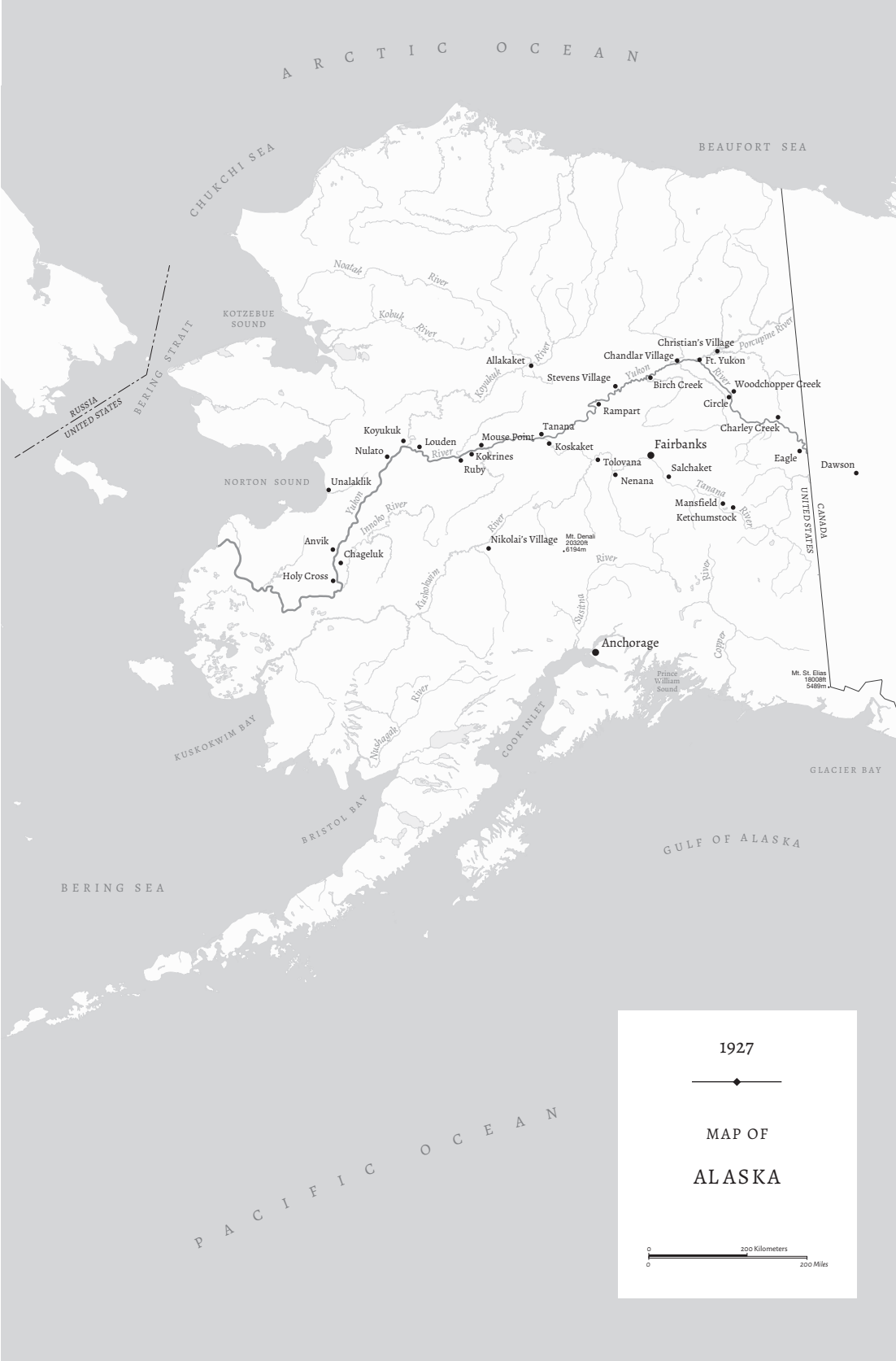
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Preface

The voices in this volume are those of my father, George Edward Boulter, who served as the superintendent of schools in Alaska's Upper Yukon District early in the twentieth century, and of my mother, Alice Agnes Green, a government teacher at the mission schools for Alaska Native children at Anvik and Nenana. Their voices are heard through the letters and reports that George wrote, chiefly to his superiors in Washington, DC, and in Seattle, and in the journal that Alice kept during her years in Alaska. Together, they speak of the lives of those with whom they worked and of controversies, at times quite heated, between the US Bureau of Education and the Episcopal Church over how best to serve the perceived needs of Alaskan Native peoples in the period between the closing days of the gold rush and the chaos of World War I. They also tell of the loneliness and the personality conflicts among small groups of white people in a harsh and sometimes lawless environment, cut off from the outside world for long months at a time.

My father died in 1917, when I was less than five years old, two of my sisters were infants, and the third was yet unborn. He died young, at the age of fifty-three. Our mother, twelve years his junior, survived him for five and a half decades. She was a very private person and seldom spoke to us of her life in Alaska or of our father. We knew almost nothing about him until many years later. None of his personal correspondence has survived, and, unlike my mother, he kept no private journal.

I owe my endless appreciation to my daughter, Barbara, whose years of devoted effort and encouragement made this book possible. Indeed, I never would have been inspired to begin work on it had she not given me in 1994 a copy of David M. Dean's *Breaking Trail* (1988), a biography of the Reverend Hudson Stuck, archdeacon of the Yukon and Tanana Valley. It contained many references to my father and to his official correspondence, now held in the National Archives, in Washington, DC.

In 1994 and 1995, I settled myself in the National Archives and photocopied more than eight hundred pages of father's letters and reports, which are preserved in the files of the Bureau of Indian Affairs (RG 75.11.1, Alaska Division, 1877-1940: Correspondence). From the pages copied, my daughter and I selected those printed here. We omitted letters that merely confirmed the appointment of teachers or that duplicated information found elsewhere in father's correspondence. No letters or reports were combined with others, and none of any historical significance was omitted. In the libraries and archives of the Episcopal Church at Austin, Texas, and the

University of Alaska Fairbanks, I also found some of mother's early letters and published articles, and a few of father's. I am grateful to both institutions for allowing us to quote from some of them.

Many years ago I put together an album about my mother's family, the Greens, for her grandchildren and my sisters. My research for that album is the source of some of the details of her early life and education in Louisiana that appear in this book. Before she died, mother gave me her original diaries and her journal, written in Louisiana and in Alaska, and they have now been given to my daughter for safekeeping.

Knowledge of the Boulter family in England came from letters written to my sister Isabel in 1970 by my father's nephew Leslie Ibbotson, the son of my father's sister Annie Elizabeth and Harold Ibbotson, of London, and the younger brother of Stanley. Kenneth Ibbotson, of Abergavenny, Wales, a senior member of the Ibbotson family and the nephew of Leslie and Stanley, was most generous in allowing his uncle Stanley's letters from Dawson to be printed here. They are the only record of my father's life on the Yukon before 1906. My own research later uncovered details of his travels from England to Alaska in 1898.

This book is dedicated to my sisters, Alice, May, and Isabel, who never had the opportunity to know their father, and to the memory of our parents. Regardless of the judgments that history may pass on the undertaking of which they were a part, the sincerity of their commitment is beyond question. They have also bequeathed to us an invaluable record of their experiences, their thoughts, and their hopes.

George E. Boulter II
Sailors' Snug Harbour
Sea Level, North Carolina
July 2005

Introduction

When my grandparents, George Boulter and Alice Green, left their homes on opposite sides of the Atlantic to make the long journey to the Yukon and Alaska, they went for quite different reasons. George went to seek his fortune; Alice went to serve. Both left cities dominated by a river—London and the Thames, New Orleans and the Mississippi—and both had spent their early lives with the same constant ebb and flow of the people and goods of a riverine life such as they found in Alaska. Ultimately, both worked at spectacular sites on another river—the Yukon—at its junctions with the Tanana River and with the Anvik River, in the Alaska Interior.

George was born in London on July 27, 1864, one of six children and the eldest son of James Boulter and his wife, Ellen Barnes. James was a designer and engraver of floor coverings and wallpapers who, from 1873, owned and operated a showroom and workshop on South Lambeth Road. George, who had a good education, wrote well, was a competent draughtsman, and played both the piano and organ, worked in his father's business until 1897.

The ancient London borough of Lambeth, where the Boulter family lived, was traditionally home to the watermen, warehouses, and small industries that served the City of Westminster just across the Thames, on its north bank. By the 1880s, Lambeth was becoming popular among bank and legal clerks and office personnel employed in central London. Although it still had some of the large homes of prosperous merchants and manufacturers, it was most heavily populated by poor, working-class people who toiled in sawmills, glass and slate works, builders' yards, potteries, and the like. George lived through epidemics there; open sewers and tidal flooding were common; smallpox and cholera were not uncommon. He was aware of the problems of the poor: substandard housing, lack of adequate sanitation, unsafe working conditions, little education or chance for advancement.

In 1898, at the age of thirty-three, George left home to try his hand at gold prospecting. The Klondike gold rush held more appeal than the draughting and design work that he knew—or the clerical work, teaching, or social work he might have taken up in Lambeth or elsewhere in England. Yet these were the very activities that would engage him in Alaska, and for which he proved to have some ability.

Alice was born in Galveston, Texas, on September 20, 1878, and raised in New Orleans, one of six children and the eldest daughter of John James Green and his wife,



*Faithfully yours
Geo. E. Boulter*

George Edward Boulter, 1897. This photograph, with his signature, was taken in London before he left for Alaska early the next year. Collection of Alice A. Boulter.

Alice Garrett Campbell. The family was Southern to the core, in the South since the early eighteenth century. Her father was born in New Orleans and lived all his sixty years there, with the exception of the Civil War years and a short time in Galveston, where his parents had a home. Of his profession, Alice knew only that he was “in railroads.” As a fifteen-year-old lad, John had walked out of New Orleans after its surrender to the Union Army in 1862, crossed the marshes and Lake Ponchartrain, and stopped only when he reached Mobile, Alabama. There he obtained transport to Richmond, Virginia, where he joined the Louisiana Guard Battery, commanded by his uncle, and fought with the Confederates until their surrender in 1865. Both of Alice’s great-great-grandfathers, from Georgia and Virginia, were also soldiers—one a private and one a lieutenant—who served with the Continental Army during the American War of Independence.

Alice’s life in Louisiana was more sedate but in its own way revolutionary—or at least befitting a Rebel. At this time, it was expected, if not always spoken, that an eldest daughter would care for her mother in old age and would remain on hand to counsel and guide her younger siblings. And yet it was also perceived as the Christian duty of educated, capable young women to minister to the poor and unfortunate, at home or among “heathens,” whether American Indians, Chinese, or South Sea Islanders. Missionary work and teaching were respectable occupations for single young women like Alice—being a shop girl was not. Her family home on Felicity Street in the fashionable new Lower Garden District of New Orleans was not far from working-class neighbourhoods along the Mississippi. So, like George in Lambeth, Alice was well aware of the effects of poverty and lack of education.

A devout Christian, who loved children, especially the little ones, Alice was very early attracted to the caring aspects of teaching. She studied at the New Orleans Free Kindergarten Training School and received her teaching diploma there in 1899. Her first position in New Orleans was close to home, at Kingsley House, the first settlement house in the South. This was the period during which the settlement movement was gaining ground in the United States. Founded in England in 1884, with the opening of Toynbee Hall in East London, the movement sought to promote the infusion of middle-class values among working-class populations by establishing “settlement houses” in poor urban areas where social workers would provide education and other needed services.

Kingsley House was, and remains, adjacent to the so-called Irish Channel, the area close to the Mississippi’s riverboat docks, warehouses, and small factories that was settled by the Irish escaping the potato famine in the 1840s and where they mostly remained as labourers. Its head resident, and Alice’s close friend and mentor, was Eleanor McMMain, sometimes called “the Jane Addams of New Orleans.”¹ Through her work at Kingsley House, McMMain was instrumental in launching the field of social work in the American South.

1 Rebecca Morrow-Nye, “McMMain, Eleanor,” in *Dictionary of American Biography*, 15:153. See also Allen F. Davis, “McMMain, Eleanor Laura,” in *Notable American Women, 1607–1950*, and Isabelle Dubroca, *Good Neighbor Eleanor McMMain of Kingsley House*.



Side view of the plantation house in Bastrop, Louisiana, about 1903, where Alice lived for three years while teaching school. Collection of Alice A. Boulter.



Alice in the swing at Bastrop, seated on the right (detail). Collection of Alice A. Boulter.

Alice then took a student teaching position at the Summer School of the South in Knoxville, Tennessee, and following this made the upriver journey to Chicago to work at Hull House under Jane Addams herself. Addams was not only a social worker but in the first generation of college-educated women in America—an early feminist, who, in 1915, became the first chairperson of the Women’s Peace Party, as well as president of the International Congress of Women held that same year in The Hague. She had established Hull House, the second settlement house in America, in 1889, locating it in Chicago’s most needy neighbourhood. There, Addams’s ideals found expression in practical goals: to provide social services for the poor, including a day-care centre for working mothers, language and citizenship classes for immigrants, legal and health care services, a community kitchen, recreational facilities, a book bindery, an art studio, a music school and theatre, a gymnasium for boys, and a boarding club for working girls. She was, in the words of settlement house leader Albert J. Kennedy, “convinced by her experience that the health, happiness, and sanity of her sex depended upon women’s active participation in the work and ordering of the world.”² The influence of McMains and Addams is obvious in the journal that Alice kept while in Alaska, and her work with Native children there reflects the teachings of these two inspirational women.

Little of all this is apparent in Alice’s personal diary (now in my possession), kept at Bastrop and Winnfield, Louisiana, where she taught kindergarten and primary school for a number of years before leaving for Alaska in 1907. Outside teaching duties, her life was an endless round of “paying calls,” social and church gatherings, choir practice, horseback rides in “skirts” (sidesaddle), or drives with gentlemen admirers in a “rig,” a “surrey,” or “trap,” through green fields or “out on the bayou road.” She delighted in quiet moments under the oaks or pecan trees, in nosegays of flowers, and in preparing school or Bible class lessons alone, “deep in the pastures.” She certainly brought something of the Sunny South with her to Alaska, although her sunny nature was sometimes misconstrued as frivolousness, particularly by Mrs. Evans, the austere Bostonian matron at the Anvik mission. Her Alaska journal and school reports, however, show that she was anything but frivolous in her approach to teaching and her devotion to the children in her care.

George and Alice met in their professional capacities at Anvik early in 1909, and in August and September that year they met socially in Fairbanks and again at Tanana. Little can be gleaned from her journal, and certainly not from his official letters, of their growing attachment to each other. At the end of September 1910, in a late-evening talk with Annie Farthing, the matron at St. Mark’s Mission boarding school in Nenana, Alice announced her engagement. George didn’t reveal his intentions to his superiors until April 1911, just three months before the wedding. Their respective positions with the Alaska School Service left little time for amusements or courtship, especially in George’s case. On the one occasion that he mentions her by name in a

2 Albert J. Kennedy, “Addams, Jane,” in *Dictionary of American Biography, Supplement 1*, 11.

letter, he calls her “Agnes.” Indeed, Alice used her middle name until leaving Alaska, signing herself “A. Agnes Green” and subsequently, “A. Agnes Boulter.”



The Alaskan Interior, where the two lived and worked, extends from Norton Sound, on the Bering Sea, eastward to the Canadian border, bound on the north by the Brooks Range and on the south by the Alaska Range and Wrangell Mountains. A vast, sparsely populated plateau covering nearly half the state’s landmass, the area is dotted with peaks and subarctic forest and is home to migrating herds of caribou and moose. The city of Fairbanks lies in the heart of the Interior, and, even today, parts of the region surrounding it remain difficult to reach. At the turn of the twentieth century, the Yukon River was the Interior’s main artery, serving as the trade route from the coast. The headwaters of the Yukon River lie to the south of Whitehorse, in a series of lakes that straddle the border between the far northwest corner of British Columbia and the Yukon. From Whitehorse, the river runs northwest through Dawson, crossing into Alaska at Eagle, just west of the border with Canada, and continuing on to the area known as the Yukon Flats. At Fort Yukon, it turns to the southwest, flowing through Rampart, Tanana, Kokrines, and Koyukuk, and then south to Anvik and Holy Cross, before finally curving west and north and ultimately emptying into the Bering Sea, just below Norton Sound.

The river presented its own problems of access, however. Along its 1,200-mile course from Anvik, in the west, upriver to Eagle, at the Canadian border, the Yukon was open to steamer and small boat traffic no more than five months a year, from June to late October, and otherwise iced in. Its main Alaskan tributaries, such as the Innoko, Koyukuk, Tanana, and Porcupine rivers, were no better. Winter travel in the Interior was limited to dog sleds, snow shoes, toboggans, and the occasional horse-drawn sled, while summer travel off the main river systems was complicated by expanses of broad marshy plains and muskeg, criss-crossed by creeks and minor waterways navigable only by small boat. Far from the more southerly coastal cities of Ketchikan, Sitka, Juneau, and Skagway, the weather could be brutal. Winter temperatures could easily drop to minus 50°C, and in summer the soil could remain frozen to within a foot of the surface, making subsistence farming an impossibility.

From 1867, with the signing of the Treaty of Cession and the purchase of Alaska from Russia, through to 1884, the Department of Alaska was primarily a military holding, variously administered by the US Army, the Department of the Treasury, and the US Navy. In 1884, the District Organic Act (also known as the First Organic Act) brought some measure of civil and judicial administration to the region. But with 4,000 miles separating the District of Alaska, as it was designated, from the seat of power in Washington, DC, and without a direct telegraph link between the two until 1903, communication remained limited to sea-borne correspondence, carried inland with difficulty. After 1884, a federally appointed governor was headquartered at Sitka,

located on Baranof Island, in the Alexander Archipelago, far from the Interior. The only practicable route from Sitka to Fairbanks was by sea to Juneau, then up the Lynn Canal, followed by a long portage to the upper reaches of the Yukon River, and finally downriver to Fairbanks—a 2,000-mile journey taking two months.

Today, Alaska Native peoples are customarily divided into three groups: Eskimo, Indian, and Aleut. In Canada and Greenland, “Indian” and “Eskimo” are regarded as derogatory terms and have been replaced by “First Nations” and “Inuit,” respectively, but so far this change in terminology has not caught on in Alaska. Alaska’s Eskimo peoples—Yup’ik, Iñupiat, and Siberian Yup’ik—primarily dwell in areas along the coast. So do the Haida, Tlingit, and Ts’msyan (Tsimshian), First Nations familiar in Canada as their territory extends well into coastal British Columbia. The Alaska Interior is occupied chiefly by Dene peoples, who speak a variety of Dene (Athabaskan) languages, while the Aleut population is concentrated in the Aleutian Islands.³

In the nineteenth century, however, in view of incomplete surveys and the enormous distances involved, government officials often had little first-hand knowledge of the Alaskan terrain and its inhabitants, especially the Dene of the Interior, and many of their decisions were based instead on the government’s experience with American Indian peoples.⁴ No doubt this lack of understanding played its part in a century-long succession of amendments to legislation and shifts in policy. In addition, Alaska Natives stood in a somewhat different legal relationship to the US government than did American Indians. Alaska never had the equivalent of the Indian Wars, nor did the US government enter into treaties with Alaska Natives—treaties that were founded on the concept of Aboriginal title to land but that ultimately robbed American Indians of their autonomy, reducing them to the status of dependents.⁵ In Alaska, Aboriginal title was never formally recognized, with the result that, in the eyes of the government, Alaska Natives had no legal claim to the territory they occupied. Although section 8 of the District Organic Act

3 Dene (or Dené) languages are more commonly known as (Northern) Athabaskan languages, a word often spelled “Athabaskan” in the context of Alaska, in accordance with a 1997 resolution by the Tanana Chiefs Conference designating this as the preferred spelling (see “The Name ‘Athabaskan,’” Alaska Native Language Center, <http://www.uaf.edu/anlc/resources/athabaskan/>; cf. Michael E. Krauss, “The Name Athabaskan”). In 2012, however, in response to a growing movement among scholars, the Athabaskan Languages Conference (headquartered in British Columbia) changed its name to the Dene Languages Conference (see “About Dene Languages,” Dene Languages Conference, <http://www.2014denelanguageconference.com/#!about/c4nz>). The term *Athabaskan* derives from a Cree place name and is thus not a name that speakers of these languages would use of themselves. Although the term *Dene* is sometimes applied more narrowly, to refer specifically to Dene-speaking groups in northern Canada, and here the term will be used in its broader sense, to refer collectively to the peoples who inhabited the Alaska Interior.

4 Following established practice, I use “American Indian” to refer to indigenous groups in the forty-eight states south of Canada and “Alaska Native” for the indigenous peoples of Alaska.

5 In the space of roughly a century, from 1778 to 1871, the United States negotiated close to four hundred treaties with American Indian nations. For a thought-provoking discussion, see Vine Deloria Jr. and David E. Wilkins, *Tribes, Treaties, and Constitutional Tribulations*.

of 1884 stated that “the Indians or other persons in said District shall not be disturbed in the possession of any land actually in their use or occupation, or now claimed by them,” it went on specify that “the terms under which such persons may acquire title to such lands is reserved for future legislation by Congress.” In fact, balancing the prospect of great wealth from mining and natural resources with the pledge enshrined in the first part of this statement proved difficult, especially for an absentee landlord.

The same act also stipulated, in section 13, that the “the Secretary of the Interior shall make needful and proper provision for the education of the children of school age in the Territory of Alaska, without reference to race” and that “the sum of twenty-five thousand dollars, or so much thereof as may be necessary, is hereby appropriated for this purpose.” During the nineteenth century and throughout much of the twentieth, official policy, in the United States as in Canada, rested on the assumption that indigenous peoples were primitives who must be integrated into the dominant society. Indeed, the only alternative was outright extinction. The “needful and proper” provision of education, both moral and practical, to these peoples was viewed as the key to their assimilation.

In the United States, the goal of assimilation was formalized in the Civilization Fund Act of 1819, which allotted government stipends to organizations—overwhelmingly church-affiliated groups—that provided education to American Indians. Through education, Native peoples would become “civilized”; in other words, they would be persuaded to abandon their own values and traditions and embrace those of white, Christian culture. Such visions of moral progress were, of course, common currency at the time—but had “civilized” been used in its more fundamental sense, to refer to people who live as members of a civil, self-governed, and humane society, there would have been no need for such a project. As it was, the policy of assimilation led to the founding of numerous boarding schools (the equivalent of Canada’s residential schools), first in the United States and eventually in Alaska, engendering a collective trauma the effects of which have only recently begun to be recognized.⁶

With the passage of the Organic Act, Secretary of the Interior Henry M. Teller became responsible for education in the District of Alaska, a job that he assigned to the commissioner of education, John Eaton, Jr., in March 1885. A month later, Eaton appointed the Presbyterian missionary Sheldon Jackson to the position of general agent of education for Alaska.⁷ Until then, the only schools in Alaska had been operated by mission societies. The first missions were established by the Russian Orthodox Church, but, following the purchase of Alaska, the Catholic Church as well as various Protestant missions moved into the area. These included a Presbyterian mission and boarding

6 For an account of the lasting legacy of these schools in Alaska, see Jim La Belle, Stacy L. Smith, Cheryl Easley, and Kanaqlak (George P. Charles), “Boarding School: Historical Trauma Among Alaska’s Native People.”

7 Harlan Updegraff, “Report on the Alaska School Service and on the Alaska Reindeer Service,” in *Reports of the Department of the Interior for the Fiscal Year Ended June 30, 2007: Report of the Commissioner of Education*, 373.

school at Wrangell, on the Alaska Panhandle, founded by Jackson in 1877, the year he arrived in Alaska, and the Sitka Industrial Training School, which he established in 1879.

As a missionary in the Rocky Mountains, Jackson had earlier lobbied Congress for funds for the education of American Indians, and he had come to Alaska to continue his proselytizing and to establish Presbyterian missions. His background and beliefs fit well with the policy of acculturation and assimilation through education. The initial \$25,000 appropriated by Congress in 1884 for all Alaska schools, Native and white, allowed Jackson to begin his work, and, in 1885, the first government school opened at Juneau, soon followed by others. Funding from the federal government, however, was, in the opinion of Alaska's governor, "not nearly sufficient" to build and maintain all the schools and teachers' residences required to educate Alaska's entire population of school-age children.⁸ To resolve this problem, Jackson turned to an arrangement with which he was well familiar: contract schools.

A system of contract schools already operated for American Indians south of the Canadian border, through the Office of Indian Affairs.⁹ In his 1886 report on education, Jackson wrote that, inasmuch as "some of the great missionary organizations of the United States" were already active in Alaska, "it has been deemed wise to arrange with them for co-operation in the work of establishing schools."¹⁰ As it was applied in Alaska, the Bureau of Education, housed within the Department of the Interior, entered into contracts with mission societies, allocating a portion of its funding for schools to existing mission schools, which already had teachers and facilities in place. Church buildings were utilized as schoolrooms, and government teachers were appointed by the Bureau of Education upon recommendation by church leaders. Teachers followed a government-approved curriculum that prohibited religious instruction as part of the formal curriculum, in accordance with the principle of the separation of church and state. The use of Native languages was strictly forbidden in government classrooms, as English was regarded as the language of civilization. Language is, of course, the vehicle of culture, and immersion in English served to drive a wedge between children and local and family traditions. At the same time, to aid the dissemination of the Christian message, early frontier missionaries were often strongly opposed to efforts to impose English. Native languages were thus permitted for church services and for religious instruction (which, again, was supposed to take place only outside school hours and schoolrooms).

8 Appendix E, "Extract from the report of the Hon. A. P. Swineford, governor of Alaska, to the Secretary of the Interior, 1885," Appendix F in Sheldon Jackson, *Report on Education in Alaska*, 44. Swineford argued that "the appropriation should be increased to at least \$50,000."

9 The Office of Indian Affairs was established in 1824, initially as a division of the War Department; in 1849, it became part of the Department of the Interior. In 1931, responsibility for Alaska Native education was transferred from the Bureau of Education (or, rather, the Office of Education, as it became in 1929) to the Office of Indian Affairs, with the latter then renamed the Bureau of Indian Affairs in 1947.

10 Sheldon Jackson, *Report on Education in Alaska*, 34.

In the context of the United States, such a close collaborative relationship between church and government might seem odd today, and yet, as Stephen Haycox points out, to late-nineteenth-century Americans, living in a country awash in evangelical Protestant reformism, “the employment of missionaries as public school teachers seemed quite natural.”¹¹ Concerns were nonetheless raised at the time about whether contract schools violated the spirit of the First Amendment to the US Constitution. Although the question was never actually put to a legal test, in 1893, in response to mounting criticism of the system, Congress prohibited the Office of Indian Affairs from using its annual appropriation to fund contracts with religious bodies. The following year, government subsidies to contract schools in Alaska were reduced, and, in 1895, they ended altogether.¹² In his 1907 report to the commissioner of education, Harlan Updegraff, the newly appointed chief of the Bureau of Education’s Alaska Division, defended the early arrangement, writing that by “making contracts with the missionary societies for the instruction and maintenance of the children in the vicinity of stations,” the bureau had been able “to extend the school system in Alaska more rapidly and more economically than would have been possible if it had depended solely upon its small Congressional appropriations.”¹³ The termination of subsidies did not, however, mean the end of the relationship between the Bureau of Education and church missions.

The principal American Protestant denominations had already reached an informal agreement to limit their activities to the regions of Alaska in which they had historically exerted influence, an arrangement that, in the opinion of Hudson Stuck, the Episcopal archdeacon of the Yukon, prevented duplication of expenditure and discord among the various missions.¹⁴ Under the contract system, government schools became associated with the denomination operating in the region in which the schools were located. Episcopal Church missions occupied the largest region, the Interior, running the length of the Yukon River and its tributaries all the way from Anvik, in the west, to Eagle, not far from the Canadian border. Many of the schools that George supervised were thus located at Episcopal mission stations. As Stuck saw it, once the government

11 Stephen Haycox, “Sheldon Jackson in Historical Perspective: Alaska Native Schools and Mission Contracts, 1885–1894” (unpaginated). See also Haycox, *Alaska: An American Colony*, 193–94.

12 Updegraff, “Report on the Alaska School Service and on the Alaska Reindeer Service,” 375. Technically, Congress’s action in 1893 with regard to the Office of Indian Affairs did not apply to Alaska, where Native schooling fell instead under the jurisdiction of the Bureau of Education. However, as Updegraff notes, the action “was taken as indicating a policy to withdraw appropriations to contract schools” (375).

13 *Ibid.*, 373–74.

14 Stuck wrote that “a meeting of the secretaries of the principal missionary boards was held at which an informal working agreement as to the allotment of certain regions of the vast field to certain organizations was reached,” an agreement that “has resulted in an almost complete absence in Alaska of the unfortunate, discreditable conflicts between rival religious bodies which have not been unknown elsewhere.” Hudson Stuck, *The Alaskan Missions of the Episcopal Church*, 13.

had “professed its earnest purpose of working in harmony with the mission authorities,” it had been able to “secure deeds of gift for government school sites within the mission reservations from the Bishop of Alaska.”¹⁵

The dominance of the Episcopal Church in the Interior was largely by virtue of the Anglican missions active there before 1884. When Anglican Bishop W. C. Bompas retired in 1905, he appealed to the Episcopal Church (the Anglican Church’s American counterpart) to take over the remaining Anglican missions in Alaska, which Episcopal Bishop Peter T. Rowe proceeded to do from his base at Sitka. Rowe had been appointed the first Episcopal bishop of Alaska in 1895, and, in 1896, had travelled the Interior along the Yukon, founding churches as far east as Circle and Fort Yukon.¹⁶ The 1884 Organic Act, section 8, had already guaranteed that churches engaged in missionary activities could continue to occupy up to 640 acres of land in the vicinity of mission stations. In 1900, an act of Congress further authorized the secretary of the Interior to survey these church reserves and to issue “patents” to them.¹⁷

Health care for the Alaska Natives was part and parcel of Sheldon Jackson’s role as general agent of education. In this capacity, he initiated a scheme that would prove to be controversial. Jackson had become convinced that the Iñupiat people who lived along the shores of the Bering Sea and Arctic Ocean were starving and that reindeer would provide them with a much-needed source of food and clothing. In 1891 and 1892 he travelled to Siberia to purchase reindeer and had soon imported 171 animals to Port Clarence, on the Seward Peninsula, for his new Teller Reindeer Station. Jackson had managed to secure financial support for the project, including a \$6,000 allocation from Congress in 1893, and the scheme swiftly grew larger and more complex, with the ambitious Jackson envisaging a highly profitable “reindeer industry” in Alaska. He also regarded it as valuable training for Alaska Natives, herders and apprentices, who would be able to acquire and manage their own herds over time and thus be initiated into the world of capitalism. Eventually, the scheme attracted considerable criticism, largely on the grounds that it benefitted white entrepreneurs more than the Native population.¹⁸

15 Hudson Stuck, *Ten Thousand Miles with a Dog Sled*, 355. Stuck went on to criticize the government for its “detached and lofty, not to say supercilious, attitude.”

16 For an account of Rowe’s journey, see Stuck, *Alaskan Missions of the Episcopal Church*, chap. 2.

17 Act of June 6, 1900, ch. 786, §27, 31 Stat. 330: “The Indians or persons conducting schools or missions in the Territory of Alaska shall not be disturbed in the possession of any lands actually in their use or occupation on June 6, 1900, and the land, at any station not exceeding six hundred and forty acres, occupied on said date as missionary stations among the Indian tribes in the section, with the improvements thereon erected by or for such societies, shall be continued in the occupancy of the several religious societies to which the missionary stations respectively belong, and the Secretary of the Interior is directed to have such lands surveyed in compact form as nearly as practicable and patents issued for the same to the several societies to which they belong; but nothing contained in this Act shall be construed to put in force in the Territory the general land laws of the United States.”

18 For an insightful analysis of the history of reindeer herding in Alaska, see Roxanne Willis, “A New Game in the North: Alaska Native Reindeer Herding, 1890–1940.” See also Dean F. Olson, *Alaska Reindeer Herdsmen: A Study of Native Management in Transition*. Olson’s account, published in 1969 by

One of Jackson's critics was William T. Lopp, a Congregationalist minister based since 1890 at Nome, on the Seward Peninsula, whom Jackson had, in 1893, appointed the superintendent of the reindeer station.¹⁹ In 1904, Lopp became the superintendent of schools for the Northern District of the Alaska School Service. An early supporter of the reindeer scheme, he continued to believe in its potential value but had grown concerned about its direction. In 1905, he urged the Department of the Interior to mount an investigation, which culminated in a report that charged Jackson with mismanagement and recommended revisions in policy designed to restore the original objectives of the project. In 1906, Jackson resigned as general agent of education.²⁰ He was succeeded in 1907 by Harlan Updegraff, who became chief of the Alaska Division of the Bureau of Education (the position of general agent of education having ceased), and Jackson's reindeer scheme officially became the US Reindeer Service that year. Under the Bureau of Education "the distribution and custody of reindeer became an integral part of the then existing school system. District superintendents of the schools and local village school teachers assumed the dual role of educators and Reindeer Service Administrators."²¹ These included George, who recorded his regular contact with the herders and their animals.

During the last decades of the nineteenth century, Alaska's non-Native population had risen steadily, owing in part to the growth of commercial timber and fishing industries and, especially, to the influx of gold prospectors. The population boomed, however, in the wake of the 1896 discovery of gold in the Klondike and the 1898 gold strike at Nome, which provoked a rush that lasted roughly a decade. Recognizing that, the provisions of the First Organic Act notwithstanding, the Bureau of Education could not possibly keep up with the need to supply schooling for all children in Alaska ("without reference to race"), Congress allowed towns in Alaska to incorporate and levy taxes that could be used to set up public schools, and the 1905 Nelson Act further provided for the establishment of schools in settlements too small to incorporate.²² The system put in place by the Nelson Act was, however, a segregated system. Section 7 of the act stipulated that "the schools specified and provided for in this Act shall be devoted to the education of white children and children of mixed blood who lead a civilized life"—that is, who have converted to Christianity and renounced their traditional ways. Responsibility for these schools lay with the governor of Alaska and district administrators. In addition, the Nelson Act (section 1) provided for the creation of an "Alaska fund," into which revenue from the sale of liquor licenses and trade

the University of Alaska, Fairbanks, is most readily available online at http://www.alaskool.org/projects/reindeer/reindeer_ind.htm.

19 Sheldon Jackson, *Report on the Introduction of Domestic Reindeer into Alaska, with Maps and Illustrations*, 16.

20 Willis, "A New Game in the North," 291–92.

21 Olson, *Alaska Reindeer Herdsmen*, chap. 2, http://www.alaskool.org/projects/reindeer/history/iser1969/RDEER_2.html.

22 Carol Barnhardt, "A History of Schooling for Alaska Native People," 17.

licenses beyond the borders of incorporated towns was to be deposited, with 25 percent of the fund set aside for public schools. The education of Alaska Native children remained under the authority of the Department of the Interior, in Washington, DC, administered by the Alaska School Service for the Bureau of Education and funded by an annual congressional appropriation.²³



Onto this confused and convoluted scene came George and Alice, in 1905 and 1907, respectively. George was initially employed by the Episcopal Church to teach at St. John's, its new mission at Eagle Village, where his salary was paid by the church, but he also served as a government teacher at the district school for white children held in St. Paul's Church in the nearby town of Eagle City.²⁴ In 1908, he was appointed assistant superintendent of schools for the Alaska School Service's Northern District, and in 1910, was promoted to superintendent of schools of the new Upper Yukon District. As is clear especially from his earlier letters, the government was engaged in a tug-of-war with the Episcopal Church for dominance in Native education, and it fell to George to negotiate some of the tensions.

Alice accepted a position from Bishop Peter T. Rowe to teach in the Episcopal mission boarding school at Anvik in 1907 but subsequently discovered that the federal government would pay her salary (frequently in arrears) for the 1907–8 school year. Midway through the year, however, a situation arose that confused her status. From March 1908 until early in 1909, she didn't know who her employer was, or even whether she was officially employed at all, but she continued teaching, unpaid. In a letter dated January 6, 1909, Harlan Updegraff informed her that, for 1908–9, she was in the service of the Episcopal Missionary Society, but he encouraged her to apply for the government position for the following year. She remained at the Anvik mission as a government teacher until August 1910, when she transferred to the boarding school at St. Mark's Mission, in Nenana, again as a government teacher in a mission school. At the end of the 1910–11 school year, she retired from teaching to be married to George. After his death, in October 1917, she served briefly as interim government teacher at Tanana, site of the Episcopal Church's Mission of Our Saviour, and as acting superintendent of schools for the Upper Yukon District before finally leaving Alaska in June 1918. Although she had asked to stay on as a teacher in Tanana in 1918, Lopp—who took over from Updegraff in 1909 as chief of the Alaska Division—discouraged

²³ In a letter of April 29, 1913, George indicates that, in areas that lacked a public school, white children were welcome in Native schools, "provided they conformed to all the rules of the school" and provided it was understood that they were "received by courtesy and not by right." It somehow seems less likely that a public school would have extended the same courtesy to a Native child.

²⁴ George's name first appears in Sheldon Jackson's annual report for 1905–6, where he is listed as the government teacher at Eagle (Jackson, *Report on Education in Alaska and the Introduction of Reindeer*, 244). He is listed in the same capacity in Harlan Updegraff's reports for the two following years.

her, writing on April 9 that “I consider it unwise for you to remain in the country with your family of small children.”

From George’s correspondence with the Bureau of Education, we learn that teachers in these schools, and indeed in all government schools in Alaska, were appointed on an annual basis and paid only for the nine months of the school year, from September 1 to May 31, dates that were, of course, set by the government to correspond with the standard school year, not with local patterns of life. Teachers could not be reappointed at their current school, or any other, for the following year until the bureau’s congressional appropriation was announced on July 1, at the beginning of its fiscal year. George often reported on the lack of continuity in his schools that resulted from this policy. Many government teachers came to Alaska hoping to make it their life’s work; many became discouraged and stayed only a year or two. Besides the constant uncertainty about employment, the duties demanded of government teachers proved too much for many. The best contemporary guide to those duties is the *Rules and Regulations Regarding the Alaska School Service for the Natives of Alaska, Adopted May 20, 1911*. The duties detailed in its thirty closely spaced pages of small type—duties that are today the responsibility of multiple specialized agencies—were impossible for lone teachers to fulfill to the letter, supported only by occasional visits from a district superintendent.

In these years, attendance “to the heart as well as mind and hand” of the Alaska Natives through “moral training” was still the goal, as Sheldon Jackson had specified in his 1886 *Report on Education in Alaska*.²⁵ In that report, Jackson had laid out the standard colonial vision of Native education, the function of which was “to instruct a people, the greater portion of whom are uncivilized, who need to be taught sanitary regulations, the laws of health, improvement of dwelling, better methods of housekeeping, cooking, and dressing, more remunerative forms of labor, honesty, chastity, the sacredness of the marriage relation, and everything else that elevates man.” To this end, girls were to be taught housekeeping, cooking, gardening, and sewing, while boys required instruction in carpentry, boot making, and “the various trades of civilization.”²⁶ In his 1909 report on education, Harlan Updegraff reaffirmed these goals, writing that the education of Alaska Natives was the means to their “advancement in civilization” and instructing teachers and superintendents “to regard themselves as social workers and to lay hold of every possible opportunity of assisting the development of the natives.”²⁷ Updegraff pointed to the four main objectives of education as the development of “native industries,” instruction in the domestic arts,

25 Jackson, *Report on Education in Alaska*, 31. Jackson added that Native peoples “need to be taught that both the law of God and the law of the land forbid more than one man and one woman living together as husband and wife, that each family should have a separate home, however small”—a vision of the Christian nuclear family that missionaries worked hard to impose.

26 *Ibid.*, 22.

27 Harlan Updegraff, *Report on Education in Alaska, 1909*, in *Report of the Commissioner of Education for the Year Ended June 30, 1909*, vol. 2, 1297–98.

improvements to sanitary conditions and hygiene, and “the inculcation of moral principles,” with “only slightly less emphasis” to be placed on the standard elementary school subjects. “The schoolhouse in each village,” he wrote, “is regarded as a social center for the accomplishment of practical ends.”²⁸

The 1911 *Rules and Regulations* echoed Updegraff’s words. Schools were to be “conducted for the benefit of adults as well as children,” and instruction (in English, of course) should be “practical in character,” with a focus on “the development of native industries, household arts, personal hygiene, village sanitation, morality, and the elementary English subjects.”²⁹ In addition, teachers were required to perform any “such duties for the benefit of the natives or for the interests of the Bureau of Education as may be assigned to them by the district superintendents.”³⁰ Daily exercise for the children and instruction on the “nature of alcoholic drinks and narcotics, and their effects” were added to the list of duties, along with the prohibition of “profane and vulgar language” among the children. In “extreme cases” the *Rules and Regulations* allowed corporal punishment, although its nature and extent were not defined.³¹

Teachers were further enjoined to report annually to the commissioner of education on improvements made to the water supply, waste disposal, and the ventilation and cleanliness of dwellings in local villages, as well as on what had been accomplished in the “industries,” in the building of “new and improved homes,” in the treatment of diseases, and in the “observance of law and moral conditions.”³² Teachers were to make regular visits to schoolchildren’s homes, provide medical care to all Alaska Native people living near schools, and distribute food or clothing to the destitute, albeit only in exchange for labour from the able-bodied. Furthermore, they were expected to report on families’ means of support and any income earned.³³ Industrial training, the inculcation of agricultural skills, and the instilling of respect for gainful employment were seen as the means to separate Alaska Natives from traditional subsistence living and to prepare them for a new life as modern wage earners.

Teachers were also expected to “exercise vigilant supervision” at all times over their school building, their classroom, and their supplies and were required to submit monthly reports, in triplicate, on attendance and on the condition of their schools. An inventory of supplies, as well as reports on the “physical and intellectual standing” of each pupil and on the state of the local community, were to be sent annually to the commissioner of education.³⁴ In reality, however, teachers were often without

28 Ibid., 1298.

29 United States, Bureau of Education, *Rules and Regulations Regarding the Alaska School Service for the Natives of Alaska, Adopted May 20, 1911*, secs. 13, 24.

30 Ibid., sec. 13.

31 Ibid., secs. 23, 27, 30, 31.

32 Ibid., sec. 44.

33 Ibid., secs. 34–36, 44.

34 Ibid., secs. 28, 29, 41, 43, 44.

classroom supplies, as none were stored on the Upper Yukon and had to be sent by sea from Seattle. As is clear from a number of George's letters, desks were in short supply or dilapidated, many buildings were not properly weatherproofed, and student numbers fluctuated wildly. In a report dated November 1908, Lopp noted that Alice's classes at Anvik were held in "a poorly lighted and ventilated room" in one of the buildings of the mission.³⁵

With its meagre annual budget for Native schools, the Bureau of Education questioned all expenditures by superintendents, even the cost of supplying soap and a weekly bath for schoolchildren. Funds for the relief of destitution were grudgingly distributed, despite the fact that the decline in fish and game stocks on which the Dene peoples of the Interior relied was attributable in part to lax or unenforced game laws for white hunters (some private, many commercial) and to the growth of commercial fishing and canneries along the coast, where the salmon began their upriver run. Inadequate funding also meant that government teachers at mission schools were sometimes obliged to lodge with missionaries, not always an amicable arrangement, as well as to work in harmony with the mission, whatever their own religious affiliation. Even as an assistant superintendent, George had no permanent residence for two years but was forced to reside with missionaries or at the army post or in other shared accommodation.

For their labours, government teachers were paid \$90 a month and superintendents \$150, often a crippling three or four months in arrears. These low salaries, of uncertain duration, allowed for no contingencies, emergency or otherwise, and hardly sufficed for a holiday outside the Interior during the summer months. Moreover, no pensions were available to teachers in the Alaska School Service, and, as George learned at some expense to himself, employees were not eligible to be reimbursed for medical expenses incurred on the job.³⁶ Nor were there full medical facilities near most schools. Unless a devastating accident occurred and the patient could be taken to one of two military hospitals in the Interior or the Episcopal mission hospital at Fairbanks, sickness was dealt with by teachers, using the few medicines allocated to them, or by missionaries, who had their own medical supplies and infirmaries.

Despite its drawbacks, the Alaska School Service attracted many fine teachers. The majority were single women, whose appointment was not so much discriminatory or sexist as practical. Their nurturing, maternal natures were what the job needed. George was of the opinion that single women had a stronger sense of duty and were

³⁵ "Report of W. T. Lopp, Superintendent of the Northern District," Appendix, Section VI, in Updegraff, *Report on Education in Alaska, 1909*, xlvii.

³⁶ See the letters of W. T. Lopp to Elmer E. Brown and to George, both dated June 8, 1911, and the letter of William Hamilton (the assistant chief of the Alaska Division) to Lopp, June 15, 1911. "The only way in which compensation could be made to Mr. Boulter covering the expenses in question," Hamilton wrote, "would be by securing the passage of a special Act of Congress. This would be a very difficult matter as, unfortunately, many similar instances of injury and loss occur in the government service every year."

more devoted to their work, more stable and “contented,” as well as more genuinely concerned with the welfare of local peoples. In contrast, single male teachers were easily distracted; many, he wrote, were in a “constant state of unrest.” He preferred married couples for remote villages, where they might set a good example and remain for some years—and where a second worker, whether a handyman-husband or a motherly, domestically inclined wife, could be had for the wage of just one teacher. As superintendent, George had no direct role in the appointment of teachers, but he was responsible for assessing their individual traits and suitability and for monitoring their performance and the progress of the children they taught. He also had to deal with any personal problems that affected their work.

In 1908, in the section of the Northern District comprising the Yukon and Kuskokwim valleys (virtually the whole of the Interior), there were fourteen government schools, at which 528 students were enrolled.³⁷ These were reduced to eight schools, with 268 students, in the new Upper Yukon District, created when the Northern District was subdivided in July 1910.³⁸ By 1917, the year of George’s death, the number had dwindled yet further, to only six schools with just 170 students.³⁹ In the spring of that year, when George surveyed the villages and small settlements in his district, he estimated that some 1,420 Alaska Native children remained out of reach of education, whether that provided by the government or by missionaries. The Bureau of Education hadn’t previously been aware of the existence of many of these settlements, and with the war in Europe soon to overtake America, little was done to remedy the situation.

Government schools for Alaska Natives did not offer instruction beyond the lower grade levels. Prior to the 1920s, when the federal government began to establish vocational boarding schools for Alaska Native children, students who showed academic promise were sent to boarding schools in the United States proper.⁴⁰ Church-affiliated boarding schools, however, had existed before 1920, such as the Sitka Industrial Training School, established by Sheldon Jackson in about 1884, and the school at the Roman Catholic Holy Cross Mission, opened in 1888 on the lower Yukon. Upriver on the Yukon, the Episcopal Church established two boarding schools for Alaska Native children, one at Christ Church Mission, Anvik, and the other at St. Mark’s Mission, Nenana, and Alice was a government teacher at both. The Anvik school opened to boarders in 1904 and closed in 1937; St. Mark’s operated from 1907 to 1955.

37 Harlan Updegraff, *Report on Education in Alaska, 1908*, in *Report of the Commissioner of Education for the Year Ended June 30, 1908*, vol. 2, 1027 (table 2). The northwestern section of the Northern District contained another twenty-one schools, with a total of 1,164 students. So, as assistant superintendent of the district, George was responsible for thirty-five schools altogether.

38 W. T. Lopp, *Report on Education in Alaska, 1911*, in *Report of the Commissioner of Education for the Year Ended June 30, 1911*, vol. 2, 1394 (table 3).

39 United States, Bureau of Education, *Work of the Bureau of Education for the Natives of Alaska, 1917–18*, 7.

40 Diane Hirshberg, “‘It Was Bad or It Was Good’: Alaska Natives in Past Boarding Schools,” 5.

As both a deeply religious woman and a government teacher, Alice promoted the virtues of the Protestant Christian home: thrift, prudence, industry, diligence, and religious observance, with chastity and sobriety included for adults and a healthy amount of innocent fun and games for the young. Combined with self-sufficiency, these moral strengths would arm the Alaska Natives against exploitation by white settlers and whiskey merchants, while literacy would further equip children for life in a white-dominated world. Despite the distance of the Interior from the coast, the children whom Alice taught were accustomed to regular visitors from “Outside” and a lively schedule of steamer traffic; they lived alongside busy villages with trading posts, itinerant prospectors, and adventurers, who brought not only news but also disease and a variety of other ills. Because these schools were located on church reserves, the missionaries could, and did, prohibit the sale and consumption of alcohol on their land, but they had no authority in adjacent villages. Alice wrote that she could not go to the village at Anvik sometimes because of drunkenness there. When she could, she encouraged village children and young adults to attend classes at the boarding school and extended “domestic training” to their mothers in their own cabins.

In 1912, George reported that many of the brightest students in his schools were being taken from their families and villages by missionaries and sent to mission boarding schools. The missionaries were adamant that the future of indigenous peoples lay in the children, but their methods caused some friction with the Bureau of Education and decreased student numbers in government schools. Verbal clashes erupted between the two over the appointment of non-Episcopal government teachers to contract schools at their missions, over the teaching of the Bible and prayer book in Dene languages in a government classroom (even if after school hours), over which of the two authorities had ultimate responsibility for care of Alaska Natives, and over the presence of government schools on reserved mission land. It became Archdeacon Hudson Stuck’s goal to build Episcopal missions and schools at remote, isolated locations on the Upper Yukon, where the church would educate and minister to the Alaska Natives without government interference. His opposition to government schools on or near mission reserves drove George to recommend that all new schools be built far distant from them. At the same time, he was expected to maintain a cordial working relationship with the missions—while still complying with every directive from the Bureau of Education in Washington, DC.

The duties of a district superintendent, as outlined in the 1911 *Rules and Regulations*, were to visit all the schools in the district either quarterly or, if the school was extremely remote, annually and to report regularly on “the methods, discipline, the teachers and their efficiency.” The superintendent must also “ensure the proper care of Bureau of Education property,” such as books and furniture, and make repairs and improvements to the ventilation, heating, and water supply of the buildings and teachers’ residences (if government property). Further still, the district superintendent would be “ex-officio supervisor of construction of government schools” and would also oversee, inspect, and report on the reindeer herds and herders in his district. Then there

were whatever “other duties” might be assigned by the commissioner of education or the US Reindeer Service.⁴¹

During his eleven years on the Upper Yukon, George also monitored fish and game stocks and arbitrated in any tribal problems, policed the sale of alcohol to Alaska Natives, and did his best to apprehend white whiskey traders. All this was done on his regular and extensive tours of schools, villages, and homesteads and of camps far up creeks, where he sometimes surveyed prospective sites for schools or for a reservation, or took a census of the local population. And, of course, reports and more reports were required from a district superintendent: monthly reports to the commissioner of education in Washington, on the condition and requirements of all the schools in the district, and annual reports on the progress of “the industries, the domestic arts, sanitation and agriculture,” on the “health and moral and economic conditions in the native villages,” and on each teacher employed in the district.⁴² Lastly, an annual budget had to be prepared showing the amounts needed to support and maintain these schools.

Until its division in 1910, the Northern District was the largest in the Alaska School Service; it encompassed the 1,200-mile stretch of the Yukon River from Eagle to Anvik, plus many more miles along its tributaries. From his base at Tanana, it took George a week or more to reach Eagle in the summer months (nearly 700 miles upstream by paddle steamer or skiff) and nearly a month in winter by dog sled, usually travelling alone, often over trails rendered all but impassable by snow. His reports on schools and villages for the Bureau of Education were produced at his headquarters, some handwritten, some typed, and sometimes with reference to notes made along the trail. Situated in the heart of the Interior, he had to contend with slow or interrupted mail service, which meant that urgent matters requiring a response or decision by one of his superiors went unresolved, and one crisis tumbled on top of another. A policy inquiry or a request made in January might be dealt with in March, or even later. (The slow pace of the postal service is illustrated by the chronological gaps between letters to and from George, which are generally printed here in the order he sent and received them.) Mail to and from Washington had to travel a return journey of 8,000 miles; supplies from Seattle came half that distance but often took many months to reach the Upper Yukon. Any short message of immediate importance was sent in an expensive telegraph message.

After 1910 and George’s promotion, his tours of schools were reduced to 800 miles on the Yukon River, from Kokrines to Eagle. But the job became no easier. Gambling and alcohol abuse among Alaska Natives were increasing, even though liquor laws had been tightened, and district courts and law enforcement were already overstretched, with only six deputy marshals controlling the sale of alcohol along 1,600 miles of the

⁴¹ United States, Bureau of Education, *Rules and Regulations Regarding the Alaska School Service for the Natives of Alaska*, secs. 2, 3, 6, 12.

⁴² *Ibid.*, secs. 8, 9, 11.

Yukon River. In 1912, George was appointed a special peace officer, with the power to arrest any person, Native or white, violating the 1899 Criminal Code of Alaska or acting “to the detriment of any native.”⁴³ The latter included the sale of alcohol, and the court cases for which George was subpoenaed multiplied.



Especially after 1915, when territorial legislation established a procedure whereby Alaska Natives could become US citizens (provided, of course, that they had adopted a “civilized” way of life), a distant federal government increasingly looked to the Alaska School Service not only to improve schooling but also to prepare Alaska Natives for citizenship—all while having its funding cut and facing growing opposition from settlers. Partly in an effort to encourage Alaska Natives to abandon their traditional hunting and gathering and adopt a more sedentary way of life, and partly to instill the concept of private ownership, the Alaska Native Allotment Act of May 17, 1906 (34 Stat. 197), empowered the secretary of the Interior to allot “not to exceed 160 acres of vacant, unappropriated, and unreserved nonmineral land” to “any Indian, Aleut, or Eskimo of full or mixed blood who resides in and is a native of Alaska, and who is the head of a family, or is twenty-one years of age.”⁴⁴ The immediate value of these homesteads to Alaska Natives was debatable. Not only was the land too poor for successful farming operations, but, once granted, allotments were held in trust by the federal government, which meant that the landholder could neither sell nor lease the land without permission from the secretary of the Interior. All the same, white settlers resented such “concessions,” viewing them as favoritism toward indigenous people and discrimination against settlers. “‘The sooner the natives are exterminated the better’ is a sentiment I have had expressed to me hundreds of times by people who ought to know better,” George wrote to Harlan Updegraff in November 1909. One cause of this “sentiment” was that white traders were prohibited from selling liquor near missions or government schools—a loss of income to which they objected.⁴⁵

Alaska was a frontier, and, like most frontiers, it attracted speculators and others seeking new resources, suitable for exploitation. As the non-Native population expanded, Alaska Natives increasingly found their independence threatened, as

⁴³ *Ibid.*, Appendix IV.

⁴⁴ “Title 43: Public Lands: Interior, Subpart 2561—Native Allotments,” §2561.0-3, <https://tm112.community.uaf.edu/files/2010/09/Alaska-Native-Allotment-Act.pdf>. See also “Federal Indian Law for Alaska Tribes, Unit 2: Early Alaska Native Land Cases and Acts,” University of Alaska Fairbanks, <https://tm112.community.uaf.edu/unit-2/early-land-cases/>; and William L. Hensley, “What Rights to Land Have the Alaska Natives? The Primary Question,” May 1966, http://www.alaskool.org/projects/anca/wlh/WLH66_1.htm, 5.

⁴⁵ United States, Bureau of Education, *Rules and Regulations Regarding the Alaska School Service for the Natives of Alaska*, Appendix XI, sec. 475. See also George’s letter of August 20, 1909, to Harlan Updegraff.

outsiders encroached upon their traditional territories. Perhaps not surprisingly, the idea of segregating the two by moving Native groups onto reservations was gaining currency in official circles. From the standpoint of the Bureau of Education, concentrating Native peoples on reservations would help to solve the vexing problem of where to build new schools.

Indeed, the problem of where to locate schools was the subject of many letters from George. When towns boomed during the gold rushes, many Alaska Natives migrated to them to trade and work, and schools for their children became overcrowded. As the gold fields were played out, opportunities for cash employment in the mines or as woodcutters declined, and towns emptied of prospectors and traders to whom local peoples might sell or barter their fish and furs. As these groups moved on, government schools in the vicinity of what were formerly boom towns became redundant. In addition, some Alaska Natives had taken up plots of land, many distant from existing schools, in the hope that, once there, they would not be forced onto reservations. As George wrote to Lopp in January 1916, "I have every reason to believe that many natives have taken up individual homesteads for the sole purpose of circumventing the Government in its plans to settle them on reservations."

Reservations were, of course, distinct both from "homesteads" and from reserves, that is, parcels of land set aside for the exclusive use of schools or missions. The possible benefits and disadvantages of reservations for Alaska Natives were debated by all: spokesmen for the School Service, the Department of the Interior, Congress, the Episcopal Church, and Alaska Native chiefs and leaders. In January 1912, Bishop Rowe travelled to Washington, DC, where, testifying before the Committee on Territories, he recommended that reservations be established for the good of the Alaska Natives. Writing to William Lopp in October, George firmly took issue with the bishop's views:

The plan as suggested by Bishop Rowe of placing certain Indians on reservations is, when applied to those living along the Yukon and Tanana rivers, undesirable and unworkable. To place those Indians on a reservation would be a most difficult matter owing to the comparative ease with which they are now able to make a living. Such, too, are their careless and migratory habits that any kind of life on a reservation would be distasteful to them owing to the restraints that would be put on them.

He went on to say that "a reservation would surely be the means of destroying the independence of the Indians" and "would make paupers of the Indians instead of the self-supporting people they now are." These were, of course, the very fears voiced by Alaska Native peoples themselves.

As is clear from his correspondence, George was impatient with the frustrations of trying to operate a government school on mission land. He was also greatly concerned by the government's failure to control the sale of alcohol to Alaska Natives and, more generally, by the increasing incursions of white settlers and hunters onto Native lands. The following year, in a report to Philander P. Claxton, who had succeeded Elmer E.

Brown as commissioner of education in 1911, George recommended the gradual closure of government schools located on lands owned by the Episcopal Church. Instead, he wrote, "I recommend that we have a reservation of our own at some central point along the Yukon," one where "we would be unhampered by outside influences." As he describes it, his vision of a separate School Service reserve is closer to that of a self-sustaining community that would have the autonomy to create its own rules.

To what extent the overall health and welfare of the Alaska Natives was taken into account by the Department of the Interior in its rush to create reservations is an open question, but in all likelihood expediency was the greater priority. Employees of the School Service and missionaries were left with this conundrum: how best to provide not only education but health care on reservations isolated from many Native villages as well as from larger population centres. They already fought a never-ending battle against disease, including epidemics. In 1909, Brigadier-General A. W. Greeley reported that 48 percent of Alaska Natives suffered from contagious diseases, infant mortality stood at 24 percent, and childhood deaths amounted to another 16 percent of the diminishing indigenous population.⁴⁶ Alice recorded thirteen deaths in the small Dene village of Anvik during her first two years there, from 1907 to 1909. She wrote that there was "scarcely a whole one among them" because of both introduced diseases and sickness associated with poor sanitation. Tanana, George's headquarters, recorded thirty-four deaths in 1913 from tuberculosis and syphilis. TB was the greatest killer of Alaska Natives, and no sufferer, however contagious, was quarantined. No isolation wards or "cottages" for patients with contagious diseases were erected until 1926, despite the US Public Health Service having been warned by its medical inspector in Alaska in 1911 that if TB were not eradicated the indigenous population would be extinct well before the end of the century.⁴⁷

Other introduced diseases were measles, influenza, smallpox, and the newly identified infantile paralysis (polio). An outbreak of measles in 1900 had already killed 25 percent of the Alaska Native population in central Alaska and on the lower Yukon River.⁴⁸ As we learn from George's correspondence, a smallpox epidemic that struck near Eagle in 1911 took few lives because of prompt, concerted action and was contained by vaccination. But the polio epidemic near Tanana in 1913, where George and Alice were living with their infant son, George Jr., had to run its course, eventually taking more lives than the better publicized diphtheria epidemic at Nome in 1925.⁴⁹ By 1917, the year George died from typhoid, no general inoculation program against smallpox or diphtheria had begun in Alaska, and although hospitals opened, they also closed.

46 A. W. Greeley, *Handbook of Alaska: Its Resources, Products and Attractions*, 185.

47 Elva R. Scott, *Health History of the Upper Yukon*, 199, 128–29.

48 Robert J. Wolfe, "Alaska's Great Sickness, 1900: An Epidemic of Measles and Influenza in a Virgin Soil Population," 91.

49 Scott, *Health History of the Upper Yukon*, 174.

In the Interior, four hospitals were operated by the Episcopal Church at which Native people could receive medical treatment: at Circle (1897–1905), at Rampart (1902–5), at Fairbanks (1904–15), and at Fort Yukon (1916–57).⁵⁰ Additionally, the church briefly had smaller medical facilities or infirmaries at Tanana, Iditarod, Allakaket, and Nenana and employed the occasional qualified doctor to tour its missions. There were army hospitals at Fort Egbert, Eagle, until 1911, and at Fort Gibbon, Tanana, until 1926, but they were off limits to Native people, although some army post doctors would attend to the sick or injured at the missions or in their cabins and a few peripatetic doctors and nurses were temporarily employed by the Bureau of Education. The Roman Catholic mission at Holy Cross treated those few Alaska Natives that it could, but its facilities were overburdened and underfunded. The first government hospital for Alaska Natives was not opened until 1916, in Juneau, far distant from the Interior, however much George and his co-workers reported the urgent need for one over the years.⁵¹

Quite apart from the impact of introduced diseases, over which traditional remedies were powerless, and the incursion of settlers, the Bureau of Education's move to build "new and improved homes" brought changes in the manner of living, which also took their toll on Native health. Whereas the Dene peoples who inhabited the area of the Upper Yukon had once roamed freely, moving with the seasons, they were now often crowded into poorly ventilated cabins in which they lived whenever they were not hunting or at their summer fish camps. Contemporary criticism of government policies for Alaska Natives came not just from the School Service and missionaries. Although Brigadier-General Greeley—a serving officer since the Civil War and chief of the US Army Signal Corps in Alaska, as well as a celebrated Arctic explorer—might seem an unlikely candidate to speak out against the government, in his 1909 *Handbook of Alaska* he wrote that "every thoughtful man must realize the moral duty of this nation toward those whom we have materially, morally, and physically injured." He went on to declare that "the story of the Alaska natives . . . can only be viewed as disgraceful to a nation claiming to be civilized, humanitarian or Christian."⁵²



The Alaska Natives at the heart of this book are the Dene-speaking peoples of the Interior. These communities are part of a large family of linguistically related indigenous peoples who range from the vicinity of Norton Sound eastward into Canada, beyond the Mackenzie River as far as northern Manitoba. In Alaska, eleven Dene groups are identified on the basis of language: Ahtna, Tanaina, Deg Hit'an (Deg

⁵⁰ Ibid., 34–35.

⁵¹ Ibid., 5.

⁵² Greeley, *Handbook of Alaska*, 176, 186.

Xinag), Holikachuk, Upper Kuskokwim, Koyukon, Tanana, Tanacross, Upper Tanana, Han, and Gwich'in.⁵³

Dene speakers were among the last Alaska Natives to come in general contact with Europeans. Apart from cursory reports by Russian explorers and Hudson's Bay Company traders, the first came from US government surveyors. None were encouraging. Ivan Petroff, in 1880, found them living in poverty and wrote that they would "probably share in the fate" of the American Indians, "disappearing rapidly before the first advances of civilization, until scarcely enough are left to accommodate themselves to the new state of affairs." He went on to say that "they have thus far displayed no traits which would warrant us to hope for their speedy civilization."⁵⁴ Frederick Schwatka, who took part in the military reconnaissance of Alaska from 1882 to 1885, similarly declared the "Tananah Indians" to be "very warlike and in every way averse to civilizing influences."⁵⁵ If such assessments are worthy of note, it is only because they persisted long afterwards among white settlers.

In 1912, there were some 24,000 indigenous people in Alaska; only 6,000 or so were speakers of Dene languages, sparsely populating the greater part of the landmass. Around Anvik, where Alice spent three years, were the Deg Hit'an people (then referred to as Ingalik, a term no longer used), who lived along the Anvik River, the lower Yukon from about Holy Cross northeast to the Kuskokwim River, and the lower stretches of the Innoko River. With the assistance of Isaac Fisher, the Reverend John Chapman, of Anvik, produced *Ten'a Texts and Tales from Anvik, Alaska*, a translation of Deg Hit'an folktales published in 1914.⁵⁶ "Ten'a" (Dene), a term that simply means "people," was also the name given to the Koyukon people of the middle Yukon and Koyukuk rivers by Father Julius Jetté, who collected and translated examples of their folklore and compiled a comprehensive dictionary of their language early in the twentieth century.⁵⁷ The Holikachuk (Doogh Hit'an), who lived along the upper

53 Alaska Native Language Center, "Languages," <http://www.uaf.edu/anlc/languages/>.

54 Ivan Petroff, *The Population and Resources of Alaska, 1880*, 258.

55 Frederick Schwatka, *Report of a Military Reconnaissance Made in Alaska in 1883*, 93.

56 Isaac Fisher, who appears frequently in Alice's journal entries for Anvik, was the Reverend Chapman's indispensable guide, interpreter, and assistant. He grew up at the Anvik mission, where he lived until his death in 1927, of influenza. In *Forty Years in Anvik*, Chapman writes that Isaac's passing "deprived me of a companionship which had lasted more than thirty-five years" (24). He goes on to say: "His perfect familiarity with the native language and his skill in interpreting the meaning of the native idioms made his help invaluable in making the many revisions upon which we worked together" (24–25).

57 Jetté's dictionary, which ran to seven volumes in its original, handwritten version, remained unpublished for nearly a century. During the 1970s, Eliza Jones, a native speaker of the Koyukon language, began working with linguists at the University of Alaska Fairbanks's Alaska Native Language Center to edit Jetté's manuscript, with the result published in 2000 under the title *Koyukon Athabaskan Dictionary*. For Jetté's ethnographic work, see "On Ten'a Folk-Lore" and "Riddles of the Ten'a Indians."

Innoko River and had regular contact with their Yup'ik and Iñupiat neighbours to the west, were also among the groups with whom both Alice and George worked.

All Dene peoples travelled beyond their traditional territories, whether to trade and hunt or to take up paid work, and sometimes married outside their linguistic group. Although their eleven languages are distinct from one another, each could to some extent be understood by native speakers of another, if not necessarily by newcomers. Alice became familiar with the Deg Hit'an language spoken at Anvik, but when she transferred to Nenana, some 500 miles up the Yukon and Tanana rivers, she was unable to understand the Tanana language. When George first applied to the School Service at Eagle in 1907, he wrote that he had "studied the language" at Eagle and Dawson—most likely the Han language, the principal language in that region. During his years as superintendent, he seemed conversant enough in other Dene languages to hold meetings with villagers and chiefs. His headquarters at Tanana was in Koyukuk country, where Koyukon, not Tanana, was spoken. Extending far into Canada's Yukon and Northwest Territories were the Gwich'in people, centred in Alaska around Fort Yukon, Circle, and the Porcupine River, also within George's district. As we discover from George's letters, in 1911, the Gwich'in language (or Takudh, as it was then called) became the subject of dissension between the Episcopal Church and the Alaska School Service. In the eyes of the Bureau of Education, the use of Gwich'in at the Fort Yukon mission represented the elevation of church policies over US laws.

Subsistence living based on hunting and gathering was the norm among Dene peoples. In summer, whole families fished, usually from temporary camps, and cut, dried and stored fish for winter, often working a twenty-hour day. In spring and autumn they hunted, butchered, and dried and stored large game. The men did most of the hunting, fishing, and trading and were responsible for the dogs, sleds, and harnesses and for woodcutting. Women attended to all domestic chores, providing everything required to satisfy their immediate needs and to sustain them through the winter. Moccasins were sewn seasonally for each member of the family, protective clothing was fashioned from animal hides, plants and berries were gathered and preserved, fish were gutted, hung, and dried, small game was snared, and all other food had to be collected, prepared, and stored. Outside their extended family settings, Dene supplemented their livelihood by selling furs and fish, mostly to white traders, as well as traditional crafts, from sleds to clothing. Cash earned from white employers came largely from men's labour in the mines, as deckhands on steamers, as river pilots, sled drivers, and guides, as carpenters building everything from cabins to churches, mission houses, and schools, and from cutting timber for the paddle steamers.

Children, too, had their responsibilities. They assisted with snaring small game, tanning hides, making handicrafts for sale, gathering edible and medicinal plants, and fetching wood, water, or ice. Their regular absence from school because of these duties was a persistent problem. Alice tolerated what she called these "necessary chores." George continued to search for and suggest ways of improving school attendance that would not interfere unduly with families' hunting and work routines.

The relationship of George and Alice with the Alaska Natives seems patronizing and dictatorial today, but they were, after all, products of their time. George was born into the late Victorian worldview of colonizer and colonized, with its unquestioned assumptions about the moral duty of the British to bring Western culture, including the rule of law, to the peoples over whom Britain exercised dominion. Similarly, Alice came of age in an era dominated by evangelical Protestantism and social reformism in the US, during which Christian principles were assumed to be the moral foundation of civilized culture. US Indian policy had likewise taken a reformist turn, one that “accepted acculturation as the best solution to the problems of continuing Indian warfare and the inexorable advance of white settlement,” and this reformist turn was carried into Alaska.⁵⁸ George’s and Alice’s early working lives were accordingly conducted within a framework of “enlightened” paternalism, in which the assumptions that indigenous cultures were backward, that Native peoples required “uplifting,” and that education in white ways was an act of generosity, not an insult, essentially went unchallenged. In teaching, emphasis fell on the need to establish a personal connection between teacher and pupils and to foster children’s talents and character development—the ideals of the Eleanor McMains and Jane Addamses of the new century, all duly embraced by Alice.

Alice was a teacher through and through, ever watchful, critical, evaluating each and every personality trait of the children in her care, and their performance in school and at play. She prided herself on being a disciplinarian who kept order in her Alaska classrooms with “severe sweetness,” with “the rule or rod not used,” just as she had done in New Orleans, Knoxville, and Chicago and would do later in California. The kindergarten methods that she employed appear surprisingly modern in some respects: they included art projects, playtime, and nature studies in the fresh air. But, in Alice’s report to the School Service for 1911, the ingrained paternalism of evangelical Protestant missionaries was strongly expressed. After four years’ work teaching and living among the Dene, she wrote: “The poor primitive people are very weak, the oldest is as childish as the youngest, they are all ‘but as a little child, they know not how to go.’” The attitude expressed in 1909 by Harlan Updegraff, then chief of the Alaska Division of the School Service, was a good deal less charitable. He reprimanded George for his “sympathy for the natives,” which, he feared, had led George “to violate the principles deduced from the experience of the Government during the last seventy-five years in dealing with inferior races.” Such well-intentioned compassion, he argued, had merely caused many Natives to become “devalitized in many respects.”

George was indeed aware of the difficulties besetting the Dene peoples for whose education and welfare he was responsible, and he wrote to his superiors about them. He wrote of the Bureau of Education’s failure to resolve the problem of school absences during hunting season and of hungry children obliged to work at home because their fathers were “idling away their time” or had squandered their earnings

58 Haycox, “Sheldon Jackson in Historical Perspective” (unpaginated).

on gambling or alcohol. He questioned the suitability of the school textbooks with which he was supplied for use in the Interior. He also believed that if Native children were given too much too soon, in subjects such as mathematics and geography, they would be unable to absorb the lessons. Both George and Alice wrote that children of mixed marriages appeared to be markedly more intelligent than full-blooded “Indians,” a phenomenon they explained by pointing out that the former had learned English in infancy. Their shared assessment of many adults as “indolent” or of children as having limited intelligence was, of course, based on a rigidly high set of standards stridently pursued by crusading American educators, standards that virtually any child would find difficult to meet.



Only a few of George’s annual reports on his districts appeared in the Bureau of Education’s annual publications, but this volume collects all that still exist in the National Archives. They are augmented by his letters, the two together providing a rich chronicle of the wide-ranging work of the School Service. No personal letters to or from George have survived, and he kept no private diary. With the exception of information contained in three letters that his nephew Stanley wrote from Dawson in 1904 to a sister in London and an article George wrote for *The Alaskan Churchman* in 1906, the entire record of his Alaska years is in these letters and reports. The earliest letters are addressed to John Wood and George Thomas at the Episcopal Church Missions House, New York, and relate to George’s work at the mission and government schools in Eagle, from 1906 to 1908. After that, his main correspondents in the Alaska School Service were Harlan Updegraff, chief of the Alaska Division until 1909 and based in Seattle, and William T. Lopp, who served as superintendent of the Northern District until 1909, based in Nome, and then, from 1910 to 1923, as chief of the Alaska Division, based in Seattle. The commissioners of education in Washington, DC, to whom George reported were Elmer E. Brown, until 1911, and then Philander P. Claxton—two eminent educators, neither of whom had any Alaska experience. Because George also worked with and alongside Episcopal mission schools, he was in touch personally and by letter with Hudson Stuck, Archdeacon of the Yukon from 1904 to 1920, and Bishop Peter T. Rowe, Alaska’s first Episcopal bishop, who served from 1895 to 1942. Most of these letters have to do with their opposing views on the health, welfare, and education of Alaska Natives.

In his letters and reports, George often described the difficulties of travel along the Yukon River, in winter and summer, journeys that seem to have taken at least as much of his time as his actual visits to schools. Over the years, he repeatedly voiced the same concerns: the maintenance of government school buildings and teachers’ residences and of Dene village cabins, the lateness or lack of school supplies, the irregularity of children’s school attendance, and the personal problems of their teachers. Of the “industries” mandated by the School Service, George included something

in each report on the condition of gardens located on school reserves, on fishing, hunting and food supplies, and on measures to relieve destitution. The most pressing issues on which he commented in his letters were the illegal sale of alcohol to the local population, their poor living conditions, and the high incidence of diseases in villages. He wrote little about the white settlers or traders, except as they or their businesses affected or disrupted the work of the School Service and/or the lives of Alaska Natives.

Alice wrote two articles for *The Alaskan Churchman* on her life in the mission school at Anvik. Like George, she kept no personal letters from her eleven years in Alaska. The few official letters she exchanged with Church Missions House, in New York, and with Lopp, Brown, and Claxton in the Bureau of Education are included here, as is her annual report to the bureau for 1910–11, the only full report by Alice preserved in the National Archives. Otherwise, the only contemporary record of the four years she spent at Anvik and Nenana, from 1907 to 1911, is her private journal. She wrote in ruled notebooks, which she later numbered 1 to 5; unfortunately, notebook no. 3, covering the latter half of April through to the end of July 1909, was lost sometime prior to her death.

As a private diary written at the end of the day and not meant to be read by others, Alice's journal was not carefully composed. Alice filled it with accounts of her life with the children, in the classroom and around the mission. She was, she wrote, "with them all hours of each and every day," sharing "each other's pleasures and little sorrows." Whether she and the children went ice skating, or Christmas caroling, or berry picking or simply did household chores together, Alice wrote about it—in immaculate penmanship in her ruled notebooks. She kept a personal account of each child's character and little acts of mischief—intimate portraits that would have been out of place in her reports to the Bureau of Education. She wrote about most days' classroom work with short, sharp summaries: "children all doing miserably in their recitations," "our spelling match a brilliant success." Holidays such as Washington's Birthday or Valentine's Day were celebrated with "great merriment," as were children's birthdays, and Alice devoted many lines to the costumes, games, and treats she devised for the children on Halloween, Christmas, and Easter.

The Reverend at Anvik, and Annie Farthing, at Nenana, seemed to be Alice's only confidantes at the mission schools, and she wrote affectionately about their times together. She had a few words to say about every acquaintance or stranger who stopped at the missions from upriver or down, and, because they reminded her of New Orleans, she noted the name of every passing riverboat, steamer, or launch and whether they brought the mail or supplies or friends, old or new. She also admitted to being very lonely in Alaska, and she wrote with much pleasure, or sorrow, about the arrival of personal letters by steamer or dog sled. She was often ill or "faint," and she recorded that, too. Her journal entries typically opened with comments about the weather; "glorious" sunsets and sunrises abound. The weather determined whether walks and outdoor recreation would be possible, as well as the degree of household and classroom comfort

and the growing conditions in the garden. Alice often commented critically in her journal on the unsanitary conditions in the village cabins that she visited regularly and on the prevalence of illness. She also sadly recorded the many deaths of infants. Criticisms of the School Service and the government, however, appear only in her annual report to the Bureau of Education for 1910–11.

Of George, Alice made little mention in her journal except for noting the very occasional personal letter she received from him and the short time they spent together at Fairbanks and Tanana in 1909. A few of the personal photographs she kept when she left Alaska in 1918 are interspersed among George's official letters. The majority of photographs illustrating her journal are from an album of Archdeacon Stuck's own photographs of the Anvik and Nenana missions and the children there. He compiled this album for Alice and wrote short captions next to every image, presenting it to her in October 1911. Alice, my grandmother, shared this photograph album with me many, many times after she retired from teaching in 1946. In her schoolmistress voice, still tinged with the South and with England, she would enliven each photograph with her stories of Anvik and Nenana and Tanana and "Dear Daddy," my grandfather.



When I made my own long journey through Alaska in 2002, it was an 8,000-mile odyssey from Vancouver. My Canadian friends and I drove and camped along the old route up the Fraser River, then east to Dawson Creek and on to Watson Lake, in the Yukon, and Whitehorse. From there, we travelled north on the Klondike Highway through Lake Laberge, Pelly Crossing, and Dawson, and then over the "Top of the World" to Forty Mile and across the international border to Boundary (old Poker Creek) and north to Eagle, following the "gold rush" trail. My companions were bemused by my excitement at being on Robert Service's "marge of Lake Lebarge," where poor Sam McGee was cremated, and at seeing an old miner's scow abandoned between the river and the road at Pelly Crossing, a launching place for the wild Yukon River run to the gold fields.

In Eagle City, I walked back in time through my grandfather's life: the little schoolhouse with its bell tower where he taught, the whitewashed buildings of Fort Egbert, the cabins, the church. I scraped my feet through the stones at the Yukon's edge, was awestruck by the bluffs rising sheer from the riverbank, imagined I heard a steamboat's whistle from around the tortuous river bend, and wandered in and out of every building. The entire little city is a living museum. I asked about Eagle Village upriver, where my grandfather taught school, but was discouraged from visiting it—wouldn't have been welcome, I was told.

Reaching Fairbanks, I hopped onto the eight-seater mail plane to Tanana for the melancholy flight over the labyrinth of marshes, muskeg, and intermingling creeks and channels down the Tanana River to its magnificent meeting with the Yukon. To approach this vista from the air is a thrill my grandparents never experienced. I was

not going to be put off visiting the local village and so set out on foot, unannounced, for the three-mile upriver walk along the same path my grandfather took so often. Dogs, sounding to be in their hundreds, put an end to my musings—and my walk. Most sled dogs are tied up for the summer, but some are not, and those are probably the ones that don't take kindly to strangers on foot. I was rescued by the local Tanana priest at St. James's, not the church my grandparents knew but a more recent building, who ferried me to the village in his skiff (and confirmed that the dogs were dangerous to children and strangers). There, on the high bluff overlooking the mighty Yukon, was the thoughtfully placed cemetery, its countless grave markers overgrown but peeking through the foliage at the spectacle below from small clusters neatly enclosed within white picket fences. Somewhere there was my grandfather. In its wild, secluded setting, I marveled at the incongruously noble and grand Church of Our Saviour, completed in 1909, where grandfather attended services and played the organ. The church is now deconsecrated but sacred nonetheless.

The priest graciously ferried me back to the downriver end of Tanana, near old Fort Gibbon, so that I could meet some of the residents of the local elders' home. Before the Tanana Regional Elders Residence was built, the closest Alaska Native retirement centre was in Fairbanks, but it was not popular with the residents, who longed to be back on the Yukon. At the Tanana home, I met the oldest resident—a woman who told me she could remember her mother talking about Mr. Boulter and how much she appreciated all he had done for her people. As my grandmother wrote on seeing that same Mr. Boulter again, waiting for her at Tanana in 1909, "My joy seemed complete."

In 2011, through a Boulter family cousin, I was introduced to Athabasca University Press and Pamela Holway, its senior editor. Pamela took my unpolished manuscript in hand and over the next four years we transformed it into the book it is today. For her confidence in the historical importance of these letters and journal, and for her professionalism, I thank Pamela wholeheartedly.

Barbara Grigor-Taylor
London, April 2015

Editorial Note

The original letters to and from George opened with the name and position of the addressee; the greeting was invariably “Dear Sir” or “Sir,” and they were signed in ink. Here they are printed simply with the names of sender and addressee, followed by the place and date of writing, with each correspondent’s official title included at first mention. Although, for the most part, letters have been reproduced in full, we have occasionally omitted formulaic greetings at the start or the close of letters, opening words that merely acknowledge the receipt of a letter, or brief passages within a letter that essentially repeat information already provided. Such omissions are signalled by ellipses placed within square brackets. (Ellipses not within brackets are those of the original writer.) In a few instances, we came upon more than one letter written by George to the same recipient on the same day. In all such cases, the letters concerned different topics, and sometimes one was marked “Personal.” It seems likely that, when he was travelling, George kept handwritten notes about the schools he visited and the situations he encountered. Once he returned to his Tanana headquarters, he would type up these notes as letters, and he probably separated them by topic deliberately, perhaps with a view to ease of filing. We have chosen to respect the original format of such letters.

In reproducing Alice’s journal, we have omitted the church calendar designations that precede many entries, such as “12th Sunday after Trinity,” as well as some Bible passages, quotations from sermons given at Anvik, and lines of inspirational poetry copied from the books she took to Alaska. Although these testify to Alice’s religious conviction, they shed no significant light on her work in Alaska. In both George’s letters and Alice’s journal, minor alterations have on occasion been made to punctuation or sentence structure for the sake of clarity; no other changes have been introduced. In particular, no attempt has been made to “correct” vocabulary, even though some of the terms current at the time are offensive today. As was typical of the period, the spelling of names and places was somewhat haphazard. To prevent confusion, some effort has been made to regularize spellings; however, for the most part, those adopted simply reflect the spelling that George or Alice most often used or, in the case of place names, follow spellings listed in contemporary geographical dictionaries of Alaska. In the original documents, temperatures are, of course, in degrees Fahrenheit, lengths in feet, and distances in miles. To avoid clutter, we have chosen not to insert

metric equivalents in brackets and, for the sake of consistency, have followed the non-metric style in annotations.

Sometime in the 1950s, Alice dictated reminiscences (subsequently transcribed) about the people and places pictured in the photographs in the album given to her by Archdeacon Hudson Stuck. Excerpts from her recollections appear in the captions to some of these photographs. In addition, Hudson Stuck wrote his own, somewhat personal, inscriptions beneath the images, portions of which have occasionally been included in the present captions.

Commentary provided in the text is jointly the work of my father, George E. Boulter II, and myself. I am responsible for most of the annotation and for the source references.

Barbara Grigor-Taylor

part one

George Edward Boulter (1864–1917)

In the worldwide depression of the 1890s, the discovery of gold in the Yukon's Klondike hit like a bombshell. Word reached England via Canada as soon as it reached the United States, if not sooner. Thousands of people from all over the world set out for the gold fields in 1897–98. Many had only the vaguest idea of where the Klondike was; relatively few ever reached it. Even fewer found gold in any quantity, and fewer still managed to keep what they did find.

George must have been among the first to head north, for we know he definitely reached Alaska sometime in March 1898. In his "Declaration of Intention" to become an American citizen, dated September 5, 1908, at Juneau, he stated that he had emigrated to the United States from Liverpool, England, on the vessel *Labrador* and had arrived at the port of Ketchikan, Alaska, in March 1898, although he did not know the exact date. He also stated that his last foreign residence had been Liverpool (where he had arrived from London to await passage across the Atlantic) and that he currently resided at Eagle, Alaska. He listed his present occupation as teacher. He was then thirty-three years old, with a fair complexion, grey hair, and brown eyes.

From England to Dawson

SHIPPING RECORDS SHOW THAT the *Labrador* departed Liverpool on February 24, 1898, and arrived at Halifax, Nova Scotia, on March 4, 1898. During the iced-in months, ships that normally docked in Québec were diverted to either Halifax or Portland, Maine. Canadian searches of passenger lists for the *Labrador* around this time show only one entry that could apply to George: "Geo. Boulton, age 30, arrived Halifax, March 4, 1898, destination Vancouver." Early passenger lists and immigration records have been found to be extremely inaccurate, but in spite of the error in the name and the four-year discrepancy in age we are satisfied that this entry refers to George. From Halifax he would easily have reached Montréal, taken the Canadian Pacific Railway to Vancouver, and made his way north to Ketchikan, arriving there before the end of March. The Klondike trail nearest Ketchikan began at Wrangell but it was seldom used and notoriously difficult—over 1,200 miles with long portages, up the Stikine River to the Dease and Pelly rivers. It was more practical to continue to Skagway. As the White Pass & Yukon Route Railroad line from Skagway to Whitehorse was not opened until 1900, George's choice of routes from there to Dawson, in the Canadian Yukon, was limited to the Chilkoot or White Pass trails. During the winter of 1897–98, the White Pass was closed because of heavy snow, so the Chilkoot Trail remained his only route from Skagway. At whatever date in late March or early April George started up the Chilkoot Pass, he was lucky to miss the massive avalanche that killed seventy men on its steep slopes in early April 1898.

There were other routes to the Klondike but none feasible from Ketchikan. Two existed via steamer from Seattle, one to Valdez, a long way north and difficult to reach from Ketchikan, which crossed the treacherous crevasse fields of the Valdez

Glacier to the Klutina River and Copper River Valley. The other was the “rich man’s route” from Seattle to St. Michael by sea and then up the Yukon River, but it was 4,000 expensive miles, taking six weeks or longer to travel, and, more important, the Yukon was closed to navigation until mid-June. If a prospector had the \$250 fee, he could use the Dalton Trail from the head of the Lynn Canal to Fort Selkirk on the Pelly River and on to the Yukon. If not, he could take the “poor man’s route” entirely overland from British Columbia, up the Ashcroft River valley and a thousand miles to the Stikine River, through the forests to Atlin, Lake Bennett, and the headwaters of the Yukon River—a long, gruelling slog. And then there was the preposterously long Edmonton Trail, from central Alberta north to the Peace and Athabasca rivers, across Great Slave Lake, and on to the MacKenzie and Porcupine rivers down to Fort Yukon, which was still many miles northwest of the Klondike. This journey could take as long as two years.



The SS *Labrador*, the ship on which George Boulter sailed from Liverpool to Halifax in 1898, on his way to Alaska. Built for the Dominion Line of Liverpool in 1891, the *Labrador* was 401 feet long, with three decks, and weighed 4,737 tons. It provided accommodation for one hundred first-class passengers, fifty second-class, and one thousand in steerage. Collection of George E. Boulter II.

The 33-mile Chilkoot Trail to Lake Lindeman was the shortest and most widely used route to Dawson. Though only slightly less difficult than others, it was at one time crowded with many thousand men and women. To cross the Chilkoot Pass with a thousand pounds of supplies—the roughly one year’s provisions required by the Canadian government—prospectors had to make ten to twenty trips up its steep incline, although those with ready cash could pay Aboriginal guides to carry their goods. From the head of the Lynn Canal at Skagway, a nine-mile trek up the inlet ended at Dyea, where the trail began. It climbed 3,500 feet in the sixteen miles to the summit on the Canadian border before descending to Lake Lindeman, where prospectors built barges, scows, and longboats to carry them across Lake Bennett and then north via Lake Laberge and the headwaters of the Yukon River to Dawson and the surrounding Klondike gold fields.

We know George was in Dawson in 1901 from the *Dawson City, Yukon Territory and Alaska Business Directory and Gazetteer*, which lists George E. Boulter as “Designer, Dawson, 1901–02.” Except for this scrap of information, the years between 1898 and

1904 remain a blank, although it seems he did stake a mining claim. We can only infer from his future career that his claim failed to pan out.

The first actual news we have of George comes from his nephew Stanley Ibbotson, in letters sent from Dawson in 1904 and 1905 to his sister Olive in London:

Dawson, October 21, 1904

Dear Olive:

I have now been in this place a month and I can't say that my liking for the town improves on longer acquaintance. It is just as I described it at first—a terribly dead and alive hole—shut in to the north by mountains and now to the south by the frozen Yukon River. Thus we are practically prisoners for about seven months, for very few people care to leave here by the overland coach route during the winter. The only place in the town which one can enjoy is the library, and as for any park or common place outside the town such as the majority of cities are blessed with, they are conspicuous by their absence. Sixth-rate concerts are held here in a shanty dignified by the name of "The Auditorium" about once in a month of Sundays.

George and I share a cabin with an old man, Captain La Coste. As for the other inhabitants of the town, a more mixed lot of men could not be found anywhere, I suppose. Here you find university men working side by side with a sometime road sweeper. Swede and Dane, Frenchman, German, Jap, Russian, American and English—all are represented here, and each man is as good as another. It is nothing out of the way for a fellow here to be clean broke, for what man here has not been in that position one day and the owner of thousands on the next, only to be broke again on the succeeding day, most likely through drink. A strong man here has no difficulty in getting good work, and thus, if a fellow wakes up after some drunken bout, or if through any other reason a man finds himself broke, he just goes to work again and gathers another small fortune together.

The female portion of the population had perhaps better not be spoken about. Girls from the dance hall and stage form the majority, but of course there are several excellent women—ladies—the wives of respected men here, who have elected to live with their husbands up in these wilds. I have been introduced to many of these, and already George and I have spent two or three nice evenings in their homes.

We sadly lack a piano. George hopes to be the pianist in the two musicals which are to be produced here about Christmas time, and of course a lot of practice is necessary. However, if our ground [mining claim] should turn out good, we will be able to get one—a benefit I shall greatly appreciate also. [. . .]

Your affectionate brother, Stanley.

Dawson, November 19, 1904

My Dear Olive:

We are now fairly in the Klondike winter, and the temperature yesterday was 62 degrees of frost, but fine, dry, bright weather. So cold is it that in the open air one's handkerchief will freeze up in one's pocket and the breathe freezes on one's face—so much so that men with moustaches who have been walking for some time become invested with icicles two or three inches long which hang from their hirsute adornment and make them look most funny. Fur caps with ear flaps are quite necessary now, and many of these caps also have a band which buttons across the nose. Consequently, very little of the face is visible and it is most difficult to recognize persons. The huge mitts and big felt boots also tend to make one look peculiar.

There has been a serious jamb in the ice on the river this year. When the river starts freezing up, drift ice—which grown larger and larger in size every day—goes floating down and finally becomes blocked at some turn of the river, and so the river freezes over—usually. This year, however, it has been different. The river became frozen over and then started to move again, so that at some narrow turn in the river lower down, where the drift ice had stuck fast, a jamb occurred, for the newly drifting ice had to go somewhere, and so it mounted upon the firmly set drift ice, and so nearly stopped the flow of the river—with the consequence that the water rose very high above the jamb and flooded the wood yards on the banks, washing away hundreds of tons of valuable fire wood. Much of this has been recovered, but of course, being now waterlogged, it won't be of much use for fire wood this season. This is not the most serious thing which has been caused by the jamb, however. Several valuable steamers which were anchored in their winter quarters have been almost totally wrecked by the moving ice—the damage being tens of thousands of dollars.

The skating rink is now open, and a fine rink it is. I have not been there yet—indeed, I find I have quite forgotten how to skate. I tried on a clear stretch of the river one day this week and made a miserable hash of it. However, I shall improve with practice. I am pleased to say that this cold weather agrees with me, and I fairly enjoy being out in it, so well does it make one feel. Then too, I can breathe so much more freely and without the constant coughing which was so noticeable in the warmer, damper weather we had when I first arrived.

Your affectionate brother, Stanley.

Good Samaritan Hospital
Dawson, Yukon Territory, Friday, April 14, 1905

My Dear Olive:

I feel I must not delay writing to you any longer. What you must think of me already, I don't know, for I believe I have three letters of yours unanswered, but believe me, dear, I would have written earlier had I not been so queer and in the hospital for so long. Just now though I am honestly feeling worlds better and much stronger, and I am writing this letter as I sit in my chair in my little corner at the back of the hospital having a sunbath.

And a really fine sunbath it is, too—such a bath as one would get very rarely in England—if you can believe such an apparently wild statement. But how often, even during the English summer, do you get the sun shining in an absolutely cloudless sky—and so hotly that at about noon it is uncomfortable to sit out in it? Well, that is the sort of weather we have been having lately—and this is the Klondike spring. What a summer here must be like I leave to your imagination, but I am told that the most beautiful wild flowers simply cover the slopes of the hills as soon as the snow has gone, and that wild gooseberries, raspberries, red and white currants, blackberries, blueberries and cranberries are to be seen and gathered in the wildest profusion. Just fancy that, for a country which in England is thought to be a land of ice and snow!

But the Klondike is not known to any except those who have been here—hence the woeful mistake the English people make in talking about that country. Fresh lettuces, radishes and spring onions grown here have been on sale for a fortnight now, but of course they have been forced by the gardeners in their hothouses. During the summer, potatoes, cabbages, turnips, carrots, onions and celery and beet-roots grow splendidly. You see, in summer, the sun is shining for about 23 hours out of the 24—so the various plants get no time to sleep during the nights as they would in other countries.

My favourite sorts of garden flowers and ferns flourish luxuriantly in the open air, while roses of all kinds can of course be grown in hothouses. At Easter time it seems to be a kind of custom here for gentlemen to present ladies of their acquaintance with a rose—either a cut flower or one growing in a pot. What do you think the prices are for these? One dollar for the cut flower and two and a half dollars for the pot flower. That is all!

With regard to English people's ideas of this country, Dad says in one of his letters that our log cabins are much as he expected them to be—judging from the full length photo of George which has a cabin for a background. The only point about which he was doubtful was whether we had glass windows. Since Dawson became a town of any size at all, I believe glass windows have been used. But in the earlier days miners, in building cabins, used a number of equal sized bottles with the necks knocked off for windows—standing them up side by side and fixing them firmly in position with wooden lathes and filling up the open spaces

with mud. Many of these old cabins are yet to be seen out on the creeks, and indeed miners, if they know they are only going to work in a certain district for a short while, just put up a rough temporary cabin and still use the old bottles for windows. Sheet glass is very expensive here I believe.

Then, as regards our winter water supply—Dad wonders how it is we get any at all during the very cold weather—George buys his water from the owner of a spring which is running all through the winter. Why it doesn't freeze up like everything else, I don't know, and there are several similar springs scattered over the country. The owners bring the water round in big iron water carts, which in the severest weather have fires lit beneath them. Thus do we get our water. The extreme cold seems to act very strangely on water in this country. I wonder how it is that in the coldest weather, water is actually lying around on the surfaces of the different glaciers scattered about the country, and also how it is that on very cold days vapour can rise from the surfaces of the frozen river, even when the sun is shining. Such is the case in this remarkable country.

I don't know whether I ever told you about the Indians here. There are few of them in town—they have their own village called "Moosehide" about five miles lower down the river. I have been there twice in the dog sleigh. The village is a most strange collection of cabins, huts, tents and wigwams erected on top of the high bank of the river. Chief Isaac is their "boss" under British rule, and he has his name painted over his cabin door. He dresses in English style and is fairly well versed in our language, but the people for the most part are in native attire. And very picturesque this is, too, for both men and women are passionately fond of bright colours. Both the village and its inhabitants, however, seem to be very dirty. They live by fishing, hunting, wood cutting, and by making baskets and curios of the products of their country which they come into town to sell. Indian women carry their babies (called "papooses") on their backs—a method of procedure which doesn't seem to hurt the kiddies a bit, for they laugh and toss and crow in that position just the same as if they were in the mothers' arms.

I have just been in to dinner. Shall I tell you what I had? Cream tomato soup was the order of the day, but as anything with this canned cream in it upsets me, I had a cup of Bovril instead. Boiled mutton, carrots and potatoes, a tinned peach and a glass of milk. A fine dinner, after which I feel very comfortable and inclined to go to sleep in this hot sun.

Now my dear Olive, I think I must conclude. Please write again soon, and with very much love from George and myself to all of you, I remain your affectionate brother,

Stanley.

On April 15, 1905, the day after he wrote this letter, Stanley died in Dawson's Good Samaritan Hospital, of acute tuberculosis. He was twenty years old. Following his death, George left Dawson to accept the position as the first schoolteacher at the newly built St. John's Episcopal Mission at Eagle Village, in Alaska, a hundred miles northwest of Dawson and just eleven miles west of the Canadian border.

Government and Mission Teacher at Eagle, 1905–8

IN 1905, ABOUT 150 ALASKA NATIVES lived at Eagle Village, and roughly thirty children attended the Episcopal mission school housed in St. John's chapel. Three miles downriver from the village was Eagle City, incorporated in 1901. A trading post existed there by 1880, and settlers and prospectors began arriving after the Fortymile gold strike of 1886. The town soon grew into an important centre of transportation and commerce. Fort Egbert, built in 1899, became the US Army headquarters for the Alaska Interior, as well as the US customs port of entry from Dawson, and was the first station on the telegraph line through British Columbia to Dawson and Alaska. The line, built by the US Army Signal Corps for the Washington-Alaska Military Cable and Telegraph System, reached Eagle in 1900 and, by 1903, had been extended to St. Michael, Valdez, and Nome.

In 1900, Congress enacted the Alaska Civil Code, and Eagle was chosen as the seat of Alaska's Third Judicial District. James Wickersham was appointed as judge for the district, which at the time covered the Interior as well as south-central Alaska. The appointment came without federal funding. Eagle had no school, court house, or public building, no wagon road or marked trail, until Wickersham levied and collected license fees to begin a program of construction. Prior to his arrival, Eagle had its own approach to justice. Communally elected settlers, miners, and traders held court, murderers were hanged, and lesser miscreants were dispatched "downriver" to any place other than Eagle. Wickersham's first court sessions at Eagle were overwhelmed with cases involving alcohol smuggling, prostitution, and mining claims, which meant that trials were often severely delayed.

In 1899, news of the discovery of gold at Nome brought an end to the Klondike gold rush and drew prospectors away from Eagle. Only a few years later, gold was discovered at Fairbanks, further eroding the town's population, and, in 1903, Judge Wickersham elected to move his court from Eagle to Fairbanks. Thus, by the time George arrived at Eagle, the town's fortunes had declined. The Episcopal Church had, however, established a presence there in 1902, founding St. John's Mission at Eagle Village, while the white residents of Eagle City had their own Episcopal church, St. Paul's, as well as an incorporated "public" school. Alaska Native children were not permitted to attend the school, and their parents and other family members came to town only to do work, to trade at the stores, or to receive medical attention.



"Summer 1906," Alice wrote. "Dear Mr. Boulter in the midst of his faithful dogs while they are having their dinner. Taken in front of one of the several roadhouses, an attractive log cabin where he stayed several days before journeying on. 'X' is a tramp dog, very hungry." Haly's Road House, pictured here, was located at Fort Yukon. Collection of Alice A. Boulter.

Although George had been engaged by the Episcopal Church to teach at the school at St. John's Mission, in Eagle Village, he also served as the government teacher at the city school, which put him in contact with both the Native and white communities. The lines of separation between the two can be glimpsed in an article George wrote for *The Alaskan Churchman*, "Christmas at Eagle, 1906," which appeared in the May 1907 issue:

The service for the white people at the town church on Sunday, December 23, 1906, was the commencement of the Christmas festival and our log church was crowded, fully 70 people being present. The offering, which was on behalf of the Christmas supper to be given to the Indians, amounted to the generous sum of \$29.

On Christmas Eve the Arctic Brotherhood held its usual Christmas entertainment to which everyone was invited.¹ It is the custom here for friends, when giving a Christmas present, to attach it to the tree to be presented by Santa Claus. As there are not many white women and children in Eagle, it gave me much pleasure on behalf of the Eagle mission to attach a small present to the tree for each of them from the goods sent in last summer by the various branches of the Women's Auxiliary.

¹ Founded at the turn of the century, the Arctic Brotherhood was a convivial fraternal organization whose purpose, according to the preamble of its constitution, was "to encourage and promote social and intellectual intercourse and benevolence among its members, and to advance the interests of its members and those of the Northwest Section of North America." Membership was limited to white males over the age of eighteen who lived in communities located north of the 54th parallel, whether in Alaska, British Columbia, the Yukon, or the Northwest Territories. For further information, see <http://www.arcticbrotherhood.com/history.htm>.

I devoted Christmas Day entirely to the Indians. Church service was held in the morning and all the Indians seemed to feel the spirit of Christmas and had bought themselves ribbons, etc. for the occasion, and although their finery was of a cheap nature yet they looked bright and cheerful. After the service we decorated the Christmas tree, and when finished it looked very nice as so many pretty decorations were sent on its behalf. I am glad to say there was not much sickness here at Christmas, only one old man being too sick to be at the church where the festivities were held. Several of the Eagle ladies had made cakes for the Indians' supper and these, added to the meat sandwiches, biscuits, oranges, apples, nuts, candy, etc. furnished an excellent supper, which I hardly need tell you was heartily partaken of.

After supper came the chief event of the evening, the distribution of gifts. I was able to give each Indian a useful present from the contents of the Auxiliary boxes. These consisted chiefly of clothing, which was badly needed by the majority of them. It caused me some anxiety as to how to distribute these gifts without showing some partiality, but I think it was successful as they all appeared delighted with what they received. The evening wound up with a few games, after which the Indians dispersed to their various cabins, having spent (what they themselves declare) the best Christmas they ever had.

The first item of George's correspondence that has come down to us is a letter dated March 1907.

George E. Boulter to John Wood, Church Missions House, New York

Eagle, March 25, 1907

It is a long time since I have written to you and probably you would like to know how the mission is getting on.

We have had a long and severe winter. It is the worst I have experienced during the past nine years. The weather has been very cold, and in addition we have had an unusual amount of wind. This is not only unpleasant but it is dangerous to travel in a high wind when the temperature is 50 or 60 below zero. Owing to the quantity of snow and the blizzards there are immense snowdrifts in Eagle and some of the cabins are nearly buried.

The town church is somewhat exposed to the wind and it has been very difficult at times for the congregation to reach it because of the drifts. The white people have not attended church as often as they might have, but now that the evenings are getting lighter the attendance is improving. I regret to say that there are too many Sunday card parties here which keep a number of people away from church. The services for the Indians have been far more encouraging. They look forward to these and are always present unless prevented by illness.

There is a deal of sickness among the Indians, not only in Eagle but in most of the settlements on the Yukon.² I have written to the Government suggesting

2. At the time, the expression "a deal of" was used in the sense of "a good deal of."

that a hospital be built up here. There is no doctor between Eagle and Fort Gibbon at Tanana, a distance of nearly 700 miles. Indians frequently travel long distances to see the army doctor in Eagle, but as he is unable to place them in the military hospital any relief afforded them is seldom permanent. Nearly all the Indians have consumption in one form or another, and were the children, when they first show signs of it, placed in a sanatorium it might be the means of checking and eradicating this dreadful disease. Many Indians in the out-lying country are troubled with eye diseases and some are blind. I think this must be partly due to the excessive smoke from their camp fires and to the smoke from the open fires built inside their tents.

There are 19 scholars in the Indian school here. The majority are bright and intelligent, but unfortunately two-thirds of them show signs of having consumption. They take a great interest in the school and are progressing rapidly in reading, writing and geography. In arithmetic, however, they seem to remain at a stand-still. They do not seem to comprehend any figures beyond the hundreds. The Indians are not very musical yet they take delight in singing and are very fond of some English hymns—"Gospel Bells" perhaps being their favorite.

The Mackenzie River Indians visited Eagle a few weeks ago. They did not stay long, however, as their women and children were left behind without food. They stayed here only long enough to purchase supplies and sell their furs before starting back on their 300-mile journey.

The river will open about the middle of May and I need hardly tell you how we are looking forward to that event.

Despite his association with St. John's Mission, it seems that George was drawn to government service, perhaps recognizing that such work might broaden his range of duties. At the end of 1907, he wrote to Elmer E. Brown, the commissioner of the United States Bureau of Education, regarding future employment with the Alaska School Service.

Boulter to Elmer E. Brown, Commissioner of Education, Washington, DC

Eagle, December 31, 1907

In reference to the letter which I received from the Bureau of Education dated June 13, 1907, referring to my travelling both summer and winter, I would appreciate knowing when any probable new duties will be assigned to me. Correspondence between Eagle and outside points taking such a long time, I would like to know as early as possible so that I can make arrangements to leave Eagle at any time you think fit.

I have now taught school at Eagle for nearly three years and feel confident that I am qualified to serve the Bureau of Education in a more active capacity. The condition of the natives is perhaps better known to me than to the majority of Alaskans as I have studied their language and lived among them. I have been

used to travelling with a dog team (often under the most adverse conditions) and am thoroughly inured to the climatic conditions of northern Alaska.

In June 1908, George resigned his position at Eagle and wrote to George C. Thomas, the treasurer of the Board of Missions, in New York:

I am writing to inform you that I shall be leaving the mission staff on June 30, 1908. I have been offered and have accepted an appointment by the Government as Assistant Superintendent under the Bureau of Education and shall be leaving Eagle in a few weeks. My new work will keep me in constant touch with the missions in which I shall always take the greatest interest. I had hoped to have gone Outside this summer, but now I shall be unable to.³

Will you therefore kindly forward to me my salary which I have not received since November 30, 1907. Please address it to Eagle, from which place I will have it forwarded to me.

George's annual salary at the Eagle mission had been \$800, which worked out to less than \$70 each month. His new government position under W. T. Lopp, the superintendent of schools for Alaska's Northern District, was \$125 per month. In September 1908, Peter T. Rowe, Episcopal Bishop of Alaska, wrote to Commissioner Brown about George's new position, commenting that "I regret the loss of Mr. George Boulter from my own field of work, but feel his usefulness will be more extensive and that in a wider way his influence will be felt among the natives of the interior of Alaska. He is a good man and will undoubtedly forward the work that you have entrusted to him."

Bishop Rowe had, in fact, invited this loss. At the time, the church was attempting to assert its control over schooling carried out at mission stations. On April 1, 1908, Rowe had written to Harlan Updegraff, chief of the Alaska Division, in Seattle. It was a cordial letter, but in it the bishop stated:

I feel obliged to ask you to accept the resignations of the following teachers at the close of the present term: Mr. George E. Boulter, Eagle; Miss Lizzie Woods, Fort Yukon; Miss Farthing, Nenana; Miss Green, Anvik. I do this for the following reason: each one is a missionary teacher, and as such our Board does not want them to act in any dual capacity. But I would like to have the privilege of nominating some persons for the above respective places, if I can in due time. Please let me know whether you can accede to this or not.

In regard to Mrs. Carr at Circle, while she is acting solely as a Government teacher, I feel obliged to ask you to accept her resignation for the reason that she is most unsatisfactory. You will have to take my word for this which is in the interest of the school at Circle. I hope you will do so. There is a Miss Owen who has taught for some years in the Presbyterian Industrial School whom I would like to nominate for Tanana or Circle—which one preferably, I will inform you later.

³ "Outside" referred to any destination outside Alaska and the Yukon.

I am informed by Mr. George Boulter that you are considering him for the appointment in the interior of Alaska, and I can heartily recommend him. There is only one qualification in regard to which I am unable to speak positively, and that is the necessary administrative ability. He may have it, but I am not sure.⁴

Updegraff forwarded Bishop Rowe's letter to the commissioner of education, Elmer Brown, who replied to it in late June. His letter is worth reproducing in full:

Washington, D.C.

June 25, 1908

The Right Rev. P. T. Rowe, D.D.

Sitka, Alaska

My dear Bishop Rowe:

In compliance with the request contained in your letter of April 1st, the resignations of Mr. George E. Boulter, Miss Lizzie J. Woods, Miss Annie C. Farthing, Miss A. Green and of Mrs. A. M. Carr, as teachers of the schools at Eagle, Yukon, Nenana, Anvik and Circle respectively will be accepted, and I shall be pleased to consider for appointment to the vacancies thus created persons nominated by you.

I enclose herewith forms of application for appointment in the Alaska School Service for the use of persons whom you may select. In this connection, permit me respectfully to invite your consideration of certain principles, the adoption of which with reference to the teachers appointed by this Bureau in compliance with your request will tend to maintain uniformity of administration throughout the Alaska School Service.

- 1. That all persons nominated by you shall be subject to the same standard of qualifications as other applicants for appointment in the Alaska School Service, and, if appointed shall receive appointment in the same manner as other appointees.*
- 2. That all appointees who have been nominated by you shall be subject in all respects to the rules and regulation relating to teachers in the Alaska School Service, and shall be under the immediate control of the District Superintendent of Schools, or of one of his assistances.*
- 3. That at the close of each term of school all such appointees shall be required to apply for reappointment or to tender their resignation in the same manner as other appointees.*

⁴ "Miss Green" is, of course, Alice. As we will see, in consequence of Rowe's request, after her first year of teaching at Anvik (1907–8), she was employed by the church, not the government. Regarding Mrs. Carr, see George's letter to Elmer Brown of August 3, 1908, not far below, as well as his letter to Updegraff of October 16, 1909, in which George indicates that it was Rowe who originally recommended her. George did, of course, prove a capable administrator, as Updegraff may already have suspected.

4. *That a reasonable amount of time outside of school hours of such appointees shall be under the control of the Government.*
5. *That in all matters undertaken by the Government, actions by such appointees shall be through official channels, and that responsibility to the Government shall be maintained.*

In explanation of the fourth and fifth of the above paragraphs, I have to state that my plans for the future extension of the Alaska School Service include the general oversight of the natives of Alaska, in addition to the providing of schools for them. Permit me to state that in formulating the above principles it is not my intention unduly to emphasize the authority of the Bureau of Education, but to establish a clearly defined base for future cooperation. If these principles meet with your approval, I shall be pleased to receive your acceptance of them.

Assuring you of my appreciation of your cooperation, I am

Very truly yours,

Elmer E. Brown

Commissioner of Education

Ultimately, the Bureau of Education would continue to operate schools at Circle, Eagle, Fort Yukon, and Nenana, as well as at Kokrines, Rampart, Stevens Village, and Tanana. But it was against the backdrop of this struggle for control that George would step into his new position.

Assistant Superintendent of Schools, Northern District, 1908-10

IN AUGUST 1908, IN HIS NEW ROLE as assistant superintendent, George wrote to Commissioner Brown to report on his initial thoughts and impressions.

Boulter to Elmer E. Brown

Tanana, August 3, 1908

I left Eagle on July 21st, and as there was no steamboat going down river for nearly a week I bought a boat and proceeded down river as far as Fort Yukon. My expenses were not heavy as I was hospitably entertained at Nation, Circle and Fort Yukon. I regret to say that the school at Circle is in a very unsatisfactory condition. Mrs. Carr, who has now resigned, appears to have taken little or no interest in the school, and, according to the residents of Circle, the school was not in session half of the appointed time. Although there is a mission school building which could have been used and which is roomy and comfortable, Mrs.

Carr preferred to hold school in a small room nearer her own private cabin. I would suggest that school be held in the mission schoolhouse during the coming term. There is no stove in the building, however, and it would be necessary to supply one, as the stove Mrs. Carr used last term is worn out.

There are about twenty children of school age in Circle, yet very rarely were more than two or three present at school. There are six white children in Circle who are not being educated, and had the government school been conducted on conscientious lines, several of these children would have attended. The residents of Circle were very dissatisfied with Mrs. Carr and sincerely hope that the next teacher will take more interest in the school and the children.

The school at Fort Yukon appears to be quite satisfactory. Miss Woods is highly esteemed by the people of the town.⁵ She is, however, going Outside for the winter and doubtless you are sending someone to take her place. The building which has been used as a schoolhouse is now torn down and I do not yet know what building will be used this coming term. I would suggest, in the absence of any other plans you may have, that the new church at Fort Yukon be used as a schoolhouse. Doubtless the clergyman's consent could easily be obtained. Fort Yukon is a growing place and many Indians from outlying parts are settling there. It would be a good thing could a government schoolhouse be built there in the near future. I visited an Indian village about sixteen miles below Fort Yukon where I found about thirty Indians and ten children of school age. I proceeded down river from Fort Yukon on the steamer Hamilton as I was anxious to get to Tolovana as quickly as possible. I will be leaving Tanana in a few days for Kokrines. There are several men in Tanana who claim to have performed work or services in connection with the school building at Kokrines for which they have not been paid.

Boulter to Elmer E. Brown

Kokrines, August 15, 1908

I have now been at Kokrines since Aug. 7th and have reported fully to Mr. Lopp on the satisfactory condition of the schoolhouse and residence.

All the Indians led by Chief George came to see me a few days ago. They wish me to report to the Government on the probable destitution among them next winter. This season has been the worst on record for salmon fishing. This is very serious for the Indians as fish is one of their staple foods. They attribute the scarcity of fish to the oil steamers which run on the river. I can hardly imagine, however, that this year's poor catch is wholly attributable to these steamers,

⁵ "Miss Woods" was Elizabeth (Lizzie) J. Woods, a missionary, nurse, and government teacher at Circle in 1903 and then at Fort Yukon, where she helped to stem an outbreak of diphtheria in 1904. In 1913, she married Frank C. White, sawmill owner and carpenter some twenty years her junior.

although they are somewhat injurious to the fish. The Indians and a number of white people would like the oil steamers removed from the river.

There has been an extensive forest fire near Kokrines which has destroyed an estimated 30 to 40 square miles and badly disrupted the telegraph system. It has burnt out the Indians' trapping grounds and driven the game away a long distance. They also resent the actions of the white men—not only for trapping on their grounds but for illegally using strychnine for trapping.

For the above reasons there is every probability that there will be some cases of destitution next winter.⁶ I would suggest that rations from the military post at Gibbon [Fort Gibbon, in Tanana] be issued to "Old Zibbie" and "wife," "Old Paul" and "Old Woman Adam." These people are very old and one is blind. It would be well to send rations for one extra person which the teacher could distribute at his discretion. I think that if rations were issued for five persons the threatened destitution could be averted.

If the rations are to be sent from Fort Gibbon it will be necessary to inform Gibbon immediately so that they can reach Kokrines before the close of navigation [when the Yukon River freezes over].

Boulter to Elmer E. Brown

Tanana, October 15, 1908

On October 9th I left Tanana to visit the reindeer herd which is about thirty miles to the north. Two of the herders happened to be in town and were about to return to their camp so I took the opportunity of travelling with them. They had left their two sled deer a few miles out as there was much snow near the town. We were rather late in starting and had to spend the night on the trail, sleeping in an igloo which the herders have lately built.⁷ We passed a very cold night and were glad to make an early start the following morning.

We reached the reindeer camp soon after noon and I was made very welcome by the little community. The herders and their families are good, simple people with apparently no vices. They are fairly happy here but are somewhat homesick for their own Kobuk country [north of Kotzebue Sound] where they are able to live more cheaply. The herders on the seacoast are able to augment their food supplies by catching seals and by fishing, whereas those at Tanana are able to

⁶ In its annual appropriations for Indian Affairs, Congress set a figure for the relief of destitute Natives, a sum that became part of the Alaska School Service's budget. Until 1910, the distribution of supplies for the destitute was handled by the US Army from its various posts throughout Alaska. After that date each school superintendent was responsible for allocating relief supplies or cash within his district.

⁷ In these areas, an igloo was built with a framework of willow poles and thatched with bark, brush, or caribou hides—easily erected and dismantled.

obtain very little food apart from their deer as the natural resources of this part of the country are limited. Although these herders are good men and economical, they often find it difficult to purchase sufficient supplies for themselves and their families because of the high prices prevailing at the Tanana stores. They would be more contented were they able to procure food and other necessities at a reasonable rate.

Could you not obtain commissary privileges at Fort Gibbon for the herders? Flour, for instance, is \$9 per 100 pounds at the stores. At the Fort Gibbon commissary it is \$3.25 per 100 pounds. Other food supplies are equally high at the stores and correspondingly cheap at the commissary. If you could get this privilege extended to the herders it would probably be the means of making this part of the country their permanent home.

When the deer were last counted in June, 1907 there were 497 animals. They are now only 450—28 having died from lung disease, 2 from worms and 17 from other causes. It is unusual for so many deer to die from lung disease. The herders feel very discouraged at the number of deaths, especially as the herd has not increased according to their expectations during the past two years. On the coasts of both Norway and Alaska the deer drink a certain amount of salt water which evidently acts medicinally upon them. It is noticeable how eager the Tanana deer are for salt when they get it. Mr. Hoare took about 50 pounds of salt to the camp last winter which was scattered on the ground and eagerly consumed by the deer. Is it not reasonable to assume that their constitutions are weakened by lack of salt, and in consequence the deer are susceptible to the cold which affects their lungs?

Mr. Bango, the chief herder, believes that if the herd was supplied with 150 to 200 pounds of salt each month they would probably keep in better health. The herders, however, do not feel they can afford this additional cost as their expenses are already too much for them. I would strongly urge that, if possible, some salt be donated to them. I would like to supply this but do not feel at liberty to do so without authorization. Will you please inform me if I may, out of my fund for "Supplies" or by special fund, purchase 1,000 pounds of salt for the reindeer. It would not cost a great deal and would certainly be a useful experiment.

In a few days Bango will move the camp about three miles east of the present site. The herders are building new cabins and the new camp will be more favorably located, further removed from the timber, and fewer deer are liable to be lost. Just now, this being the healthiest time of the year, the deer are in fairly good condition but are somewhat smaller in size. I do not think the reindeer are, as transportation animals, quite successful in this part of the country where the snow is so light. Neither of the two deer with which we started from Tanana was drawing more than 200 pounds yet it was evident that they were hauling as much as they were able, especially one who was short-winded

and continually stopping and lying down to recuperate. Doubtless near the coast where the snow packs more solidly, the deer are able to draw heavier loads with greater ease.

Bango is building a large corral which will greatly facilitate counting the deer in future. At the last count several deer escaped into the timber and were not counted. The herders do not know to whom these belonged. Some of these deer have since rejoined the herd and will be included in the count next June. Bango wishes me to state that at the last count, one female fawn was added by mistake to the mission deer and one male fawn was wrongly added to John's deer. Both these fawns should be placed to the credit of Bango. John, the herder, had the misfortune last week to have his cabin burned down. It was a serious loss to him as the cabin contained all his possessions including a number of reindeer and wolverine skins. He is, however, building another cabin at the new camp. I remained a day and a half at the reindeer camp and, the people being so hospitable and kindly, a pleasant and profitable time was spent. If you think favorably with regard to the commissary privileges and the salt for the herders, please wire me the necessary instructions.

After some difficulty I have just secured my dog team. I expect to leave here Oct. 19th for Arctic City, Koyukuk River, and hope to return to Tanana by Nov. 10th.

Harlan Updegraff, Chief of the Alaska Division, Bureau of Education, to
Boulter

Seattle, September 18, 1908

In compliance with the recommendation contained in your letter of August 15th, the Commissioner of Education has, by telegraph, requested the Commanding Officer at Fort Gibbon, Alaska, to send Mr. V. J. O'Hare, teacher of the school at Kokrines, five hundred rations for distribution by Mr. O'Hare among the destitute natives at Kokrines.

W. T. Lopp, Superintendent of Schools, Northern District, to Boulter, Fort
Gibbon

Signal Corps telegram, Unalaklik, November 9, 1908

Re Govt deer Tanana if salt necessary mission, Laplanders & herders should provide same. Mission should take two Indian apprentices and reward according to regulations. Wire me results Arctic City trip.

Boulter to Elmer E. Brown

Tanana, November 13, 1908

I have this day written to Miss Owen, teacher at Circle City, and Dr. Williams, teacher at Stevens Village, and have given them authority to relieve urgent cases of destitution among the natives from their own supplies and to obtain an official receipt from the natives receiving such supplies. They are each allowed to expend the sum of \$50 during the fiscal year ending June 30, 1909. When these receipts are forwarded to you, please charge them to my fund for "Destitute Natives."

I have not thought it advisable to give this authority to the other teachers as I shall be calling at several schools in the near future and shall personally consider the condition of the Indians. At many other villages there is a mission and it is possible that the Indians at these places will not need government aid. There is no mission at either Circle or Stevens Village.⁸

Boulter to Harlan Updegraff

Tanana, November 13, 1908

In answer to your telegram of November 10, 1908, as to whether I recommend commissary and quartermaster's privileges for Mr. Kinzie at Tanana, I replied in the affirmative for the following reasons.

All persons at Eagle employed by the Government were allowed these privileges. They included the commissioner, postmaster, deputy marshal and all civilians who were regularly employed at the military post. The commissioner at Circle City used the privilege and obtained his yearly supplies from the post at Eagle. It was also extended to myself when at Eagle and at times I availed myself of it. There should be, I believe, no difference between one military post and another.

If the War Department will allow these privileges I think it is as well to accept them, especially as the store prices are unreasonably high. Colonel Cooke at Fort Gibbon has interested himself on my behalf and is trying to obtain full post privileges for me. I shall, however, be away from headquarters so much that they will not benefit me to any extent.

8 In a letter to W. T. Lopp written in April 1913, George comments that "Circle has always been a somewhat lawless town." Circle was, in fact, typical of the "boom and bust" towns on the Upper Yukon. With word of a gold strike at Birch Creek in 1893, prospectors poured into the region. By 1896, saloons and gambling halls had proliferated, and the population had grown to 3,000 people, most of whom abandoned the town two years later in the rush to the Klondike. As of 1903, those settlers who remained, and the fluctuating population of Alaska Natives, were served by both a mission and a government school. By 1908, however, the mission may have been inactive, as its priest, the Reverend Charles E. Rice, had set out to investigate the Tanana Valley for other possible mission sites.

Boulter to the Honorable Wilford B. Hoggatt, Governor of Alaska, Juneau

Tanana, November 14, 1908

On October 16, 1908, I wired you: "Cannot something further be done to stop the sale of liquor to Indians. Conditions bad. Local authorities doing best but to no avail. Am writing." I fully intended writing to you immediately but at that time I was making preparations for a journey to Arctic City, Koyukuk River, and was so very busy that I did not have the time.

It is true that the whiskey evil in this part of the country is very bad. Commissioner Bathurst of Tanana who, I think, is a much maligned man, is doing his best to cope with the problem but at present he has met with little success. Many times he has had convincing evidence against certain men for selling liquor to the Indians, but such is that state of affairs at Tanana that it is almost impossible to find six honest men who will do their duty in the jury box.

There being no law officers between Tanana and St. Michael (a distance of about 900 miles), the whiskey peddlers do their work openly to the ultimate ruin of the Indians. A few weeks ago one Jim Larsen of Hot Springs landed at Kokrines and employed the night in gambling with the natives—his whiskey against their money. Larsen is now at Whiskey Creek. Charles Wilson, a deserter from the army has, it is reported, been selling diluted alcohol to the Indians. I could give you the names of many more men engaged in this traffic if you care to receive them.

The jurisdiction of the commissioner at Tanana ceases about 100 miles down river from Tanana and it is only at great expense and trouble that he is able to extend his sphere of action. The only way to cope with this liquor evil is, I believe, by employing secret service men who would undoubtedly help to check it. In my opinion, the large commercial companies in this country are not altogether blameless in the matter. Although they are too wise to sell liquor directly to the Natives, yet they well know for what purpose the whiskey is being bought by the men who take it down river.

In my work, being entirely among the natives, I am constantly hearing complaints from the mission people and school teachers in the villages with regard to the sale of liquor to the Indians. Would it be advisable to invest me with some legal authority so that I could arrest certain men after obtaining sufficient evidence? I would thus be in a position to exercise a restraining influence over these men who so openly defy the law.

There is, I admit, a great difficulty in securing evidence against these men, namely, the reticence of the Indians in the witness box. I have known them to be fully aware of the offences of certain men and yet, when in the witness box, they would swear to having no knowledge of them. Furthermore, there is the refusal of juries to convict a white man on native testimony. It is, altogether, very

*difficult to know how to correct this whiskey evil, but I trust you will devise some means to remedy it.*⁹

Boulter to Elmer E. Brown

Tanana, December 21, 1908

On Nov. 19th I left Tanana to visit the schools at Kokrines, Louden and Koyukuk. I accomplished this journey without a guide or helper, with the exception of the distance between Louden and Koyukuk. As this is a very treacherous part of the river owing to deep overflows, I engaged an Indian to help me.

I would like here to call your attention to the fact that a man travelling in this country with a dog team requires a helper rather than a guide at times. When the snow is deep it is necessary for a man, walking on snowshoes, to go ahead of the dogs and break a trail. It is then necessary, if he is travelling alone, to return to the dogs and help them over the trail which he has broken. You will therefore readily see what little progress would be made under such conditions.

It was for this reason that I wired Mr. Updegraff on Nov. 10th suggesting the inadvisability of my travelling alone all the winter. The army authorities out here have strict orders from Washington to prohibit anyone connected with the army in Alaska from travelling alone, however short a distance. These orders are sometimes ignored and consequently there have been two deaths lately. A Signal Corps man at Koyukuk was drowned when he and his dogs and sled broke through some thin ice. Another Signal Corps man, stationed at Minto, was frozen to death. Both these men would probably have been saved had they not disobeyed orders.

The Indian I engaged to help me between Louden and Koyukuk went through some thin ice covering an overflow. Fortunately, the water was only five feet deep but it took a long time before he could get himself, his dogs and sled out of the water. Although the weather was not extremely cold—about ten below zero—the Indian was nearly frozen and it took a long time to thaw him out before a fire which we built on the bank. With the exception of getting wet up to my knees, I escaped the ducking as I was following with my dog team some fifty yards behind and managed to avoid the hole into which the Indian fell.

On my return I did not need a guide or helper as I travelled with the mailmen all the way from Koyukuk to Tanana. These mailmen travel with fifteen to twenty dogs and in bad weather have two or three “runners”—natives who go

9 Evidently, Governor Hoggatt did not act on George's suggestion that he be invested with the power to make arrests. It was not until March 1912 that George became a peace officer, on the recommendation of district attorney James Crossley to Walter E. Clark, who succeeded Hoggatt as governor of Alaska.

ahead of the team and break trail with their snowshoes.¹⁰ I am pleased to say that at all points on my journey I was received with courtesy, and people seemed anxious to render me all the assistance they could.

At each school I visited I suggested to the teacher the advisability of bathing the scholars once a week. The children seldom or never take a bath as there are often two or three families living together in one cabin and there is no opportunity for washing themselves. The teachers at Koyukuk, Louden, Kokrines and Tanana have now started bathing the children in the schoolhouse, with a married woman to look after the girls. At Tanana, where this has been done for several weeks, the result is satisfactory. The children like it and they bring clean underwear every bath day. These measures will probably induce a spirit of cleanliness and will tend to keep them in good health. Out of my fund for "Supplies" I have outfitted the teachers with the necessary bath materials.

About December 28th I hope to leave here on my long journey—Nenana, Fairbanks, Salchaket, Delta, Goodpaster, Tetlin, Mansfield, Tanana Crossing, Ketchumstock, Eagle, Circle, Fort Yukon, Stevens Village, Rampart and back to Tanana [some 1,700 miles in three months]. I shall try, as far as possible, to cover this journey without a guide or helper. I shall doubtless find it necessary, however, to engage help at some points, especially between Delta, Ketchumstock and Eagle as this part of the country is little traversed and there will probably be no trails.

In case you wish to send me any instructions while I am on my journey, I plan on being at Fairbanks around January 10th; Delta, January 16th; Tanana Crossing, January 30th; Ketchumstock, February 6th; Eagle, February 10th and Rampart, March 25th. My dogs are in good condition and should travel well during the remaining part of the winter.

Boulter to Elmer E. Brown

Tanana, December 22, 1908

On November 27th I visited the school at Louden on the Yukon River about 219 miles below Tanana where eighteen children were in attendance. The discipline was very good and the teacher, Mr. H. Ehlert, seemed quite able to keep the children interested in their studies and most are making good progress. Some of the older scholars had previously attended a school held by a Roman priest but this did them little good as the school was in session only when he visited the village at rare intervals.

¹⁰ Mail was carried for the US Postal Service by private contractors, and a team of fifteen to twenty dogs could pull a sled load of up to a thousand pounds. More commonly, though, teams consisted of nine dogs, in which case the maximum load was in the range of five to seven hundred pounds, and the traveller could cover some twenty-five miles a day. George travelled with only four or five dogs and preferred doing so alone when conditions permitted.

At present, Mr. Ehlert has given no attention to industrial teaching. He is a good carpenter and showed himself capable of overcoming difficulties when putting up the schoolhouse last summer, procuring the logs himself instead of giving the contract to white men who were asking a prohibitive price. The schoolhouse is well built and well located, on rising ground from which the whole village can be overlooked. The interior is neatly painted. Mr. Ehlert started a night school for the native men and women which was well attended at first, but as soon as the novelty wore off the people ceased to attend. When I was there, Mr. Ehlert was thinking of discontinuing the evening classes.

Mr. Ehlert is fairly contented at Louden and is, I think, prepared to stay another year. He expressed the wish that he would like to be employed by the year and not for nine months only. He claims that he could look after the natives during the vacation and teach them gardening, etc. He says he would like to build a workshop at the rear of the schoolhouse in which he could teach the boys and men to use carpentry tools. He also says he would be willing, if employed by the year, to supply the school with wood at his own expense.

I am not prepared to recommend this arrangement, neither am I wholly adverse to it. It will require your consideration as to whether or not all the other teachers might want to be engaged on the same terms if this privilege were granted to the teacher at Louden. I believe it is Ehlert's intention to write to you on the matter. He is engaged to be married and it is just possible that his intended wife will come to Alaska next summer, in which case they would propose to live at Louden.

The natives at Louden make a fairly good living by trapping, etc., and there is not much sickness among them. I am pleased to say that I did not find any really destitute Indians there. The white men at Louden, as at other places on the Yukon, are mostly a bad set and live chiefly by trading and gambling with the natives.

Boulter to Elmer E. Brown

Tanana, December 22, 1908

On November 22nd I visited the school at Kokrines on the Yukon River about 140 miles below Tanana. Mr. J. O'Hare is the teacher there and takes a great interest in his work. There were about ten children at school, and they appeared interested in their studies and were very quiet and orderly. The children are fond of Mr. O'Hare and he is greatly respected by the people in the community.

Mr. O'Hare is hampered in his work by the lack of school books, slates, copy books, etc., as the material sent to him last summer was left at Nulato by the carelessness of the transportation people. I am forwarding him some supplies from Tanana which will be of help. He is going to let the children have a bath

once a week and has sufficient balance in his fund for school supplies to purchase the necessary materials. There has, as yet, been no attention paid to industrial teaching.

At present there are some eighty natives at Kokrines. About New Year they will disperse and proceed on their long hunting trip and the majority will not return to Kokrines for some months. If we could offer inducement to the parents to let their children remain in the village to be taken care of by some of the old women who might be left behind, we could ensure a regular school attendance. As it is, the children accompany their parents on hunting trips and partially forget what they have been taught.

The repairs to the schoolhouse appear to be very satisfactory. The foundations have been strengthened and the floor is now level. The walls and ceiling have been repaired and the building is now quite warm. Steps have been built leading up to the door, a great improvement as previously it was a steep ascent from the ground to the door. Some of the inside work, owing to the logs not having been squared, will not bear too close an inspection. This would be difficult to repair and it appears hardly worth while to go to any further expense over it. The schoolhouse has had one coat of paint but it will need two more next year. There is sufficient oil, turpentine and white paint on hand for the purpose. I am well pleased that all the work was accomplished with native labor and I think it was done economically.

It is possible that Mr. O'Hare will be transferred by the Society of Jesus next year to another mission. If so, you will probably receive a nomination for the position from one of the fathers of the Order. Mr. O'Hare is presently living with Father Jetté at the mission house as the school residence is unfinished.¹¹ If a teacher is sent to Kokrines who is not a Jesuit, it would be advisable to complete the school residence so that he could be independent of the mission. This would not cost much but the ceiling should be repaired, outside walls re-mossed and banked, inside walls partly burlapped, wainscotting put up and the roof partly shingled. About 500 feet of lumber would be required to build two toilet houses.

There is not much serious illness at Kokrines and the natives are well looked after by Mr. O'Hare and Father Jetté, who has a good knowledge of medicine. I am trying to procure some medicines for them from the military post here and, if successful, will forward these to Kokrines. Would it not be advisable to have an additional room built to all new schools which could be used as a wash house

¹¹ Father Julius (Jules) Jetté is a well-respected figure in the history of missions in Alaska. Born in Montréal in 1864, he entered the seminary in 1882, completing his noviate in 1884. After many years of study, which spanned the natural sciences, philosophy, mathematics, and language, he was ordained as a Jesuit priest in 1896. He arrived in Alaska in 1898 and remained there almost continuously until his death in 1927. As noted in the introduction, Jetté took an abiding interest in the language and culture of the Koyukon-speaking peoples living along the middle Yukon and Koyukuk rivers. He was also, like so many missionaries, a staunch opponent of the whiskey trade.

and bathroom for the entire community? I think it would be greatly appreciated and would undoubtedly be conducive to the natives' health.

Boulter to Elmer E. Brown

Tanana, December 24, 1908

I have visited the school at Tanana many times during the present term where Mr. H. C. Kinzie is presently the teacher. There is now good attendance but this will fall off soon after the New Year when a number of families migrate to the hills. Nearly all the children at Tanana can speak English and can read and write fairly well. They also understand simple arithmetic.

Mr. Kinzie is not a strong man, being nervous and easily tired. I am inclined to think that this school is too large for him, and he has considerable difficulty in maintaining discipline. The children here are among the wildest and most disorderly that I have yet met. Mrs. Hoare, the former teacher, apparently let them run wild and everything connected with the school was in such a chaotic state that Mr. Kinzie has had adverse conditions to cope with. Nevertheless, I think he will eventually train the children into more orderly and studious ways.

He is living with the Rev. Peabody at the mission house. They do not get on well together, Kinzie taking little or no interest in the affairs of the mission. Yet, because there is no residence for the teacher, they are forced to live together. Their relations toward each other were so strained some time ago that I contemplated fitting up a portion of the schoolhouse for Kinzie to live in. They are now on more amicable terms and their present relations with each other will probably last until the end of the school term. There is no white woman at the mission here, consequently should a woman teacher be appointed for Tanana it would be necessary for her to have her own residence. I would therefore suggest that one be built here before the commencement of the next school term.

There has been a deal of sickness among the Tanana natives and they are unable to get any professional medical attention. The doctor at the military post has refused to visit the village simply because he is afraid of contracting some contagious disease. Some time ago he was threatened with a charge of manslaughter in the event of a native dying whom he refused to visit. Whereupon, the doctor visited the village but would not enter the sick man's cabin. Instead, he stood outside and mumbled some advice which, I believe, sounded more like a curse than anything else, and then went sulkily home. Reverend Peabody is doing his best under the circumstances. As Tanana is quite a large village I believe it would be a good place to build a hospital, with a doctor and wife to tend the sick and to teach school.¹²

¹² From 1907 until the time of his death, in 1917, George pleaded with the Bureau of Education for a government hospital to be built on the Upper Yukon. A hospital existed at Holy Cross Catholic

There are no really destitute natives here as the mission people look after the needy. A large gathering of Indians is here just now—over two hundred—many having arrived from the Tanana River for the Christmas festivities.

Boulter to Harlan Updegraff

Tanana, December 28, 1908

Referring to your letter dated Nov. 7th, 1908, I regret that I omitted to send a voucher for the item of \$1.50 and I herewith enclose a voucher for that amount.

I have just read that "Dummy," whom I mentioned in my letter to the commissioner dated Nov. 12th, 1908, is being detained by the authorities at Coldfoot for a period of six months.¹³ Dummy is undoubtedly insane and it is probable that he will, eventually, have to be placed in an asylum.

As a new officer has just arrived at the military post here, the house I have been using as an office is now required for his occupation. I have therefore removed all my belongings and am storing them until I return from my long journey. My quarters at the post have been very convenient but I think that on my return to Tanana it would be better for me to find new permanent quarters in town. I would like to rent a cabin sufficiently large to enable me to make use of the front room as an office. Can you grant me a special allowance of \$25 a month for this purpose? I may be able to rent a cabin for a smaller amount but suitable cabins are scarce, and rents are high and wholly out of proportion to the value of the building.

Boulter to Elmer E. Brown

Fairbanks, January 14, 1909

It was my intention to visit Salchaket but upon receipt of your telegram instructing me to proceed to Circle I cancelled my plans. I have gained, however, what I think is reliable information regarding the place.

mission downriver from Anvik, and Episcopal mission hospitals and infirmaries, some short-lived or rudimentary, existed at Rampart, Circle, Fairbanks, Fort Yukon, Tanana, and Nenana. During World War I, hospitals were built at Bristol Bay and Juneau, far to the south and southeast, and at Nulato, on the Lower Yukon, but there was nothing on the Upper Yukon River until the hospital at Tanana was completed in 1919. And, even then, there were no quarantine centres to care for tuberculosis patients or victims of epidemics.

¹³ The commissioner in question was presumably the US commissioner in Tanana, John Bathurst, mentioned in George's letter of November 14 to Governor Hoggatt. Bathurst had been appointed to the position in 1905, by James Wickersham. On his efforts to silence his outspoken critic George Hinton Henry, editor of the *Tanana Citizen*, see David Richardson, *Shamrocks on the Tanana: Richard Geoghegan's Alaska*, 144–46.

Salchaket is 65 miles up the Tanana River from Fairbanks at the confluence of the Salcha and Tanana rivers. The permanent population of the village would be about thirty. At Christmas time there were fifty Indians there, some visitors having come from Goodpaster and a few from Tanana Crossing. Among the permanent residents are eight children of school age. Several families from distant parts are probably going to settle at Salchaket, in which case there would be about 15 children. The Indians are able to get plenty of fish from the Salcha River; big game, however, is scarce. The natives frequently have to travel a hundred miles to their hunting grounds.

The Rev. C. E. Betticher of Fairbanks holds occasional services in an Indian cabin at Salchaket and it is his intention to construct a school in a few months. The mission people have the complete school equipment at Fairbanks and are going to freight it over the winter trail in a short time.¹⁴ To the present time there has been no school at Salchaket. Miss Wightman, who is now a teacher at the mission school at Chena Village, will probably be transferred to Salchaket.

Rev. Betticher appears to be rather opposed to the Government building schools in places where he has established missions. He is, for instance, very much opposed to a school being built at Tolovana because it will draw some of his Indians away from Nenana. He is similarly opposed to a government school being built at Salchaket. He does good work among the natives but I fail to understand why he prefers that the mission people teach the children instead of the Government. His chief dread appears to be the possibility of a government teacher being appointed who would not work in harmony with the mission, thus retarding the mission's work. He has, however, no present ground for alarm as the government teacher at Nenana is in full sympathy with the mission. Furthermore, if the missions are careful to nominate suitable teachers for new schools, the Bureau would doubtless accept such nominations.

¹⁴ Fairbanks was first settled in 1901, as a trading post on the Chena River near its junction with the Tanana River, in the heart of the Upper Yukon, incorporating as a city in November 1903. That same year, James Wickersham moved the seat of the Third Judicial District to Fairbanks from Eagle. The community grew rapidly after news of the discovery of gold at Ester Creek, a few miles up the Tanana River, became public in 1904. In addition, in 1904, the Episcopal Church secured land for its mission and hospital, and much of the funding to build them, from local settlers. For a contemporary account, see Clara M. Carter, "Founding of St. Matthew's Hospital," http://www.stmatthewschurch.org/st_matthew_s_hospital, an article that appeared in 1906 in the first issue of *The Alaskan Churchman*. The Reverend Charles E. Betticher, who became the first rector at St. Matthew's Church in 1905, was a tireless founder of mission stations in the Tanana Valley.

Boulter to Harlan Updegraff

Fairbanks, January 15, 1909

I called on Judge Reid and the district attorney many times during my short stay in Fairbanks. We discussed a variety of subjects connected with the Indians, particularly with regard to them being allowed to sell their meat through the end of March. The Indians have just cause for grievance as the law now stands, as they rely upon selling a certain amount of meat in order to obtain other necessities of life.

Judge Reid and the district attorney are going to telegraph Washington to try to have the game laws amended for the benefit of the natives. I also had a conference with Judge [James] Wickersham.

Judge Reid invited me to expound upon my views to the grand jury (about 40 in number) which was then in session. I accepted his invitation and spoke about the work of the Bureau and of the difficulties we have to contend with up here. They were interested in our work and asked many questions concerning it.

I am leaving here tomorrow for Circle. The weather is cold—the temperature being 48 below zero.

Boulter to Elmer E. Brown

Fort Yukon, February 5, 1909

In reference to the telegram I sent you from Fairbanks on January 12th relating to the Indians being allowed to sell their meat through the end of March, I think an injustice is being done to the Indians by not allowing them to do so. There is no just reason why they should not be able to sell their meat all winter.

In the Yukon Territory, where the same climatic conditions exist, the natives are allowed to sell their meat until the end of April. It is toward the end of the winter that the Indians have their hardest time, and if they were allowed to sell their meat during that period they could then buy other necessities such as flour, bacon, tea, etc.

During my conference with Judge Reid and the district attorney at Fairbanks they both appeared to be in favor of the game laws being modified for the benefit of the natives. I do not yet know the result of the telegram they were going to send to Washington.

If it is too late for the law to be altered this winter, I trust we can obtain a modification of it for next winter.

Harlan Updegraff to Boulter

Seattle, February 16, 1909

Yours of December 28, 1908, in which you ask whether it would be possible to grant you an allowance of \$25 per month for rent of an office is received. In reply, I have to say that in the judgment of the commissioner such allowance cannot be made for this fiscal year. Your request will be considered, in connection with the general plan of furnishing such quarters during the coming fiscal year, after Congress fixes the amount of the appropriation for that year. This proposition should have the approval of Mr. Lopp.

Application for the care of the insane man of whom you speak should be made to a United States Commissioner in accordance with the requirements of the [Civil] Code. You may be also aware that the insane of Alaska are cared for under contract in a sanatorium near Portland, Oregon. The Governor of Oregon has direction of the care of the insane in this institution.

Boulter to Elmer E. Brown

Tanana, March 1, 1909

REPORT ON THE U.S. SCHOOL AT STEVENS VILLAGE, ALASKA

On February 16th, I visited the school at Stevens Village. This combined school-house and residence is not a good building, the residential portion being particularly uncomfortable. When the wind is high, the living rooms are very cold. During my visit the weather was extremely cold and frost had penetrated the walls of the living rooms within a few feet of the stove.

The schoolroom is warm enough as this portion of the building was formerly a log cabin. The flooring is out of level, however, as new boards were placed directly onto the flooring of the old cabin without any attempt being made to correct its original unevenness. The rest of the schoolhouse is passable and would be still better were it kept clean. Dr. Z. T. Williams, the teacher, is not very tidy in his habits, and the floors, particularly those in the living rooms, were decidedly dirty.

I was favorably impressed, however, with Dr. Williams's manner of conducting school where eleven children were present. The discipline was good and the children orderly and attentive to their studies. These children knew hardly a word of English before the school was built, and considering the comparatively short time they have attended school they have made great progress. They can all speak English and their spelling is good. Their writing is fairly good, but in arithmetic they are very backward, the majority of them being unable to answer the simplest questions.

Were it not for Dr. Williams's personal efforts there would be only three or four children in the village. He has, out of his own provisions, supplied food to the parents of eight children to induce them to allow their children to remain in the village to attend school while they themselves are away hunting. Dr. Williams expects the parents to repay this food either by cash or in trade, but it is doubtful that he will ever receive full value for the goods supplied. I believe he has given the Indians food to the amount of about seventy-five dollars.

Mr. Russell, partner in the Stevens Village store known as Shultz and Russell, has written to you and made a complaint against Dr. Williams for trading with the natives and thereby injuring his business. I investigated the matter thoroughly and have concluded that Dr. Williams's actions were not reprehensible. It is true that he has traded with the Indians but this has been chiefly confined to materials necessary for the school. He has also traded for a few marten skins which he wanted to present to his wife. As far as I could ascertain, he has sold only two marten skins.

It would be as well to take Russell's statements with a certain amount of reservation. He does not have a very good reputation and his relations with some of the native women would not bear investigating. He spends most of his spare time in the native cabins playing cards with the men. He has applied, or is about to, for the position of school teacher at Stevens Village. I would strongly urge that he not be appointed.

Dr. Williams has yet to make up his mind whether or not he will return to Stevens Village after the coming summer. In the event of his retirement, I would very much like a woman teacher appointed for the village. After having visited all the schools in my district I am particularly impressed with those taught by women. Women take more interest in their work than do the men and they appear better suited for the training of children. Stevens Village, however, is a very isolated place. During the winter it is inaccessible and during the summer very few steamboats call there. There are no white women nearer than Rampart, consequently, a woman teacher would have to be prepared to spend a quiet and somewhat lonely time.

There are no repairs urgently needed at the schoolhouse but it would be well sometime during the summer to have the spaces between the logs cemented to help make the building warmer. It would also be as well to have all the stove-pipes renewed before the commencement of next term. Dr. Williams spoke to me about certain materials he has bought and made for the use of the school and which, in the event of his leaving Stevens Village, he would like the Bureau to purchase from him.

I am pleased to say that there is not much sickness at the village. Dr. Williams is doing good work with the \$50 fund entrusted to him on behalf of the destitute. He is relieving a very old woman named "Old Eliza" who has no relatives, and has also given food to another woman who was sick and destitute.

Boulter to Elmer E. Brown

Tanana, March 2, 1909

REPORT ON THE U.S. SCHOOL AT RAMPART, ALASKA

On February 23rd I visited the school at Rampart where Miss Edna M. Marcy is the teacher. The school building is not in a good location as it is situated immediately behind the town where the white people live. The Indian village is a full mile distant from the schoolhouse, a long way for the children to walk, and has been the cause of many families moving from the Indian village to live among the white people. Had the school been built nearer the village, the Indians would have been more separated from the white people. It is very noticeable how the Indians deteriorate when surrounded by white people and it would be well in the future, as far as possible, to keep them in their own villages.

I was particularly pleased with my visit to the school and have no hesitation in saying that Miss Marcy, although only twenty-four years of age, conducts the best school in my district. She is conscientious and takes a great interest in her work. Discipline is excellent and the children are more advanced in their studies than scholars elsewhere. She also has done good work with the garden. Last summer each child had a separate plot about 6 feet by 14 feet where they grew potatoes, peas, beans, cabbages, lettuce and turnips. The new fence around the schoolground is well built and will prevent the garden being damaged by stray horses. Miss Marcy will need some gardening tools in the coming spring and I have purchased a few for her at Rampart as she will require them before she could possibly get them from Outside.

I regret that it is her intention to retire from the school service at the end of the present term. She might be persuaded, however, to extend her stay up to June 30th which would give her an opportunity to put the garden into proper order for the summer. I wish that some further inducement could be offered her to remain. She is so highly thought of by all classes of people and has the welfare of the children so much at heart that it will be difficult to replace her. In the event of her retirement I would suggest that another woman teacher be appointed.

I cannot help thinking that after a school is well established the male teachers should be gradually eliminated and replaced, where possible, by women. I find that the majority of male teachers, while conducting fairly good schools, are in a constant state of unrest, and at heart have little sympathy for the natives. On the contrary, I am led to believe that women teachers are more contented and consequently their school work is more thorough in every respect.

There is now no commissioner or marshal at Rampart. Whiskey is sold to the natives almost openly and many of the native girls have been violated by the unprincipled white men of the town. One of the saloons there known as "Collins" has been notorious for many years as a place where the Indians could always obtain whiskey. All the white people of the town know this very well. I tried to collect some evidence so that I could lay a complaint before Judge Reid at Fairbanks, but such is the reticence of the white people that I was unable to secure any sworn statement from them. They realize that if they do make a sworn statement it would mean that they would have to leave their businesses and make a special journey to either the commissioner at Hot Springs or the courthouse at Fairbanks. The majority of white people up here are not sufficiently interested in the welfare of the natives to make this sacrifice. Had I been invested with the legal authority of a commissioner, I should have had no difficulty in bringing to justice several men at Rampart.

When travelling from Fort Yukon to Stevens Village I collected evidence against a man named Victor who is supposed to be cutting wood but who lives chiefly by selling whiskey to the Indians. The evidence was sufficient to convict him and I could most certainly have done so had I the necessary authority. As it was, I secured sworn statements from natives who purchased whiskey from him. It is my intention to have these statements laid before the commissioner at Hot Springs. It is doubtful, however, whether any action will be taken in the matter, such is the apathy displayed by most of the officials up here.

There are no really destitute natives at Rampart, consequently I did not have to draw on my fund for that purpose.

Boulter to Elmer E. Brown

Tanana, March 5, 1909

At the time of my leaving Tanana on November 19, 1908, en route for Kokrines, I obtained 93 pounds of dried salmon for use as dog feed from an Indian named Moses.

Indian Moses was then about to travel with his wife to Nulato to take charge of the reindeer at, or near, that place. He had more goods on his sled than he could carry and asked me if I would take over some of his salmon and repay him for the same upon my arrival at some point down river. I did this at Loudon where I purchased sufficient fish from A. R. Nollner to replace those I had received from Moses.

I therefore enclose a voucher payable to A. R. Nollner for the sum of \$10.23. Please charge this to my fund for "Travelling Expenses." I used the fish obtained from Moses as feed for my own dogs.

Boulter to Elmer E. Brown

Tanana, March 9, 1909

The mission house at Tanana in which the government teacher, Mr. Kinzie, was living with the Rev. Peabody was burned on February 12. Both men are now living in a very small house which will, in a few months, be required for a nurse who will work with the mission.

I would therefore emphasize my earlier suggestion that a teacher's residence be built at Tanana before the commencement of the next school term. Some of my personal possessions such as clothes, papers, camera, etc. which were stored with Mr. Peabody for safe-keeping were lost in the fire.

Harlan Updegraff to Boulter

Seattle, March 22, 1909

Permit me to congratulate you upon your success in securing the conviction of the saloon keeper in Circle, and the annulment of his license. Your reports give us satisfactory information concerning the conditions in your portion of the Northern District. I may say, too, that they have improved in form with your continued experience in investigation and reporting.

My telegram to you of January 16th concerning expenditures was prompted by the purchasing of large amounts of supplies which were being furnished to the schools. The items that come to mind now are soap, tubs, towels and dog feed. Our appropriation is entirely inadequate to accomplish all the work that needs to be done over all Alaska, and it is highly important that all engaged in the Service should conduct the expenditures as economically as possible. Your letters which have since been received have, however, led me to understand the considerations that were operating in your own mind when these purchases were made. I am frank to say that I now have no criticism of your actions.

Harlan Updegraff to Boulter

Seattle, April 13, 1909

It is our purpose to erect a combined schoolhouse and teacher's residence of logs at Eagle, Circle and Fort Yukon, and a teacher's residence at Tanana. I presume that you will be directed to act as Supervisor of Construction of these buildings. The required window frames, doors, hardware, etc. will be sent from Seattle, also furnishings for both residences and schoolrooms. Logs are the only material that will be required from Alaska. Mr. Lopp will reach Seattle about May 12, and after our conference regarding the plans to be followed we shall direct you in accordance.

There is a small plot of land within the mission site at Tanana retained for the use of the Government upon which to erect school buildings. The residence should be erected upon that ground. I presume the area is staked and it will not be difficult to determine the boundaries within which the residence must be erected. This building must have no part of it upon the mission land. If it is necessary to move the schoolhouse in order to erect the residence upon our reserve, that step will have to be taken. However, in these matters you must not proceed until properly instructed.

I suppose by this time you have received a copy of the act known as the "Special Peace Officer Act," whereby we can secure the appointment of our own agents as peace officers. In order to make this plan entirely successful we are making special efforts to secure men of high qualifications and to pay them a somewhat higher salary than has been paid in the past. I am of the belief that it is best to send in new men from the outside who are actuated by philanthropic motives to do this work.

I was very glad to get your letter regarding the destitution upon the Koyukuk. Your plans for securing work from the natives are approved, although I am not sure that we shall ever build a schoolhouse at that faraway point. But the logs can be used to good advantage in case we need them at some other place. I believe that a special effort should be made by you this summer to carry on such work among the natives at all points where destitution is liable to occur. The Bureau will, I think, be prepared to purchase such items as may be needed in fishing and to loan them to the Indians until they are able to purchase the same from the proceeds of their catch. I wish you would give this matter your careful consideration and either write or wire me at Seattle, where I expect to be soon after May 1st.

Boulter to Elmer E. Brown

Tanana, April 14, 1909

Following the instructions in your telegram dated March 9, 1909 I proceeded to Allakaket, leaving Tanana March 15th. I have been unable to write earlier as no mail left the Koyukuk while I was there.

I was accompanied by Billy Field, the same native who travelled with me on my previous trip. It was necessary to have a guide and helper over this trail as it is an unfrequented part of the country and one in which many people have been lost. The trail in places is so rough and difficult that it is more than one man's work to handle the dogs and a heavy sled. In addition to my five dogs Billy took three of his own, thus enabling us to travel with eight dogs. Even with this combined strength it was hard work at times owing to the soft trail.

The problem of dog food on such a journey is a difficult one as it is quite impossible to procure any en route. Knowing that food was scarce on the Koyukuk, fully half our sled load from Tanana consisted of dog food. Each night as we travelled we cached sufficient for our return trip, to lighten our sled load and make it easier for the dogs to haul.

The condition of the natives on the Koyukuk I found to be very much as Miss [Clara] Carter had represented. While the natives were not, at the time of my visit, actually starving, yet many of them were in a destitute condition and would have fared badly had not the mission people helped them. Miss Carter, realizing this, and that the worst months were yet to come, appealed for help while she had the opportunity. Only one more mail will leave the Koyukuk this winter, after which there is a gap of nearly two months when no mail can leave. She therefore thought it best to forestall any starvation among the natives by asking for assistance while there was still time to render it.

Toward the end of the previous winters the natives have been in a more or less destitute condition. At present, owing to the unaccountable scarcity of salmon during the last fishing season, their situation is worse than in former years. In ordinary seasons the natives are able to catch and dry sufficient salmon to fill their caches. Each cache would probably hold 1,000 pounds of salmon which is enough, when combined with other food, to last them through the winter. At the beginning of this winter the most successful natives were unable to catch more than 200 pounds of salmon for winter use. Many of the less successful caught only a very few fish. I visited all the Indians at both Arctic City and Allakaket and examined their caches. These I found mostly empty, except for a few where I found a small number of white fish which had been caught early in the winter through holes chopped in the ice.

Miss Carter, who last summer went to the expense of having a fish wheel made and employed a white man to look after it, caught two white fish and one salmon. The fish wheel cost Miss Carter \$100—thus the three fish cost her in the neighborhood of \$33 each. Chief Moses, who is an industrious man, caught 37 salmon last season.¹⁵

The natives rely on salmon not only for their own consumption but as food for their dogs. As the natives had no food to give them, a number of dogs have died and the natives have been compelled to kill others. A native of the Interior does not willingly kill his dogs as he knows he is unable to travel without them. The dogs I saw at Arctic City and Allakaket were in an emaciated condition and unless they are given better food they will be useless for hauling a sled. The

15 Large fish wheels were in widespread use on the Anvik and Tanana rivers, and used sparsely on the middle Yukon River, from about 1905. They had willow baskets attached to a large wheel, rather like that of a paddlesteamer, and were driven by the river current to scoop the fish out of the water. Before the winter freeze, the fish wheels would have to be dismantled, or else they would be crushed by the ice, and were erected again the following spring.

natives were feeding their dogs a thin solution of flour and water which was just sufficient to keep them alive.

The worst months for the natives are April, May and June. After the snow leaves the ground about the end of April they are unable to go hunting and cannot rely on getting any fish until about the middle of July. About the beginning of July the salmon usually ascend the Yukon River and, as Allakaket is nearly 500 miles up the Koyukuk, it is generally about the second or third week in July before the salmon reach that part of the Koyukuk.

Several years ago there were plenty of rabbits in the country but now there are hardly any. I am pleased to say, however, that there are signs which indicate they are coming back. A few were caught while I was at Allakaket—not many, it is true—but sufficient to justify the hope that next winter they will be as plentiful as before. As far as I could ascertain there have been only seven caribou and one moose killed in the Koyukuk country this winter. These were killed a long way down river from Allakaket, too far for the meat to be hauled back to the village. Some of the natives, therefore, went to the place where the caribou were killed and camped there until they had eaten the meat, after which they returned to Allakaket in a condition little better than when they left.

The storekeeper at Arctic City put a number of natives to work at the beginning of winter cutting steamboat wood. He paid them \$8 per cord (four feet long) and with this money the Indians were able to subsist during the early winter. The mission people have given as much work as possible to the natives—more than they felt justified in providing—and have put the mission into considerable debt.

After having made all the enquiries that I could, I called a meeting of the natives who were headed by Chief Moses and we had a consultation at Allakaket. I made it clear to them that the Government did not intend to give them food unless they worked for it. This they quite understood. The Koyukuks and Kobuks are not a lazy people and they appeared thankful for the opportunity to be given work. I have arranged the following:

(1) *Cutting and Peeling Logs:* These logs will be useful should a schoolhouse be built. In any case, logs are a useful asset and I do not think there would be any difficulty selling them should you wish to. The logs will be peeled, as they will then be less liable to rot than if they were allowed to remain unpeeled on the ground for any length of time. They will be placed on the mission ground and will be fit for use at any reasonable time. The standing timber from which the logs are being cut is situated in places a mile or two from Allakaket. The majority will be cut up the Koyukuk and a few up the Alatna. The natives are working at the rate of twenty-five cents an hour, the wage paid to them by Miss Carter when they do winter work around the mission.

Hauling the logs to the river bank is sufficient work for a horse, consequently it is very hard work for dogs. I have arranged that men who own a dog team

strong enough for hauling are to be paid 50 cents per hour. To put their dogs into condition I have authorized Miss Carter to purchase 100 pounds of rice which she can give the men to use as dog feed. When I left Allakaket on April 6th about 120 logs had been cut and nearly 100 had been hauled to the river bank. I estimate that, with the sum I have allowed Miss Carter for this purpose, we shall have about 200 building logs at our disposal. The total cost for cutting, hauling, rafting and peeling is not to exceed \$225.

(2) Clearing a piece of ground: I have staked a piece of ground 200 feet square which will be large enough for most of the people to have a small garden. Some of the younger men will clear the ground and cut a drain. The work on the fence will be reserved for the old men and women. The women can very well procure the willow poles and the old men can make the fence. They are to be paid at the rate of twenty-five cents per hour. The total cost for clearing the ground, building a fence around it and cutting a drain is not to exceed \$200.

(3) Making Fish Nets: I have authorized Miss Carter to have 12 fish nets made, the fish twine to be purchased out of the Relief Fund. The women who make the nets are to be paid \$5 for each net. These will remain the property of the Bureau for the first year, after which they will become the property of the women who made them. Until then the natives are to be allowed to use the nets. One-half of the fish caught during the first year are to be the property of the Bureau. These fish, when dried, I shall arrange to be sent to Tanana to be used by me as dog feed. The freight rate from Allakaket to Tanana ought not to exceed four cents per pound. The cost of the fish twine and nets is not to exceed \$90.

(4) Cutting Wood: Cutting thirty cords of wood, 4 feet long, at \$8 per cord. This wood will be useful should a school be built. If not, cord wood is always saleable to the steamboat people who will pay \$8 per cord.¹⁶

Thus the natives will be relieved from any destitution and the Bureau will, I think, be getting a fair return for money expended. Miss Carter should have deplored any action taken by the Bureau by which the natives would be given food instead of being made to work for it. Neither was it her wish that I should purchase a quantity of food and store it at the mission house for her to re-sell, as she thought that the natives, knowing there were a lot of provisions at the mission, would think they were placed there for the purpose of free distribution.

I thought it best that the natives should be given orders signed by Miss Carter on the store at Arctic City so that, after having earned their money, they could purchase what food they wished. The store at Arctic City, owned by Mr. Marsan, is the only one near Allakaket, the next nearest being at Bettles about eighty miles up river. I did not go to Bettles as Marsan was sending up there for various provisions that the natives required. Mr. Marsan allows Miss Carter a ten percent

¹⁶ In his 1909 report to the Bureau of Education, Harlan Updegraff quoted George's description of these activities, albeit with some variations in wording, in a section headed "Relief of Destitution." See Updegraff, *Report on Education in Alaska, 1909*, 1313–14.

reduction on most of her purchases and is going to make a similar reduction to the Bureau.

I am informed that there are nine or ten reindeer which formerly belonged to the herd at Bettles now feeding and living on some mountains about twenty miles up the Alatna. The moss on these mountains is the white moss on which the deer thrive, and there is good fishing on the Alatna at the base of the mountains. This locality might be a good place to establish a reindeer herd. I do not think there would be any difficulty in getting good reliable Koyukuks or Kobuks to look after the deer. In talking with the Indians I feel sure they would welcome a herd, and if one were established within reasonable distance of the Koyukuk it would, to some extent, solve the problem of any future destitution among them.

I would like to suggest that, in the event of a government school being built at Allakaket, a cellar be built underneath the school in which garden produce could be stored. The natives might then, by judicious management on the part of the teacher, have vegetables all winter, thus adding to their food supply and keeping them in good health.

After the natives have purchased their supplies from the store at Arctic City, Miss Carter will make out a voucher payable to Marsan and signed by herself.

Boulter to W. T. Lopp

Tanana, April 16, 1909

I returned to Tanana a few days ago and have, I think, finished dog teaming for this winter. I have placed my dogs with a man who is looking after the mail dogs. He has about seventy mail dogs to look after and, as his place is just across the river from Tanana, I thought I could not do better than let him look after mine and feed them all summer. His charge is \$4 per month for each dog. He has several fish wheels and thus is able to feed the dogs at a low cost. This is cheaper than I could feed them—and it would not be possible for me to have care of the dogs all summer.

I am hoping to get some fish from Allakaket during the summer which will help reduce the dog feed bill for next winter.

Boulter to Harlan Updegraff

Tanana, April 19, 1909

In answer to your telegrams of April 14th and 15th I replied as follows: "Trail not passable, thawing fast. Will proceed Upper Yukon first steamer. Send mill work from Seattle. Nothing gained by purchasing at Fairbanks. Please forward plans, specifications and mail to Eagle."

The snow is melting rapidly and the trail is becoming impassable. Before I could possibly have reached Fort Yukon (eleven days of constant travelling), the river would be open in many places and in a highly dangerous condition. I therefore propose to leave here by the first steamer and proceed to Eagle. I will then make informal arrangements for procuring logs for the school building there, these logs not to be purchased until after July 1st [the beginning of the fiscal year]. After having done this, should there be no steamboat, I shall probably drift down river in a small boat to Circle and Fort Yukon and make the same arrangements as at Eagle.¹⁷

There would be nothing gained by purchasing the lumber at Fairbanks. In the first place, the lumber there is native spruce, and is more or less green and liable to warp and shrink. There is a certain amount of Outside lumber obtainable at Fairbanks but the price is prohibitive. Taking Eagle as an example, the cost of dressed native lumber at Fairbanks and of freighting it to Eagle would be about \$136.50 per 1,000 feet. The cost of dressed lumber at Seattle and freight to Eagle would be about \$140 per 1,000 feet. There is, therefore, not much difference in the price of lumber landed on the Upper Yukon whether it is purchased in Seattle or Fairbanks. The quality of the lumber from Outside being far superior to that obtainable up here, I would suggest that it be sent from Seattle.

To ensure the lumber reaching here by the first boat, it might be advisable to see the Northern Commercial Company's freight agent in Seattle, Mr. John L. Burnside. He could doubtless make arrangements for having the school material sent through quickly. The freight rates for the coming summer may possibly be reduced.

Boulter to Harlan Updegraff

Tanana, April 20, 1909

I would like to suggest that a supply of school material be sent to me at Tanana. Many of the teachers are constantly writing to me for books, slates, pencils, copy books, report cards, requisition blanks, writing paper, envelopes, etc. Having no such supplies here I am unable to comply with their requests and much delay is caused by having to send to Seattle or Washington for them—or, as is generally the case, the teachers have to go without the material they require.

I also think that repairs to the various schools could be more conveniently and expeditiously done were a quantity of building and repair material stored with me at Tanana such as lumber (dressed and undressed), paint, brushes, oil,

¹⁷ George's "small boat" was, in fact, a Yukon River skiff. In a letter to William Hamilton, written on July 14, 1910, George commented: "Owing to the few steamboats on the Yukon River I had to travel all the way from Eagle to Tanana—over 600 miles—in a small rowboat." He went on to propose that he be provided with a small gasoline engine.

turpentine, nails, tools, etc. Were these supplies stored here, I should be able to distribute the necessary items to the various schools when and where they were needed.

We should economize a deal of time by having these items stored in the heart of Alaska.

Elmer E. Brown to Boulter

Washington, DC, May 3, 1909

In accordance with authority granted by the Assistant Secretary of the Interior, you are hereby instructed to serve as Supervisor of Construction, without additional compensation, of United States public school buildings to be erected at Fort Yukon, Circle and Eagle.¹⁸ The plans and specifications for these buildings will later be furnished to you, and you will also be informed of the limit of cost for each of the above mentioned buildings.

In determining the best locations for these school buildings, you will, if possible, select land which is unencumbered by any claim whatsoever. You will then mark each site and send me a description thereof by metes and bounds in order that it may be reserved by Executive Order, pending survey and segregation by the General Land Office.

If, however, in order to secure a suitable site for a school building, it becomes necessary, in your judgement, to purchase land, or the rights of a party to land, you are directed to accept a proposal at a reasonable cost, not in excess of the prevailing price in the place where the said land is located. You must take due care that the title to the land is clear, and a certificate to that effect must be secured from the United States Attorney for the Judicial District in which the land is situated. Land or rights to land the title to which is not clear and free from dispute should not be considered. In case it is desired to purchase a house situated upon the public domain, the bill of sale must be carefully drawn and submitted to the United States Attorney for his approval.

As Supervisor of Construction, you will keep the total cost of each building within the limit of cost. Such limit must include the cost of the building materials, the freight on the same, the cost of the land or the rights to the land, the labor, and all charges of whatever nature that are incurred in the erection of each building. With this in view it will be necessary for you to keep a strict account of all items of expenditure as they occur.

18 This flurry of construction was no doubt related to Bishop Rowe's request in April 1908 for the resignation of the government teachers at Eagle and Fort Yukon (as well as at Anvik and Nenana). Harlan Updegraff's annual report for 1909 shows no government schools at either Eagle or Fort Yukon; in W. T. Lopp's report for the following year, schools have reappeared in both locations (Updegraff, *Report on Education in Alaska, 1909*, 1303; Lopp, *Report on Education in Alaska, 1910*, 1347).

As Supervisor of Construction you are authorized to enter into contracts not exceeding \$1,000 and, subject to my approval, for additional materials if it is found necessary to do so, and to arrange for the transportation of same, to employ skilled or unskilled labor and to issue vouchers in payment thereof. Materials desired in Seattle must be purchased and shipped through the Supply Agent.

As frequently as possible, you will render a report of the work accomplished. This report should include lists of the vouchers, classified by buildings, issued by you since your previous report. The final list should bear your certificate that the buildings have been completed and that there are no vouchers outstanding.

William Hamilton, Assistant Chief of the Alaska Division, to Boulter

Washington, DC, May 13, 1909

Referring to the letter of the Commissioner of Education dated May third, instructing you to serve as Supervisor of Construction of the United States public school buildings to be erected at Fort Yukon, Circle and Eagle, you are hereby informed that the limit of cost of each of the above mentioned buildings has been fixed at the sum of three thousand five hundred dollars (\$3,500).

In compliance with the recommendation of Doctor Harlan Updegraff, Chief of the Alaska Division, you are hereby instructed to serve as Supervisor of Construction, without additional compensation, of a residence for the teacher of the United States public school at Tanana within a limit of cost of one thousand five hundred dollars (\$1,500). The plans and specifications for such residence are authorized to be as you yourself shall draw up. As Supervisor of Construction of this building at Tanana, you will be guided in every particular by the instructions contained in the Commissioner's letter of May third, above referred to.

Boulter to Harlan Updegraff

Circle, June 23, 1909

I wish to report that the preliminary arrangements for the school buildings at Circle, Eagle, Fort Yukon and Tanana are progressing favorably. At each place the logs are being cut by the natives. At Eagle, where timber is scarce, they will probably have to go twenty-five miles up river where they will be cutting logs on the Canadian side of the boundary. I am making arrangements with the Crown Timber and Land Agent at Dawson to secure a permit for logging, which will doubtless be granted.

At Circle City I have staked some open ground adjoining the Indian village. At Fort Yukon there is no suitable site on which to build except the mission grounds. I have not yet seen Bishop Rowe but I feel sure that he will cede the land we require.

The moral conditions at Circle and Fort Yukon have considerably improved. The former marshal has been removed from office and the present marshal appears to be very satisfactory. Charles Clark, brother of William Clark whose license was taken away last January, was found guilty a short time ago of selling whiskey to a native. Clark, having no money to pay for the \$2,000 bond, went to prison at Circle and two days ago was taken to Fairbanks to await trial. In one of my letters to you I mentioned that evidence had been gathered against a man named Victor for selling whiskey to natives. He has been arrested and taken to Tanana. I have not yet heard the result of the trial.

It is very certain that these arrests and convictions are having a salutary effect along the Yukon River. Saloon keepers are gradually learning that their licenses are liable not to be renewed should official complaints be laid against them. Conditions at Fort Yukon hinge to an extent upon conditions at Circle, as most of the liquor consumed is brought from Circle. The new marshal is carefully watching all small boats leaving Circle for Fort Yukon as great quantities of liquor have been carried down river in this manner.

There are not many steamers running on the Upper Yukon this summer and I have been delayed here for some time. However, I hope to leave for Eagle in a few days.

Boulter to Elmer E. Brown

Fort Yukon, July 22, 1909

The school buildings at Eagle, Circle and Fort Yukon are well started and I feel confident that they will be first-class buildings. I am paying particular attention to the foundations, all of which have been dug down to the frost line. The work is in charge of experienced carpenters. It is not easy to find really good carpenters in Alaska as nearly every man calls himself a carpenter and one has to discriminate between the competent ones and the merely "handy men."

The natives at Eagle and Fort Yukon are willing and eager to work and there is no difficulty in securing all the native help that is needed. They are being paid fifty cents per hour for their labor. Part of their wages will be paid in supplies which are being forwarded from Seattle. The natives are anxious to receive these supplies as they realize that they will get them for less than is charged by the traders in this country.

The building material from Seattle has not yet reached the Upper Yukon, and from a telegram I received from Dr. Updegraff a few days ago it will not do so for some time. The carpenters are now ready for the material but the buildings will be retarded should it be delayed much longer. There is, however, plenty of work for the carpenters and natives as all the logs are being carefully hewn, and this work takes a long time.

At Circle City I have had a certain amount of trouble with the natives because of the actions of certain white men who have led them to believe that all government work is paid for at the rate of \$1 per hour. The natives were urged not to work for less than \$1 an hour and the majority of them refused to do so. The white men at Circle do not like me because of my efforts to suppress the liquor evil and they have tried to hamper me in many ways. At present there are only two natives working at Circle and they are not much use to the head carpenter. Consequently, I was compelled to engage white men as assistant carpenters at seventy-five cents per hour who will work until (perhaps) the natives are brought to their senses. The head carpenters in charge of the various buildings are being paid \$1 per hour. Many carpenters at Tanana, Fairbanks and Koyukuk receive \$1.50 per hour.

I am leaving here in a small boat for Stevens Village, Rampart and Tanana. With the very few steamboats on the Upper Yukon this year it is not easy for me to visit the various buildings as often as I would wish. The transportation facilities are getting worse every year, the cause of which is the commercial depression in Alaska. The North American Transportation Company, which for the past twelve years has had steamboats on the Upper Yukon, has entirely removed them this year. The whole of the Upper Yukon from Eagle to Tanana is now in the hands of the Northern Commercial Company which is running boats very irregularly.¹⁹ Alaska is, from a commercial standpoint, on the down-grade. The old placer mines are being worked out and no new discoveries are being made. All the boats bound for the Outside are crowded while the in-coming boats are but scantily filled. On every occasion this summer when travelling down stream I have had to go in a small boat. This takes up a deal of valuable time. By the end of the season I shall probably have travelled over a thousand miles in a small boat.

Toward the end of the season I propose to be at Eagle to finish the work there about the middle of September. After this I shall take a small boat and proceed to Tanana, finishing up at Circle, Fort Yukon, Stevens and Rampart en route. The ice will undoubtedly be running before I reach Tanana but I think I can make the journey safely. It will be a cold journey but I shall put a stove in the boat to warm myself.

¹⁹ It is possible that George meant the Northern Navigation Company, which, like the Northern Commercial Company, was formed in 1901 from the Alaska Commercial Company (following a merger). Founded in 1869 and 1892, respectively, the Alaska Commercial Company, based in San Francisco, and the North American Transportation and Trading Company, of Chicago, were the two main commercial operations in Alaska. After the Juneau and Klondike gold strikes, these and other smaller concerns constructed a fleet of river steamers to transport the thousands of passengers and prospectors, along with a great tonnage of freight, into the mining regions. During the boom days of the Klondike, and for some time afterwards, some two hundred of these great packet boats ran the 1,800 miles of the Yukon between Dawson and St. Michael, where travellers could board ocean steamships bound for Nome, Seattle, and San Francisco. The *Susie* continued sailing until 1943—one of the last great river packets on the Yukon. By the early 1950s, they all had disappeared from the river.

Elmer E. Brown to Boulter

Washington, DC, July 30, 1909

Referring to your appointment as Assistant to the District Superintendent of Schools in the Northern District of Alaska, dated June 24, 1909, you are hereby informed that under the said appointment, you are hereby assigned, until further notice, to the Upper Yukon Sub-Division, which includes all territory east of the 156th meridian drained by the Yukon River and its tributaries.

Boulter to Harlan Updegraff

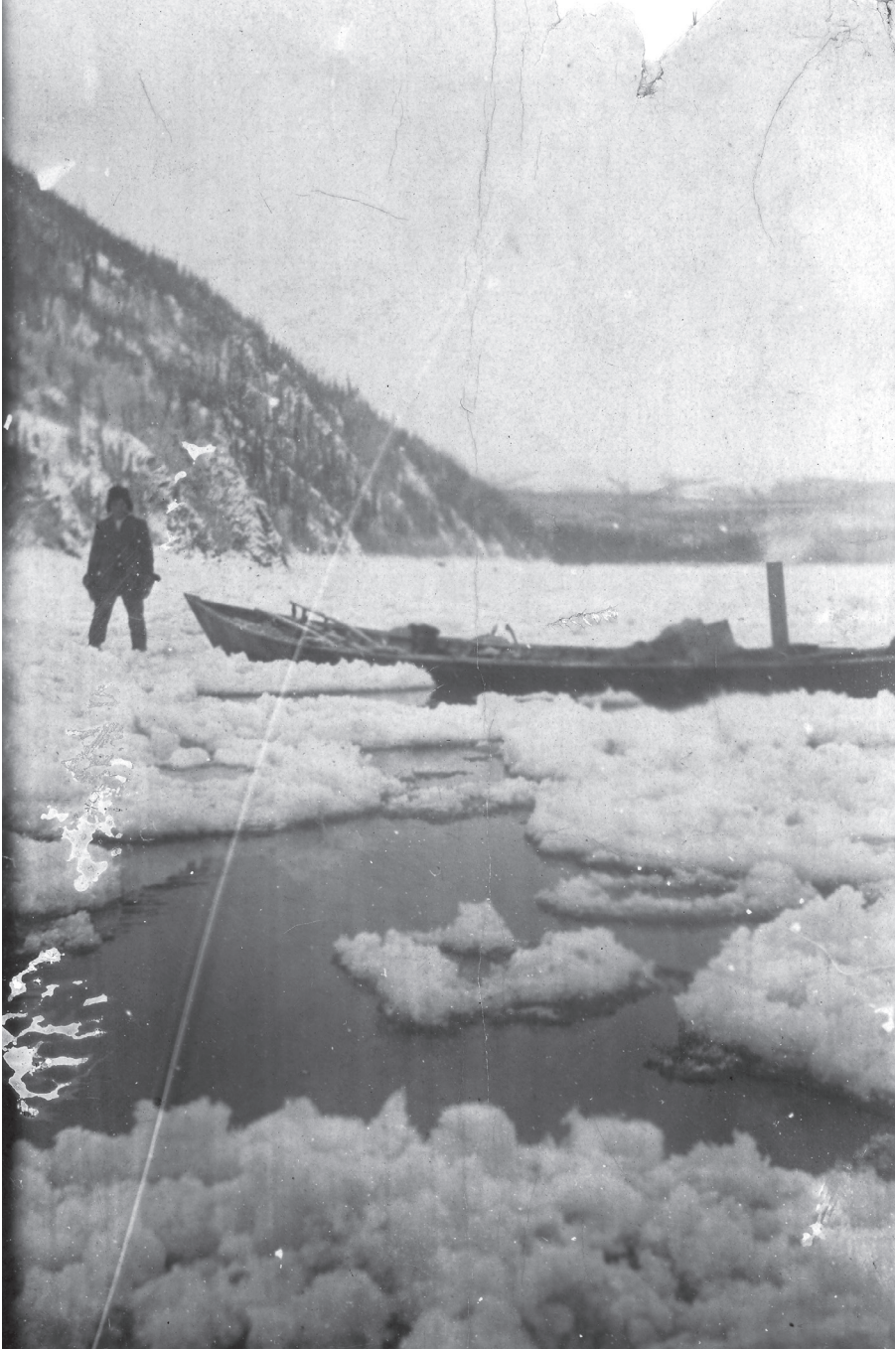
Tanana, August 20, 1909

In my report to you on the school at Rampart dated March 2, 1909, I mentioned that I had collected evidence against a man named Victor for selling liquor to the natives. The case was tried at Tanana before the commissioner and a jury but unfortunately it came under the old law. It being almost impossible to secure an honest jury in these small towns, Victor was acquitted. The jurymen, however, deliberated their verdict for over five hours.

Had the case been tried under the new law, Victor would undoubtedly have been convicted as we had complete evidence against him. Such, however, is the sympathy of the average jurymen with these whiskey peddlers that they would not convict him. The district attorney [James Crossley] desires me to gather what further evidence I can against Victor, in which event the district court will do its best to bring the case to a successful issue.²⁰

I am glad to say that the condition of several places along the Yukon River has improved these past few months. The prosecutions that have taken place have had a salutary effect along the whole river. Clark, brother to the saloon keeper who was convicted at Circle, is still in jail at Fairbanks awaiting his trial for selling whiskey to the natives at Circle.

²⁰ George's comments here reflect the ongoing battle between whites who reaped profits from the whiskey trade and those who sought to protect Alaska Natives from it. On February 6, 1909, the Alaska liquor law of 1899 (the "old law") was amended, making it a felony to sell alcohol to Alaska Natives. However, prosecutors had to contend with public sympathies among whites, which generally fell on the side of the traders. As George wrote in his letter to Governor Hoggatt of November 14, 1908 (see above), it was "impossible to find six honest men who will do their duty in the jury box," and attempts to gain convictions were continually undermined by "the refusal of juries to convict a white man on native testimony." Indeed, as Jane Jacobs notes in *A Schoolteacher in Old Alaska: The Story of Hannah Breece*, the unspoken rules were that no white man would give evidence against another in a trial that involved Alaska Natives and that the word of a white man would always outweigh whatever a Native might say (232–33). The district attorney at Fairbanks, James J. Crossley, who occupied the position from 1908 to 1914, was a determined opponent of the liquor trade, renowned for his efforts to prosecute white whiskey traders.



Boulter coming down the Yukon in 1910, just as the ice on the river was breaking up. "Stove in boat," Alice noted, "as weather was extremely cold." Collection of Alice A. Boulter.



George Boulter's boat on the Yukon River. Collection of Alice A. Boulter.

Boulter to W. T. Lopp

Tanana, August 20, 1909

You doubtless remember when at Tanana seeing the signboards I had painted with the words "Government Public School, U.S. Bureau of Education." These boards are 8 feet by 20 inches. When positioned on the schoolhouses and seen from a distance they will not in any way look too large nor will they disfigure the buildings. They have, however, excited the wrath of Archdeacon Stuck. He has written to me as follows:

"I wish to enter my respectful protest against the huge, hideous signs you propose to put up at the schools at our missions. We have always carefully refrained from labeling our buildings, and I do not see what need there is to disfigure the mission grounds with such knock-down-and-drag-out advertisements as these. The buildings proclaim themselves and their purpose. The United States flag planted beside them would inform the dullest passer-by. For whose benefit must this flaunting proclamation be made? I have written to the Bishop about it, and trust the affixing of these signs will not be proceeded with until he can be heard from. I do not think anybody would object in the least to a modest square sign on the door or over the lintel, if it should be deemed necessary to protect the buildings from being carried off under any sort of misapprehension—but it vexes my soul to see these monstrosities."

Please let me know what to do with regard to this matter. I do not want to clash with the mission people but some of the missionaries are very trying.

Boulter to Harlan Updegraff

Tanana, August 20, 1909

On August 10th I left Tanana for Fairbanks. Upon my arrival I called on certain court house officials with whom I had some conversation about my work.

When talking to Judge Lyons on the subject of special peace officers in Alaska we discussed the advisability of myself being appointed to such an office. The law relating to special peace officers apparently requires anyone holding such an office to reside in a permanent locality. In my case, however, I am often a long way from a commissioner, and it would be difficult and expensive for me to take an offender to a commissioner from a remote part of my district.

I would like to be appointed to some such office whereby I would be invested with some legal authority as I believe it would be very helpful in my work. Both Judge Lyons and the district attorney are of the same opinion. There have been several instances this past year when, had I the necessary authority, I could have brought certain offenders to justice.

At Fairbanks I filed a protest with the district attorney against a man named Rahmsdorf being granted a liquor license at Rampart. Mr. Crossley will do his best to prevent the license being granted but he is not sure that he can successfully do so. The distance from the proposed new saloon to the schoolhouse at Rampart is 418 feet but the teacher's residence and school grounds are well within 400 feet—this being the distance within which no liquor license can be granted. The law, apparently, takes no cognizance of a teacher's residence or school grounds. Therefore, as the distance between the proposed saloon and the schoolhouse is 418 feet, we may not win our case.

Boulter to William Hamilton

Tanana, August 21, 1909

On August 5th I visited the reindeer camp at Tanana. Upon my arrival Mr. Bango told me that he had already given Rev. Peabody statistics of the herd. He also stated that a mistake had been made—the total number of deer being 503 instead of 505 as reported by Rev. Peabody. I therefore send you a corrected report which is, I believe, perfectly accurate.

The increase in the number of deer, as you will see from the report, has not been large during the past year. Quite a number have died from lung disease, and foot-rot is now prevalent among them.

All the herders are anxious to leave Tanana as soon as possible. They want to return to their own country [on the coast] so that the deer can be near salt water. The herders are all in good health and, were their deer in a more satisfactory condition, they would be fairly contented.

Boulter to Harlan Updegraff

Tanana, August 21, 1909

I am writing to ask if you will be kind enough to let me finish my winter's work by about the end of January. I then want to go Outside and spend a few weeks in England to see my aged parents whom I have not seen for over twelve years. They are both in failing health and are fretting to see me.

By leaving here the early part of February I could reach England by the first or second week in March. After spending six or seven weeks there I could return to Seattle sometime in May, in sufficient time to proceed up the Yukon by the first boat.

I am not asking that my salary be continued during my absence, but your permission to take the necessary time for my journey. There will be time for me to visit all the schools along the Yukon by the early part of February and I propose, with your permission, to visit Eagle last so that I can proceed Outside via Dawson and Whitehorse. It is now over eleven years since I have been out of Alaska and I believe my proposed journey would do me a deal of good.

I mentioned the matter to Mr. Lopp when he was here and he told me that he would write to you. Will you please let me know as soon as possible as I would like to let my parents know if they may expect me.

William Hamilton to Boulter

Washington, DC, August 25, 1909

Your attention is invited to the following statement of your expenditures for travelling expenses while on official duty as Assistant Superintendent, during the fiscal year, July 1, 1908, to June 30, 1909:

	DATE	IN FAVOR OF	MEMORANDUM	AMOUNT
1908	Oct. 23	White Horse & Yukon Railway	Skagway to Dawson	50.00
	Nov. 2	Pacific Coast Co.	Juneau to Skagway	6.00
	Nov. 9	G. E. Boulter	July, Aug., Sept. Expenses	249.70
	Dec. 11	W. B. Rodman	Dog Team	162.00

George Edward Boulter (1864–1917)

	DATE	IN FAVOR OF	MEMORANDUM	AMOUNT
	Dec. 11	John Bathurst	"	38.00
	Dec. 22	A. B. Culp	"	50.00
1909	Jan. 4	North American Trans. & Trading Co.	Dawson to Tanana	34.00
	Jan. 12	A. R. Nollner		11.00
	Jan. 15	Billy Field	Guide	60.00
	Jan. 18	Rodman-Alaska Trading Co.	Provisions	30.25
	Feb. 26	Geo. E. Boulter	Oct., Nov., Dec. Expenses	97.01
	Feb. 26	Northern Commercial Co.	"	13.25
	Feb. 26	John W. Evans	Fish	4.50
	Feb. 26	Tanana Commercial Co.	Fish, etc.	10.75
	Mar. 11	Tanana Hotel	Subsistence at Circle	32.00
	Mar. 31	Northern Commercial Co.	Supplies	8.00
	Apr. 20	Geo. E. Boulter		3.00
	Apr. 23	A. R. Nollner		10.23
	May 1	Geo. E. Boulter	Jan. & Feb. Expenses	115.75
	May 10	Edmund Marsan	Oct. & Nov. Dog Feed	27.32
	June 4	"	April Expenses	31.40
	June 5	Rodman-Alaska Trading Co.	Nov. & Dec. Expenses	10.50
	June 5	John Bathurst	Dog Feed	20.87
	June 8	Northern Commercial Co.	Dog Feed	22.00
	July 14	Geo. E. Boulter	March & April Expenses	104.00
	Aug. 5	Northern Navigation Co.	Tanana to Eagle	43.00
	Aug. 25	"	Ft. Yukon to Eagle	23.00
			Total Expenditures	<u>\$1267.53</u>

Amount Authorized	\$1,250.00
Excess Over Authorization	17.53

You will notice in the above statement that you have exceeded your allotment by the sum of \$17.53. This excess will be paid, but I desire to caution you to use all possible care in the future to keep within the amounts assigned to you as Assistant Superintendent for various official purposes in your district.

Boulter to Harlan Updegraff

Tanana, September 1, 1909

I am leaving Tanana tomorrow for the Upper Yukon and shall travel by the same steamer that is freighting the building material. This will be advantageous as I can see that it is landed at the proper places. It is very unfortunate that the material has been so long delayed [having been ordered in May] but I still hope the buildings will be finished on schedule with, perhaps, the exception of the painting. This and the cementing between the logs will have to be left until next year as it is not advisable to do this kind of work during frosty weather.

After leaving here I shall proceed directly to Eagle and remain there about a week, then proceed down river, probably in a small boat as I cannot rely upon a steamer, and shall finish up the work as far as possible as I go along.

Because of the late arrival of the material I have had to give more credit to certain natives than I wished to. Some of the Indians workers were nearly destitute, and as the government barter supplies did not arrive I was compelled to pay some of them in full. There still remains a good margin of unpaid wages and I do not anticipate having any surplus barter supplies by the time the buildings are completed. Some vouchers yet to be issued may be delayed in reaching you as it will be difficult to secure the signatures of those natives who were working at the beginning of the season but have now gone hunting and may not return for some time.

With regard to the white carpenters, some of them are going prospecting in remote parts of Alaska and will not be here when their checks arrive. As many of these men have received cash and supplies from the local merchants it would be well, I think, for them to appoint a power of attorney whereby their checks can be received and endorsed. I am, as you will remember, a notary public and I propose in such cases to let the carpenters grant a power of attorney to the U.S. school teacher. This will, I believe, be comfortable to the requirements of the Treasury Department.

When I called at Nenana on my return from Fairbanks I asked the only available man there to give me an estimate for the cost of the proposed repairs which I estimated at \$75. I have just received a letter from him in which he wants \$200. I therefore propose to delay the repairs until some future time.

There should be no destitution among the natives next winter as this season's catch of fish has so far been an excellent one. Many of the fish wheels have caught over 300 silver salmon in one day, and the natives fishing with nets are doing proportionately well. I have not yet heard what kind of fishing season the people on the Koyukuk are having but I fully expect to hear that it is a successful one.

Harlan Updegraff to Boulter

Seattle, September 11, 1909

Because of the unexpectedly large expenditures at this season, and also because of the practical exhaustion in some of our allotments, it has become necessary for me to recommend to the Commissioner of Education that your allotment for travelling expenses be reduced from \$1,000.00 to \$800.00.

Mr. Lopp informs me that you desire to start for England sometime next winter. It is probable, I believe, that the Commissioner will grant your request if conditions are not unusual in your District then. I have taken this probability into account in reducing your authorization for travelling expenses.

Harlan Updegraff to Boulter

Seattle, October 4, 1909

I desire to extend to you my congratulations upon the good work you have been doing in fighting the liquor traffic upon the Upper Yukon during the past year. While it would have been gratifying if Victor had been convicted, yet it seems to me we must be pleased at the progress that has been made.

Within the past six weeks sixteen bootleggers from the First Judicial District have been sentenced to McNeil's Island for selling liquor to the natives.²¹ The majority of them got two years; none of them, I believe, less than one year, and but very few less than eighteen months. It seems that the deputy marshals are now instructed to search for evidence, and that their expenses are paid when engaged upon this work. Their number in southeastern Alaska has also been increased.

If we keep up the good work it seems probable that within another year a marked change for the better will have taken place over all of Alaska.

Boulter to Harlan Updegraff

Fort Yukon, October 4, 1909

I am leaving here today as there is no time to be lost. The ice is already running in the river and I have a 300-mile journey in a small boat before me. The last steamboat left several days ago, but as I was not through with my work I was unable to travel by it. If all goes well I should reach Tanana about Oct. 11th.

The school building at Fort Yukon will be finished (with the exception of most of the painting) about Oct. 16th. There are two carpenters working on it

²¹ McNeil Island, in Puget Sound, Washington, was the site of a federal penitentiary from 1875 until 1981, when the facility was transferred to the Washington State Department of Corrections. It closed in April 2011.

and they are doing good work. The building is a first-class one in every way and has been greatly admired by all who have seen it. More natives have worked on this building than on either of the others and, consequently, I have had a deal of work to get all the accounts straight. The natives have received credit at four different stores and, as the storekeepers are mostly illiterate and have little or no system of book-keeping, it was no easy matter to adjust the various accounts.

It was unfortunate that the supplies arrived so late because the natives would have been pleased to accept them in payment for their work, instead of having to purchase food with their vouchers at the local stores at prohibitive prices.

When I reach Tanana I will send you an inventory of the supplies on hand at Fort Yukon. I have no time to do so just now as it is not prudent for me to remain here any longer. The weather is very cold and I may have a deal of trouble reaching Tanana. I am taking the camp stove from the Fort Yukon supplies and will place it in the boat to make the journey more comfortable.

William Hamilton to Harlan Updegraff

Washington, DC, October 14, 1909

I beg to inform you that yesterday the Commissioner of Education sent the following telegram to Mr. Boulter:

“Boulter, Fort Gibbon, Alaska. Leave of Absence without pay granted you from February first. Bureau will pay your travelling expenses to Seattle and return for conference with Supply and Disbursing Office. Brown, Commissioner.”

Boulter to Harlan Updegraff

Tanana, October 16, 1909

On August 28, 1909, I sent you the following telegram from Tanana: “Mrs. Chrysler unavailable Nenana, she is going Outside. Betticher wishes Mrs. Ferguson of Fairbanks nominated for Nenana. I saw Ferguson at Fairbanks, her application might be considered. Boulter.”

Not receiving any reply to this telegram, I assumed that Mrs. Ferguson had been appointed teacher for Nenana. She is teaching school there at the present time and is evidently under the impression that she has been officially appointed as she has written to me concerning school supplies, etc. I have had no communication since I saw her at Fairbanks when I asked if she would be willing to be nominated for Nenana.

The state of affairs at Nenana is, I consider, unsatisfactory. The Rev. C. E. Betticher, who is a highly-strung little priest, wishes the whole of the Tanana Valley for himself and resents the Government taking any part in the welfare of the natives. He is a man who would stoop to anything to belittle the work

of the Government, and his chief aim, as far as I can make out, is his own self-glorification.

When I visited Nenana last winter, Miss Truxton had no medicines, etc. You will perhaps remember that I purchased some for her. Betticher resented Miss Truxton telling me about the lack of medicines as he did not wish the Government to take any part in his so-called work. Again—when Mr. Strangman wrote to me about the visit of a certain Mr. Harris to Fairbanks who, on behalf of the natives of Tanana Crossing, was asking that a school might be built in that district, Betticher was furious with Strangman for writing to me as he thought that the Government might then act on this matter and build schools along the Tanana Valley. I mention these incidents to illustrate Betticher's attitude toward the Government.

For some reason or other, Betticher and Miss Truxton did not get on well together. Betticher wished her to be removed from Nenana. Consequently, he invented some trumpery against her and wired Bishop Rowe requesting her removal. Bishop Rowe, without investigating the matter, wired you I believe, with the result that you requested Miss Truxton to resign.

Now the state of things as I found them at Fairbanks and Nenana is this: Betticher is employing a man named Chrysler to do handy work around the mission at Nenana and he thought it would be an excellent plan to have Chrysler's wife teach school there. Mrs. Chrysler was accordingly nominated and appointed for Nenana, but owing to the illness of her mother she was compelled to go Outside. She would, however, have been a most unsuitable teacher as she has publicly admitted to having a loathing for the natives and that she would not willingly go near one if she could help it.

For Betticher to secure Mrs. Chrysler's appointment, Miss Truxton had to be removed. Hence Betticher's wire to Bishop Rowe.

Just here I would like to say that, although I have the greatest respect for the Bishop, yet I would respectfully suggest that any nominations or requests for dismissals he might make in future be treated with a certain amount of reservation. The Bishop is a kind-hearted man and does not like to refuse to nominate anyone when requested. He, for instance, nominated Mrs. Carr for Circle, who was a bad failure.²² Last spring he nominated a young man, whose name I forget, for the school at Eagle. This young man was a perfect stranger to the Bishop a few weeks prior to his nomination. I met this same young man at Eagle and found that his chief delight appeared to be lounging in and out of the saloons. I think you will agree with me in thinking that some of the Bishop's actions

22 Rowe did indeed nominate Mrs. Carr, in a letter to Elmer Brown of July 30, 1907. "I infer from your telegram that you have appointed Mrs. Agnes M. Carr for Circle City," he wrote, "and I am very glad and grateful. In regard to her testimonials, I am sure that she will be able to send you the same. While I only met her for the first time at Skagway this past June, yet she satisfied me as one who would be most successful in her work."

regarding nominations have been somewhat injudicious. He certainly ought to be very careful not to take such an important step as he did with Nenana until he is quite sure that he is justified.

At Fairbanks I called on Miss Truxton and found her to be deeply grieved and hurt by the action of Betticher and some of the other missionaries. Telegrams, which should be quite private, soon become public property in this country, and Miss Truxton feels that a number of people are aware that she was requested to resign. I have no reason to alter my opinion of her as she was a good teacher—fond of the children, took a great interest in the mission and helped Miss Farthing, the matron, as well as she could. She now has a position in the post office at Fairbanks. It is a more lucrative position than she was holding at Nenana, but she was more contented at Nenana and it will take some time for her to get over the un-missionary incident connected with that place.

I also called on Betticher at Fairbanks. He stoutly denied having sent the telegram to Bishop Rowe asking for Miss Truxton's removal. His denial was false as I have ample proof that he did actually send the telegram in question. He also protested that he had had no hand whatever in the affair. This statement was also false as he it was and no other who was the main cause of Miss Truxton's removal. I would ask you kindly not to believe one-tenth of any of the adverse statements you may have heard regarding Miss Truxton. I have found, to my regret, so much prevarification to exist among certain missionaries that it is almost impossible to arrive at the exact truth in some matters.

I would respectfully suggest that next year a good male teacher from Outside be appointed for Nenana, and that any nomination from the mission people go unheeded.²³ A residence for the teacher might be built from the Tolovana building material stored at Duke and Johnson's at Nenana. I would also like to see a halt made to Betticher monopolizing the whole of the vast Tanana Valley. It might be as well to take into consideration the building of schools at Tolovana, Salchaket, Tanana Crossing, Ketchumstock and other places on the Upper Tanana. Thus would the attitude of the Rev. C. E. Betticher have to change toward the Government which has, indirectly, done so much to forward the work of the missions.

²³ George's second suggestion seems to have met with success, but his first did not. In 1908-9, the unfortunate Miss Anna Truxton had replaced Miss Annie Farthing as the government teacher at Nenana, after the latter assumed the position of mission matron. As George indicates, Miss Truxton was succeeded by Mrs. Margaret L. Ferguson, who likewise served only a single year. Despite George's preference for a male teacher, Mrs. Ferguson's successor was, of course, Alice.

Harlan Updegraff to Boulter

Seattle, October 20, 1909

In looking over your vouchers and your reports connected with the building of the structures along the Yukon during the past summer, I notice that the wages paid native labor are very high, and that the exchange prices of the supplies sent to pay native labor are very low. This is unfortunate both from the standpoint of the Service and the standpoint of the natives. Our appropriation is not at all sufficient for our needs and we must economize in every way possible.

The exchanging of supplies for labor at a lower value than the current prices of supplies in a community has a tendency to cause the natives to look toward the Government for concessions, and this promotes dependence. If the exchange prices are unusually low, as they appear to have been upon the Upper Yukon this summer, the evil effect is likely to be manifest within a comparatively short time.

I dislike very much to say that which is about to follow, for the reason that I know how conscientious and industrious you are in your work. I know also that you have done a very great deal in fighting the liquor traffic among the natives. Notwithstanding all of these good points I must say, to be perfectly frank with you, that I very much fear, from the reports that have come to me from the Koyukuk concerning the amount of destitution last winter and from the management of the natives in building the schoolhouses upon the Yukon, your sympathy for the natives has led you to violate the principles deduced from the experience of the Government during the last seventy-five years in dealing with inferior races. It is not to be wondered at, therefore, that natives in some parts of Alaska have become devitalized in many respects through well-meaning sympathy with their hard lot as manifested both by the Government and by individuals.

The subject is too vast for me to enter upon. I believe, in brief, that the native must be held up to the standard which we expect him to attain in the future. Self-dependence is one of the main elements of this standard. The negative influences of concessions made at any time must be overcome later, and it therefore follows that extreme care should be exercised and that concessions should be made when our reasoning, based upon the fundamental principles of social science and a calm review of the practical situation, shows the necessity of liberal treatment for the best welfare of the community.

In saying the above I am fully aware that there may be conditions both upon the Koyukuk and the Upper Yukon of which I may not be aware. In that event, I should be very glad to modify the views expressed above. Whether this is true or not, I am sure it would do no harm for you to carefully consider the entire question of the proper administration of relief and of work conducted by the Government from which the natives obtain benefit.

Boulter to Harlan Updegraff

Tanana, October 25, 1909

With the exception of some outside painting and a little interior work which can be done by the teachers next spring, the school buildings at Eagle, Circle and Fort Yukon and the residence at Tanana are finished. We were greatly hampered by the late arrival of the building material which occurred between Seattle and St. Michael. There was no delay from St. Michael to the Upper Yukon.

The building at Eagle is a first-class one in every way and will be acknowledged as one of the best along the Yukon River. There will be no possibility of the building sinking as we paid every attention to the foundations. We had an additional expense at Eagle which we did not incur at the other sites. Owing to the scarcity of timber near Eagle it was necessary to cross the boundary, twelve miles distant, to cut the logs. The Canadian Government issues permits at the rate of one cent per linear foot to people wishing to cut logs on the Canadian side. As the granting of the permit would have taken considerable time I secured permission from Charles F. Yost to allow the Eagle Indians to cut logs from his timber reserve in Canada, for which he charged the same rate as the Canadian Government.

It was unfortunate that the head carpenter at Eagle, although a good workman, possessed a very bad temper, in consequence of which he antagonized all the Indians who worked with him. There might have been more native labor on this building had the carpenter displayed more tact. Also, after a certain time, the natives were not anxious to work because they did not wish to miss their fishing which means so much to them. They did, however, procure some extra logs which were sawn at the government sawmill on half shares. With this timber we were able to build a wood shed and a toilet house.

There has not been much native labor on the Circle building because the white men urged the natives not to work for less than \$1 per hour. Even after half the logs were delivered, certain white men tried to induce the natives to cut the logs in half so that they could not be used. By such methods the white men have tried to throw every obstacle in my way. It does not suit them to have the Government represented at Circle as they realize they will not be allowed to interfere with the natives as they have formerly—hence their opposition to the school building.

While the building at Circle is a good one, those at Eagle and Fort Yukon are better still. The logs were carefully and skillfully hewn and peeled, so much so that it was difficult in places to drive any caulking between them. We have excellent foundations which cost considerably as the ground was frozen and it was slow and hard work to pick-axe through it. The natives at Fort Yukon were anxious to work, and the head carpenter, being an even-tempered man, got along very well with them. More Indians worked on this building than any other.

At Fort Yukon a large outhouse is being built which will be used to store wood and there are also two toilet houses being built. When I left Fort Yukon, Mr. Davenport, the teacher, was doing this work with the aid of a native.

The residence at Tanana is a pretty two-room house and will be even better next year when cement is placed between the logs. It may be necessary to tighten the moss before placing cement over it. A plan of the building is enclosed and I hope to send you a photograph of the building in a week or so. A fence has been erected around the entire government lot and I have placed half the cost of this to the residence and the other half to repairs. The head carpenter was John Bathurst who did the chief work on the school building at Tanana.

It has not been an easy matter to settle the native store bills at the various places. At Fort Yukon, for instance, there are four stores. Each Indian who worked was given a certain amount of credit at whichever store he wished. The near illiteracy and lack of a bookkeeping system of the storekeepers, combined with the ignorance of the natives, helped to complicate the store accounts considerably. During my absence from the schools I requested the mission people (pending the arrival of the teacher) to issue orders on the various stores up to one-half of the amount that the natives had earned. Because of the carelessness of these people, several natives were allowed to overdraw on what they earned. I have thus had to pay out of my personal funds a good many dollars to make up the deficiency.

The barter supplies for the most part were appreciated by the natives, but there was a certain amount of discontent at their not receiving cash for their labor. Money, however, is often very harmful to them. One Indian at Fort Yukon, when I asked why he wanted money instead of supplies, openly confessed that he wanted it to buy whiskey.

I found that the fact of my being a notary public was very helpful in providing the means for the white men to obtain immediate payment of their vouchers. Many men who work as carpenters during the summer do so to earn a “grub-stake” which enables them to go prospecting during the winter.²⁴ By having to wait many months for their money, the best part of the winter’s prospecting would be lost. As it is, they have secured immediate payment by their granting me powers of attorney and all possible discontentment has been avoided.

I left Fort Yukon on October 4th accompanied by a half-breed boy, Arthur Wright.²⁵ The last steamboat had gone and we were compelled to travel in a small boat. The weather was very cold and the ice was running but we had a

²⁴ Here, George seems to use “grub-stake” to refer to earned income that will sustain a prospector over the winter. More often, the term referred to an advance (in the form of food, supplies, or money) that traders gave to hunters until they brought in their furs or to prospectors to enable them to work their mining claims, in exchange for which the trader claimed a percentage of their takings.

²⁵ Born in 1890, the son of a miner and a Dene mother, Arthur Wright was left at the Episcopal mission in Tanana when he was still an infant. He often travelled with Archdeacon Hudson Stuck,

stove in the boat to keep ourselves warm. Owing to the continued cold weather, the ice increased rapidly and at times we quite thought that we should be unable to proceed. On the third day out from Fort Yukon the ice was so thick that there was no water to be seen on the river—it being a solid moving pack of ice. We were in great danger of our boat being crushed by the ice, and the only way we prevented this was by both of us getting out of the boat and onto moving ice and pulling our boat onto a floe.

Sometimes the floe would suddenly break in the middle and our boat would fall with a jerk into the water. Although it seemed hopeless that we could ever reach Tanana we pushed on day after day and finally reached a point about six miles above Rampart where we concluded it would be sheer folly to attempt to proceed further. After waiting at Rampart for one day, and the weather then not quite so cold, we decided to push on. We were badly squeezed by the ice when passing through the Rampart Rapids. At this point the river is very narrow and there are several dangerous rocks to be avoided. We managed, however, to get through safely and finally reached Tanana on October 13th.

Other people who were travelling in the same manner were not so fortunate. Two men were drowned on the Tanana River when their boat was crushed by the ice, and two other men on the Yukon River had their boat crushed but were fortunate in escaping with their lives. I shall, in future, try to avoid travelling down river in a small boat so late in the season.

Elmer E. Brown to Boulter

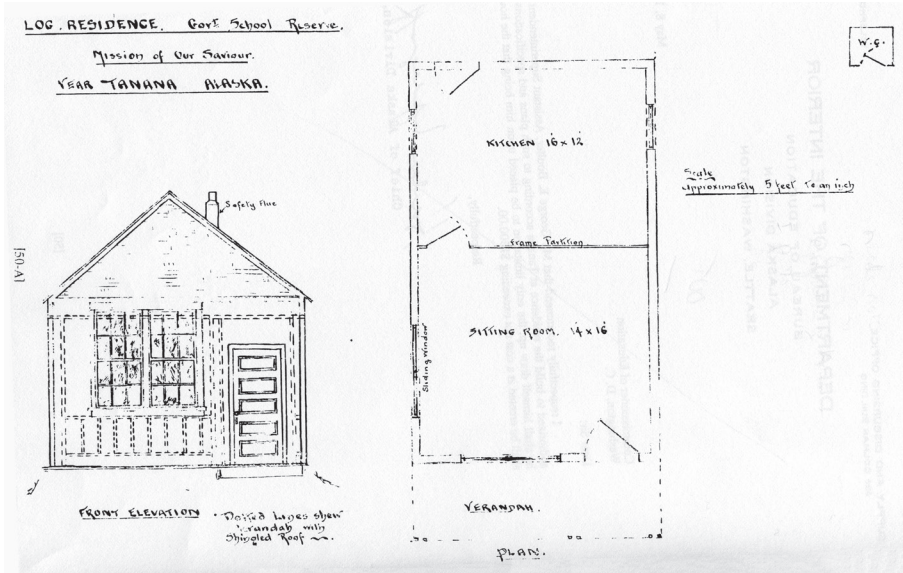
Washington, D.C., October 29, 1909

You are hereby informed that as a result of a recent inspection, and after consultation with the various departments concerned, the Secretary of War has decided to recall, except in a few special cases, the permits now in existence granting to employees of other executive departments serving in Alaska, the privilege of purchasing supplies from the Army Posts.

You will probably receive information of this decision from the proper officers of the War Department.

As the village of Tanana contains several stores, it is not thought that this decision will subject you to any hardship.

serving as his interpreter, and, in 1914, began working at the St. Mark's Mission, Nenana. Ordained as a deacon in the Episcopal Church in 1922, he served the church until 1935.



George Boulter's sketch of the government teacher's log residence at the school near Tanana, which he enclosed in a letter of October 25, 1909, to Harlan Updegraff, chief of the Bureau of Education's Alaska Division. "I hope to send you a photograph of the building in a week or so," he wrote. He gave the sketch the title, *Log Residence. Gov't. School Reserve. Mission of Our Saviour. Near Tanana, Alaska*. Courtesy of the National Archives, Washington, DC.

Boulter to Harlan Updegraff

Tanana, November 19, 1909

Your letter dated October 20, 1909, is to hand. I was very sorry to receive this letter from you as I have tried my level best always to do the right thing, both in the interests of the Government and of the Indians.

Regarding the wages of fifty cents per hour which I paid, it would not have been possible to secure able-bodied natives to work for a lower rate. Owing to the high cost of provisions, etc. on the Upper Yukon, the wages paid to white men and to natives are correspondingly high. In my many years of experience on the Yukon I have never known an able-bodied native to receive less than 50 cents per hour for his labor. I have often known them to receive 75 cents and occasionally \$1 per hour. The wage paid to the natives by the steamboat people for longshore work is 75 cents per hour. It is true that when they work on the boats as deckhands they receive only \$60 or \$70 per month but in addition to this they receive their board. Deck-handing on the steamboats being steady work, they are willing to work for this amount. The work on the school was of short duration; the natives would not have worked for anything less than 50 cents per hour. At Circle City in the summer they can go out to the mines and work, for which they

receive \$5 per day and their board. Considering all this, one would scarcely think that the native wages for work on the school buildings were unreasonably high.

The exchange prices of the barter supplies may have been somewhat low. These were the Seattle prices plus a good margin for freight charges. It was only by my telling the natives that the supplies would be exchanged for their services at a cheaper rate than they could procure them at the local stores that the majority were induced to work. Had they known they would be charged the same rate as the current prices on the Upper Yukon, not half of them would have worked. Already I have received word from the teachers at Circle and Tanana about the difficulty in obtaining wood for the schools, payment for which is to be made in supplies. It therefore appears that the natives are not eager for such means of settlement, even at the reasonable rate which has been placed on the supplies. I regret, however, that I did not price them somewhat higher.

The portion of your letter dealing with my action with regard to the destitution on the Koyukuk disturbed me considerably. I am unable to comment on the reports reaching you from there, as I am at a loss to know who could have reported adversely on the need for relief work. "The sooner the natives are exterminated the better" is a sentiment I have had expressed to me hundreds of times by people who ought to know better. These people are so used to hearing about the natives being in want that they cannot distinguish between partial and actual starvation. At Allakaket where relief work was given, there are no white settlers except mission people. The reports reaching you, therefore, probably emanated from travellers passing through the country who had neither the time nor the inclination to enquire into the conditions which prompted their reports.

Having heard of the reported destitution upon the Koyukuk, I consider that I should have been doing less than my duty had I failed to report it to you. In the case of an epidemic breaking out because of this destitution, I should have been greatly to blame. The action I took in this matter was not influenced by sentiment or regard for the mission people. Last year, as is well known, was the worst year on record for fish. It was bad enough on the Yukon but doubly so on the Koyukuk. Prior to my arrival the mission people at Allakaket had already gone considerably into debt to provide relief work for the natives. I studied the situation thoroughly before taking action, and coming to the conclusion that there was actual destitution, and that unless some relief was afforded serious results might follow, I authorized the relief work which will be found in my report of April 14, 1909.

If you will kindly refer to this report you will see that it stipulated that one-half of the fish caught last summer in the relief nets were to be the property of the Bureau. Just before the close of navigation this year I had forwarded to me from Allakaket 490 pounds of dried salmon which I am now using as dog feed.

After this lapse of time and viewing the whole situation in perspective, I realize that I could have taken no other action than I did with regard to the critical

condition of the natives on the Koyukuk at the time. It is unfortunate that there is only one storekeeper within a reasonable distance of Allakaket, but such a condition is to be expected in remote parts of Alaska.

I sincerely hope that the time may be far distant before I have the onerous duty of investigating and acting upon similar destitution.

Boulter to Harlan Updegraff

Tanana, December 7, 1909

By this same mail I am forwarding to Mr. Quarles my travel expense account. I have included in this the rent for my cabin from July 1st to Oct. 15th, 1909, also one cord of wood.

Dr. Rosin has been living in my cabin since his arrival in Tanana, and Mr. Mozee, the teacher, occupied the cabin pending the completion of the residence at the village. Arrangements have now been made whereby Dr. Rosin is responsible for the rent and wood from Oct. 15, 1909.

I shall therefore be pleased if you can allow me these items—\$37.50 for rent and \$12 for wood.

Boulter to Harlan Updegraff

Tanana, December 7, 1909

I have lately returned to Tanana after visiting the school at Nenana where I found everything quite satisfactory. Mrs. Ferguson, the teacher, is living at the mission and boarding with Miss Farthing, the matron, with whom she is on excellent terms. There are now twenty-seven children being cared for at the mission house and, if it were not for these, the attendance at the government school would be very small. Only four children were at school who did not belong to the mission house.

Although Mrs. Ferguson had not previously taught school, she is able to maintain discipline and the children are making good progress in their studies, particularly in arithmetic. The schoolhouse was so cold that I authorized some repairs to be done which I believe will make it more comfortable. The outside walls are being re-mossed and the schoolroom ceiling is being repaired. Cloth lining is being placed on it which will be calsomined so that no heat can escape through the ceiling as formerly.²⁶

In the event of a male teacher being appointed for Nenana at any time, it would be advisable to build a residence there. This might be done, as I previously

²⁶ Calsomine was a type of whitewash made from slaked lime and chalk, and was used on the interior walls of log cabins and schoolhouses.

suggested, by using the school material stored with Duke and Johnson at Nenana.

When travelling to Nenana I met fully forty natives who were on their way there to attend a funeral. These people had come from Fish Lake, Tolovana and Minto Lake. I had a long talk with them and they asked me about the probability of a school being built at Tolovana. I told them I was not in a position to promise them a school but that I would make every effort to secure one. I tried to make them realize that the Government would not build a school unless they would do their best to have the children remain at school while the older people were away hunting. They promised that, whenever they could, the children would remain.

During last summer there was a permanent native population at Tolovana of sixty to seventy people. On my recent visit there were twenty-seven people including eight children of school age. Should a school be built there it would not in any way interfere with the school at Nenana. The children who would attend a school at Tolovana would be drawn from Fish Lake and Minto Lake where they are presently uncared for, and an attendance of ten to sixteen might reasonably be counted on. Mr. Riley at Tolovana has a homestead adjoining the native village and he has promised to quit-claim enough ground sufficiently large for a schoolhouse and residence, and a garden as well. The soil at Tolovana is excellent and I know of none better in the Tanana Valley. Chief Alexander grew some potatoes last summer and they were so successful that the other natives are anxious to follow his example.

Most of the natives at Nenana were in fairly good health, but prior to my arrival several had died of pneumonia. The weather during my journey to Nenana was very cold but neither myself nor the dogs suffered any ill effects from it.

Boulter to Elmer E. Brown

Tanana, December 10, 1909

REPORT UPON THE U.S. SCHOOL AT TANANA, ALASKA

I have visited the school at Tanana many times this term and am pleased to say that its present condition is better than it has been for many years. The discipline, formerly very unsatisfactory, has much improved under the present teacher, Mr. Mozee. There is still much to be desired but it will take time as the children have been allowed to run wild. At present there are about thirty scholars but after New Year's this number will diminish considerably.

The natives at Tanana are very migratory in their habits and often leave the village for long periods. Unfortunately, they take the children with them, which accounts for the small school attendance at certain times. It is usually

impracticable for the children to be left in the village while the older people go on their hunting trips, and I have known the village to be quite deserted then, even by the very old people. It would be very desirable if some arrangement were made whereby the children could be kept at school during the absence of their parents or guardians. The only way I could suggest would be to allow the children a certain amount of food from the government supplies which could be taken to their cabins. Thus would an inducement be offered to some of the very old people to remain in the village to look after the children.

In reading and writing, the students are well up to the average but in arithmetic they are rather backward. They are improving slowly, but to most native children arithmetic is the least interesting of all their studies. There is no industrial training being carried on at present, but I hope next summer to have a work bench fitted up in the classroom where the boys can be taught carpentry work. Some of the native boys at other places show great aptitude for this kind of work, and I think were this branch of industrial training given proper attention, good results would follow. Once a week all the school children have a bath in the schoolroom. The boys are bathed by Mr. Mozee and the girls are looked after by Miss Langdon, the mission nurse. Some of the children resent this enforced cleanliness but they are gradually becoming reconciled to it.

At present there is no garden for the Tanana natives but I am hoping we can have a piece of ground ploughed so that each native can have his own garden. The soil at Tanana is similar to that at Rampart where the agricultural experiment station people have obtained such good results.²⁷ Potatoes, cabbages and turnips could be successfully grown and, were there a warm storage cellar, the garden produce could be kept all winter.

The repairs done to the schoolhouse last summer have greatly improved the building. The schoolroom is more cheerful and now quite comfortable. When the new residence was completed it was a cold building but it has since been re-caulked with oakum and is now very liveable.

There is a deal of sickness among the natives at Tanana. Doctor Rosin is doing his best to cope with it and, with better equipment, undoubtedly he will. I have already written to Dr. Updegraff on this subject. There is no destitution here as nearly all the natives along the Yukon River had a phenomenal catch of salmon last year.

²⁷ The first government agricultural experiment station opened at Sitka in 1898, shortly followed by one at Kodiak and another at Kenai, with the Rampart station opening in 1900 and remaining in operation until 1925. In the early years of the century, stations also opened at Copper Center and Fairbanks.

Boulter to Elmer E. Brown

Tanana, December 17, 1909

On December 15 I visited the school at Rampart. The natives here are rapidly diminishing. Many have died and others have removed to distant villages. They often have to go fifty to eighty miles to hunt moose and caribou and, as the surrounding country is not fur-bearing, it is hard for them to make a living. This accounts for so many of them having left Rampart. At the time of my visit there were not more than thirty adult natives and about ten children. Consequently, attendance at school is smaller than it has been for the past two years. Nine of the ten children, however, were at school.

Nearly all the children at Rampart are of mixed blood, which may possibly account for the extra intelligence they display. In reading, however, I found that they they did not understand the full meaning of half of the words and that they could not spell ordinary every-day words contained in the First Reader. In future they will receive oral instruction in reading, and in arithmetic more mental work would be beneficial.

The children at Rampart, as indeed at all schools, are very fond of singing. At this school there happens to be an old organ, and as I play a bit we had considerable singing while I was there. If you would not consider it too expensive I would like all the schools to be equipped with a small organ.

No attention has yet been paid to industrial training at Rampart, but now that we have a male teacher I hope we can, next summer, begin to teach the boys carpentry work, etc. For some time past we have had a good garden there but I fully expect that we shall have a still better one next summer. Mr. Gasser at the experiment station has promised to supply the school teacher with the necessary seeds for the school garden, and as Mr. McCarty understands gardening we may look for a really good garden here.

The teacher's residence is now quite comfortable owing to the repairs done last summer. I do not think any further repairs will be needed on the school or residence for some time to come. I would suggest that Mr. McCarty's services be retained during the summer months. The school buildings need protection during that time and the garden will be large enough to keep him busy. As the garden is on the slope of a hill, irrigation is needed. We can do this by diverting water to the garden. All this, however, takes time and I think, were the teacher employed during the summer vacation, it might be done.

The evil conditions which existed at Rampart have somewhat improved and may partly be due to the fewer saloons now in the town. Some years ago there were no less than fourteen saloons. There is now only one. It does not follow, however, that there is no liquor sold to the natives but it is not done so openly and there is less of it. The liquor law also, I am pleased to say, is being more rigidly enforced. The same objectionable dance takes place at which some

degenerate white men mix with the natives but we cannot, unfortunately, exclude them. As there were no cases of destitution at Rampart I did not have to draw on my funds for that purpose.

Boulter to Elmer E. Brown

Tanana, December 25, 1909

When I visited Stevens Village on December 24th I found about one hundred natives there. They had gathered together for the Christmas holidays and had travelled some long distances to attend. Some of them live in the mountains most of the time and only visit the village once a year. The majority of the native visitors had come from the Dall and Hosiana rivers while a few had travelled from the Black River. For the most part they appeared to be fairly healthy and strong. It was particularly noticeable that those suffering from consumption were the ones who lived in the village all year round and more or less stayed in their badly ventilated and far-from-clean cabins.

The Christmas festivities passed off quietly and there was no drinking during my two-day visit. From reports, however, some of the natives had recently taken a trip to Rampart, ninety-two miles distant, for the sole purpose of buying several gallons of whiskey. Although conditions along the Yukon are slowly improving, it is evident that the natives can still get a certain amount of liquor provided they have the money to pay for it.

It is an ideal arrangement having an elderly lady and her husband at this remote and isolated village. Their personal influence is doing good, not only to the school children but to the entire community. Mrs. Kilborn, the teacher, holds religious services three times every Sunday and on two weekday evenings. At these services there is plenty of singing.

There was a good attendance at school during the Christmas season but the number of children who would attend after the Christmas season will be much smaller. The average attendance, however, should be much larger than last year. Mrs. Kilborn is making a decided effort to retain the children in the village while the older people are away on their hunting trips. Several of the natives have promised to leave their children in school and I quite think they will make an effort to keep their promise.

The schoolroom work is very satisfactory. Mrs. Kilborn has a kindly method with the children. They are anxious and willing to learn, and count it a hardship to be kept away from school. They do not look upon holidays in the same light as do white children, but are eager for the holidays to end so they can return to school. The schoolhouse, since the repairs, is bright and cheerful, and is an attraction for the children in contrast to their dark and dirty cabins.

During the winter I authorized Mrs. Kilborn to give some government supplies to the extent of \$15 for the relief of an old native woman who is destitute. Apart from this case there was no destitution among the Indians. Most of them have plenty of fish and there are moose within twenty miles or so of the village. Fur skins are unusually high in price this year, consequently there is little fear of want among the natives.

Mrs. Kilborn's husband is doing his best to help. He has done some useful carpentry work, including an additional window in the schoolroom. He started a garden last autumn but as the season was so far advanced it was not very successful. Next spring, however, he is going to have a good-sized garden for the natives. I have authorized Mrs. Kilborn to spend \$10 in government supplies for the purpose of obtaining fence material for the garden. Mr. Kilborn will make the fence at the end of the winter as soon as the snow leaves the ground. At most schools in my district we have very few gardening implements. It is impossible to procure them in the vicinity and I am hoping that a supply of these tools can be forwarded to the teachers during the early part of summer. The living rooms of the schoolhouse are, since the repairs, warm and comfortable. The outside walls have been re-mossed and cemented, and the whole building is far more liveable than it was last winter. Mr. and Mrs. Kilborn appear to be contented and seem prepared to make Stevens Village their home for some time to come.

Boulter to W. T. Lopp

Fort Yukon, January 5, 1910

I reached here on January 2nd after having had to snow-shoe all the way from Rampart. The snow is unusually deep this winter and there are no trails. With the exception of the mailmen who travel up and down every two weeks, very few people are travelling. Owing to the deep snow I had to abandon my sled at Stevens Village and am now using a toboggan.

Everything is going well along the Yukon and I am particularly pleased with the school at Fort Yukon. Mr. Davenport is paying great attention to the industrial training of the boys who are doing excellent work. I am taking along with me some samples of their work.

I leave here tomorrow for Circle where I hope to spend five or six days. If all goes well I should be able to reach Eagle about January 20th. I hope to be in Seattle by the middle of February, and on my way east will call at Washington where I hope to see you.

Boulter to Elmer E. Brown

Circle, January 14, 1910

The journey from Tanana to Circle has been a somewhat difficult one. Soon after leaving Tanana the wind was so bad that it was with difficulty that I made progress. The dogs did not like to face the wind and it was only by constant urging that they proceeded. On the second day out from Tanana the weather was so severe that I accomplished only fourteen miles. I was fortunate in reaching the signal corps station at Rampart Rapids where I stayed for the night. I should have fared badly had it not been for this place as there was no other shelter for many miles.

Soon after leaving Rampart one of my best dogs fell dead. He must have eaten something which poisoned him for I can assign no other cause for his death. I was sorry to lose this dog as the trail was heavy owing to the deep snow. A short while later I was caught in a snowstorm which lasted, on and off, for four days. After the storm there was nearly four feet of snow on the level and in the drifts it was six to eight feet deep. All trails were, of course, effaced, which made travelling very difficult.

Up to this point I had been travelling alone but, happening to meet a native, I engaged him to accompany me to Fort Yukon. Even so, we made slow progress as the trail had to be broken with snowshoes and such a newly made trail is very hard on the dogs. We had to snow-shoe every foot of the way from Rampart to Fort Yukon, a distance of about 250 miles. From Fort Yukon to Circle the going was not so bad as the snow was not as deep and several people had been over the trail.

We reached Circle on January 9th and found about fifty natives in the village. The attendance at the school, therefore, is not very large.

Although Miss Owen, the teacher, is doing good work both in the school-room and among the natives generally, she has antagonized nearly all the white people by her strenuous efforts to reform the community. She has been constantly writing to various officials concerning the conduct of certain people at Circle. I am afraid that the charges she has brought against some of these people are not altogether just. These letters having come to the knowledge of the Circle people, Miss Owen's actions are bitterly resented.

Conditions at Circle, however, are somewhat better. This is not due to the morals of the residents having improved but to fear of the law. Mr. Irons, the deputy marshal, is making progress, with the result that the natives are not debauched by the white men as they were formerly.

Notwithstanding this improvement, I believe it would be best to have a male teacher appointed there. It was only at the urgent request of Bishop Rowe and Miss Owen that last summer I asked for her retention at Circle. Now, however, I am convinced that a change of teacher is necessary.

Industrial work and gardening could, I think, be carried on more successfully by a male teacher and, by more diplomacy on the part of a new teacher, relations with the white people could be more amicable. Miss Owen has undoubtedly tried to do good at Circle, and to a certain degree she has succeeded. But she does not realize that it is more than one woman's work to reform a vicious town. Doubtless she could be transferred to some other school where conditions would be easier for her.

I am pleased to say that, owing to the large quantity of fish caught last season, there is no destitution among the natives.

I hope to leave here on January 17th for Eagle which I should reach after six days travel. The weather is very cold and at the present time the temperature is 55 below zero. I am hoping that it will moderate before I leave.

W. T. Lopp to Elmer E. Brown

Washington, DC, March 17, 1910

On October 13, 1909, Mr. George E. Boulter, Assistant Superintendent of Schools in the Northern District was, with your approval, granted leave of absence from February 1, 1910. Because of his detention by the Grand Jury at Fairbanks in connection with the investigation of the Franklin Moses case, he was unable to reach Seattle until March 3rd. I respectfully recommend that he be allowed his salary for the month of February.²⁸

Approved March 17, 1910, Elmer E. Brown, Commissioner

H. C. Sinclair, Supply Agent, Bureau of Education, to William Hamilton

Seattle, April 28, 1910

There is a voucher in this office for \$264 covering the travelling expenses of Mr. Geo. E. Boulter from December 8, 1909, when he left Tanana, to February 19, 1910, on which date he left Valdez for the States.

²⁸ According to the annual reports of the Bureau of Education, Franklin Moses was the government teacher at St. Michael from 1905–6 through 1908–9 (although not in 1909–10). A letter written by one of his neighbours indicates that Moses, “a former teacher here,” was arrested in February 1910 on a charge of forgery and that “the charge was made about some school houses he superintended during construction” (Lois Thompson to Mrs. H. D. Thompson, February 20, 1910, St. Michael, Roy and Lois Thompson Letters, <http://diomedelethers.blogspot.ca/2005/07/st-michael-alaska-20-feb-1910.html>). On May 8, 1911, *The Alaska Citizen* reported that Moses had been accused of embezzlement, “the indictment specifically charging that he had made a false claim against the government,” but that the case had been dismissed for lack of evidence (as George also mentions below).

As you know, the expenses on the trail from Fairbanks to Valdez are very heavy. Several of the roadhouses charge \$2 per meal and \$1.50 for lodging. The long hours of travel sometimes require an extra meal—that is, four meals a day. On this trip Mr. Boulter's expenses have been as high as \$7.50 per day, and the total excess over \$5 per day on the trip from Fairbanks to Valdez amounts to \$11.²⁹

If it is your wish to approve this voucher for the full amount and forward it to the Secretary of the Interior with request to allow the excess, please advise me, and the voucher will be forwarded to Washington upon completion of the voucher by an affidavit. If you do not wish to approve the excess, this excess will be deducted, and the voucher for Mr. Boulter's expenses at the rate of \$5 per day will be paid by this office.

Elmer E. Brown to Richard A. Ballinger, Secretary of the Interior

Washington, DC, May 4, 1910

Referring to all the provisions of Section 6 of the circular of the Department of the Interior regarding Allowances for Travelling Expenses, dated April 24, 1903, I respectfully request that the limit of expenses of Mr. George E. Boulter, Assistant Superintendent of Schools in the Northern District of Alaska, for board and lodging while travelling on official business from Fairbanks to Valdez, Alaska, February 10 to February 19, be fixed at \$8 per day.

Approved May 5, 1910, Jesse E. Wilson, Ass't. Secretary, Dept. of Interior

W. T. Lopp to William Hamilton

Seattle, June 13, 1910

In my telegram "Request two hundred fifty dollars Boulter travel and suggest issuing travel orders from Washington" I planned that all his travelling expenses should be paid from Washington to Alaska, via Seattle. I issued Mr. Boulter travel orders from Seattle to Alaska, but as your office has issued no travel order covering his trip from Washington, his voucher for this expense cannot be paid.

If the Commissioner approves allowing Mr. Boulter's travelling expenses from Washington to Alaska, kindly advise me and forward the necessary order.

²⁹ Situated along the trails, roadhouses provided meals, stabling for dogs, and overnight lodging, which could range from a simple lean-to, or even just a tent, to a one-room log cabin, some with two storeys and more than one bed. Having arrived at Valdez, George travelled on to Seattle by sea and, on March 8, left Seattle for Washington, DC, and then New York, continuing to England by steamship. He returned to Alaska on May 25.

William Hamilton to W. T. Lopp

Washington, D.C., June 20, 1910

Replying to your letter of June 13th, I beg to state that the Commissioner does not approve of the payment of Mr. Boulter's travelling expenses from Washington, D.C., to Seattle.

Boulter to W. T. Lopp

Eagle, June 18, 1910

I reached here on June 16th after a pleasant trip from Seattle. By the merest chance, Bishop Rowe and myself happened to occupy the same stateroom on the Dolphin.

I regret to say that Nichols intends to resign his position at Eagle. I am sorry for this as he has done much good here and has won the respect and confidence of the natives. He does not wish to remain, however, for less than \$150 per month for ten months. This salary is, I believe, out of the question. I have told him this. It appears that he has received an offer from Bellingham [in Washington state] which he hopes will be worth \$1,500 per year. He has therefore decided to go Outside at the end of July.

I would suggest that he be appointed teacher at Eagle for the month of July at the regular salary. There is a deal of work which he could do during that time. The school building needs painting, the flagpole placed in position, etc. Nichols has also done good work in the garden, all the seeds are in and a fence is being built around the school grounds. The natives are taking the greatest interest in the garden and I quite expect that it will be one of the best along the river. I have arranged with Nichols that the natives shall supply a number of logs to be taken to the military sawmill and sawn on half shares. This lumber will be used for putting a floor in the woodshed and for making a trough to convey water (which is over 100 yards back from the schoolhouse) to the garden. Thus we shall have a continual water supply all the summer.

**Superintendent of Schools,
Upper Yukon District, 1910-17**

THE YEAR 1910 BROUGHT GEORGE MORE THAN just temporary relief from his duties, as well as the opportunity to see his parents. It also brought a promotion. At the beginning of the fiscal year, on July 1, George was appointed to the position of superintendent of schools of the newly created Upper Yukon District, with its headquarters at Tanana. Until that date, as one of two assistant superintendents of the Northern

District, George had reported to W. T. Lopp, the superintendent of the district, who was based in Nome, as was the other assistant superintendent, Andrew N. Evans. In 1910, however, the Native school districts of Alaska were redefined, and the very large Northern District was split into the Northwestern District and the Upper Yukon District. Lopp was promoted to chief of the Alaska Division, headquartered at Seattle, replacing Harlan Updegraff, who had moved on to a new position within the Bureau of Education, with Evans taking over in Nome as superintendent of the new Northwestern District.³⁰ In view of Lopp's own promotion, both George and Evans continued to report directly to him.

Although George's new position entailed additional duties, the territory for which he was responsible was reduced from a 1,200-mile stretch of the Yukon River, from Anvik to Eagle, to an 800-mile stretch, from Kokrines to Eagle. As before, this distance did not include the many hundreds of miles that George would need to travel along tributaries to the Yukon in order to reach remote villages and seasonal camps.

Boulter to W. T. Lopp

Fort Yukon, July 1, 1910

I leave here tomorrow for the lower river and shall have to travel in a small boat as there will be no steamboat for five or six days. It is a slow way of travelling but it is better than my waiting here for nearly a week.

My four dogs are at Fort Yukon. James Thompson, a native, has been looking after them since last January. In part payment for his services I have allowed him 300 pounds of flour. I have also arranged that he continue to look after them until the beginning of winter when I will turn over to him two of the dogs. It was my intention to have condemned one of the dogs and have him shot, but as Thompson thinks that he can use him next winter I think this arrangement is best. This will leave me with two of the best dogs at the beginning of winter. I shall be able to dispose of these to some native in payment, or part payment, for taking me down river.

Davenport, the teacher here, will be leaving by the next boat. He has done good work in the schoolroom but outside of that he is very easy-going. In spite of his and the mission people's assertion that there is not much drinking among the natives of Fort Yukon, I have every reason to believe that at times there is considerable and that little or no attempt has been made to check it.

There is no liquor license at Fort Yukon, yet it is well known that the bulk of the liquor consumed by the natives is obtained from a trading store here which has no license. Could you, through the Governor of Alaska, procure some funds

³⁰ On these changes, see W. T. Lopp, *Report on Education in Alaska, 1910*, 1344–45. Lopp writes that Updegraff, "under whom during the past three years the reorganization and extension of the Alaska school service and the Alaska reindeer service were accomplished," had retired in order to assume new duties (1344). Evidently, then, the reorganization had been in the works for some time.

whereby this particular trading firm could be prosecuted? I feel certain that with sufficient funds these people could be brought to justice.

I shall call at Stevens Village and Rampart on my way to Tanana.

Boulter to William Hamilton

Tanana, July 14, 1910

I reached Tanana a few days ago. Owing to the few steamboats on the Yukon River I had to travel all the way from Eagle to Tanana—600 miles—in a small rowboat. This is a slow way of travelling and much time is consumed in making the journey.

Sometime during the summer I am going to forward to you plans for a “knock-down” boat which I hope can be sent to me. In addition, if I can be furnished with an eight horsepower gasoline engine I shall be able to undertake many journeys which I am unable to make at present. I would like, for instance, to visit the school at the mouth of the Koyukuk. The work I wish to do there would take me but two or three hours. I should, however, have to wait probably a week or ten days for a steamboat to bring me back. The lack of transportation facilities makes it nearly as difficult for me to get over my district in the summertime as in the winter. I have written to several firms about these section boats and gasoline engines, and when I receive their catalogues I will submit to you what I think would be best suited to my needs.

I regret that there are to be many changes of teachers in my district. It is these constant turn-overs which are so detrimental to the progress of work. When a teacher leaves, the new teacher takes up the studies not where the previous one left off but invariably at the beginning, thus retarding any progress. This year we have several nice gardens but owing to many of the teachers leaving, the gardens will be partially neglected because the natives do not yet know how to care for them.

The work as a whole is satisfactory and will be much better if we are able to secure teachers who will stay for some years without desiring a change.

Boulter to W. T. Lopp

Tanana, July 14, 1910

I left Fort Yukon in a small boat on July 2nd and reached Stevens Village on July 5th. I found everything there in excellent order. Mr. Kilborn has quite a nice garden adjoining the schoolhouse. Mrs. Kilborn would be quite willing to stay at Stevens Village but wishes to be transferred on account of her husband. He was very sick last winter with pneumonia and at one time it was thought he would not recover. They both feel they would like to be transferred to some school where

there is a doctor within reach. This was partly my reason for wiring you and suggesting that they be transferred to Eagle.

At Rampart, Mr. McCarty appears to be doing fairly well. He is willing to be re-appointed and, as there are so few scholars there, I think it would be as well to retain him. He has the garden in good order—all the children having their own plot. This being the vacation period, he is working for a time across the river at the experiment station.

I regret that Mozee has resigned from Tanana. He has done good work and everyone speaks well of him. The whole of the ground within the school lot has been turned into a garden, but as Mozee is now living downtown and all the natives are away it is not receiving the attention it ought to have. Mozee has been appointed teacher to the white children in place of Miss Marcy who left here a short time before my arrival.

Tomorrow I am going to the reindeer camp to talk with Bango about his plans and will let you know them when I return. Moses is going with me but I do not think he will be able to do much work there. He is sick and very weak. He has some acute stomach trouble combined, I think, with consumption. Judging from his appearance he will not live a great while.³¹

I hope you have taken into consideration some provision for my living quarters. I have now been here over a week and as yet have been unable to get at my trunk and the other things which I left in Rosin's charge, there being no other place to put them. For the time being I am living at the teacher's residence at the village. The cabin I formerly occupied (from which Rosin was turned out) is now occupied by other people. There are so few cabins for rent that twenty to twenty-five dollars are the prices asked, and even these are furnished with only the bare necessities. I am trying to get some rooms over the jail on Front Street but will not know until Marshal Love arrives here from Fairbanks. They are not furnished, and if I can secure them I shall have to buy many things to make the place barely comfortable. Even these empty rooms I cannot hope to secure for less than fifteen dollars per month. They will probably ask twenty dollars.

There is a nice cabin on Second Avenue here which I think might be procured for \$700 including the lot and a certain amount of furniture. If you could see your way clear to buy this, it would forever settle the living quarters question. I think it would be a good investment as property is rising in value in Tanana. The military authorities are, as perhaps you know, going to largely increase the number of soldiers at Fort Gibbon.

³¹ In his letter of March 5, 1909, to Elmer Brown, George mentions that, in November 1908, he had obtained salmon for his dogs from “an Indian named Moses,” who was “about to travel with his wife to Nulato to take charge of the reindeer at, or near, that place.” It seems quite possible that this Moses (whom George calls “reindeer Moses” in a later letter) and the Moses he encountered in November 1908 are the same person.

W. T. Lopp to Boulter

Seattle, July 26, 1910

[. . .] You will note from the terms of your appointment that your district includes only the Upper Yukon sub-division as outlined by Dr. Updegraff. The Lower Yukon sub-division has been assigned to Mr. [Andrew N.] Evans.³² He will probably have one assistant during the winter. It is also the Commissioner's desire to have Mr. Evans look after the adjustment of reindeer matters at Tanana during the fall and early winter.

Boulter to William Hamilton

Tanana, July 31, 1910

I visited the reindeer camp at Tanana a few days ago and found everything very satisfactory. Although there has been a fair increase to the herd during the past year, there has been further lung disease and also a tongue disease the nature of which Bango is unable to explain.

Mr. Bango will remain at Tanana for another year but after that time he will probably move his deer to some point on the coast. He and the herders are anxious to leave Tanana. They appear to be quite homesick for their own Kobuk country [in the region of Kotzebue Sound] and believe that the deer would have fewer diseases were they near salt water. Another reason they are anxious to remove to the coast is that they would be able to supplement their food supply by fishing. Food is cheaper, also, on the coast than it is in the interior.

Were it possible, they would like to move their deer this coming November when the snow would not be deep. However, as they do not feel at liberty to leave until at least next March, they will remain until November, 1911. It has been suggested to Bango that he move his herd to some point on the Koyukuk. He is unwilling to do this as he does not see how it would better his position, with food and clothing supplies being higher in price there than in Tanana.

The reindeer people are in fairly good health with the exception of John and Peter who have contracted rheumatism through being constantly exposed to the rain. They are all good people and have been very faithful in their work.

32 The "Lower Yukon sub-division" evidently refers to the Northwestern District, the name that appears in Lopp's annual reports on education.

W. T. Lopp to Boulter

Seattle, August 3, 1910

In accordance with instructions received from the Commissioner of Education, I write to caution you to exercise the utmost care in keeping strictly aloof from local factions, and to avoid interference in matters that do not come within the scope of your duties as District Superintendent.

Ten days later, George received a brief telegraph message from Lopp, informing him of the appointment of a new teacher at the government school at St. Mark's Mission, Nenana. The teacher was, of course, Alice Agnes Green.

W. T. Lopp to Boulter

Signal Corps, telegram,
Seattle, August 13, 1910

Green appointed Nenana eight months at ninety transportation from Anvik. Wire her.

Boulter to W. T. Lopp

Tanana, August 12, 1910

As the government steamer Gen. J. W. Jacobs was leaving Tanana for Fairbanks on August 5th I asked for and received permission to travel on the first boat to Nenana. I was also called for at Nenana on the steamer's return.

Duke and Johnson at Nenana have dissolved partnership and the business is now solely in the hands of James Duke. He had been getting very anxious about the Tolovana building material stored at his place since September 1, 1907 as he required the barn for other purposes. His storage bill which I am forwarding to Mr. Sinclair is the sum of \$350 for September 1, 1907 to July 31, 1910—35 months at \$10 per month. I was able to effect a settlement of this bill by Duke accepting some of the Tolovana material. It was somewhat difficult for me to place a price on all the material but I think a fair arrangement has been made.

The schoolhouse at Nenana has been very cold the past two winters. There was, as far as I could see, nothing wrong with the floor. The whole trouble is in the mossaing and banking. The logs, which were partly green when the school was built, have now dried, leaving a larger opening between them. The moss is quite loose and the cold air passes through. Were the building to be re-mossaed we should have the same work to do again later. I concluded that, although more expensive, it would be better to take out all the moss and re-caulk the entire building with oakum.

Another cause of the building being cold was that it had never been properly banked. There are large openings all around the building through which the cold air passes directly underneath the floor. I have arranged to have two tiers of logs placed around the building and the space between them and the schoolhouse filled with earth. When this is done I am quite confident that the building will be quite warm and comfortable. The last two teachers at Nenana have complained that they had no cupboard or locker in which to keep their books and school supplies. I am having a cupboard made which will be six feet square and will contain four shelves. The ceiling of the schoolhouse is to be calsumined, and the flagpole, which is too near the river bank (owing to the bank having been washed away), will be moved back ten or twelve feet.

Duke's charge for all this work, including the cost of the materials such as oakum, logs, horses and labor, will be \$250. I have arranged that he will receive some additional Tolovana building material in payment for these repairs. I thought it best to make this arrangement so as to overcome further storage charges. Had I moved the material elsewhere, the freight charges would have been considerable. I enclose a list of the materials I have allowed Duke in payment for his work. The balance of the Tolovana material is being stored with Duke but he has signed an agreement whereby it will be stored free of charge until removed by the Bureau. I enclose a list of our Tolovana materials now on hand.

The mission people at Nenana used some of the Tolovana material when the Nenana school was being built. This is included in the list of material given to Duke in payment for the storage bill. Duke will have to collect the money for this directly from the mission people. I made this quite clear to both of them. There were also some stools and a rocker from the Tolovana material which had been loaned to Duke for use in his saloon. You will notice that these have been charged to him for the sum of \$18.

Miss Green has already left Anvik and is en route to Nenana.

Andrew N. Evans, Superintendent, Northwestern District, to Boulter

Nome, September 1, 1910

Your letter of July 30th with reference to the plans of Isaac Bango and the herders at Tanana is received. I note that you say Mr. Bango and the herders have decided to stay at Tanana another year. The loans of reindeer are returnable in March, and unless arrangements could be made for them to get away before the first of December, it is likely that they would encounter a great deal of snow.

Please inform Bango and the herders that I will be up some time in January, early enough so that the lassoing will not injure the females which are with fawn. I would appreciate it if you could have them fix the corral so there will not be too much delay.

Boulter to W. T. Lopp

Eagle, September 5, 1910

I left Tanana on August 25th and proceeded to Eagle. It had been my intention to go up by the last boat, but there were such a number of things to attend to at the various schools that I thought it best to come sooner, especially as nearly all the teachers are new. I think Mr. and Mrs. Evans will do well at Eagle.³³ They are not quite settled as there are still several things to be done to the schoolhouse. I am having the fence built all around the school site which will prevent horses from straying into the garden as they have been doing. A rustic bell tower is being built which will be a few feet away from the schoolhouse. The inside of the building is being calsomined and stained, and the outside facings, doors and roof are being painted. Nearly all the Indians are away just now so Evans is assisting with the work with just one native to help him. He will start school in ten days time with probably two or three scholars.

By this mail I am forwarding to the commissioner a more detailed description of the school site, which was called for by the General Land Office. Today Evans and myself staked forty acres as a government school reserve. This tract of land lies between the village and the cemetery. It will be recorded and the record will be forwarded to the Land Office in due course.

The school and native gardens have been quite successful, and I quite think that next year we shall have one of the best gardens along the river. I am trying to get the loan of a team of horses and a plough from the military post so that we can have the gardens ploughed at the end of the month. I have been looking about for a horse or mule we could buy, but as yet have not been successful. In a few weeks we shall know if the military post at Eagle is to be abandoned and, if so, we shall probably be able to get a mule for a very reasonable sum.³⁴

I visited the commanding officer at the post and made arrangements whereby the natives can, in emergency cases, be admitted to hospital at the rate of one dollar per day.

Tomorrow I am leaving here for Circle—probably in a small boat.

33 The “Mr. Evans” referred to here is not Andrew N. Evans but Ebenezer D. Evans, whose name appears in the list of teachers for the Upper Yukon District provided in Lopp’s *Report on Education in Alaska, 1911*, 1391. The name “A. Agnes Green” likewise appears in the list.

34 Most of the army personnel stationed at Fort Egbert, Eagle, were indeed withdrawn in 1911, although the Army Signal Corps maintained a presence there until 1925.

W. T. Lopp to Elmer E. Brown

Seattle, September 24, 1910

Replying to your inquiry of September 19, with regard to furnishing Superintendent Boulter with a launch for his use on the Upper Yukon, I beg to state that it is now too late in the season to give this matter further consideration.

If funds are available next June, I shall possibly recommend the procuring of launches for probably three of our Superintendents.

Boulter to W. T. Lopp

Fort Yukon, September 20, 1910

I left Eagle on September 6th in a small boat en route for Circle. There are so few steamboats running this year on the upper river that a deal of time is taken up in travelling from one place to another.

When I received your telegram at Circle stating that Mr. Gish, the new teacher, had left Seattle on August 31st, I thought it best to await his arrival here. I was glad I waited for him as he is quite new to the work and needed instruction in many things. He appears to be suitable for the position and I am hoping that Circle will be less troublesome than it has been. We plan on teaching the boys carpentry this year as Mr. Gish is a fair carpenter and appears quite interested in this industrial branch of the work.

Some repairs are now being done to the schoolhouse at Circle. The roof is being painted and casings placed on all the windows. The schoolroom, which was not quite finished last year, is being papered, calsomined and panelled. Because the building has settled, a few of the doors are being re-adjusted. We are having a large portion of the schoolground ploughed so that next year we can have a garden.

Nearly all the natives at Circle were away at the time of my visit and the school was started with only three or four scholars. After spending one day with Mr. Gish and, I think, starting him off right, I left in a small boat for Fort Yukon. As it was snowing and very windy, it was a rather unpleasant journey.

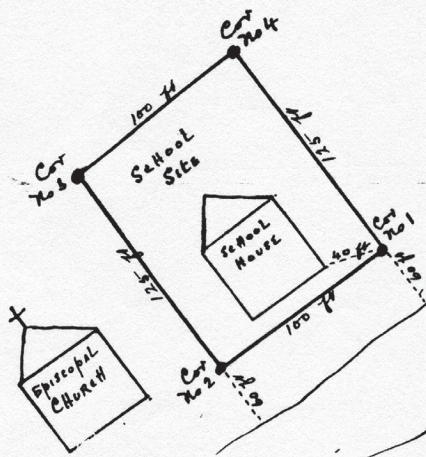
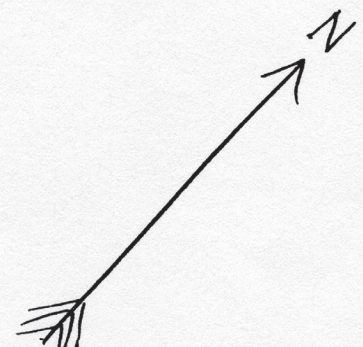
I am fortunate in being able to take a steamer from Fort Yukon to Stevens Village. I shall put my small boat on the steamer because I shall need it when travelling from Stevens to Rampart. I am also taking my two dogs down river and may be able to trade them off to an Indian in return for his services in taking me up river during the winter.

DEPARTMENT OF THE INTERIOR
BUREAU OF EDUCATION
ALASKA SCHOOL SERVICE

191

SUBJECT, _____

*Plan of the Government School Site
at the Indian Village, Eagle, Alaska.*



EAGLE
TOWNSHIP
Permanent
Permanent
Cor. No. 4
YUKON RIVER
7255 feet

The plan of the government school site at Eagle Village, drawn by George Boulter. Courtesy of the National Archives, Washington, DC.

Elmer E. Brown to Boulter

Washington, DC, October 28, 1910

I enclose herewith your appointment as District Superintendent of Schools in the Upper Yukon District of Alaska, at a salary of \$150.00 per month, to take effect November 1, 1910.³⁵

The increase in your salary of \$15.00 per month is in lieu of an allowance of \$15.00 per month for office rent. Please acknowledge receipt of your new arrangement and that it is satisfactory to you. You are hereby directed to deduct \$120.00 from your authorization for Repairs and Rent for your district, to cover the increase in your salary, in lieu of an allowance for office rent, of \$15.00 per month.

Boulter to W. T. Lopp

Tanana, November 2, 1910

I have lately been informed by letter from Bishop Rowe that Celia Wright's appointment for Allakaket has not been accepted and that in future the school there will be taught by the missionaries.³⁶ Bishop Rowe's decision with regard to this is doubtless due to pique and resentment caused by last winter's correspondence concerning Celia's salary. Celia is now at Anvik, doing missionary work.

The situation at Nenana is not very satisfactory. Miss Green has accepted the government position and is now teaching in that capacity, although contrary to Bishop Rowe's wishes. When I saw the Bishop last spring I was, and still am, under the impression that he wanted Miss Green to go to Nenana as a government teacher. The Bishop now writes to me and states that "since seeing Betticher" he wishes Miss Green to act as a missionary teacher. He further states that "we shall be responsible for the education of the native children at Nenana, and the services of the Bureau of Education are unnecessary." Miss Green, however, has now accepted the government position with Miss Farthing's full approval. Her acceptance will doubtless meet with the Bishop's disapproval.

³⁵ In his letter to George of July 26, W. T. Lopp makes reference to his new appointment, and George first signed himself as superintendent in his letter of July 31 to William Hamilton. Presumably, then, it was the new salary that went into effect on November 1.

³⁶ Celia Wright was Arthur Wright's half-sister, who served in 1910-11 as the government teacher at Allakaket. As Lopp notes in his reply (see letter of December 1, 1910, below), the information that Bishop Rowe had objected to her renewed appointment as a government teacher was news to him. At the end of the school year, the government school at Allakaket did indeed close, and the school was henceforth run by the Episcopal Church. After resigning her government position, Celia Wright was reappointed as a missionary teacher, serving from 1911 to 1914 at Anvik, Chena, and Tanana Crossing.

The fact of the Government managing the school at Nenana has always been distasteful to both Betticher and Stuck, and these men have a great influence over Bishop Rowe. It seems to be their aim and ambition to establish and conduct their own schools at all points where there are missions. Were it not for the lack of funds, I feel sure they would do so. Especially at Nenana, which they are striving to make a "show" mission, do they desire the whole field to themselves.

This, then, is the unsatisfactory state of things at Nenana. Bishop Rowe did not want Miss Green appointed a government teacher, Miss Farthing wrote to me to ask that Miss Green's appointment be allowed to stand, and Miss Green wished, and has accepted, the position. I have lately heard from Miss Green, and at present everything appears to be running smoothly at Nenana. I hope to visit there shortly and will then fully report upon the situation.

Boulter to W. T. Lopp

Tanana, November 17, 1910

Although the river has been closed for nearly two weeks, we have had little snow and the trails are bad. The ice down-river is rough and it is difficult for the mailmen to make the journey. From here to Fairbanks the trail is over bare ground for half the distance.

Next week, however, I hope to leave here for Fairbanks and Nenana. At Fairbanks I wish to see the district attorney and Judge Overfield concerning the continued sale of liquor to the natives. A number of cases from the Yukon have just been tried before the grand jury at Fairbanks, and every case, without exception, has been thrown out. There was abundant evidence in each case to convict but the grand jury would evidently not accept native testimony. The sale of liquor to the Indians is increasing and the new law making it a felony to do so is quite ineffectual. Upon my return from Fairbanks I shall call at Nenana. Just after Christmas I shall probably visit Kokrines.

Sometime in January Mr. [Andrew] Evans will be here, whom I wish to see and to whom I may be able to render some assistance in connection with the reindeer in case any of them are to be moved. Reindeer Moses here at Tanana is very weak and, I am afraid, will not live much longer. He has been in the mission hospital for some time but nothing can be done for him. In addition to consumption, he has either a cancer or a tumor in the stomach. He suffers a deal of pain and the end will come soon.

In February I hope to start my journey to Eagle. As there is no mail service up-river between Tanana and Fort Yukon I propose to travel via Fairbanks and Circle, and on my return journey to Tanana to travel down-river all the way. By the time I make the return journey there will be some kind of trail and the days will be getting longer. An alternative to this plan would be for me to leave

here about the end of March and to travel via Fairbanks to Eagle, reaching there just before the break-up, and then return to Tanana by the first boat. During my coming visit to Fairbanks I am going to file the application for my second [naturalization] papers, which has to be done ninety days before they are issued. I propose to time my second visit to Fairbanks to be there at the appointed time for their completion.

It may be necessary for me to ask you later on to increase my authorization for Fuel and Light. It will only be for a small amount in connection with the school at Nenana. I have not issued any sub-authorization to the teacher there, as twenty-three cords of wood were left over from last year. This may not quite suffice for the present term but will nearly do so. I do not think it advisable to have any wood on hand at the end of the present term owing to the unsettled state of affairs there.

I had hoped to hear from Mrs. Kilborn before now but have not. She and her husband were very contented at Stevens Village and only wished a transfer on account of there being no medical aid there. As the mail at Stevens Village is very irregular they thought it best to come to Tanana last August to await instructions. As regards medical assistance, they are no better off at Pilot Station [Tuutalgaq, an inland village on the lower Yukon] than they were at Stevens Village. Rather than be without a position, however, they were glad to accept the one at Pilot Station when it was offered. I hope they are contented there and will not need the services of a doctor.

We have had a series of tragedies in and near Tanana lately. Last week three white men drank themselves to death and all were buried together. Two days ago the roadhouse and store at Tolovana burned down and three little children were burned to death. The premises were owned by Vachon—Riley having sold out last year.³⁷

I hope to meet a number of natives at Tolovana as they have been wishing to see me for a long time and have been urging that a school be built in that vicinity.

³⁷ W. John Vachon was the owner of a homestead in the area and the proprietor of the roadhouse and general store in Tolovana, which he and his brother Andrew had purchased in 1910. At the time, John and his wife, Louise MacLellan Vachon, had four children, the three youngest of whom died in the fire. The roadhouse was rebuilt, only to burn down again in 1921. (It was rebuilt again in 1924, and the surviving structure is now on the US National Register of Historic Places.) The family came to be well known in the area. Andrew and another brother, Peter, operated the Tanana Commercial Company, and Peter was a partner, with Joseph S. Sterling, in Vachon & Sterling, a trading business based in Fairbanks.

Boulter to Elmer E. Brown

Tanana, November 23, 1910

I beg to acknowledge receipt of your letter dated October 28th and to thank you for the increase of salary which you have allowed me. I fully understand that this increase of \$15 per month is to cover the expense of renting an office and this arrangement is perfectly satisfactory to me.

For the first time since my arrival at Tanana in 1908 I am in comfortable quarters. I now occupy some warm and pleasant rooms adjoining the deputy marshal's office. When I return from an absence I find my things just as I left them. It has not been this way the past two years. During the first year I was living partly at the mission, which was very unsatisfactory (especially at the time of the fire which burnt many of my belongings), and partly at a "rooming house." Then, for a while, I had a room at the army post in which to do my writing. This, however, was very unsatisfactory and the arrangement did not last long.

Last year I had a cabin which, while I had it to myself, was suitable. When Dr. Rosin occupied it with me, however, all was changed and toward the end I began to feel almost like an intruder in my own cabin. When I returned last July I found my belongings scattered, many of which I have not yet recovered. I am very mindful of the many kindnesses that have been shown to me by the Bureau during the past two years, for which I am most grateful.

Sometimes I feel discouraged at the apparently small results of our work up here. Things are improving—but slowly. Our efforts are sadly hampered by the illicit sale of liquor to the Indians and there seems to be no satisfactory solution to this problem. The grand jury are as reluctant, as were the other juries, to accept native testimony. Many cases along the Yukon with which I am well acquainted have lately been sent to Fairbanks for trial but, without exception, all those implicated have been acquitted. There was an abundance of evidence in each case to convict, but the grand jury would not treat native testimony as being trustworthy. If this liquor problem were solved our work would progress rapidly. I am dealing with the matter in my annual report.

The mail service along the Yukon from Tanana to Fort Yukon has been taken away. Nenana, too, is without a mail service. It is now difficult to visit certain schools during the winter because there are few trails and an absence of travellers. Then, too, woodchoppers' cabins at which I have often passed the night are becoming scarce owing to the small number of steamboats running during the summer—there thus being a smaller amount of wood for the woodchoppers to cut during the winter. I hope, however, to visit all the schools along the river during the winter.

W. T. Lopp to Boulter

Seattle, December 1, 1910

Your letter of November 3rd is the first information received at this office that Miss Wright has, under the instruction of Bishop Rowe, declined to accept her appointment. I am glad to know Bishop Rowe's position. We have several uses for the salary allotted to Allakaket.

I wired you yesterday: "Ascertain and telegraph if Miss Green intends to resign." I hope she will not, but if she is not a free agent and is under obligation to the Missionary Society, I suppose she may feel it her duty to resign. Please assure her that we fully appreciate the embarrassing position in which she is placed, and whatever she may decide in the matter we hope will have no unpleasant aftermath.

In this connection I desire to call your attention to the importance of always asserting yourself as a government official in dealing with the church dignitaries. I have in mind part of a letter written by Miss [Gertrude] Nielsen to one of the teachers in southeast Alaska recently, in which she spoke of Archdeacon Stuck visiting and criticizing her school to such an extent that she felt called upon to remind him she was there as a government teacher. I inferred from her letter that you were present at the time. If you were, I think it was your duty to have requested the Archdeacon not to meddle in our affairs. Possibly, however, you acted wisely in not taking him to task. At this long distance I will not presume to dictate what you should have done under the circumstances, but I simply desire to caution you to be on your guard in all your dealing with these church officials who have displayed so much jealousy in connection with our work.

I agree with you that we should put a school at Tolovana next year and hope the funds will permit. I hope you can find time to make a thorough canvass of the situation and, if possible, get the names of all the heads of families and of the children who will settle there if the school is established.

I saw Mrs. Lucile Owen Miles. She claims she married General Miles's son who is at Eagle under the assumed name of Corson or Carson, enlisted as a soldier.³⁸ It seems incredible that a woman of her age and experience could be so easily deceived.

When you see Mr. McCarty I desire you to make it plain to him that we cannot countenance false certification of service as in the case of his July report card, and that when the matter is brought before the commissioner, his resignation may possibly be asked for. If his school attendance drops off at any time,

³⁸ Lucile Owen had been the government teacher at Circle from 1908 to 1909. "General Miles" is presumably Lieutenant General Nelson A. Miles, who served as the commanding general of the US Army from 1895 until his retirement in 1903. Miles earned his reputation in part for his vigorous campaigns against the Lakota Sioux, the Northern Cheyenne, and many other American Indian bands during the Indian Wars.

especially in January or February, I suggest that you wire us recommending his discontinuance. An occasional example made of men of his character will, I think, do the Service no harm. You have probably been informed already from this office that we paid his July salary on his false certificate card but we are disallowing his vouchers for August and September.

I trust you will have a good winter for travel and will enjoy your work. The elimination of Allakaket will save you considerable trouble as well as money from your allotment for travel. I start for Washington next week and shall probably not return to Seattle before February or March.

Boulter to W. T. Lopp

Tanana, December 1, 1910

My travel plans have been somewhat altered owing to Mr. [Andrew] Evans being here now instead of in January as planned.

On November 24th (Thanksgiving Day) I left here for Nenana and Fairbanks, but on arrival at Tolovana I received a telegram from Mr. Evans at Tanana stating that, if possible, he would like to see me. I therefore returned to Tanana and accompanied Mr. Evans to the reindeer camp. We are about to make a second journey to the camp as on the first visit some of the deer were missing and the count was unsatisfactory.

After we return from the reindeer camp I propose visiting Nenana. Miss Farthing, who is in charge of the mission, died suddenly last week. I have not heard many particulars but it looks as if she died from poisoning, especially as one of the children at the mission died about the same time. Everything is unsettled at Nenana and I am hoping that I can adjust matters when I arrive.³⁹

Boulter to Elmer E. Brown

Tanana, December 20, 1910

I am delayed at Tanana on account of the probable moving of the reindeer herd. Mr. Evans is leaving here tomorrow so it is imperative that I remain to supervise the necessary arrangements.

While I am waiting for the deer to be rounded up, which will probably take ten or twelve days, I may visit Kokrines which needs some attention. The Rev. Julius Jetté has supplied me with information regarding certain whiskey peddlers there who are selling liquor to natives. I am hopeful of securing such evidence as

³⁹ Alice was present when Miss Farthing died and was the only first-hand witness to describe the events, which she did many years after the fact. Her account is included here, following the final entry in her journal, which was written some weeks earlier, on November 12.

will lead to the conviction of the offenders, especially as there will probably be some testimony from white men.

With regard to Chief Charlie at Tolovana—I have known this man for many years and have found him to be a lazy and somewhat dissolute man. When I visit Nenana, where Chief Charlie now is, I do not expect to find him destitute, neither do I expect to find the other natives in want. I have wired Miss Green asking her if there is any real destitution among the natives at Nenana and she has replied that there is none.

W. T. Lopp to Boulter

Washington, DC, December 29, 1910

I have received a letter from Miss Nielsen, teacher of the school at Fort Yukon, in which she describes the conditions with which she is contending.

From her letter it appears that the school building is almost uninhabitable, owing to the fact that it is impossible to keep warm. I think it is very important that this matter should be remedied. The building should have been properly repaired and caulked before cold weather set in. It would seem that during your two visits to Fort Yukon during the summer and fall, this matter should have been attended to.

I now request you to take such action as you can to make the building at Fort Yukon comfortable. Miss Nielsen can no doubt secure local labor for the making of the most urgently needed repairs. I think she should have a new stove. Perhaps the stove which has been lent to her by some of the white people at Fort Yukon can be purchased by the Government. These repairs and the purchasing of a new stove should be made from your authorizations. If they are insufficient, please let me know by telegraph the additional amount needed.

I have also received complaints regarding the condition of the buildings at Eagle and Circle. I wish you would make temporary repairs to those buildings also, as far as your funds will permit. When it is possible, please make a personal examination of these three buildings in order that next spring you can make requisitions for whatever is necessary to put them in fairly satisfactory condition.

Boulter to Oscar Lawler, Assistant Attorney General, Department of the Interior, Washington, DC

Tanana, December 30, 1910

In accordance with the instructions contained in a letter which I have recently received from the Committee in the Department dated September 30, 1910, I beg to offer the following remarks.

Having been connected with the Bureau of Education for the past five years I have necessarily acquired considerable knowledge of the evil consequences arising from the sale of intoxicating liquors to the natives. Although it is illegal to do this, yet it is being carried on to an alarming extent, to the moral and physical ruin of the natives. There are scores of men along the Yukon River who make the selling of liquor to the natives their sole business. In summer these men load up a small boat with whiskey and then drift down river, selling the whiskey at every native camp. After they have gone the length of the river, they take a steamer and return to their starting point where they again load up a small boat and drift down river once more. Most of these men manufacture their own whiskey from wood alcohol and thus it does not cost them more than fifty cents a bottle. They retail this to the natives for four dollars a bottle. So lucrative is this business that many of these whiskey peddlers are enabled, owing to their summer trade along the Yukon, to go Outside for the winter, only to return to Alaska the following summer to resume their nefarious trade.

Many means have been employed to suppress the sale of liquor to the natives but, so far, few have met with success. It was fondly hoped that the new law, making it a felony for white men to sell liquor to the natives, would deter some of these men from continuing their evil work. I regret to say, however, that this new law is quite ineffectual owing to the unwillingness of the grand juries to accept native testimony. Many cases with which I am personally acquainted have lately been tried before the grand jury at Fairbanks, and although the evidence forthcoming was very complete, the grand jury would not accept the said evidence as being trustworthy, and in consequence every man was acquitted by them.

The difficulty, therefore, in obtaining convictions against these whiskey peddlers is very great and has been the means of making them more open and brazen in their methods. I am quite justified in saying that the conditions along the Yukon have never been as bad as they are at present. That which I am about to suggest is, I believe, the only way to stop the growing sales of liquor to the natives.

I therefore beg to suggest that a few secret service men be employed along the Yukon. Were such men employed, they would have no difficulty securing the conviction of some of the offenders, and the effect along the whole length of the river would be of such a salutary nature that much of the evil would be eradicated.

The Bureau of Education's school work is being sadly retarded by the evils connected with the liquor traffic and, were conditions improved, the natives would become less debauched, and more industrious and provident than they are at present.

It is because this liquor question is retarding the good work of the Department of the Interior that I venture to lay my proposal before you, and I trust that you will consider my suggestion as being conducive to the greater efficiency of the Service.

Boulter to W. T. Lopp

Tanana, December 31, 1910

I expect to leave here for Nenana and Fairbanks in a few days. While at Tolovana I will make a thorough canvass of the situation and secure the names of all the people who will settle here if a school is established. I do not, however, expect to find many natives at Tolovana just now as they are likely to be at Nenana for the holidays and to be present at the funeral of Miss Farthing who is to be buried there.

On my return journey I shall probably branch off at Hot Springs and proceed to Rampart. I was glad to receive your suggestion that if at any time the attendance at Rampart drops off, I should wire you recommending the closing of the school. I should probably have done this in any case as I am far from satisfied with McCarty. The way in which he has apparently treated his wife makes me think still less of him.

Because of the loose way in which McCarty has been conducting the school, and having in mind his claim to have taught school during previous holidays, I wired him from Kokrines on Christmas Eve: "Your school to be closed during the Christmas holidays." The day after Christmas he wired me: "In accordance with terms of appointment regular school is being held this week." Thus he acted in direct opposition to my orders. Had I thought that he intended holding school from conscientious motives, I would not have given him orders to close the school. There are no more children at Rampart during the Christmas holidays than at other times. Knowing this and feeling sure that McCarty's sole aim in holding school was to have an excuse for closing it before the end of June, I was convinced that it was best for it to be closed during the regular Christmas vacation. It is very probable that on my visit to Rampart I shall request you by wire to ask him to resign.

I have received from Mr. Quarles by today's mail two checks for some men who have delivered wood to the schoolhouse at Rampart, with the suggestion that it might be well for me to verify the amount of wood delivered. I will do this upon my arrival there.

Boulter to W. T. Lopp

Tanana, December 31, 1910

In reference to your letter of December 1st I can safely say that Miss Green at Nenana will not resign her government position. She is certainly placed in a somewhat embarrassing position, especially owing to the death of Miss Farthing. Archdeacon Stuck is now at Tanana and is leaving shortly for Nenana. As no one has been found to permanently take Miss Farthing's place as matron, it is probable that Stuck will try to induce Miss Green to resign her government

position to take charge of the boarding house. I think you may rest assured that Miss Green will continue teaching school.

I truly think that Miss Nielsen's impression that Archdeacon Stuck was criticizing her teaching methods was without any foundation. I was present one morning when Stuck entered the school. He did not attempt to criticize the usual methods of instruction, but in a general way he offered some disparaging remarks concerning the usual methods of instruction, especially as applied to composition. Had he criticized Miss Nielsen personally, I should have felt called upon to take him to task. But under the circumstances, and knowing the man, I ignored what he said as I realized that no good would result from any unpleasant words between us.

I previously had an unpleasant conversation with him in regard to the Nenana school, and it was then that he informed me that if there was any "monkey work" on the part of the Government he would see that the school at Nenana passed entirely into the hands of the mission. I am further convinced that Miss Nielsen was mistaken with regard to that incident, as Stuck informed me but yesterday that he thought Miss Nielsen a very excellent teacher. In fact, he went so far out of his usual way to inform me that he thought, on the whole, we had a very good lot of teachers along the Yukon. Such an admission from this man somewhat took me by surprise as it had not been his habit to speak at all well of any branch of our work.

It is indeed unfortunate that Miss Owen has made such a sad mistake in marrying the man she has. He has the reputation of being terribly addicted to the morphine habit and was removed from Circle to Eagle so that he could be under the charge of a doctor. Miss Owen was, I believe, informed concerning the habits of this man but she refused to believe what was told her. Perhaps she hopes to reform him, but I am afraid that he is worthless. The very fact of his assuming various names does not look well and I am sorry that she thought fit to marry him.

So far I have had a pleasant winter for travel. We have had several cold snaps but fortunately I have been at Tanana at those times. On Christmas Day, which I spent at Kokrines, it was forty-four below zero and the temperature was in that neighborhood during my return journey from Kokrines to Tanana.

I have not yet decided which is best—to have dogs of my own or to rent them. Owing to my return to Tanana from Tolovana to meet Mr. Evans, I still have the two dogs I rented from Chief Alexander at Tolovana. For each dog I am paying fifty cents per day. I have made good use of the dogs, using them from Tolovana to Tanana, two trips to the reindeer station and the return journey to Kokrines, but the \$1 per day is mounting up. I have now had these dogs over a month and shall certainly need them for my return journey to Nenana, Fairbanks and Rampart.

By the time I return the dogs to their owner, I shall have to pay about \$60 for the their use. Even this, however, is more economical than having a native take me from place to place. Where there are fairly good trails such as I have travelled over this winter, I would rather travel alone. I am using only four dogs this winter, two of the Bureau's and the two I have rented. I would prefer travelling with five or six, but for economy's sake I am using the smaller number. Later in the winter, when I am travelling up to Eagle, I shall, instead of renting dogs, make terms with a native to take me along, and exchange my two dogs for his services. Thus, at the end of the winter I hope to be without any dogs as it is decidedly expensive to keep them through the summer months.

I wish to thank you for the increase in salary which is to enable me to pay my office rent. The cost of living at Tanana is so very expensive that the increased salary is very welcome. I am pleased to say that I am in excellent health and feel better than I have in years. I attribute this to the beneficial effects of my holiday last winter.

Boulter to Elmer E. Brown

Tanana, December 31, 1910

REPORT UPON THE SCHOOL AT KOKRINES, ALASKA

I visited the school at Kokrines on December 23, 1910, where there were just five scholars present. The unusually small attendance was because nearly all the Kokrines natives had gone to Koyukuk where a large potlach was being held. The average attendance at Kokrines is not large at any time as the parents are away from the village for long periods and take their children with them.

The teacher, the Rev. Julius Jetté, S.J., does his best to interest the children in the school, and to a large extent he has succeeded as they are rarely absent unless compelled to stay away. He has, at his own expense, given rewards at the end of each month to the children who have been regular in attendance and have given attention to their studies. I was present when he distributed the rewards for the month of December. These consisted of fancy and useful articles such as knives, mechanical toys, toy typewriting machines, geographical blocks, picture books, etc. Sometimes he has put a fixed price on these articles and the children are allowed to buy them at the end of each month with the educational toy money he gives them from time to time. Thus there is every inducement for the children to attend school, and they would all do so were they able to remain in the village while their parents were away hunting.

Jetté has a work bench in his own cabin which any of the natives are welcome to use. Many of them are quite handy with carpentry tools and are able to make themselves tables, chairs, shelves, etc. which help make a decided improvement in their cabins. The majority of the cabins are scrubbed once or twice a week and

some of the women take pride in keeping their homes neat and clean. Most of them possess a sewing machine and can make many of their own clothes.

The sanitary condition of the village is fairly good, but there is still much to be desired in that respect as the natives are not disposed to clear away the accumulation of the winter's garbage until late in the spring when the offensive odors become unbearable. There has been little sickness among the natives of Kokrines during the past year. The teacher, possessing a good knowledge of medicine, has been able to do good work among the sick. Tuberculosis is the chief disease and there are a few cases of blindness which are indirectly due to this.

There is, at present, no sign of any destitution occurring among these natives as the fish were plentiful during the last season. If the Indians would only apply themselves steadily to work, they could make a good living. Big game such as moose and caribou can be hunted within two or three days' journey from the village, and the surrounding country is not yet depopulated of fur-bearing animals, the skins of which command a good price. The natives, too, could often sell snowshoes, etc. if they were energetic enough to make them. It is seldom that they could not cut steamboat wood if they had a mind to, but as a rule they are too lazy. It therefore follows that if the natives at Kokrines are at any time in actual want of food, it will doubtless be due to their own indolence and improvidence.

These natives are, as indeed are most Indians, great gamblers. They not only gamble for money but for the very clothes they are wearing and for the furniture in their cabins. Not only do they gamble among themselves but, unfortunately, they gamble with some of the whiskey peddlers who, as a rule, manage to win anything they happen to be playing for. Thus, not only do these white men dispose of their whiskey but they manage to cheat the natives out of many of their furs. There seems to be no way to prevent this as there is no marshal at Kokrines and any advice given to the natives by the teacher has little effect.

Nothing has been done in the way of agriculture because the natives will not apply themselves to it and also because, at the time a garden needs most attention, they are on their spring and autumn hunts. Many of the natives at Kokrines well know the benefits to be derived from gardening as quite a number were educated at Holy Cross [Catholic mission] where they were taught gardening. They can obtain many varieties of seeds from the teacher but, owing to their long absences from the village, they have not taken advantage of the opportunity.

A short time prior to my visit to Kokrines, Rev. Jetté wrote to me concerning the large amount of whiskey being sold and given to the natives and causing much disturbance and fighting. I had hoped to secure such evidence as would lead to a prosecution of the offenders but it was not possible. Two of the signal corps men at Kokrines were the ringleaders in the aforesaid disturbance. I saw Captain Knowles, chief signal officer at Tanana, about the matter and the result was that both these men were removed from Kokrines and are, at the present

time, confined in the guardhouse at Tanana. They were interrogated one at a time by Captain Knowles and myself with a view to their divulging where the whiskey was obtained upon which they and the natives were drunk. We could, however, get no satisfactory answers. All we could gather was that "the whiskey was given to them and that they did not see it sold." The men who have been sent to Kokrines to take the places of these two offenders are much better men and I do not think we shall hear of them disturbing the peace.

On my journey from Tanana to Kokrines I found evidence of much drinking all along the line. Every roadhouse appears to be a rendezvous [sic] where anyone, native or otherwise, can obtain all the liquor they want. Probably the chief offender between Tanana and Kokrines is Peter Johnson at Mouse Point. It is well known by everybody along the line that he makes periodic trips to Tanana for the sole purpose of bringing back a sled load of whiskey. Rev. Jetté at Kokrines has informed me that when natives make a trip to Mouse Point (six miles up river) they invariably return drunk or partially so. I called on Peter Johnson but of course he denied everything I charged him with. None of the many white people I interviewed would tell me anything which might incriminate this man, and although he is notorious for dealing in the sale of liquor to the natives I could not obtain sufficient evidence to take before a jury. The very few men who might have told me something about the matter refused as they did not wish to be called as witnesses and thus have to go to Fairbanks, which would take them away from their businesses for a long period.

The work of trying to collect evidence against these whiskey peddlers should properly belong to the Department of Justice but, owing to their deficient organization, the officers of this department will not see what is going on unless they positively have to. It is because this liquor question is so sadly interfering with our own work that I felt called upon to try to collect evidence against the men who are so openly defying the law.

It was news to me at Kokrines to hear that the natives occasionally use their own "code" words when they telegraph each other. Thus, a Kokrines native who was at a potlach at Koyukuk wired one of the few natives left at Kokrines as follows: "All Kokrines natives now at Koyukuk are plenty sick." The translation of this telegram reads: "All the Kokrines visitors at Koyukuk are able to obtain plenty of whiskey." I often wonder what will become of some of the Yukon River natives.

Boulter to W. T. Lopp

Tanana, January 4, 1911

I returned from Kokrines a few days ago and am leaving here tomorrow for Nenana, Fairbanks and Rampart.

Before Mr. Evans left Tanana it was clearly understood that the reindeer herders were to have started before Christmas to look for the missing deer. I timed my trip to Kokrines to be back at Tanana at a time when I fully expected all the deer to have been found. I found, however, that all the herders, with the exception of Bango, had been in town for the Christmas holidays and had made no attempt to look for the deer. It was only yesterday that they started to search for them. I feel that I cannot wait here any longer for the herders, consequently I am pulling out this morning. I expect to return here in about three weeks.

There has been a lack of harmony at the reindeer camp for some time. Mrs. Bango appears to have been the cause of the trouble. After Mr. Evans left, there was a disturbance at the camp when Mrs. Bango, I am told, struck Peter's wife. This is not the first time, I believe, that violence has occurred. Charlie is very restless and has expressed a wish to get rid of his deer and sever his connection with the herd. John seems to be influenced by Charlie, while Peter is loyal to Bango.

Because of the dissatisfaction at the camp and the apathy displayed by the herders with regard to the missing deer, it is doubtful that the herd will be moved this winter. Taking everything into consideration, however, it appears advisable to move it as soon as possible.

Boulter to Elmer E. Brown

Tanana, January 31, 1911

REPORT UPON THE U.S. SCHOOL AT NENANA, ALASKA

I left Tanana en route for Nenana on January 5th and after some hard traveling due to storms I reached there January 10th. So bad was the trail between Minto and Nenana, a distance of about thirty-one miles, that I was fifteen hours making the journey. I was using just four dogs who were quite played out on my arrival at Nenana.

I found everything running smoothly there except that Miss Farthing's death had, for a time, caused the mission to be upset. Miss Farthing, who was in charge of the mission boarding house where there are about twenty-six children, died suddenly on November 30th from apoplexy. Her body was taken to Fairbanks to be shipped Outside next summer. These plans were changed, however, and the body was brought back to Nenana for the funeral held on January 20th. Miss Deane is now in charge of the mission and Miss Green will continue to act as the government teacher.

I was much pleased with the work in the schoolroom. Miss Green has a quiet manner, yet such good discipline is maintained that she is able to command the close attention of all the scholars. She uses her kindergarten methods of teaching which appear to be eminently successful. All the children can read and write fairly well, and even in arithmetic, in which most native children are deficient,

they are above the average. Miss Green holds a sewing class for the girls once a week where they make some of their own clothes. Because they are looked after by the mission, the children are always neat and clean, probably more so than at any other school in my district. Both boys and girls are taught cooking at the boarding house, which should be a great help to them in later life. The attendance at this school is always good as the majority of the children live at the mission boarding house. Other than these children, there are but few who attend school regularly because they are taken away from the village to accompany their parents while hunting.

Big game is somewhat scarce in the neighborhood of Nenana—the natives having to travel from eighty to ninety miles to hunt. There is a fair amount of fur in the surrounding country and, owing to the high price of furs, the natives could make a fair living were they to trap systematically.

There is no doubt that the Indians have a grievance against the white hunters and trappers. A party of white men will invade an area and slaughter the big game and, what is worse, will use strychnine in the bait for trapping, which they scatter all over the country. When the natives go trapping they each have their own territory and they naturally resent the intrusion of the white men who so openly defy the law by using strychnine.

In spite of the good influence of the mission, the natives at Nenana are little or no better than at other places. They have the same fondness for gambling and liquor, and often the village is the scene of a drunken riot. Their health has been fairly good and it would be even better were they not so addicted to dissipation.

The Nenana natives have lately received a bad name from the white people. Some little time ago a Nenana River native was killed by a white man who was hunting and trapping in that country. The white man pleaded in court that the Indian would have killed him had he not acted as he did. The jury at Fairbanks exonerated the man but the case is, I believe, to come before the grand jury next month. Owing to the class of men who sit on these juries I quite anticipate that they, too, will exonerate the man. The natives at Nenana with whom I spoke appeared to believe that the Indian had no intention of killing the white man. The fact remains, however, that there are no less than five or six white men missing who were in Nenana country for hunting and trapping. It is said that they were killed by the Indians, although I myself do not believe it.

It is too early to determine what attitude the mission people at Nenana will assume next year toward the government school. They evidently desire to have their own school and teacher, and would have done so this year had not Miss Green been firm in her attitude. It is somewhat unfortunate that we have never had a teacher's residence at Nenana and that our teacher has had to live at the mission house. The missionaries maintain that as most of the children at the government school belong to the mission boarding house, the mission should have the right to choose its own teacher, especially as the teacher, having to live

at the mission, must be in harmony with it. The various teachers at Nenana have been appointed by the mission people so it is hard to determine exactly what they desire, unless it is a place apart from the mission for the teacher to reside.

Assuming that the mission people have hitherto given our teachers a living room at the mission, yet it has not been altogether a one-sided arrangement. The missionaries have, from the time our school was built, used the building for their church services—twice on Sundays and once or twice during the week. Therefore, if we have been under some obligation to them on behalf of our teachers, they have received accommodation from us, for which, as far as I know, they have made no recognition.

In the event that the school at Nenana is maintained next term by the Bureau, I would suggest that a teacher's residence be built. If this were done, the difficulties we have experienced there would probably be overcome.

Boulter to Elmer E. Brown

Tanana, January 31, 1911

In this letter I am suggesting the advisability of building a school at Tolovana. For the past two years the natives have been asking for a school to be built there. Last autumn I received letters from both Chief Alexander (chief of the Tolovana natives) and Chief Charlie (chief of the Minto natives) again asking that a school be built there. I enclose copies of their letters which were written by Mr. Vachon.

There is no doubt that the Indians desire a school there. It is their wish to make Tolovana the headquarters for a number of small tribes now scattered up and down the river. The natives realize that Tolovana possesses many advantages which other places do not. There is good hunting in the near neighborhood and the fishing is better than at most places along the Tanana River.

I thoroughly discussed the school question with a large number of natives and told them that the Government would not build a school there unless they would give their assurance that the children would be left in the village to attend school while the older people were away hunting. Many of them gave me this assurance. I also told them that, as evidence of their genuine desire to make Tolovana their headquarters, I would like to see them build some more cabins. They told me they intended to, and on my return journey from Nenana I found that several were out cutting logs to build themselves cabins next summer.

Were a school to be built, we could rely on an average attendance of fifteen to twenty children—possibly more. There are quite a few small children in the vicinity who will soon be of school age. In addition to the Tolovana and Minto natives there are natives at Crossjacket [Koskaket] and Kantishna who would probably settle at Tolovana if a school were built.

Mr. and Mrs. Vachon have now settled at Tolovana. They have a roadhouse and a store, and it is their intention to enter into farming on a large scale. They already have a large number of chickens and next summer intend to have pigs, cows, etc. The work they intend doing would benefit our natives as there would be a certain amount of farm work which would teach them how to manage a garden. Mr. Vachon does not intend to apply for a liquor license as it is against his principles to have anything to do with the liquor trade. I think that having such people in close proximity to the native village would tend to the natives' welfare. Mr. Vachon has a homestead at Tolovana and has agreed to quit-claim a piece of ground about 200 feet by 700 feet that would be sufficiently large for a school reserve.

Several natives expressed the wish that, should a school be built at Tolovana, on which they hope to do some work, they be paid partly in building supplies such as windows, doors, flooring, hinges, locks, etc. Such supplies would be very helpful to them in building their own cabins, and with the flooring thus obtained they would be able to partition off some of their larger dwellings. In addition to the above supplies, the following might be added: saws, planes, brace and bits, augers, hammers and screwdrivers. With these, the natives would have the tools to do good work on their cabins.

Rather than send any food supplies in payment for native labor on the proposed school, I would suggest that articles for use in their cabins be substituted, such as iron beds (cheap), chairs, blankets and quilts.

I went into the school question at Tolovana very thoroughly and am of the opinion that, to serve a large number of natives now scattered about the Tolovana, Minto and Kantishna country, a school would benefit them and I recommend that it be built there.

[enclosure: letter from Chief Alexander]

Tolovana, September 11, 1910

I write to ask you to let us have a school here. There are children here, and some at Nenana. I want them all here with a school for them so they can learn to read and write. It is too far for them all to go to Nenana. Twice a year we go up to Nenana because the church and school are there. In the winter it is very cold and in the summer the water is very swift, and it is hard to take little children and sick people. If there were church and school here we could stay here all the time and keep all together. Close to Tolovana there is good hunting, and in the spring lots of fish. Up at Nenana we are poor in the springtime for there is no good hunting or fishing near there. Only about Fourth of July king salmon come up, and then lots of fish. I hope you will write to me and let me know if we can have a school.

[enclosure: letter from Chief Charlie]

Tolovana, August 30, 1910

I am writing you in behalf of my people at this place. There are about thirty-five children here, and no means of them getting any schooling without going to Nenana sixty miles from here. Because of the church and school at Nenana, my people have to go up there twice a year. Among them are old men and sick men not able to travel, and cannot go for this reason. I like to have school and church established here. Another reason for this request—I want to bring my people all together at one place—they are now too much scattered and neglected. I hope you will let me hear from you.

Boulter to W. T. Lopp

Tanana, January 31, 1911

In reply to your letter dated December 29, 1910, I wish to say that I myself have received a letter from Miss Nielsen at Fort Yukon complaining about the coldness of the school building.

I was unprepared to hear that this was a cold building as I did not hear any complaints from Mr. Davenport, the former teacher. The weather was then very cold but the building was warm. Had I known last summer when I was at Fort Yukon that Miss Nielsen would suffer from the cold, I would have taken some steps to correct the problem. In the summertime, however, it is somewhat difficult to test what a building will be like in the winter and, not having heard any previous complaints, I thought that she was going into a warm building.

Without wishing to disparage Miss Nielsen, I must say that I think she is inclined to be rather fretful and a trifle cynical. This may be due to the fact that she feels her responsibility in looking after her younger sister [Ella] who appears to be in delicate health. I hope to visit Fort Yukon soon and will then take such steps with regard to the building that I trust the teachers will be more comfortable.

I was also unprepared to hear of complaints having reached you from the teachers at Eagle and Circle. I have had several letters from both these teachers and in none of them have they complained to me about their respective buildings. I took such steps with both these buildings last summer that I quite thought the teachers would be very comfortable during the winter.

The buildings at Eagle, Circle and Fort Yukon are well caulked, but now that the buildings have finished settling it would be well next summer to cement between the logs on the outside walls. I shall be writing to Mr. Sinclair shortly and shall then make a requisition for cement for all these buildings. I hope to visit both Eagle and Circle this winter.

Boulter to Elmer E. Brown

Tanana, January 31, 1911

Referring to your letter dated November 1, 1910, I beg to say that I have just returned from Nenana and Tolovana where I fully investigated the condition of the natives, especially those who were mentioned in Chief Charlie's letter to Mr. Wickersham.

On my arrival at Tolovana I found but few natives as most of the Tolovana and Minto Indians had not returned from Nenana where they had spent the Christmas holidays. Between Minto and Nenana I met Chief Charlie and about forty natives with whom I had a long talk. I have known Chief Charlie for some years and know him to be possessed of lazy and dissolute habits. The mission people also know him to be a man who would rather live by begging than by work. The letter to Mr. [James] Wickersham on Chief Charlie's behalf was written by Mrs. Vachon at Tolovana. She is the wife of the trader there, and at the time of her writing the letter both she and her husband had little or no experience with the Indians. She told me when we were discussing the matter that if she had known more about Chief Charlie and the other natives when she wrote the letter, it would never have been written.

At the very time that Chief Charlie had the letter written on his behalf to Mr. Wickersham, he had over \$600 worth of furs in his possession. These included a black fox, a silver grey fox and a number of mink. The money obtained from the sale of these furs was soon squandered, partly by paying other natives \$1 per hour to make alterations to his cabin. Chief Charlie is possessed of a watch and chain which are probably worth fifty dollars. From information gathered while I was travelling, this man is constantly asking people to sell him whiskey, in payment for which he always has money.

Charlie is about thirty-five years of age and apparently in good health. If I were going to select the fattest and sleekest native among the Tolovana, Minto and Nenana natives, I should unhesitatingly select Chief Charlie. It is true that at the present time his funds are somewhat low, but such is the man's antipathy to work that he has lately refused some wood cutting which Duke, the trader at Nenana, offered him. I admonished Chief Charlie with regard to his begging letters and I do not think we shall be bothered by him for some time to come. He took my admonition with ill grace and was very sulky over it.

When I was at Nenana, Chief Thomas of the Nenana natives came to me with a long story concerning the destitution among his people. I ascertained that at Christmas time this same man gave a potlach to all the natives gathered there. The presents he distributed among them on that occasion must have cost him several hundred dollars. These consisted of rifles, shotguns and smaller articles such as moccasins, knives, snowshoes, etc. After having spent his money

in this manner he hoped that the Government would render him assistance, and when I informed him to the contrary he was very crestfallen.

There being a saloon quite close to the Indian village it is comparatively easy for the natives, through the medium of unscrupulous whites, to obtain whiskey, in payment for which they invariably have ready cash. It is no uncommon occurrence for the entire village to be under the influence of liquor.

Last year's fishing season was a very good one and the fur-bearing animals, although not numerous, are not yet extinct and can be trapped, were the natives energetic enough to leave the village for a time and go into the hills. Moose and caribou are somewhat scarce in Nenana and the natives have to travel from eighty to ninety miles to hunt them. At Tolovana moose and caribou can be hunted within fifteen miles. When I asked the supposedly destitute natives why they did not go hunting they replied that they had no cartridges. But such is the want of forethought among these people that on New Year's night they each fired off box after box of cartridges, following a time-honored custom among them.

Toward the end of winter the natives at Nenana will be on short rations and will probably regret having wasted so much money at the beginning of the winter. I found these natives to be very different from those at Allakaket two years ago. There they were suffering from a previous bad fishing season, lack of game and fur in the country, and little chance of work. The only cases of destitution at Nenana were three blind women (a mother and two daughters) and a sick man who had been on his back for over six months. On behalf of these cases I purchased \$60 worth of food which will be given to them from time to time by Miss Green, the Bureau of Education's teacher at Nenana.

To render assistance to a few of the men who really needed work, I gave Miss Green a sub-authorization for \$100 to have some wood cut for the school. The only stipulation I made with regard to this wood was that Chief Charlie was not to participate in the work.

I would respectfully suggest that, in the future, any begging telegram or letter sent to you by the natives should not be treated too seriously. One native informed me with great glee that as soon as he sold some moccasins for which he was to receive ready cash he was going to send a "big telegram" to Washington asking for assistance. The native was by no means destitute and I most emphatically forbade him to send the proposed telegram.

This letter writing, telegram sending and forwarding of petitions are habits which the natives are cultivating, and ones which we would do well to keep in check. The natives have been urged to do this by irresponsible white people who do not understand the natives as we ourselves do. Some of these white people have been telling them that the Government has furnished the Indians in the States with rations and that the same system should be applied to the Alaskan natives.

The desire on the part of our natives to be fed without their having to work in return for food—and not their destitution—is the cause of such letters as Chief Charlie's.

Boulter to W. T. Lopp

Tanana, February 10, 1911

When I was at Fairbanks a short time ago I had a long conversation with Mr. Crossley, the district attorney, about the liquor question along the Yukon. He admitted the evil was very great but under the present laws it is almost useless to try to secure convictions. The men who compose the grand jury are chiefly a worthless set who, when a trial is on, invariably give their support to the criminal class.

I laid before the district attorney the affair of Peter Johnson at Mouse Point, the result being that the deputy marshal at Tanana received instructions to proceed to Mouse Point and Kokrines to collect evidence and to serve subpoenas on certain people. He has just returned from Kokrines where he served subpoenas on the Rev. Julius Jetté and the Northern Commercial Co. agent at Kokrines, also on Mr. Rodman and the two saloon keepers at Tanana.

The affair has created a deal of talk and undoubtedly some good will result from the investigations. As the witnesses in this case have to be at Fairbanks by the 24th February it means that our school at Kokrines will necessarily be closed from about February 10th until probably the end of the school term on March 31st.

The district attorney informed me that the judge at Fairbanks will hold a term of court at Iditarod during the early summer. The Franklin Moses case is set for this court and it is probable that I may have to go to Iditarod as a witness.

Boulter to W. T. Lopp

Tanana, February 10, 1911

While at Fairbanks I made application for my second naturalization papers. These will not be granted me for a period of ninety days, at which time I have to appear in person at the court house. Therefore, I would like to be at Fairbanks again about April 17th to bring this matter to a conclusion.

I reached Tanana from Fairbanks on January 26th and saw Bango the following day. He informed me that Peter and Charlie had scoured the country for seven days but failed to find any of the missing deer. I think, however, that their search was half-hearted owing to the cold weather. Toward the spring, Bango and one of his herders will make a systematic search for the deer and, with the longer days then, may be more successful. Mrs. Bango and her children are now

living at the native village at Tanana and will continue to live there for the rest of the winter. Her children are thus able to attend school and she herself is more contented than she was at the reindeer camp. In a few days I shall be visiting the camp to have Moses's deer marked. Moses, by the way, is in somewhat better health than he was some months ago.

We have had terrible wind storms during the last few weeks. All the mails have been delayed as it has been almost impossible to travel because of the bad condition of the trails. Because the trail from Hot Springs to Rampart is infrequently used and on account of the storms and deep snow, I decided not to take that same route on my return to Tanana from Fairbanks. I expect to visit Rampart shortly and shall travel by way of the Yukon. I would like, if possible, to visit Circle and Fort Yukon this winter, and I propose travelling by way of Fairbanks to Circle, then proceeding down river to Fort Yukon. After that I plan on returning to Fairbanks to pick up my naturalization papers, subsequently reaching Tanana about the end of April.

Should funds permit, I would like you to increase my travelling authorization by \$250. Out of my present authorization of \$600 I have only \$133.80 left and have yet to make the journey to Rampart and to the reindeer camp. If you approve of my plan to travel as outlined, I would want to leave Tanana by about March 15th. Will you, therefore, immediately on receipt of this letter, please telegraph me instructions with the travelling authorization increased as requested.

Boulter to Elmer E. Brown

Tanana, February 14, 1911

REPORT UPON THE U.S. SCHOOL AT TANANA

The school at Tanana has been visited by me many times this winter, and although it is not the best school in my district, yet I am pleased to report favorably on it. Miss Clark is well qualified to teach but would doubtless do better work in a high school than in a native one, especially at such a place as this where the children are surrounded by many vicious influences.

The discipline is not all that could be desired but it is gradually improving. Attendance has been fairly good, but many of the older children who attended school last year have not returned, although they are still of school age. This is due partly to their lack of interest in the school and partly to their being put to work by their parents. At present there are few natives left in the village. They have gone hunting and have taken most of their children with them. Even when the parents are in the village, the older boys are made to saw wood, cook dog food, and are sent out to snare rabbits and do other work which prevents them from attending school.

The older girls remain in their cabins and are occupied with bead work, mocasin making and any other work by which they can earn money. The school, therefore, is composed chiefly of the younger children. They are interested in their work but unfortunately do not appear to possess very retentive memories. Consequently, the same work is gone over repeatedly, and this is rather discouraging to the teacher. They are interested in the sewing cards and some of them do very careful work.⁴⁰ A few of them show some ability in drawing and crayon work but this is not very marked.

Drilling exercises are entered into very heartily, doubtless due to the physical exertion and also because they do not have to use their mental faculties while exercising. The only mental worry they have while drilling is having to differentiate between their left and right feet.

With the exception of the school garden, little attention has been given to industrial training. Mr. Mozee, the former teacher, planted a good garden last spring, but owing to the change of teachers it did not receive the attention it needed. While the garden was being planted the children and some of the adults took a great interest in it. Many had their own patch of ground and tended it carefully so long as they remained in the village. When the fishing season came, however, the natives migrated to their fishing camps and their village gardens were neglected. Hence, there is not too much encouragement to plant a garden unless the teacher is there all the summer to look after it.

Miss Clark has taken a decided interest in the general welfare of the natives and has constantly visited them in their cabins to suggest sanitary reforms, etc.

All the school children are bathed once a week in the schoolhouse. Instead of resenting it as they formerly did, they now look forward to bath day. Their personal cleanliness is much better than it was a few years ago. In appearance too they are neater, doubtless due to the sewing lessons the girls have had from time to time.

The natives at Tanana are undoubtedly more diseased than at most places along the Yukon. It is safe to say that at least fifty per cent of them are suffering from tuberculosis, scrofula glands and other contagious diseases. The worst of these cases should, for the safety of the other people, be taken away as the entire village is being infected by them.

The mission people at Tanana now have a small hospital for the natives in which they can place six beds. Dr. Loomis, the missionary doctor, has done conscientious and able work among the natives, and especially good work among the school children, many of whom were suffering from running sores, eye diseases, etc. at the beginning of term. They are now in very fair condition. The medical attention given to the adult natives has been largely counteracted by

⁴⁰ Sewing cards, which are still in use, had a pre-printed design or text, often religious, and were marked with a stitching pattern created by perforations. They allowed young children to practice hand-sewing, with the result used as a bookmark or wall decoration.

their unclean habits and superstitions. In spite of many years of missionary work they are still under the spell of their medicine men. Dr. Loomis is sometimes discouraged in his work as he feels unable to secure results commensurate with his labors. It is his present intention to return to the States next summer.

The selling of liquor to the Indians is still a source of great evil. Many of them are very debauched and their diseases are aggravated by their evil habits. Many steps have been taken to suppress the illegal sale of liquor to the natives, and although we have sent a number of whiskey peddlers to Fairbanks to be tried before the grand jury, all have been acquitted. The only apparent good resulting from these trials is that the saloon keepers at Tanana are much more careful with regard to whom they sell liquor.

On the whole, Tanana is, perhaps, a little better than it used to be, both with regard to the school and to the natives generally. I regret to say, however, that the improvement is not very marked.

Boulter to W. T. Lopp

Tanana, March 6, 1911

The preliminary hearing of the Peter Johnson case has been tried before the grand jury at Fairbanks and I am pleased to say that he has been found guilty. The deputy marshal at Tanana has just returned from Mouse Point where he arrested Johnson who is now in jail in Tanana waiting to be taken to Fairbanks for his final trial. It really looks as if we shall be able to secure a conviction. The affair has created a deal of talk and cannot fail to have a salutary effect all along the river. The Rev. Julius Jetté is still in Fairbanks where he will, I assume, remain until the case is brought to a conclusion.

My travel plan has again been altered. Instead of the Franklin Moses case being tried at Iditarod as Mr. Crossley informed me, it has been set for the court at Fairbanks and I have been subpoenaed to appear there on March 29th. I expect to leave here en route for Fairbanks about March 18th and to travel via Nenana.

I shall probably hire some dogs (at the court's expense) and travel to Fairbanks by dog team. This will, I think, be better than taking the stage from Tanana to Fairbanks.⁴¹ By having the dogs at Fairbanks I would be able to proceed with them on my journey to Circle and Fort Yukon as soon as the Moses case is over. However, until I hear from you about my request for an increase in my travelling allowance, I am not able to plan my travel with any degree of certainty.

In a few days I am going out to the reindeer camp as Bango wishes me to be there when the government and Moses's deer are newly ear-marked sometime

41 On the Upper Yukon, winter stage coaches consisted of horse-drawn open wagons mounted on sled runners.

this month, and the only time I can go to the camp is before I leave here for Fairbanks. I expect to leave for the camp on March 11th and shall probably take a Tanana Indian boy with me. This boy (Johnny Lige) appears greatly interested in the deer and desires the opportunity to become acquainted with reindeer matters. He is, I think, a good boy and it might be well to further his interest. The ear-marking will take several days because Bango does not think it is possible to easily corral the deer. They have already been corraled once this winter and, he informs me, they have long memories.

Boulter to Elmer E. Brown

Tanana, March 7, 1911

REPORT UPON THE U.S. SCHOOL AT RAMPART

I left Tanana for Rampart on February 20th. Under ordinary conditions I should have reached Rampart in two days, but due to bad trails and a blizzard on the 21st and 22nd I did not reach my destination until February 24th. Fortunately, during the two days of storms, my guide and I found shelter in an abandoned mail cabin.⁴²

The population of Rampart has decreased rapidly during the last few years. Ten years ago there were a thousand to twelve hundred white people and quite a large number of natives. Now there are only about twenty-five white people left and very few natives. Rampart has always been noted for its dissipation and the Indians there were demoralized by the whites. In the early days there were fourteen saloons in the town, while today there is one. Because of the few remaining white people and there being but one liquor license, Rampart is now a fairly sober town and the natives seldom have an opportunity to get hold of any liquor.

During the past year the teacher at Rampart, Mr. McCarty, was absent from the school precincts for about fifty days, of which he made no mention on his report cards. For making such untruthful statements I requested him, in accordance with instructions from the Commissioner, to resign his position on March 15, 1911. McCarty has put his resignation in writing which has been forwarded to the commissioner, and the school will therefore be closed on March 15th. He had no excuse to offer for having falsified his report cards and, although mortified at being asked to resign, he made no complaint with regard to the justice of the enforced resignation.

Because there are so few white people at Rampart, all the members of the community are drawn closely together and mingle freely in all social events. McCarty, being of a sociable disposition, was fairly popular among the residents

⁴² Mail cabins were built roughly twenty-five to thirty miles apart along the winter trail and contained a cache of emergency supplies.

and was fairly well spoken of by the majority of them. These people, however, see only the social side of a teacher and know little or nothing of his schoolroom work. When Miss Marcy, the former teacher, was at Rampart many of the white people accepted her invitation to visit the school and note the children's progress. During McCarty's term of service few, if any, white people have been invited to visit the school or have indeed taken much interest in the school.

McCarty's actual schoolroom work was fairly well done but in a perfunctory manner and with little interest in the results. When I visited, there were ten children attending school but three of these were too young to be seriously counted as scholars. The seven children of school age are all of mixed blood and are very intelligent and take a great interest in their studies. They show progress in some of their work although they often fail to understand what they read. McCarty has paid little attention to explaining the meaning of the more difficult words in the advanced Readers.

There has been no attempt at manual training. Last autumn when I visited the school I instructed McCarty to fix up a bench in the schoolroom so that the boys could be taught elementary carpentry. Now, five months later, the bench is only just completed and no instruction has been given. The children will use the school grounds for gardening during the coming summer. They were trained by the former teacher in the care of a garden and I have made arrangements for them to procure seeds from the agricultural experiment station at Rampart.

Outside schoolroom work, McCarty has had little to do with the natives. He claimed that he was in the habit of visiting them, but on making enquiries I found that he seldom went near them. The natives, however, did not particularly resent his avoidance of them. As I have pointed out before, the personality of a teacher has much to do with his or her success, as the Indians instinctively know whether or not a teacher takes any real interest in them. I think we would do well to gradually eliminate all single men teachers from the Service and to substitute either women teachers or married people.

The native village is now quite deserted. All the cabins are empty and have been unoccupied all winter. The Indians have moved into town and are living in cabins which were abandoned by white people. There has been an average of twenty adult natives at Rampart during the past year. This small number has been due partly to the Indians finding it difficult to make a living at Rampart, and partly to the urging of certain missionaries who have advised them to move to either Nenana or Tanana where there are established missions.

The fishing is good at Rampart but big game and fur-bearing animals are scarce. It is pleasing to report that two of the Rampart native boys (Timothy and Charley Pitka) have, by their industry and temperance, succeeded in making a good living. Last summer Timothy secured a government contract for dried salmon which was fairly profitable to him. He also cut wood and hay which he sold to advantage. He bought a gasoline launch with the money and has put

it to commercial use by carrying freight and occasionally passengers. Charley Pitka was employed as a clerk in one of the stores at Rampart for some time and is now carrying the mail by dog team between Rampart and Hot Springs. The good example set by these boys will have a positive effect on the other natives, and already several are trying to emulate them.

There has not been much sickness among the Rampart natives during the past year. Were their cabins better ventilated and less crowded, their health would improve. They often crowd into one cabin because one stove can be made common to all, and the wood consumed is less in proportion to the number of people. I conducted the funeral service over a small child whose life might possibly have been saved had we had a woman teacher to show the mother how to take care of her child. The ignorance of these people with regard to the treatment of disease is very great, and at critical times they are quite helpless.

We may reasonably hope for a fair attendance at school next term as there are several children who are now too young to attend but who will soon be of school age. There are also one or two young married women who would probably attend if a teacher were appointed who would take an interest in them.

The weather along the Yukon this winter has been rather severe. There is an average of fifty inches of snow at Rampart and the gales along the river have been terrific. There are few trails and travelling has been difficult. The average temperature has not been colder than usual but we have had many spells of from fifty to sixty-five below zero.

Boulter to W. T. Lopp

Tanana, March 20, 1911

I have just returned from the reindeer camp where I went for the ear-marking of the government and Moses's deer. Although I was out there for three days, the ear-marking was not completed by the time I returned to Tanana. The weather has been bitterly cold—the temperature one night being 58 below—and the wind so bad on the hills that the deer could not be seen more than a short distance away because of the blinding snow. Those deer not marked during my visit, however, will be marked before the end of the present month.

Six or seven of the missing deer have voluntarily returned to the herd. Bango feels confident that many more will be found, and in a few days he and one of the herders will make a systematic search. He thinks they must be somewhere near the head of the Tozi River.

Everything is running smoothly at the reindeer camp now that Mrs. Bango has moved to the mission at Tanana. I truly think that because of her isolated life at the camp, her mind was becoming unhinged. I am glad to say that she now appears to be all right.

Before the snow leaves the ground, Bango and the herders will bring all their heavy and bulky goods to Tanana which they would like to have shipped down river this summer. I interviewed the commanding officer at Fort Gibbon with regard to the women and children being taken to St. Michael on one of the government boats. He is quite willing that this should be done. It will, however, require a special order from the War Department as Major Farnsworth has received strict orders not to allow anyone to travel on these boats without a direct order from the War Department. Will you therefore kindly obtain permission for these people, with their baggage, to travel on one of the government boats to St. Michael during the early summer.

John's wife has decided to accompany her husband over the winter trail, and Peter's wife and children have also decided to join them on the journey. Mrs. Bango and Charlie's wife and children would like to travel by steamboat. An order, therefore, will be necessary for the conveyance of two women, seven children and about 1,200 pounds of baggage.

Boulter to W. T. Lopp

Tanana, March 21, 1911

In compliance with your letter dated January 27th I have examined the Tentative Course of Study and Teachers' Manual which is now in use in the schools in the Southeastern District of Alaska.

It is a well-compiled manual and is doubtless suitable for that part of Alaska for which it was written but, taken as a whole, it is too advanced for the natives of the Interior. Many books mentioned in the manual have not been sent to the schools in my district and it is therefore difficult to determine their value to the schools up here.

Many things connected with southeastern Alaska are unknown to the natives of the Interior and would be meaningless to them unless the subjects treated were illustrated. The minds of the Indians along the Yukon are not yet capable of retaining too many things at the same time. To attempt to teach them all that the manual contains would confuse them and they would remember only a small portion. Such words as the following, unless illustrated, are all more or less meaningless and might well be eliminated from the manual: Yakutat canoe, war canoe, kayak, bidarka, schooner, skunk-cabbage, clams, barnacles, sea-urchins, seaweed, kelp, snipe, cranes, herons, jays, etc.⁴³ As the Yukon natives are hardly liable to come into direct contact with these things, the time spent teaching them

⁴³ The Yakutat style of canoe, characterized by a prominent, elongated bow, was in common use among the Tlingit and Eyak peoples of south-central Alaska, including the area around Yakutat Bay. The bidarka, or baidarka, is a sea-going kayak used by Aleutian Eskimos, crafted with a driftwood hull covered with seal skin.

might well be better employed on matters connected with the Interior and with which they are familiar. The Indians of the Interior are still very ignorant and nothing would be gained by attempting to hasten their understanding.

Although the natives along the Yukon are fond of music, it is difficult for them to carry an air unless it is decidedly tuneful and they are well drilled in it. I therefore think that in teaching them even the simplest theory of music, much valuable time is consumed which might be more profitably spent. Singing is good for them and should be encouraged. The playing of musical instruments should also be encouraged, and in the event that a boy is able to play the violin, for example, he might lead the children in singing should the teacher not be able to.

The advice given to teachers in the manual is excellent and could not be improved. Especially good are the sections devoted to hygiene, ventilation, sanitation, bathing, foods, disease and temperance.

As the interior of Alaska is a country of high prices, the arithmetic books are somewhat advanced and complicated for use in our schools. All money up here is in quarters, half-dollars and dollars. Small coins are seldom or never seen; consequently it is difficult to make the children realize the value of cents, nickles and dimes. Much of a teacher's time is consumed by taking the children through Milne's Primary Arithmetic. For the present, they might be taught arithmetic—not from a book—but by the teacher who could adapt the subject to conditions existing in the interior.

With regard to a manual being prepared for the Reindeer Service, I can offer few suggestions as the reindeer people at Tanana are the only ones with whom I have had contact. I would say, however, that for a manual to be suitable for these people it would have to be extremely simple and treat subjects they are familiar with, such as deer, ptarmigan, moose, caribou, sheep, wolves, lynx, rabbits, chickens, moss, seals—in fact anything which they can understand. In one of the Readers there is a picture of an elevator with a man inside. To illustrate how meaningless such a thing is to the native child along the Yukon, one of them at Tanana recently asked her teacher: "What's the matter, that man he in jail?" Such instances might be multiplied. To a native child just learning to read, the words blossom, grapes, aster, street, grains of corn, etc. are nearly as unintelligible to him as was the elevator to the Tanana child.

It would be excellent if a suitable first Reader were compiled for the natives of the Interior which would deal only with subjects that their undeveloped minds are capable of grasping, and with matters connected with the interior of Alaska where they live.



The Boulters' home in Tanana, possibly on Second Avenue. Collection of Alice A. Boulter.

Boulter to W. T. Lopp

Tanana, April 1, 1911

Personal

Just a few lines to let you know that I am hoping to be married to Miss Green the early part of July. I am planning this for early in the season so that my summer's work will not be hindered. I have not yet heard from you as to the nature of this work, but should there be nothing to prevent it I hope to take my wife up to Eagle, after which we would proceed down river, stopping at all the villages en route.

Although we may wish to be married at Anvik, we may change our plans and be married at Fairbanks. In the event of our going to Anvik I would like, if possible, to spend a day or so at the Holy Cross mission to acquaint myself with their good work and organization. This would hinge upon whether or not a steamboat was available. It is probable that I should be away from Tanana only two weeks as I propose to leave Anvik by the first boat up river after we are married.

I have taken a cabin on Second Avenue in Tanana where I think we shall be comfortable.

W. T. Lopp to William Hamilton

Seattle, April 14, 1911

I quote herewith a telegram received from Supt. Boulter, for the information of the Washington office:

"Fairbanks, April 11, 1911. Am in hospital owing hotel fire in Chena. Unable visit Yukon, Circle. Shall return Tanana upon recovery."

Boulter to W. T. Lopp

St. Matthew's Hospital, Fairbanks, April 14, 1911

As both my hands are in bandages it is somewhat difficult for me to write, but I will do my best.

I left Tanana on April 1st with the intention of travelling to Fairbanks via Nenana, thence to Circle and Fort Yukon, and if time permitted, return to Tanana by way of Stevens Village and Rampart. I had an Indian with me to break trail and all went well until we were on the Tanana River between Minto and Nenana. Suddenly, without any warning, the ice gave way and the Indian went into deep water. Had I not been there, he surely would have drowned. When I went to his rescue I fully expected to have gone into the water also, but I managed to get him out without going in myself. Fortunately, we were within a mile of a woodchopper's cabin, the occupants of which kindly took us in and cared for the Indian. A bed was made up for us on the floor and we slept there all night and continued our journey to Nenana the next morning. After staying two days at Nenana we proceeded to Fairbanks via Chena.

It was at Chena that I nearly lost my life when the Globe Hotel where I was staying was burned to the ground. This was a three-storey building and I was given a room on the second floor. Soon after seven o'clock in the morning I heard people shouting and calling me to come down as the hotel was on fire. My room was filled with smoke and upon opening my bedroom door I saw that the stairway was in flames and that there was no escape that way. Now, instead of closing the door as I should have done, I left it open, thus creating a draft and drawing the flames into my room, and in an instant the room was ablaze. I rushed to the window, broke the glass and threw myself out. I was clad only in my night clothes and my feet were bare. I struck the ground heavily with my right foot, which in consequence is badly sprained. My hair was nearly all burnt off and both my hands were burned and cut by broken glass. I was also cut in other places. It will be some time before my foot is healed but I am pleased to say that none of my injuries will be permanent.

The Chena people were very good to me, binding up my wounds and lending me some clothes. I was then taken by dog team to Fairbanks where I am being

*well looked after by the mission people. There were others burned besides myself. Mrs. Burger, wife of the proprietor of the ill-fated hotel, was badly burned and is in the room next to mine at the hospital.*⁴⁴

I am glad to say that all the dogs were saved. They were in a small stable just behind the hotel. They were badly frightened, however, and when unchained would not leave the stable but had to be carried out. My sled and harness were also saved. Everything else was burned including all my clothes and about \$160 in paper money and one twenty-dollar gold piece. My satchel which you gave me and which contained a number of official papers, etc. was also lost. My telegraphic code book and a book of transportation requests were burned, and I would request you to kindly send me replacements for these.

Will you please secure authority from the War Department for me to travel, when necessary, on the government boats. Hitherto, I have always received permission directly from the commanding officer at Fort Gibbon. In the event of my having to stay here because of my injuries until the boats are running, it would be very convenient could I, with the six dogs, travel to Tanana on a government boat.

I shall make every endeavor, however, to reach Tanana over the winter trail. I shall also try to get hold of someone who is travelling that way so that I can rest easily in the sled and thus not have to use my hands and right foot. I have had many callers and messages from the Fairbanks people, including one from Mr. Crossley, the district attorney.

Will you be coming into the interior this summer? I hope you will as I would like to see you and to discuss many things with you.

Boulter to W. T. Lopp

Fairbanks, April 19, 1911

Although I am still in the hospital I am pleased to say that I am getting better. My left hand is still painful as there are several patches of raw flesh which have not yet healed over. My sprained foot is giving me considerable trouble and it will be some time before it is well. I have made arrangements, however, to be taken back to Tanana and shall have to go quickly as the snow is melting rapidly and there will soon be no trail.

I much regret that my visit to Circle and other points had to be postponed but I hope to get to them during the early summer. In a conversation with

⁴⁴ The *Daily Alaska Dispatch* reported on this fire, which occurred on the morning of Monday, April 10, 1911. It, too, noted that Mrs. Burger, the wife of proprietor E. J. Burger, had suffered serious burns, although it was not thought that they would prove fatal ("Disastrous Fire Occurs at Chena," *Daily Alaska Dispatch* [Juneau], April 11, 1911). In mid-May, both the *Alaska Citizen* and the *Fairbanks Daily Times* reported that she had been released from hospital.

Judge Overfield yesterday I learned that things are not running smoothly at Circle. Mr. Pompal, a saloonkeeper, and Dr. Dodson, the commissioner, have been writing and telegraphing Judge Overfield to know what action shall be taken against our teacher Gish for striking Pompal's daughter in the mouth, causing it to bleed and swell.⁴⁵ I have wired Pompal, Dodson and Gish asking them to write to me at Tanana giving me full particulars. In the meantime, Gish is to be tried at Circle for assault and battery. Today Gish sent the district attorney the following telegram: "Dissolute language in school, slapped girl with hand, accused assault and battery. Court consider appeal when, please advise."

In addition to my telegram, I have written to Gish and told him that I shall not criticize his action until I hear from him. He is in the midst of a bad bunch of white men who would willingly magnify the charges against him. I do not understand, however, why he should have struck the Pompal girl. I know the little girl very well and she is too young and innocent to be guilty of dissolute language. We shall be better able to understand the affair after I receive answers to my wires. Judge Overfield is not going to take any direct action in the matter as he thought it best to turn it over to me.

In a telegram I had previously received from Gish, it appears that it is his intention to resign at the end of the term, but he would like to be appointed for the month of June to attend to the school garden. I shall not recommend this until I receive replies to my telegrams.

Please try to secure married people for the school at Circle for the next term. I will keep you informed with regard to the charges against Gish and will write to you from Tanana.

Boulter to W. T. Lopp

Tanana, April 27, 1911

I left the hospital at Fairbanks on April 20th. As I was unable to travel alone, I was brought to Tanana by a Mr. J. D. Cowie using my dog team. We reached Tanana on the 24th. It was a tiring journey and I am feeling far from well. I would not have left the hospital so soon but I was anxious to make the journey to Tanana before the snow left the ground. I can use my right hand sufficiently well to typewrite this letter but my left hand is not yet healed. My sprained foot

⁴⁵ It is possible that Mr. Pompal was Joseph M. Pompal, a local gold prospector. In July 1910, Pompal and his wife, Louise Pompal, along with two others, staked a 100-acre claim along Woodchopper Creek, in the Circle mining district. Pompal was also involved in a second claim along the creek at roughly the same time. See Douglas Beckstead, *The World Turned Upside Down: A History of Mining on Coal Creek and Woodchopper Creek, Yukon-Charley Rivers National Preserve, Alaska*, chap. 2, <http://www.npshistory.com/publications/yuch/beckstead/chap2.htm>.

is giving me a deal of trouble and it will be some weeks before I again have full use of it.

In my letter to Mr. Quarles I have mentioned that my hospital bill amounted to \$54 and that the doctor's bill will probably amount to about \$50. If there is any way by which I could charge these bills to my travelling expenses I would like to do so. If this is not possible, I will pay them myself later on. I have sent Mr. Quarles a voucher to cover the services of Mr. Cowie and have charged this to my travel expense.

When at Fairbanks I had a long conversation with Mr. Crossley, the district attorney, who gave me a full account of Father Jetté's actions which led to his being suspended [from his teaching position]. Mr. Crossley also supplied me with copies of all the letters written in connection with the matter.

I also ascertained that the Franklin Moses case is set for about July 13th. It is not known whether it will be heard at Fairbanks or at Iditarod. The day before I left Fairbanks my final and full citizenship papers were given to me. This is probably the last mail of the winter season and it will be many weeks before the summer mail service can begin.

Boulter to W. T. Lopp

Tanana, April 27, 1911

Personal

Just a few lines to let you know that after further consideration I have come to the conclusion that is is hardly fair on my part to ask my future wife to teach school. We have therefore given up the school plan that I outlined to you in my last personal letter. For our mutual benefit, [Alice] Agnes would willingly have taught school but is now greatly relieved at the thought of not having to do so, which surely would have interfered with her home duties.

The cabin problem at Tanana is still a perplexing one as there are few cabins, if any, that are unoccupied. We still hope to be married sometime in July, and as we have not been able to improve on our Anvik plan this probably will be carried out.

In my letter from Fairbanks asking you to obtain permission from the War Department for my travelling on the government boats when necessary, I omitted to ask you if this order could not also be made to apply to my wife when accompanied by myself. There are certain other people up here who have this privilege and I would like, if possible, to have it extended to myself.



George Boulter, recently out of the hospital, at Vachon's Road House, in Tolovana. Earlier that month, George had been injured when the hotel in which he was staying at Chena burned to the ground. He was taken by dog sled to St. Matthew's Hospital, in Fairbanks, where he spent over a week before returning to Tanana. This roadhouse must have been John and Louise Vachon's new premises, as their previous one was likewise destroyed by a fire, in November 1910, a tragedy in which their three youngest children perished. Collection of Alice A. Boulter.

Boulter to William Hamilton

Tanana, May 16, 1911

In reference to your letter and five enclosures of March 24, 1911, I would say that I much regret that the Rev. Julius Jetté thought fit to write such an undiplomatic letter to Mr. Crossley, for which he has been justly suspended. Mr. Crossley has, perhaps more than any other official of the Department of Justice, tried in every way to suppress the sale of liquor to the natives. Rev. Jetté's letter therefore was not only undiplomatic but unjust.

When I was at Kokrines last Christmas, Rev. Jetté made official complaints to me in regard to Peter Johnson, a white trader at Mouse Point (six miles above Kokrines) who has long been notorious for selling liquor to the natives. I took

the matter up with the deputy marshal at Tanana and he in turn wrote to the district attorney at Fairbanks for instructions. Subpoenas were then served on Rev. Jetté, the Northern Commerical Company's agent at Kokrines and two other men. The grand jury at Fairbanks found Peter Johnson guilty and he was accordingly indicted and put in jail.

As the final trial was set for a date considerably ahead, Rev. Jetté and the Northern Commerical Co.'s agent returned to Kokrines. It was then that both these men acted somewhat strangely, for when the deputy marshal proceeded to Kokrines to again subpoena them, they could not be found. The Northern Commercial Co.'s agent was eventually found camped in the woods, apparently with the express purpose of avoiding being served with the subpoena. Rev. Jetté, too, was out in the hills and no information could be gathered concerning his whereabouts.

By this time the date for the final trial had arrived and the two important witnesses were not forthcoming. It was then apparent, even if they had been found, that they would have been unwilling witnesses. The district attorney therefore, realizing the uselessness of proceeding with the trial under such conditions, asked the court to have the case dismissed, which was accordingly done. Thus this case, over which so much time, trouble and expense has been taken, has come to an unsatisfactory conclusion and the notorious Peter Johnson is now at large.

I am at a loss to understand Rev. Jetté's actions as he has always been so zealous in trying to suppress the sale of liquor to the natives. After his having made complaints to me about Peter Johnson, one would have thought that he would show every inclination to help in the prosecution of the man. Again, too, Rev. Jetté is known up in this country to be a learned and cultured gentleman, and hitherto all his letters have indicated this. Therefore, I am puzzled to know how he came to write so discourteous a letter to Mr. Crossley.

Notwithstanding what has occurred, I shall be sorry if we lose the Rev. Jetté from the school service as he has been a good friend to the natives at Kokrines for many years. I am hoping that he will show cause as to why he should not be dismissed from the service, and that in consequence the Bureau may think fit to reappoint him to the school position at Kokrines.

Especially given his admiration for the efforts of James Crossley to combat the liquor trade, George's puzzlement over Father Jetté's behaviour is not entirely surprising. Although we were unable to locate Jetté's original letter in the records of the Alaska School Service, portions of it were quoted by Secretary of the Interior Walter L. Fisher in a letter of March 22, 1911, to Elmer Brown. From this letter, it is apparent that Father Jetté—who was indeed a zealous opponent of the liquor trade—had lost all faith in the integrity of the Department of Justice. As Fisher told Brown, Jetté

“charges the Department of Justice with ‘phenomenal inefficiency’ in matters connected with the liquor traffic in and about Kokrines” and “strongly intimates that officials of that Department ‘are themselves interested in the trade,’ and that the efforts of these officials to suppress the illicit features of this traffic are pretentious and hypocritical.” Fisher also quoted Jetté as writing:

I can make better use of my time than to assist them [the Department of Justice] in making an empty show, which will only result in protecting the law-breakers, by making other people believe that transgressors are looked after. In fact, I have almost made up my mind to bring this matter before the public in a New York weekly, and have already taken the first steps towards the publication of a few articles which I am now preparing. As I am in possession of a fair collection of facts which I think may interest the general reader, I intend to try this means of opening the eyes of some people to a few of the shortcomings of our administration. The effort may prove a failure, but at all events it cannot be a worse failure than the one I am sure to meet with by co-operating with your department.

In a letter to Fisher written a week later, on March 29, the US attorney general, George W. Wickersham (not to be confused with James Wickersham), indicated that he had read George’s report of December 31, 1910, on the situation at Kokrines, as well as his letter to Lopp of February 10, 1911. In all likelihood, Wickersham wrote, Father Jetté “has no confidence in anything accomplished, and he probably ascribes the failure of efforts in the past to the lack of serious effort by the officials of the Department of Justice to grapple with the evil.” He then added, “I fear there is probably some foundation to this.” In an apology to Elmer Brown written on April 1, Jetté explained that he had phrased his letter to Crossley “in such language as I thought could stir those people out of their somnolence, and it had the desired effect.” He went on to say that his letter “could have been more polite, but I could not have made it more exact.” Jetté’s suspension from his duties was temporary: he continued teaching at Kokrines until 1913.

Boulter to Elmer E. Brown

Tanana, May 8, 1911

REPORT UPON THE U.S. PUBLIC SCHOOL AT CIRCLE, ALASKA,
FOR THE YEAR 1910-1911

When I arrived at Circle last September, the teacher, Mr. Gish, had not arrived. He came, however, by the next steamer and I was able to meet him and to instruct him in his new duties. He seemed to be in every way suitable for the position as he is quiet and did not appear as if he would willingly antagonize people.

Certain events have occurred, however, which have renewed the hostile feelings of the white people toward the school. As I have not yet heard from Gish about the incidents which led to the bad feelings, I am not able to fully report

on them. It appears, however, that at one time during the winter Gish took sides with a native whose two dogs were shot by a white man, Nels Rasmussen, who has been a ringleader among the undesirable whites for a long time. Another incident occurred about the middle of March when Mr. Gish chastised one of the girls in the school, to which the girl's father took exception. This has caused some bad feeling on the part of the white people, and they took the matter up with Judge Overfield and the district attorney at Fairbanks.

I discussed the matter with these officials at Fairbanks. They thought that the Bureau should deal with it and so turned the case over to me. I am now waiting to hear from several people at Circle regarding the affair and, until I do, it would hardly be just to adversely criticize Mr. Gish's actions.

From experience I know what the white people at Circle are like. They were very contented when they were completely cut off from the outside world, for then they could carry on their lawlessness with little fear of being checked. The wireless station, which ordinarily would have been welcomed by respectable people, was not looked upon favorably by the whites at Circle inasmuch as it brought some of them unpleasantly close to Fairbanks and other places where justice was liable to be upheld. The school, for the same reason, has always been a source of annoyance to them because they know that the teacher, who resides permanently in town, is familiar with their evil ways and is liable at any time to report them to the proper officials. They have, therefore, been only too willing to annoy the teachers. Possibly in this case of the scholar's chastisement they have magnified the incident out of all proportion and it is now the cause of the bad feeling in town. The position of teacher at Circle is undoubtedly a hard one to fill and Mr. Gish has signified his intention to resign at the end of the term.

The attendance at school, although not quite so good as last year, has been fairly well maintained. The native population at Circle is not large and shows a tendency to decrease. Many families have moved down to Fort Yukon where doubtless they will reside permanently. Mr. Gish has tried to do good work in the school but has found it somewhat difficult to maintain good discipline owing to the unruly nature of the children. They are fond of music and Gish has taught them singing, which they enter into very heartily. He has held night classes for the young men and has given them instruction in anatomy, physiology and hygiene. These classes have been appreciated by the boys and they have learned many useful things. Such instruction cannot fail to benefit them if only they will apply the knowledge thus gained. They have also received instruction in carpentry which surely will be of value when they are able to put it to practical use.

Apart from fishing and hunting, which are good in the neighborhood of Circle, there are not as many ways the natives can make a living here as there are elsewhere. There are few fur-bearing animals in the surrounding country as they have mostly been trapped out. The freighting to the mines is done by white

men owning horse teams, so there are few opportunities for the Indians to earn money by freighting with their dogs. They can invariably cut steamboat wood, however, for which they are paid a fair price.

The moral condition of the Indians is not of a very high standard. The example set by the white people has always had a tendency to degrade them, and it is a safe assertion that the natives seldom come into contact with a good white man or woman. I am pleased to say that there has not been the same amount of drinking among the natives as there was a year or so ago. This is not due to the changed habits of either the Indians or the white people but because of the better enforcement of the law.

We had a large piece of ground surrounding the schoolhouse ploughed last autumn and now hope to start gardening very shortly. But because the teacher will be leaving Circle at the end of the term, the garden will not receive the attention it should have. Unless the teacher is present to supervise the garden work, the natives are at a loss as to what to do and the garden is neglected.

I hope the next teacher will be a married man who will have his wife with him. Hitherto, the single teachers we have had at Circle have managed always to be at variance with the white people, and it is probable that a married couple might be able to work more in harmony with them.

Had it not been for the hotel fire at Chena which temporarily disabled me, I should have visited this school toward the end of winter. I much regret not having been able to, especially in view of the problems which have occurred and which I would have liked to investigate personally.

Boulter to W. T. Lopp

Tanana, May 18, 1911

I wrote to you on April 19th from Fairbanks concerning a conversation I had with Judge Overfield regarding the chastisement at Circle. I said that I had wired Commissioner Dodson, Mr. Pompal and Mr. Gish asking them to write me their version of the affair. I have just received letters from them all and herewith enclose copies of their replies.⁴⁶

Without knowing more of the affair than what I can glean from the letters, I would say that the action against Gish was prompted more by personal enmity than by resentment at the punishment he inflicted on the child. As I pointed out in my letter, the girl is but seven and a half years of age and too young to be

46 Only one of these letters is reproduced here, that from Commissioner Dobson. Pompal reported to Dodson that Gish had given his daughter a "back-handed blow in the mouth, cutting her lip" and also told Crossley that his daughter had been "brutally struck." In his letter to George, Pompal again complained of the "brutal treatment" his daughter had received, whereas Gish wrote that he had "slapped the girl for using dissolute language" but had not punished her "unlawfully."

guilty of using language knowing it to be dissolute, and Gish may have struck her harder than he intended.

There is no doubt that the “ring,” as Gish calls it, would be only too willing to do anything to annoy the teacher, and it is therefore quite likely that the assault he is charged with was not nearly as bad as they have represented. If Mr. Gish has unduly chastised the child then he should be held responsible for the consequences. If, on the other hand, the punishment was not severe and was deserved, should we not assist him in his appeal to the district court?

It is difficult to say what success Gish will have in his appeal. If he goes to court on his own unsupported evidence against that of the “ring” he will probably not have much success. No doubt he feels embarrassed at the thought of having been found guilty of assault and battery on a child. If there should be some way we could protect him by helping his appeal, it would probably be the means of restraining other people from bringing paltry actions against our teachers in future.

Mr. Dodson, the commissioner at Circle, has always shown an inclination in favor of the tough element there rather than our teachers. Conditions at Circle would doubtless be better if we had a new commissioner—one who would be quite impartial in his judgements.

Will you kindly let me know if there is anything I can do regarding this matter? Gish does not say when the appeal will be heard but I think it will be sometime in June.

[enclosure: letter from R. M. Dodson, Commissioner, Department of Justice]

Circle, April 19, 1911

I am in receipt of a telegram from District Attorney Mr. James Crossley in Fairbanks which reads as follows: “Your letter of March 10th re punishment Pompal child by government teacher received. Teacher stands in same relation to child in school as parent does in home and can inflict corporal punishment when necessary.”

After I received this telegram I told Mr. Pompal that while the district attorney’s answer was not definite, I inferred that he did not approve of an arrest. Mr. Pompal then informed me that he would consult higher authority. In due time he again brought up the matter and showed me a letter which he had just received from Judge Overfield. After reading this letter from the district court judge, I saw it clearly my duty to act and accordingly filed the complaint and issued the warrant for Mr. Gish’s arrest.

The trial came off on the 18th instant. As Judge Overfield ruled, it was a question of fact. This was established beyond doubt; Mr. Gish made no denial of it. His general plea of defence was that by virtue of his position he did not

exceed his authority in inflicting punishment. Judgement was rendered, the court imposing a fine of \$25 and the costs of the action additional.

Deaconess Bertha Sabine to Boulter

Circle, May 31, 1911

In reply to your letter, I would say it was all, in my opinion, “Much ado about nothing” and gotten up to spite Mr. Gish because he tried to stand up for justice here. Selina Pompal used filthy language in the schoolroom, at which all the children laughed—they had been reprovved for this before—and Mr. Gish gave her a slap on her mouth with his hand, a punishment to my thinking very slight and justifiable. It was just used as a handle because they couldn’t find anything else.⁴⁷

Boulter to Elmer E. Brown

Tanana, May 1, 1911

REPORT ON THE U.S. PUBLIC SCHOOL AT STEVENS VILLAGE, ALASKA, FOR THE YEAR 1910–1911

I visited the school at Stevens Village last September at which time there were only five children present. Nearly all the adults were away and had taken their children with them.

The attendance at school this year has not been as good as formerly. In January, when attendance should be at its best, the average daily attendance was only nine, whereas last term it was twenty-two. Most other months show a corresponding decrease in the number of scholars. I regret that this should be the case. There are still about the same number of natives in the vicinity but it would appear that the children are no longer attracted to the school.

No doubt the personality of a teacher has a deal to do with attendance. It does not take the natives long to know if a teacher has any real interest in them, and should they come to the conclusion that he does not, they in turn take but little interest in his work. The former teacher, Mrs. Kilborn, undoubtedly took the greatest interest in the children and in the entire native community, and consequently she was well liked, especially by the children—hence the good

⁴⁷ Deaconess Bertha Sabine first arrived in Alaska in 1894 with the Reverend and Mrs. John Chapman and served for many years at Christ Church Mission. In *Forty Years in Anvik*, Chapman wrote that she was “an indefatigable visitor in native homes” and “the only woman who has served at Anvik to make any considerable headway in learning to speak the native language” (18). In 1907–8, she went out for a year’s furlough, and Alice was engaged as her replacement. Upon her return, she must have gone first to St. Mark’s—in her journal entry for December 31, 1908, Alice refers to writing to Miss Sabine at Nenana—before joining the Episcopal mission at Circle, where she served from 1909 to 1911.

attendance at school. From reports, I have gathered that Mr. Rivenburg, the present teacher, is fairly well liked by the few white people at Stevens Village, but I am unable to say if he is liked by the natives as only a few were in the village when I visited. I much regret not being able to visit this school last month because of the accident at Chena which prevented me from continuing my journey.

The general health of the natives at Stevens Village is fairly good. This is doubtless due to their being away from the village the greater part of the year, at which times they live in tents. While they roam considerably over the hills, their tents are frequently moved and the camping places are thus kept clean. It is only when they return to the village and a hundred or more people crowd into a dozen cabins that they become sick. These cabins are kept somewhat cleaner than formerly but they are still far from sanitary. Dogs are often allowed inside, dried fish is brought in and this, combined with the smell of dog feed being cooked, is unbearable to anyone except the natives who apparently do not notice it. A gradual improvement, however, is taking place in the sanitary condition of the cabins and of the village.

Big game is not plentiful near the village and the Indians have to travel long distances to hunt—the chief reason for their being away for such extended periods. The country surrounding the village is fairly good for trapping although not so good as it used to be. The skins of fur-bearing animals command a good price but their value is offset by the high prices charged for supplies at the local stores. In the spring the Indians are able to catch plenty of muskrats quite close to the village. These skins are worth about thirty-five cents each and I have known natives to catch as many as forty of these animals in one night. Thus, for a short time in the spring the Indians are able to make a good living. Hunting, trapping and the cutting of wood for the steamboats are their chief means of support.

The moral condition of the natives at Stevens Village is not very good. The women are not very virtuous and the men often travel long distances to obtain whiskey. It is quite common for them to make a special trip to Rampart, about ninety miles, for the sole purpose of bringing back a supply of liquor. It is regrettable that they are able to do this, but we can only hope that education will teach them to better govern themselves.

A small beginning has been made in industrial work, especially in carpentry, but we have few tools and materials to work with. Sewing has been confined chiefly to sewing cards as the girls who attend school are too young to learn to do any real sewing. We hope to improve the school garden during the coming summer, but the natives are away from the village so frequently that most of the garden work will have to be done by the teacher. The Indians have not yet learned to fully appreciate the benefits to be derived from garden produce. Every spring, however, they carefully gather and eat wild rhubarb which in certain

districts is quite plentiful. Their natural instinct tells them that this and other vegetables contain medicinal properties which are good for them.

Stevens Village is somewhat difficult to reach during both summer and winter. Steamboats seldom call there because of the many sandbars close by. Passengers for the village are frequently landed on the opposite side of the river where they have to wait until someone comes along for them in a small boat. As there is very little travel along the Upper Yukon in the winter there are, as a rule, no trails and travelling is difficult. There has been no mail service to Stevens Village during the past winter and it has only been through the courtesy of chance travellers that mail has been carried.

Boulter to Elmer E. Brown

Tanana, May 1, 1911

REPORT UPON THE U.S. PUBLIC SCHOOL AT EAGLE, ALASKA,
FOR THE YEAR 1910-1911

The school at Eagle was visited by me during the early part of last September. It was not in session because of repairs being made to the schoolhouse by the teacher. I had a good opportunity, however, to become acquainted with the teacher and to observe the general condition of the natives.

Attendance at this school is more regular than at most schools along the Yukon as Eagle is one of the few native villages from which the men do not take their women and children when they are hunting. It is seldom that they have to travel more than ten or fifteen miles to hunt big game. Sometimes moose and caribou will stray quite close to the village. Last spring a moose was killed not more than a quarter of a mile from the schoolhouse. With the women and children remaining in the village all the time, school attendance is more uniform than in villages where big game is scarce. Mr. Evans, the teacher, appears to be energetic and interested in his work. When he first came to Eagle, the natives were inclined to resent some of his dealings with them—especially when he enforced more cleanliness in the village and had one or two dogs shot which were infecting the village with their running sores. He is now, I believe, better liked by the natives who are beginning to realize that his actions were prompted on behalf of their welfare.

Because of the number of people living in each cabin there is no privacy nor any facility for bathing. Last spring they evinced a desire to build, at their own expense, a cabin to be used as a bath and washhouse. As this would be a great aid to cleanliness and health, I gave them to understand that if they were willing to put up a good cabin I had no doubt that the Bureau would be willing to furnish the door, flooring, windows and hardware. I have lately written to the teacher asking him to try to keep the natives interested in this project and I am

hoping they will begin work on it shortly. In the event of their doing so, I shall make a requisition for the necessary material. Although the natives are cleaner than they were formerly, yet much of their ill health is due to lack of hygiene.

The general health of the natives at Eagle is, with the exception of Tanana, rather worse than elsewhere. Tuberculosis, syphilis and scrofula are very prevalent and several deaths have occurred within the last twelve months which were caused by these diseases. There are several bad cases of scrofula glands from which pus continually runs. Infection is thus carried throughout the village and it is therefore small wonder that this particular disease is so prevalent. The Indians have received medical attention from time to time and have been given bandages and instructions on how to treat their sores, but such is their ignorance of all matters pertaining to health and cleanliness that their infections often remain unwashed and the bandages are quickly removed.

There is one particular native at Eagle who is afflicted with running sores and who is, I am confident, infecting the other natives. This man should be treated like a leper and removed from the village. Unfortunately, we have no place to put such a person. When I was at Eagle there were several children with running sores on their eyes which may have been caused by coming into contact with this man. I saw the army doctor about these children and he promised to do something for them. Had we a detention hospital at some point along the Yukon, many of these people with contagious diseases could be sent there for treatment.

Owing to the greater part of the army post being abandoned, the Indians at Eagle have been deprived of many ways of earning their living. When the post was fully occupied a number of civilians were employed in connection with it as carpenters, blacksmiths, packers, etc. The army post has now been reduced to about twenty-five men and in the near future will be entirely abandoned. Then the natives will find it somewhat hard to make a living owing to the reduced market for their handiwork. Big game, however, is still plentiful in the neighborhood and the fishing is good.

We had a good garden at Eagle last year and there is every reason to believe that we shall have a still better one this summer. At Rampart I saw Mr. Gasser at the agricultural experiment station and made arrangements for the teachers along the Yukon to be well supplied with garden seeds. By diverting some of the water now going to waste at the back of the village here, we hope to have all the water we want for irrigation. We plan to build a V-shaped flume from a point about three hundred yards away to carry this water to the school garden. When I was last at Eagle, the teacher and myself staked forty acres as a school reserve, but at present the garden we now have is as much as we can manage.

The natives at Eagle are, on the whole, a more moral class of people than at other villages along the Yukon. I truly think that the Christian religion has a firmer hold on these people than on many others. A number of the Indians here

were trained in early life by the late Bishop Bompas, a Canadian whose name and memory is still revered by them.⁴⁸ The native women, for the most part, are virtuous and the men, although some of them will obtain whiskey at every opportunity, are not so debauched as those along the Lower Yukon. It is now more difficult for the natives at Eagle to obtain whiskey, owing to the decreased white population and the consequent decrease in the number of men who make the selling of liquor to the natives their chief pursuit.

As there are several aged natives at Eagle who are sick and unable to work, I have issued an authorization of \$40 to the teacher to purchase a few necessities of life for these people. The needy natives at Eagle are not being assisted to the extent that they were a year or so ago when they received food rations from the army post, but the sum I have allowed the teacher will be sufficient to assist some of the most destitute. I am pleased to say that the teacher and the missionary in charge are working together harmoniously, and consequently our work is running smoothly.

Boulter to W. T. Lopp

Tanana, May 18, 1911

I have just received a letter from Mr. Crossley in which he states that the two criminal cases against Franklin Moses have been dismissed. I shall therefore not have to appear in court at either Fairbanks or Iditarod. Mr. Crossley sent me this information so that my summer's work would not be hindered by having to hold myself in readiness to appear at the court.

In my annual report to the Commissioner I am suggesting the advisability of my being appointed a "Special Peace Officer." Some time ago I received a circular and a blank schedule from the Department of Justice pertaining to peace officers. I have wondered whether they were sent with a view to my making an application to the Secretary of the Interior for appointment to such office. I have not done so, however, as I concluded that if you thought it advisable, you yourself would make the application on my behalf.

Although, on the whole, I think it would be a good thing if I were made a peace officer, yet the question arises, would it not interfere with my present duties and would it not be the cause of my frequently having to go to Fairbanks for the purpose of testifying? I believe that I could use such an office to advantage and that the efficiency of our work would be increased by it. There have been many times when, had I been a peace officer, I could have taken steps to have certain whiskey peddlers arrested. Doubtless such cases will occur again, especially at

⁴⁸ William C. Bompas was in fact English, born in London, in 1834, although his work as an Anglican missionary took place in the Canadian northwest. He was the first bishop of three dioceses: the Athabasca (created in 1873), the Mackenzie River (1884), and the Selkirk (1891). He died in 1906 at Carcross, Yukon.

some of the lonely places along the Yukon. I will, however, leave the matter in your hands and in the meantime would like to hear from you about the advisability of this application being made.

I have nearly recovered from the effects of the fire at Chena. My hands have nearly healed and my hair is growing well. My foot is still rather painful and I am not yet able to put a boot on. In a few days, however, I expect to be able to, and then I shall be little the worse for having met with the accident.

Boulter to W. T. Lopp

Tanana, June 7, 1911

When I was in the hospital at Fairbanks I wrote to advise you that my satchel containing the telegraphic code book and transportation requests was burnt in the fire at Chena. As the hotel was burned to the ground and was smoldering for several days I quite thought that nothing would be saved.

When the ice went out, Chena was several feet under water, and when the water subsided some of the debris of the ruined hotel was washed away, thereby disclosing my satchel which was forwarded to me at Tanana. At the time of the fire it must have been buried underneath some of the heavy timbers and thus was not wholly destroyed. It is badly burned and falling to pieces, however, and most of the contents are burned, but my code book and transportation requests are still usable although damaged by fire and water.

Therefore, unless you are sending me a new code book and transportation requests, there is now no immediate occasion to do so.

W. T. Lopp to Elmer E. Brown

Seattle, June 8, 1911

I am in receipt of several letters from Mr. George E. Boulter, Superintendent, in which he has brought up a number of matters that are respectfully referred to you for consideration.

While on his way to Circle and Fort Yukon via Nenana, Supt. Boulter was injured at Chena in a hotel fire which necessitated his confinement at St. Matthew's Hospital at Fairbanks and the attendance of a physician. Mr. Boulter thereby incurred a hospital bill of \$54 and a physician's bill of about \$50 which he wishes to be informed if the same can be charged to his travelling expenses. Inasmuch as he was in a travelling status when the accident befell him, I think it possible that the Comptroller will allow the claims, at least the former if not the latter, and I respectfully request that a decision be gotten from the Comptroller of the Treasury.

I have informed Mr. Boulter that I have written to you on this matter, and I think a favorable decision would be very acceptable to him, inasmuch as he states that in the fire he lost all his clothing, \$180 in cash, and personal effects including official papers, etc.

Supt. Boulter also requests that permission be obtained from the War Department to permit him to travel on the boats of that Department which ply on the Yukon River. He says that formerly he secured this permission from the Commanding Officer at Fort Gibbon, but that this season no one will be permitted to travel on these boats unless authority is given the traveller by the Secretary of War. I respectfully recommend that the War Department be requested to grant this privilege to Superintendent Boulter, and that this privilege include his future wife, who at present is Miss Green of Nenana, Alaska.

Boulter to W. T. Lopp

Tanana, June 8, 1911

It is possible that there will be no missionary doctor at Tanana next year as Doctor Loomis is going Outside and there may be no one to take his place. Should that occur, would it not be advisable to send in a government doctor? This is a deal of sickness here, perhaps more than at any other point along the Yukon, and it would be regrettable were we to be left without a doctor.

If Bishop Rowe is in Seattle, could you not ascertain from him whether he contemplates sending in a missionary doctor? If so, there would be no occasion to send a government doctor. I would suggest that, should you think it advisable to send in a government doctor, he be given stated hours in which to visit the village. He could well spend his forenoons at the village, leaving him ample time to devote to any private practice which might come to him.

There is a good opening for a fully qualified medical man at Tanana, and if one were to establish himself here, the army doctor would not be able to practice in town as he is now doing. A medical man with excellent credentials would have no difficulty making at least \$1,500 a year from his private practice here. I am quite sure that the army doctor is making that or more from his practice among the townspeople. This should be an inducement for a first-class man to come up here to work under the Bureau of Education.

W. T. Lopp to Boulter

Seattle, June 8, 1911

Referring to your letter of April 27th addressed to Mr. Quarles, I beg to state that the claim of \$10 in your travelling expense voucher No. 30, has been disallowed as this Bureau cannot pay for notary public commissions.

As to your expenses at the hospital resulting from your injuries received at the Chena fire, as well as the attending physician's fees, I beg to inform you that as these are so unusual it will be necessary to get a decision from the Comptroller of the Treasury on the matter. I have forwarded the claim to Washington. The Bureau cannot pay for medical attention to its employees, but as you were in a travelling status it may be possible to pay at least your hospital bill.

I have today wired you to make a formal report to the Commissioner of Education of the loss of your code book [and book of transportation requests] and request that another be sent you; also that you be given the privilege of travelling on the boats of the War Department, this privilege to include your wife as well.

William Hamilton to W. T. Lopp

Washington, DC, June 15, 1911

In accordance with the Commissioner's instructions, I submitted, first to Mr. Evans and then to Mr. Acker, your letter of June eighth inquiring whether or not Mr. Boulter's bill for treatment in the St. Matthew's Hospital, Fairbanks, and the bill of the attending physician could be paid from Mr. Boulter's allowance for travelling expenses. Both Mr. Evans and Mr. Acker stated that this could not be done.

There is a law which provides that if a workman is disabled while employed on government work, his salary can continue for a certain period. This law, however, applies only to workmen, mechanics and artisans, and even under this law there is no provision for the payment of the hospital expenses or doctor's bills.

The only way in which compensation could be made to Mr. Boulter covering the expenses in question, would be by securing the passage of a special Act of Congress. This would be a very difficult matter as, unfortunately, many similar instances of injury and loss occur in the government service every year.

The Commissioner wishes me to express our regret that it is not possible to aid Mr. Boulter in this matter.

Boulter to Elmer E. Brown

Tanana, June 15, 1911

In reference to page 17 of my annual report, I beg to say that an action has just been brought by the Government against the agent of the Northern Commercial Co. at Tanana for recently selling some bottles of whiskey, the contents of which were consumed off the premises. As a result of this action the agent was found guilty and fined.

This is the third time within the past few months that the Government has brought an action against the Northern Commercial Co. at Tanana for violating

the liquor laws. The first time, Feb. 24th, the jury brought in a verdict of not guilty. The second time, May 22nd, the jury disagreed, and the third time, June 14th, the jury brought in the verdict of guilty.

I was called and served as a jurymen on the last trial. I was also called for the second trial but did not serve as I was challenged by the Northern Commercial Co.'s attorney. I quite expected to be challenged yesterday also, but after a deal of questioning from the same attorney as to my being unduly prejudiced in the case, I was elected and compelled to serve as a jurymen. It was many hours before the jury could agree, but toward midnight we came to a decision on the guilt of the defendant. The agent of the Northern Commercial Co. was accordingly fined \$100 and costs. His attorney, however, has appealed the case, which doubtless will be tried again in a higher court.

This case has excited considerable comment among all classes, as not only did the Northern Commercial Co. send their lawyer down from Fairbanks to contest the case, but also the assistant district attorney, Mr. Brown, came here from Fairbanks to conduct the case on behalf of the Government. I hope this case will be the fore-runner of many, for as the law now stands no bottled goods can be sold for consumption off the premises. This law, I am pleased to say, is now being enforced in Tanana and in consequence there is a marked diminution in the sale of liquor to the natives. It is undoubtedly the best step yet taken toward this desired end.

Of Mr. Crossley, the district attorney, I cannot speak too highly. He is a fearless and conscientious man, and assuredly has the welfare of the natives at heart. Mr. J. H. Robinson, the deputy marshal at Tanana, has done excellent work in enforcing the observance of the liquor laws and to a large extent has suppressed the sale of liquor to the natives.

Boulter to Elmer E. Brown

Tanana, June 27, 1911

I wish to inform you that smallpox has broken out at Dawson and that strenuous efforts are being made to prevent the infection spreading to Alaska. From reports it would appear that there are about forty cases of smallpox there.

Steamboat passengers are not being allowed to land at Dawson but are carried beyond the town before disembarking. The residents are quarantined and are not allowed to proceed either up or down river. At Eagle, which is an incorporated town, no persons from the upper river are allowed to land.

In the event of the disease spreading into Alaska, in which case it doubtless would deal havoc among the natives, I suggest that as a precautionary measure several hundred vaccine virus capsules be forwarded to me at Tanana. Thus, should an epidemic break out among the natives, we would be prepared to cope with it.

I am pleased to say that I have not yet heard of a single case of smallpox having broken out in Alaska.

On July 12, in a brief article headlined “Smallpox Epidemic Thought to Be Nearing Its End,” the *Seattle Post-Intelligencer* somewhat prematurely announced that the situation was well under control:

Dr. Foster of the American Public Health and Marine Hospital Services visited Eagle and has arranged for the release of all passengers from Dawson for lower river points who were quarantined at Eagle, provided they have been vaccinated during the last year and more than five days ago. There are only eight cases in the hospital now, and it is expected that the epidemic will die out within a few days.

Passengers from outside are allowed to pass through Dawson for the lower Yukon without molestation, but all outgoing passengers must have been vaccinated and show certificates on leaving Whitehorse. The Yukon authorities are enforcing compulsory vaccination under a penalty of \$400.

On June 30, Elmer Brown retired from the position of commissioner of education. On that date, George submitted a lengthy final report for the year, which would have been received by Brown’s successor, Philander P. Claxton.

Boulter to Elmer E. Brown

Tanana, June 30, 1911

ANNUAL REPORT OF GEORGE E. BOULTER, DISTRICT SUPERINTENDENT OF SCHOOLS, UPPER YUKON DISTRICT OF ALASKA, FOR THE FISCAL YEAR ENDED JUNE 30, 1911

During the fiscal year ended June 30, 1911, there were eight schools in my district maintained by the Bureau of Education: Eagle, Circle, Fort Yukon, Stevens Village, Rampart, Tanana, Nenana and Kokrines. With the exception of Nenana which is on the Tanana River, all these schools are on the Yukon River and are contained within a length of seven hundred miles of the river.

The longest distance between any two schools is about one hundred and ninety miles, between Fort Yukon and Stevens Village. The next longest distance lies between Eagle and Circle which is about one hundred and seventy miles. During the summer months all the schools in my district can be reached by steamboat. Owing, however, to the decreased volume of business along the Upper Yukon there are fewer steamboats now running than formerly, and unless conditions alter, the number is liable to be still further reduced. Last summer I travelled over nine hundred miles in a small open boat as there were no steamboats available. When I leave Tanana by steamboat for Eagle I have no time to stop over at the various villages en route, however urgent the business may be,

and have to proceed by the same boat. Otherwise, I would have to wait ten or twelve days for the next steamboat. When travelling from Eagle down-river it seldom happens that a steamboat is available. Thus it is that I have had to travel long distances in an open boat. I need hardly point out the large amount of time consumed by travelling in this primitive manner. Steamboat service between Tanana, Nenana and Kokrines is fairly good. The past winter has been the worst on record for snow storms and deep snow, and it has been difficult to travel on account of the bad trails. Because there is now no mail service along the Yukon between Tanana and Fort Yukon, a distance of three hundred and fifty miles, the trails are not kept open and it is necessary to snow-shoe a trail for the greater part of that distance.

There are, moreover, but few people residing between these two places, and when travelling with my dog team at night I have often been thankful to reach a woodchopper's cabin or sometimes an abandoned mail cabin in which to sleep. Such conditions, however, are not typical of the entire country but one has to expect to meet with them.

A compulsory attendance law would do much to improve the attendance at school. At times there are some children in the villages who could attend school were they allowed to do so by their parents. Many children are kept at home for no good reason—very often to make them do some housework which the men could do were they not idling away their time elsewhere. It is difficult to determine how a compulsory law would affect certain schools where the majority of scholars are recruited from the mission boarding houses. There are indications that certain priests who have charge of these mission houses would like to have their own schools in connection with their mission work. Such an arrangement would likely complicate matters where a government school already exists. If a compulsory attendance law could be framed to read that all native children residing within a certain radius of a government school should be compelled to attend said school, then the application of it might be made to apply not only to children who reside with their parents but also to those who live in the mission boarding houses.

By making such a radius fairly reasonable, there would be no hardship inflicted on the parents as only those children actually residing within the radius would be compelled to attend school, and the men would still be at liberty to have their families accompany them on their hunting trips when they felt compelled to take them. It is often through sheer necessity that the women and children accompany the men on these trips, and it would be difficult to apply a compulsory law in such cases. Although legislation is needed, perhaps it would not be prudent to make a compulsory attendance law so strict that it would be a hardship on the parents. At certain villages, moreover, where there is no commissioner or other official, we should find it difficult to have the law complied with.

I have often thought it might be advisable if I were appointed a special peace officer under the act entitled An Act authorizing the Attorney General to appoint as special peace officers such employees of the Alaska School Service as may be named by the Secretary of the Interior.

Then, should a compulsory law be passed, I would be in a position to see that it was enforced, provided it was not an injustice to the parents. One of the penalties which could be imposed for keeping children away from school without good cause might be to require the men to do some work either on the schoolhouse or in the village. As the Indians have a decided antipathy to doing any work for which they are not paid, this form of punishment would doubtless be effective.

As several teachers in my district have resigned, it is probable that more than one-half the teachers next term will be new to the work. This is somewhat disappointing as continuity in the work ceases when teachers are constantly changed. There is no doubt that married teachers are more suitable for the school positions than unmarried people. They not only take greater interest in their work but are more contented and are apt to remain at their stations longer than single teachers who are, as a rule, dissatisfied and unsettled in their habits. I hope, in time, that we can have married teachers at all the schools.

Attendance at School

Taken as a whole, attendance has been fairly good but at certain schools it has been very unsatisfactory. In some cases where the teacher takes a decided interest in the school and in the community, attendance is large and more regular. In villages where the adult natives are more depraved than in others, it is noticeable that school attendance is smaller. When the adults are drinking and dancing half through the night, the children do not go to bed until early morning and school attendance is smaller and very irregular. During certain other months the children are obliged to accompany their parents on hunting trips although they have been urged not to take their children away from school but to leave them in the village in charge of some of the old people. Many the parents would willingly do this, but because they seldom start out to hunt until their food supply is exhausted they have no food to leave in the village for the children. Irregular attendance is also attributable to the indolent habits of the men. While they idle away their time in the village, the children are compelled to cut wood and carry water.

Much good might result were the children to be given a midday lunch at school. We should then have a larger attendance as they could, in all probability, be left in the village in charge of some of the aged natives while the others were off hunting. The men, too, might so appreciate their children being given a lunch that, instead of making them work, they would have an incentive for sending the children to school. Otherwise they might be made to forfeit the meal, which they would not willingly do. At present, many of the children are ill fed and are therefore unable to give proper attention to their studies. The proposed lunch would,

of course, be a very simple one and might consist of bread (or pilot bread), rice, beans, vegetables and tea. Such a meal would not cost a great deal. Vegetables such as potatoes, cabbages and turnips could be grown in the school gardens.

In the event of this suggestion being carried out, I would say that at present it be applied only to those schools where there are two teachers or a married couple. In the latter case, I would suggest that the teacher's wife be employed at a very nominal salary throughout the whole term. Perhaps the four worst months of winter would be sufficient—December through March. It would be an experiment worth trying should the Bureau have sufficient funds at its disposal.

Carpentry

At all the schools in my district, with the exception of two, instruction in carpentry has been given to the boys. In most of these we have fitted up a work bench and vise attachment. The boys are keenly interested and perhaps the happiest part of their school life is when they are working at the bench. The beginners have generally been given a soft piece of wood which they have planed and then carved with geometrical designs using an ordinary pocket knife. We have encouraged them to furnish their own designs and some have shown considerable skill in this. It has pleased me to note the patience and care they bestow on their work. All the boys now know the use of the square, level, planes, etc., of which previously they were quite ignorant. After progressing sufficiently well in their carving they are given construction work and taught how to make shelves, brackets and tables with drawers. When finished, these are taken to their cabins, much to the satisfaction of the parents who are becoming interested in the boys' work. Many of the native men have bought tools from the local stores similar to those they have seen the boys use, thus proving they are not only interested but willing to profit by what the boys have been taught. Most native men can build log cabins, boats, sleds, toboggans, etc., but they are unable to do any finished carpentry owing to their lack of knowledge and of tools. We may reasonably hope that this instruction in carpentry will be of great benefit to the the boys in later life, and that any cabins they may build in future will be an improvement on those in which they now live.

Sewing

At schools where there are women teachers, the girls have been taught sewing and how to make simple dresses and aprons, how to repair torn clothing and how to hem towels, etc. Such work has been very pleasing and useful to the girls and many of them are much neater in appearance. In nearly every native village there are several sewing machines and the women do plain sewing such as the making of skirts, petticoats, waists, etc. Although the sewing taught in the schoolrooms has so far been quite elementary, yet on the whole it has been satisfactory and gives promise of better and more advanced work.

Cooking

Cooking has been taught at schools where it has been practicable. At Fort Yukon where there are two lady teachers, and at Nenana where there is a mission boarding house, cooking has been regularly taught to the children. At other villages some of the best teachers have given cooking instructions to the natives in their own cabins. This is perhaps quite as good as the schoolroom lessons, being based on conditions as they actually exist in the native homes. Kitchen utensils in most native cabins are limited, as is the assortment of food. Therefore, if the teacher can show the natives how best to work with the food and utensils at their command, it should surely be of benefit. The chief thing that the teachers have tried to impress upon the natives is cleanliness. One of the cooking subjects taught in the schoolroom is the art of bread making. Some of the adult natives know how to make yeast bread but seldom do because it is too much trouble. They prefer the easier method of making biscuits and indigestible slap-jacks with baking powder. They use lard to an excessive degree, and instead of frying their meat in lard they virtually boil it in this grease. This is surely the cause of some of the stomach troubles. We have tried to explain this but, I am afraid, without much success.

Agriculture

The school gardens have been quite successful where they have been given proper care. Because of the many changes of teachers when the gardens most need attention, much of our work is undone between the time one teacher departs and the next arrives. It has not been easy getting the adult natives interested in gardening. They take great interest, however, in the proceeds of a garden but show no enthusiasm for the preliminary work of preparing the ground. At most of the school gardens each child has his or her own piece of ground and there is a friendly rivalry as to who shall have the best garden. At some places the work of preparing the ground is much harder than at others as it is quite common, even in the height of summer, for the ground to be frozen to within a foot or eighteen inches of the surface. This ground has to be thawed and afterwards ploughed or spaded.

At such places as Fort Yukon, owing to the sandy soil, we cannot grow many varieties of vegetables but we hope to be successful with potatoes and turnips. At Eagle we have had very good results and have grown potatoes, turnips, cabbages, radishes and lettuce. The adult natives at Eagle are the only ones in my district who have taken any real interest in gardening. We have induced a few of them to build a small cellar in their cabins to store their garden produce and thus have fresh vegetables during the winter. By keeping vegetables in a cellar, they will not freeze. At Kokrines and Stevens Village it has been difficult to interest the Indians in gardening as they are invariably out in the hills during the spring and autumn.

Cleaning and Ventilation of Houses

Although there is perhaps a general improvement in the cleanliness of the native cabins, some of them are no better, and there is much to be desired in nearly all of them. Most of the cabins are scrubbed occasionally, but they seldom remain clean for any length of time owing to the many people who live in the same cabin and to the quantity of dirty material kept inside. As most of the natives eat their meals on the floor, much of the grease is scattered about or trod upon and the floor is always more or less dirty. There is often only one window and many cabins are dark as well as dirty. In contrast, some cabins are a credit to their occupants, and the teachers have always praised the efforts of these natives and have endeavored to induce the other villagers to follow the same good example.

Ventilation is a matter to which the natives have as yet paid little attention. A few cabins possess ventilators but the majority do not. The only way most cabins can be ventilated is by the primitive method of opening the door. The natives themselves evidently realize that the way they live in their cabins is not conducive to good health, for as soon as spring comes a large majority move out of their cabins and live in tents which are clean and well ventilated.

Building of New and Improved Houses

There have been very few native cabins built in my district during the past year. The population has not materially increased and the old dwellings seem to suffice for their general needs. There have been a few cases when young people have married and built themselves a new cabin. For the most part, these new cabins are an improvement on the old ones as better carpentry work has been done and more windows have been added.

Personal Cleanliness

It is pleasing to report an improvement in the personal cleanliness of many of the natives in my district. Many of the children are given a weekly bath at the school-house. On bath days the children are expected to bring a change of clean underwear and they invariably do so. Many of the adult natives are profiting by the example set by the children and are making an effort to keep themselves cleaner. It is difficult, however, for many of the adult natives to take a bath owing to the crowded condition of their cabins and the consequent lack of privacy.

The mission people at Circle donated the use of a room where not only the children but also the adults are able to bathe. The natives at Eagle will probably build a large cabin at their own expense which will be used as a bath house and laundry and it would be as well to offer them every inducement to build it. There being no facilities in the schools in my district for washing clothes, this is done by the natives at their own cabins. They are able to do this fairly well but often do not take the trouble to. Because of their indolence they dislike carrying water

from the river and other places, and their clothes are often washed in about one-half the quantity of water a white woman would use.

There is a marked improvement in the way the native villages are kept. For so many years the natives have been told to clean up their villages that at last they are sometimes doing so without being urged. At certain places small prizes have been given for the best kept grounds on which the cabins are located. Where this has been done the entire village has quickly been placed in a fairly sanitary condition. Much of the unsanitary condition of their cabins is caused by the natives expectorating on the floor. They have been told constantly of the evil consequences arising from this bad habit and many have now taken the lesson to heart and use a tin cup.

The lack of toilet houses is another evil which the Indians have been urged to remedy. Only very few of them have such houses, and even those who do seldom make use of them. This lack is a cause of constipation among the natives, as in the winter time when the temperature is perhaps sixty below, they postpone as long as possible having to expose themselves to such cold air. Were they to have such facilities, they would not have the same reason for not using them. We have tried to induce them to build these houses but as yet very few have done so.

Means of Support of Natives

The Indians derive their chief means of support from hunting and fishing. The Upper Yukon district is, on the whole, fairly well stocked with moose and caribou but the natives often have to travel from fifty to eighty miles to hunt them. At certain places such as Eagle, big game can be hunted within a few miles of the village.

Salmon fishing is the chief pursuit of the men during the summer months. When dried, these fish are kept for use during the winter, partly as dog feed and also as food for themselves. There is generally a good market for their dried salmon and they invariably sell a certain quantity of their summer's catch. Fur-bearing animals are not very plentiful, but the Indians at Fort Yukon, Stevens Village and Kokrines can make a fair amount of money by trapping. The skins of fox, lynx and muskrat command a good price, which should be an inducement for the natives to go trapping more frequently. They resent the intrusion of white men who use strychnine, however, into their trapping grounds.

Apart from hunting and fishing, the natives can earn money by working as deckhands on the steamboats and by cutting wood. During the winter they make snowshoes and sleds which are saleable and in demand by the whites. The women make moccasins and do bead work which as a rule they can sell to advantage. Last year one of the Indians at Rampart secured a government contract for dried salmon which was fairly profitable for him. He also cut wood and hay which he sold at a good price. With the money he bought a gasoline boat, and by carrying freight and occasionally a passenger or two he is now able to

make a very good living. Thus the natives in my district have a variety of pursuits open to them, and were they only more provident, and would they apply themselves more steadily to work, they could make a fair living.

Moral Conditions

The moral condition of the natives along the Yukon is not of a very high order. This would, however, apply equally to many of the white people. When one considers that our natives seldom come into contact with a good white man or woman, it is not surprising that their morality is as low as it is.

The selling of whiskey to the Indians is undoubtedly the chief cause of their degraded morals. It was hoped that the act passed by Congress in February, 1909 would improve conditions. This law has now been in effect sufficiently long to convince one that it is little, if any, improvement over the old law.

Our school teachers are continually reporting to me and sending me the names of white men who are suspected of selling liquor to the Indians. These cases are duly reported to the nearest commissioner but so far we have been able to secure only a few convictions. I need not enlarge upon the evil of the liquor question—how all our school work is being retarded by it—how the natives are at times poverty stricken by it—their children ill fed and consequently absent from school. Probably the only way this illegal sale of liquor can be stopped is not by sending the offenders before the grand jury, but by having a few secret service men investigate these cases and on whose evidence the grand jury would rely.

Perhaps the best means yet for suppressing the sale of liquor to the natives is the recent interpretation placed on "bar-room" licenses by Mr. Crossley, the district attorney at Fairbanks. He interpreted this license to mean that, under a bar-room or retail license, liquor could be sold for consumption on the premises only, and that to sell bottled goods to be taken off the premises is an infringement of the law. This interpretation has been sustained by the United States Attorney General. Mr. Crossley has written to all the commissioners in this judicial district and requested them to enforce the bar-room law in conformity with the interpretation of the attorney general. Not all the commissioners have complied with this request, but in districts where the law is being enforced no bottled goods are allowed to be taken away from the saloons. Consequently, the whiskey peddlers cannot so easily obtain small quantities of liquor to sell to the natives. At such places I have noticed a marked improvement in the condition of the natives as there has been little or no drinking among them. If the interpretation of the attorney general can become a fixed law, it will then be far more difficult for the Indians to obtain whiskey than it has been in the past.

Observance of Law

The Indians are not yet sufficiently educated to realize that the laws governing this country are for their benefit as well as for the white people. They see so many

laws broken by the whites that they often see no great harm in breaking the law themselves. The law of the natives seems to be that of self preservation. They resent the game laws which prevent them from selling their excess meat after New Year and which certainly work a hardship on them, and they constantly see the trapping laws being broken by white men. Therefore, the Indians do not hesitate to break certain laws themselves, provided they can see their way clear to escape punishment. Were they treated quite fairly they would, I believe, conform readily to all the laws. I am pleased to say that during my many years of experience dealing with the natives, I have invariably found them to be honest and willing to do the right thing.

Treatment of Disease

Medical aid has been given to the natives by all the teachers, and for minor ailments the treatment thus given has produced good results. However, owing to the old superstitions of the natives, many of them still prefer their own remedies which are not only absurd and repulsive but harmful as well.

In my district there are two missionary doctors. Doctor Burke, with headquarters at Fort Yukon, attends to the natives in that region, while Dr. Loomis at Tanana is doing his best to cope with the large amount of sickness there. Both these men speak of the difficulties and discouragements connected with their work. The medicines they give the natives are often unused and their advice is unheeded. Much of the doctors' work, moreover, is undone by the natives exposing themselves to the severest weather while sick. Were they more provident when well, they would be able to remain indoors in time of sickness. It often happens, however, that sickness overtakes them at a time when they feel compelled to work, and thus their illness is aggravated and much of the doctors' work is rendered useless.

The mission people at Tanana now have a small hospital for the natives. It is a log building and contains six beds. The logs were donated by the natives and they themselves built the walls and roofing at their own expense. The finishing work was done at the expense of the mission. This hospital, though small, fills a long felt want and should be of great service to the natives.

It is safe to say that fully half the natives in my district are suffering from tuberculosis in some form or other. At certain places such as Tanana the percentage is much higher. Tuberculosis affects the Indians in many different ways. The majority of them have the disease in their lungs while some have it in their spine and knees, thus making them cripples. Others, and these are very numerous, have tubercular glands in the neck from which pus is continually discharged. The infection caused by this pus is a source of danger to the entire community. Dressings placed on these sores by the doctor are quickly removed and carelessly disposed of and, with so many people crowded together in the cabins, the chances of their being infected are very great.

There are certain cases of tuberculosis and scrofula which call for isolation, just as much as a case of leprosy would do. At Eagle there is a native man who, years ago, had tuberculosis in the spine and in consequence is now a hunchback. His neck is covered with tubercular glands and there are many running sores on various parts of his body. I am convinced that this man is the cause of many other natives being infected. Such a case is not a solitary one as, unfortunately, it could be multiplied many times over. This man and others like him should be quarantined but at present there is no place we could send him.

It is not surprising that venereal diseases should be common amongst the Yukon natives when one considers the debased class of white men who are living along the river. Even among the young children, some of whom attend school, this disease is not uncommon. Because of the unsanitary condition of most native cabins, a doctor is working at a great disadvantage when called upon to operate on natives in their own dwellings. A detention hospital situated at some central point along the Yukon where badly infected cases could be held for treatment would go far to prevent the spread of many diseases.

On July 3, 1911, George and Alice were married by the Reverend John Chapman at Christ Church Mission, in Anvik. Shortly before submitting his report to Brown, George had accordingly made a request addressed not to his immediate superiors but to the War Department:

Boulter to the Secretary of War, Washington, DC

Tanana, June 27, 1911

I am writing to ask whether you cannot see your way clear to extend to me the privilege of purchasing food and other supplies from the commissary at the army post at Fort Gibbon, Alaska.

This place is, perhaps, one of the most expensive in the world. The prices charged by the local stores are prohibitive and many things which the commissary keeps in stock are not procurable at these stores. Therefore, as I will soon have a wife with me, I would like to purchase certain things from the commissary.

Eight years ago at Egbert I had this privilege, also at Gibbon during the year 1908-09. I valued the privilege and am now asking you again to favor me with your authority to use the commissary facilities.



“Christ Church, Anvik.” Hudson Stuck photograph album, in the collection of Alice A. Boulter.

Philander P. Claxton, Commissioner of Education, to Boulter

Washington, DC, August 3, 1911

I enclose herewith for your information a copy of my letter to the Secretary of the Interior regarding your application for permission to purchase food and other supplies from the commissary at Fort Gibbon.

As stated in my letter, I cannot now recommend that your request be granted, but you may submit for my consideration specific information of such conditions at Tanana which might justify the Secretary of the Interior in requesting the War Department to make an exception in your case.

Permit me to remind you that you should not have communicated with the Secretary of War. Your request should have been sent to me for my consideration and for transmission to the War Department through regular official channels, if it met with approval.

In the reports regarding the Alaska School Service I have noticed with satisfaction the favorable accounts of your work in the Upper Yukon District and I hope to become personally acquainted with you and your work.

[enclosure: letter of Claxton to Walter L. Fisher, Secretary of the Interior]

Washington, DC, August 3, 1911

In compliance with your request for a report with reference to the application of Mr. George E. Boulter, District Superintendent of Schools in the Upper Yukon District, with headquarters at Tanana, Alaska, to the Secretary of War, June 27th, for the privilege of purchasing food and other supplies from the

commissary at Ft. Gibbon, Alaska, I beg to state that the information now in the possession of this Bureau regarding local conditions at Tanana does not warrant me in stating that the application of Mr. Boulter comes within the exceptional cases referred to in the War Department's letter of Oct. 25, 1909 "where it may be difficult or impossible for particular employees to obtain supplies in Alaska from other sources." I cannot therefore at this time recommend that Mr. Boulter's request be granted.

I notice, however, that in its letter of Oct. 25, 1909 the War Department recalled all permits to employees of other executive departments serving in Alaska to purchase stores or supplies furnished for the Army "with the exception of the permits heretofore granted to the employees of the Post Office Department stationed at Tanana and Eagle, Alaska, and to members of Alaska Boundary Survey parties."

In view of the above exceptions, it has occurred to me that there may be at Tanana such conditions which would justify me in recommending favorable consideration of Mr. Boulter's request. Accordingly, if Mr. Boulter submits information of such conditions, I may later bring this matter to your attention.

Boulter to W. T. Lopp

Eagle, July 21, 1911

On July 1st I left Tanana and proceeded to Anvik where on July 3rd I was married to Miss Green. En route to Anvik I travelled in company with Judge Overfield with whom I had a long conversation regarding the liquor laws. Mr. Gish was also on the same boat and I was pleased to introduce him to Judge Overfield so that the affairs at Circle could be discussed.

I was unable to visit Chageluk as there was no steamboat service available. The only way I could have reached there would have been in an open boat with a native to accompany me. The return journey would have taken five or six days. As I was anxious to proceed to Eagle as soon as possible I did not think it advisable to make the journey to Chageluk.⁴⁹ I reached Tanana with my wife on July 9th and on July 12th we left for Eagle on the government boat. It was my desire to visit Eagle as soon as possible because of the smallpox which has been so prevalent at Dawson. There had been a quarantine camp at Eagle for some time but it was lifted just before my arrival. All the natives have been vaccinated by the military doctor and there is no sign of any infectious disease among them.

The schoolhouse at Eagle is in good repair but I propose to have cement placed between the logs on the outside walls. When this is done the building should be perfectly warm.

49 Chageluk is an older spelling of Shageluk.

Boulter to W. T. Lopp

Signal Corps telegram, Circle, August 4, 1911

Do you desire women children reindeer camp Tanana proceed [St.] Michaels by government boat. If so early action necessary. Am leaving Ft. Yukon shortly, latter place partly quarantined. Reply here.

Boulter to W. T. Lopp

Circle, August 11, 1911

I arrived at Circle on August 2nd having travelled from Eagle in a small boat as no steamboats were available. Nearly all the natives are away at their fish camps and very few are here. I regret to say that the smallpox has broken out up the Porcupine and several cases have been reported. The natives in many places are becoming alarmed and several have fled to the hills. The smallpox had broken out on the Canadian side where a large number of natives and probably two hundred white men are employed with the boundary survey. The smallpox patients have been quarantined on an island and are being attended by a Canadian doctor and a male nurse who were sent there from Dawson.

Every precaution is being taken to prevent the smallpox from spreading into Fort Yukon. Steamboats along the Yukon are not taking any passengers from the Porcupine and it is probable that the place will be shunned by the boats for the rest of the season. All the natives at Circle and Fort Yukon have been vaccinated but there are still many at various fish camps who have not yet been treated. On my journey from Circle to Fort Yukon I shall stay one day at Half-Way Island where I will myself vaccinate about a dozen Indians. Application has been made to Governor Clark for the necessary authority to have Fort Yukon placed under quarantine so that no persons from the Porcupine can enter the town. I hope that the vaccine points I requisitioned are on their way and that I shall soon receive them. Unfortunately, the cold weather does not prevent or even check the spread of smallpox and we are liable to have a deal of sickness during the coming winter.

The schoolhouse at Circle is in good condition, and after I have had the outside walls pointed with cement it should be very comfortable. There are not many children here and we shall probably have a small attendance at school during the next term. There are, however, nearly a dozen children between the ages of four and seven who can attend school and who will be capable of receiving kindergarten instruction. I am pleased to say that Mr. Gish was well spoken of by all the better class white people at Circle—also by the natives. Mr. Dodson, the commissioner, has resigned his office and will be leaving Alaska shortly. I am inclined to think that some pressure from Fairbanks was brought to bear on his resignation and that we may now reasonably hope for better justice here.

Miss Nielsen, the teacher at Fort Yukon, is now in Fairbanks where she is spending her vacation. Should the smallpox spread and Fort Yukon be quarantined, it may be that she will have some difficulty getting transportation to Fort Yukon—but at present she hopes to return there by the end of August.

Boulter to W. T. Lopp, Nome

Signal Corps telegram, Fort Yukon via Circle, September 17, 1911

Have visited New Rampart House only one American native has smallpox sixty-five Canadian natives infected one death occurred. Am establishing quarantine near mouth Porcupine all travel will be under observation Doctor Burke. Have suggested to commissioner that I remain here until early winter at which time propose visit Eagle Circle.

Boulter to W. T. Lopp

Fort Yukon, September 18, 1911

As it may be advisable for me to remain here during the existence of the quarantine station, at the termination of which it would be too late for me to return to Tanana during navigation, I propose to visit Circle and Eagle by the first winter trail and will then return here. Should it be necessary for me to make a journey up the Porcupine I could then do so.

The Fort Yukon schoolhouse has been put into thorough repair. The corrugated iron has been removed from the roof and several inches of earth have been placed upon it, after which the roofing iron was placed into position again. The walls have been re-caulked and cemented and the building should now be perfectly warm.

Miss Nielsen has started school with but four scholars as the natives have not yet returned from their fish camps.

Before the quarantine was lifted, the *Fairbanks Sunday Times* reported on October 8 that “Dr. Grafton Burke of the Episcopal Mission declares the situation is much relieved.” The article continued:

George E. Boulter, District Superintendent of Indian schools, has established a quarantine at the mouth of the Porcupine River upon instructions received from the Secretary of the Interior. Recent communication from Dr. Burke at the Fort Yukon mission conveyed the belief that all danger was now past, and that the quarantine could be released. Deputy [Marshal] Snipes will confer with Mr. Boulter and ascertain the true state of affairs, and if further quarantine is deemed necessary he will remain there and assist in its enforcement.

Boulter to W. T. Lopp

Fort Yukon, October 25, 1911

It is now some time since we have received news from New Rampart House and it will be some weeks before we again have news from the smallpox region. Should we receive unfavorable news from New Rampart House and it is thought advisable to reopen the quarantine station near Fort Yukon, it would be difficult to know just where to place it as there are many winter trails by which the natives and others from the upper Porcupine could enter Fort Yukon. We are hoping, however, that the next news we receive will be that no such quarantine will be necessary near here. As soon as we receive news from the smallpox region I will telegraph the same to you.

As soon as the Yukon River freezes I hope to make the journey to Circle and Eagle, after which I shall return here and proceed to Tanana via Stevens Village and Rampart. Should all go well, I expect to reach Tanana soon after Christmas.

Boulter to the Supply and Disbursing Office, Bureau of Education, Seattle

Fort Yukon, October 25, 1911

I herewith enclose all the vouchers in connection with the quarantine station which was maintained near the mouth of the Porcupine River from September 12, 1911, to October 21st. Please charge these vouchers to my authorization for medical relief.

My original authorization for medical relief was \$300 but an additional \$900 was authorized me by wire from Washington, dated October 4th. I assume that the vouchers should be forwarded through the Disbursing Office at Seattle and I am therefore forwarding them to you.

Two guards were employed at the quarantine station—one for day duty and the other for night work. The tents and stoves were purchased on behalf of persons who were detained at the station. The provisions were purchased for the use of natives who were detained at the camp and were without food. As these natives had a number of dogs with them, it was necessary to purchase dog feed for the animals.

Doctor Burke was employed only during the time that travellers were coming down the Porcupine and while there was actual work for him to do. After October 1st all travel ceased and his services were discontinued. The quarantine station was maintained until October 21st, when the river began to freeze. It was expedient to keep the station open until ice prevented further boat travel as persons from the upper Porcupine might have come down the river and entered Fort Yukon at any time.

There is little doubt that the quarantine station deterred some of the Indians at the infected region from leaving there and travelling into the Yukon Valley.

In his annual report for that year (dated December 31), W. T. Lopp provided a summary of the events surrounding the epidemic. His description offers an interesting counterpoint:

In the summer of 1911 information was received that smallpox had broken out among the natives in the vicinity of New Rampart House. This settlement is north of the Arctic Circle, on the Porcupine River, near the boundary between Alaska and Canada. Under instructions from the Bureau of Education, Mr. George E. Boulter, superintendent of schools in the upper Yukon district, proceeded to the infected district to render all possible assistance in suppressing the epidemic. Finding that the disease was confined to Canadian territory and that his assistance was not required, he returned; but upon the suggestion of the governor of Alaska and in accordance with instructions from the Commissioner of Education he maintained a quarantine station near the mouth of the Porcupine, which prevented the disease from entering the Yukon valley by that way. As a precautionary measure the representatives of the Bureau of Education in the entire Yukon Valley were liberally supplied with vaccine points and were instructed to vaccinate all natives in the vicinity of the schools.⁵⁰

On January 17, 1912, the *Fairbanks Daily News* reported:

Dawson, Dec. 15: The smallpox epidemic on the Porcupine River in the extreme northern end of the territory is under control, and it likely will be but a matter of a month or two more until the siege will have run its course. Possibly with no more cases it will have run out before that. Fred Hickling, Thomas Vaughn, Joseph Peron, Noah Baune and W. H. Chaliff, carpenters who went down from Dawson in the Fall with lumber and material and erected the emergency hospital on the island near Rampart House, arrived Saturday bringing the advices. The party left Rampart House November 8 and after a tedious trip breaking trail all the way to Eagle, and incidentally demolishing their sleighs on the way down the Porcupine, landed here in good condition. They had a mush of 750 miles or more over the frozen river surface, with scarcely a footprint to follow most of the way.

At the time of their leaving the camp, 89 Indians had been taken down with the disease. One had died and sixteen had been through the siege and were discharged and well, leaving 62 still in the hospital. The four or five last picked up as suspects and held in the detention hospital did not develop the smallpox and were released, and, after carbolic baths, were sent out with sixteen others to hunt game for the sick.⁵¹ Game was very scarce. Only seven caribou had been found. The government supplies, however, are adequate, counting those from Cadzow's trading post and those available from the extra large outfit in the vicinity of the American boundary survey party. The Americans had shipped in much more than had been needed for themselves.

⁵⁰ W. T. Lopp, *Report on Education in Alaska, 1911*, 1382.

⁵¹ A carbolic bath would have been a bath using carbolic soap, which contains carbolic acid (an antibacterial agent) and was used as a disinfectant.

The carpenters report the Indians comfortably quartered, with Dr. Smith of the boundary force in charge and with Constable Fyfe stationed there for police guardian. [. . .]

The smallpox camp is 250 miles up the Porcupine from the main Yukon River and, with the policeman there, it is not expected that any Indians or others will attempt to come out. The carpenters were vaccinated twice while at Rampart House. Rabbits and ptarmigan are reported as numerous at Rampart House this winter as stars in the Milky Way.

Boulter to W. T. Lopp

Fort Yukon, September 19, 1911

I enclose a copy of a letter from Mr. Betticher which I received a few days ago in connection with the school at Nenana.

There is no doubt that the mission people desire to have their own school at Nenana, and in view of our having no residence there for a government teacher, there seems to be no way to prevent them from doing this. Moreover, it is undoubtedly the aim of the mission people to establish their own schools at other points, and they surely will unless a compulsory attendance law could be framed to prevent this.

In Mr. Betticher's somewhat arrogant letter, he mentions that he takes it for granted that the mission can use our schoolhouse and that they are, in fact, doing so. I would suggest that he be asked to vacate our premises, and should I receive permission from you to that effect, I will answer Mr. Betticher's letter accordingly.

There is, I believe, no school at Allakaket this year. Last year the school there was conducted by the missionaries, and according to the best reports it was conducted in a very loose manner. It is my opinion that all mission schools should be supervised by the government and that they should be made to conform to the requirements of the government.

Please let me know what I shall do concerning the Nenana people using our schoolhouse.

[enclosure: Charles Betticher to Boulter, with copy to Bishop Rowe]

Fairbanks, August 23, 1911

The other day while on one of the river steamers I received your telegram regarding the Nenana school, and I replied that the Bishop refuses to consider having a government school at Nenana. I now wish to enlarge on my view.

At the time the St. Mark's mission was built at Nenana, and Bishop Rowe allowed the Government to place a school there, I dissented from the Bishop's action as a matter of principle. The Church is perfectly well able to support the

school and there is no earthly reason why She should not do so. Bishop Rowe felt differently at the time however, and I of course obeyed his instructions and have since tried to maintain most cordial relations between the Mission and the Bureau of Education.

Without a particle of solicitation on my part, Bishop Rowe has now informed me that there will no longer be a government school at Nenana. I presume that he has taken up the matter with those in authority, and while I have had no direct part in this, I must be frank with you and say that it meets with my heartiest approval.

Having yourself once been a missionary, and having always maintained such harmonious relationship with the various missions, you can more readily appreciate our point of view.⁵² We have secured a most capable teacher and she is already on the spot—in fact she has already begun her work. I have secured a complete school equipment and have had a careful inventory made of the government supplies at Nenana so that you can check them off at any time. I have taken it for granted that sessions may be held in the schoolhouse, inasmuch as we have always made interchange of buildings freely. I will of course see that none of the government wood is touched.

I think that you had better write Bishop Rowe at once on this matter so that you and he can come to an understanding. I, of course, am obeying his instructions and it is useless to take the subject up with me. I trust you will have no personal feeling in this connection, for I assure you there is none. The whole question is one of principle. There is no earthly reason why we should not support the school when we are perfectly well able to do so. This whole question was gone over by the famous Bishop Hare years ago in the Dakotas in regard to his mission schools, and I remember hearing him remark on the satisfaction which he had derived from the arrangement.⁵³

52 Betticher must be referring to George's work for the Episcopal Church as a teacher at the mission school at Eagle, where he was employed as a layworker, but not as a missionary.

53 William Hobart Hare, who came to be known as the "Apostle of the Sioux," served from 1873 as bishop in the Episcopal Church's vast Niobrara District and then as bishop in the diocese of South Dakota, established in 1883. During his tenure, he founded a series of boarding schools for American Indian children, for which he depended in part on federal funds, although he was quite capable of criticizing government policy. See, for example, "Says the Law Is Not Upheld: Missionary Bishop Claims Indian Funds Are Being Wrongfully Distributed," *San Francisco Call*, February 3, 1905. An illuminating perspective on Bishop Hare's work is offered by Elizabeth Cook-Lynn in "A Centennial Minute from Indian Country; or Lessons in Christianizing the Aboriginal Peoples of America from the Example of Bishop William Hobart Hare."

Boulter to W. T. Lopp

Circle, August 10, 1911

In reference to my telegram dated August 4th regarding transportation of some of the women and children of the reindeer camp at Tanana, I have written and wired Mr. Evans but at present I cannot locate him as he has gone north.

The last government steamer is shortly leaving Tanana for St. Michael and if the women and children are to travel on her, immediate action should be taken. In a telegram from Mr. Shields that I recently received, he stated that transportation for these people was requested last June. He also suggests that I make all arrangements for their transportation.

I have accordingly wired Miss Clark at Tanana requesting her to see the commanding officer at Ft. Gibbon and, should permission be granted for the transportation of these people, to make the necessary arrangements for their removal.

Andrew N. Evans to Boulter

Unalaklik, October 31, 1911

Referring to Miss Clark's telegram requesting instructions for moving the reindeer here from Tanana to Unalaklik, I think it advisable for them to start as soon as possible in order to avoid the heavy snowfalls that often occur in the Yukon valley early in the winter. They should make the trip in the shortest possible time, considering the welfare of the deer. The herders will no doubt be accompanied by their families and will be hampered by the additional baggage necessary for the comfort of the women and children.

I am in favor of the mountain route discussed last winter, unless careful investigation has led you to think that by starting early when the river is comparatively clear of ice, the deer will be able to subsist upon the leaves, grass and other feed left by the burning of the river during the summer of 1908. There is no snow here yet and the river is not yet frozen. Under these conditions Bango may be able to make a quick run from Tanana to Loudon and strike the lakes on the left bank there, and follow the lakes down to Kaltag. From Loudon down they will have excellent travelling and I think Joe is familiar with the route.

Mr. Rodman has telegraphed about the debts of the herders which approximate \$600 and is anxious for a settlement before the reindeer move. In order to assist in this matter, I have asked Miss Clark to let me know the number of marketable males in the herd with a view to exchanging them for the herders' females. If Charlie shows any disinclination to accompany the herd allow him to stay and work out his debt. His deer can accompany the herd and he can rejoin the herd here on the Kobuk next year.

The herders will need assistance in getting supplies en route, and it would be well to help them at Tanana and to give Bango a letter of credit to the

merchants at Louden and Kaltag. Supplies at Tanana should not exceed sixty dollars; Louden, thirty dollars and Kaltag, thirty dollars. When the herd reaches Unalaklik the herders should report to Mr. E. E. Vannes for further instructions as to location, etc. I trust the herd will get away in good shape. I am inclined to think the herders will get along nicely without Charlie who seems to be a source of friction in camp. Bango can keep us informed from time to time by wire as to their progress and the condition of the herd. As soon as you decide definitely concerning the route, inform me and I will endeavor to arrange for guide hire if the mountain route is finally chosen.

Boulter to W. T. Lopp

Fort Yukon, December 16, 1911

I am writing you but briefly as I have just returned from my journey to Eagle and am pressed for time. I am hoping to leave here for Stevens Village, Rampart and Tanana next Tuesday, Dec. 19th.

By same mail I am sending you copies of some correspondence between Mr. Stuck and myself. I have no doubt that he will write to you concerning the matter. A hard journey lies before me in travelling to Tanana but I hope to reach there by the first week in January.

Boulter to Philander P. Claxton [copy to W. T. Lopp]

Fort Yukon, December 14, 1911

On December 6, 1911, I received a letter from Mr. Stuck which reads as follows:

Central Road House, December 3, 1911

Dear Mr. Boulter,

I am very desirous that the native children at Fort Yukon should not grow up in ignorance of the literature of their own language. You know that the whole Bible was put into the Takudh [Gwich'in] tongue by Archdeacon McDonald, together with the Prayer Book and Hymnal. It has seemed to me for years a shame that knowledge of this native Bible should lapse with the rising generation for lack of a little teaching. The Rev. Wm. Loola, our native deacon, is entirely competent and entirely willing to give this instruction, and the parents are willing and glad that the children should be receiving this teaching.⁵⁴

⁵⁴ Robert McDonald, the first Anglican archdeacon of the Yukon, was the son of Hudson's Bay Company trader Neil McDonald and his wife, Ann Logan, whose mother, Mary, was a Saulteaux. McDonald first worked among the Ojibwe in Manitoba, where he embarked on translating the Bible into Ojibwa. After he was posted to Fort Yukon in 1862, he began learning the Gwich'in language,

A year ago I arranged with Miss Nielsen that, on two or three afternoons in the week, Wm. Loola should go to the schoolhouse for an hour after the day's session was done and give instruction in the reading of the native Bible to the elder scholars. This winter I made the same request to her but was met with a flat refusal, and I learn that shortly after Christmas last year the permission granted at my request was withdrawn and the lessons stopped.

It appears to me that this request is an entirely reasonable one. The schoolhouse is already warm and to heat the church every day for this hour's work would entail a great and disproportionate expense. Such little extra wood as might be needed, such little oil as would be burned for light, I would gladly pay for.

Miss Nielsen vouchsafed as the reason for her refusal the law which declared that all teaching in the government schools should be in the English language, a law which so obviously refers to the teaching of the government teacher during her specified school hours that it seems foolish to plead it in bar of my request. She said, moreover, that she had a rule against speaking Indian, and if Indian were taught in the schoolhouse it would be impossible to enforce her rule, which seems about as substantial an objection as the former.

It would give me great pleasure to take up this matter with the Bureau of Education should you confirm Miss Nielsen's refusal; and I am confident that unless the whole attitude of the Department towards the Alaskan missions is radically changed, such a request as this would be very cheerfully granted. I submit this matter to you, therefore, with the request that permission be granted to the Rev. Wm. Loola to visit the schoolhouse after the daily term of school, on Monday, Wednesday and Friday evenings for the purpose of instructing the children in the reading of the native Bible. The mission will gladly furnish fuel and oil for this extra hour three times a week, if it be wished.

Herewith enclosed you will find my reply to Mr. Stuck's letter. I would say that the Takudh tongue referred to by Archdeacon Stuck is a dialect used almost exclusively by the Mackenzie River natives. This dialect is not understood by the Yukon natives with the exception perhaps of a few old Indians, and I think it is a move in the wrong direction to attempt to revive a half-forgotten language. I have questioned natives from all parts of the upper Yukon as to how much of the Bible, Prayer Book and Hymnal as translated into the Takudh tongue they

eventually creating a written alphabet and, as Stuck notes, translating scripture. His *Grammar of the Takudh Language* was published in 1911. William Loola, McDonald's pupil at Fort Yukon, was ordained in 1907—the first Alaska Native to serve as a deacon in the Episcopal Church.

*understand and have found that these works are, for the most part, unintelligible to them.*⁵⁵

It was because I thought that the teaching of such a language would retard the learning of English in our schoolroom that I upheld Miss Nielsen in her refusal to allow another language to be taught in the same building.

[enclosure: Boulter to Hudson Stuck]

Fort Yukon, December 14, 1911

Your letter of December 3rd written from the Central Road House was received by me at Circle on December 6th. I did not reply to it while I was there as I desired some time to fully consider the subject matter of your letter.

Having given much thought to your request for the occasional use of the government school, in which you propose to have some of the native children instructed in a language other than English, I deem it my duty to confirm Miss Nielsen's refusal to allow the schoolhouse to be used for that purpose. I will briefly state my reasons for upholding her actions.

It appears to me that for a few weeks last year William Loola, the native minister at Fort Yukon, held a class in the government schoolhouse for the purpose of instructing some of the children in the Takudh tongue. This class started immediately after Miss Nielsen's afternoon session and sometimes continued until nearly six o'clock. From the beginning of Miss Nielsen's afternoon lessons to the conclusion of the native deacon's class was sometimes a period of four or five hours, which was too long for some of the children. It had the effect of some of Miss Nielsen's scholars absenting themselves from her classes and presenting themselves at the schoolhouse just in time for William Loola's class. Miss Nielsen naturally resented the non-attendance of several scholars at her afternoon session and it was partly for this reason that the native deacon's class was discontinued.

I would say that it is the duty of our teachers to discourage the use of the Indian language during school hours. Miss Nielsen has done her best to comply with the Department's regulation with regard to this matter and to a large extent has succeeded. During the time that the native deacon's class was held last year, Miss Nielsen found that the Indian language was being spoken by the children to a greater extent than formerly, and that she was experiencing more difficulty in complying with the Department's law that only the English language was to be taught and spoken in the schoolroom.

55 George's comments here reflect the continuing tension between the government's goal of assimilation and the missionary community's goal of conversion. Although, today, we might tend to side with the position of the missionaries on the use of Native languages, both government and church aimed at the destruction of Native identity, whether by political mechanisms of absorption (transformation into citizens) or by spiritual ones (transformation into Christians).

Such a class as you propose would confine Miss Nielsen to the schoolhouse while the native deacon's class was being held, as the premises could not be left entirely in the hands of the natives. Furthermore, at the conclusion of the afternoon session Miss Nielsen usually devotes some time to the cleaning of the schoolroom so as to have it in readiness for the next day's work.

In a conversation I have lately had with Miss Woods at Fort Yukon, it appears that she has offered the use of the large room in her house, and she is still willing that her house shall be available for Mr. Loola's classes at any time it is desired. This arrangement, I think, should be satisfactory and it would obviate the necessity of the classes being held in the government schoolhouse.

In conclusion I would say that, although I am heartily in sympathy with the mission work among the natives, yet I cannot entirely agree with your ideas concerning the advisability of teaching these natives the Takudh tongue—a Mackenzie River dialect that is more or less unintelligible to the Yukon Indians. I hope, however, to have the pleasure of discussing the matter with you in the near future.

W. T. Lopp to Boulter

Seattle, February 6, 1912

I beg to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of December 14th enclosing copies of yours to the Commissioner of Education and to Rev. Stuck regarding the instruction of the natives at Fort Yukon in the Takudh tongue.

In reply I beg to state that I believe you and Miss Nielsen are probably correct in your views of the matter on the grounds of the long hours which the children are forced to spend in the classroom, and on account of the fact that room is available in the mission building for the said instructions.

Stuck dispatched a longer and more agitated letter to Lopp on January 2, after receiving George's reply, making no reference to Miss Woods's offer and concluding with:

It has been my effort, in accordance with the policy of the Bishop, to co-operate loyally with the government schools. Here at Fort Yukon we have gone out of our way to heap kindness upon the teacher and the superintendent. A feeling of jealousy that in its manifestations amounts to positive ill-will has been the only return from the teacher, and Mr. Boulter seems to have sought far and wide for excuses to justify his denial of what might easily and readily have been granted. Nor is this attitude confined to this instance. At Tanana, where the most cordial relations have formerly existed between the teacher and the mission, the teacher has been faulted on that very ground.

Yet I have always been led to believe that it is the desire of the Bureau of Education that there should be entirely friendly co-operation between the missions

and the government schools. In that belief I write this letter. In that belief I confidently appeal to the Bureau against the decision of the District Superintendent forbidding the use of the schoolhouse, after school hours, for the imparting of religious instruction.

It is injurious to the mission, it is most detrimental to the school that unfriendly relations should exist between the two agencies that should work hand in hand for the uplift of the natives. I send this letter to the Bishop for his approval before it is despatched to you.

Philander P. Clazton to Hudson Stuck

Washington, DC, March 4, 1912

Your letter of January 2nd to the Chief of the Alaska Division requesting the use of the United States Public School building at Fort Yukon Alaska for religious instruction has been brought to my attention and I have read it carefully.

In reply I wish to state that while the Bureau of Education wishes to cooperate cordially with all efforts to elevate the natives which are not contrary to government policy, it must be borne in mind that Congress has declared it the settled policy of the Government to make no appropriation in aid of any kind of sectarian education.

I have forwarded your letter to Mr. W. T. Lopp, Chief of the Alaska Division, who is now in Seattle, for his recommendation regarding this particular matter.

Still perturbed, Stuck sent an even longer letter to Claxton on May 7, reiterating his case and adding a veiled threat to withdraw his permission for the government's use of church property:

I await with some anxiety your decision in the matter. And I cannot help saying that the request we have made is, from our point of view, so reasonable, so modest, that the refusal of it will carry to any non-official mind the animus that we who are on the spot know what was originally behind it.

Curiously enough, the same mail that brought me your letter brought a request from the schoolteacher at Circle City for the use of the church for her closing exercises because the schoolroom was so small. And I took great pleasure in granting it.

W. T. Lopp to Hudson Stuck

Seattle, July 10, 1912

Some time ago your letter of January 2nd, with reference to the use of our schoolroom for your native assistant, Rev. Wm. Loola, was received, but realizing that my reply could not reach you before break-up and that the question of the

use of the Yukon school building need not be settled before next Fall, I considered it advisable to postpone any action until I could visit the Yukon Valley and have a personal talk with you and Superintendent Boulter.

Our delayed appropriation, however, has prevented me from visiting the Yukon in the early part of July as I had planned but I still hope to visit the region in August.

We are sending Miss Hannah Breece, an experienced native teacher, to Fort Yukon and I believe you can count on her co-operation with your missionaries, and that the question of using the schoolroom for Rev. Loola's class will be an easy one to adjust with her.⁵⁶

Philander P. Claxton to Hudson Stuck [with copies to W. T. Lopp, G. E. Boulter, H. Breece]

Washington, DC, August 9, 1912

Your letter of May 7th has been brought to my attention upon my return from a somewhat extended absence from Washington necessitated by my official duties.

I am in hearty accord with all your efforts to elevate the native races of Alaska and I have no doubt that, without forming a precedent or establishing a definite principle, whenever the use of any of our United States public school buildings in Alaska can be granted for any purpose which is for the good of the natives, without additional cost to the Government or inconvenience to its representatives, the matter can be readily adjusted locally in each case.

The letter of July 10th from Mr. Lopp, Chief of the Alaska Division, to you with reference to the use of the United States public school building at Fort Yukon meets with my approval.

I appreciate your courtesy in permitting the use of the Protestant Episcopal church at Circle City for the closing exercises of the school.

Boulter to Philander P. Claxton

Tanana, January 21, 1912

I visited Rampart on January 7th and during the few days spent there I ascertained the number of children and natives in the vicinity.

In the first place, I would say that the residents of Rampart and the nearby creeks earnestly desire that the school there be re-opened. Several people called

⁵⁶ Prior to coming to Alaska, Hannah E. Breece had taught at government schools on American Indian reservations in the Rocky Mountains. She served as a government teacher on the Alaskan island of Afognak (Agw'aneq), in the Gulf of Alaska, from 1904 until her transfer to Fort Yukon in 1912, where she remained for two years before moving on to schools at Wrangell and Douglas.

on me who were deputized by the miner's union. This union is composed of a large number of men interested in matters relative to the well-being of the people among whom they reside. They evidently feel strongly about the absence of a school this year and some members of the union have, I believe, taken the matter up with the Hon. James Wickersham.

You will doubtless remember that we had a very small attendance last year—hardly sufficient to justify school being held. Last August when I visited Rampart I made careful enquiries and found that there were not more than six or seven children of school age in the vicinity. Since the session of 1910-1911 several children were taken away from Rampart and it was doubtful that they would return. It was for this reason that I recommended discontinuing school for this session.

There are now, however, more children at Rampart than there were last summer and winter, and it might be advisable to re-open the school as soon as convenient. Of the twenty-two children now in the vicinity, twelve are of school age—ten of whom are half-breeds, the remaining two being natives. Of the ten children not yet of school age, there are eight half-breeds and two natives. The total adult native population at Rampart is seventeen.

Boulter to Philander P. Claxton

Tanana, January 22, 1912

I left Fort Yukon for the lower river on December 19th and after ten days travel reached Stevens Village. It was a hard journey as the snow was deep and unbroken and we had to snow-shoe our own trail for fully three-quarters of the [190-mile] distance. Upon my arrival I found that the school building had been destroyed by fire. Although the teacher, Mr. Rivenburg, had written to me regarding the accident soon after it had occurred, his letter failed to reach me until my return to Tanana because of the absence of mail service along the upper river.

The fire occurred during the early hours of November 21st. The stove pipes and safeties were in good condition and so the cause of the fire cannot be ascertained. Last summer, as a protection against fire, the teacher cut a new hole in the roof for the stove piping to pass. It was well lined with lime so that no part of the woodwork would come into contact with the hot pipes. New pipes were put in last autumn and these should not have accumulated enough creosote to have caused the fire.

The fire evidently occurred between the ceiling and roof. When a fire occurs there it is very difficult to get at the seat of it. The burning ceiling falls to the ground but the roof is so thick that it takes a long time to break through it. The teacher found that the one (only) Keystone fire extinguisher worked well, and it is possible that if there had been more of these the building might have been saved.

The other extinguishers containing chemical powder were of little use. The teacher employs much of his spare time with photography and occasionally takes flashlight pictures. As this might have been the cause of the fire, I asked him if he had taken any flashlight pictures the evening before the fire. He assured me that he had not, although he had been developing some film. I was careful to question him on this because soon after the schoolhouse fire, the cabin which afterwards had been loaned as a schoolroom was nearly burned owing to his having taken a flashlight picture inside it.⁵⁷

After the schoolhouse fire the two traders, Messrs. Russell and Shultz, kindly loaned the teacher a large cabin in which school could be held. Seats and desks have been built and the school, although inadequately equipped, is being held as usual. The major part of the school equipment was destroyed but fortunately some books, etc. were saved.

Adjoining the school lot are two cabins which were built last summer. Both are built of peeled logs and there is a good fence surrounding them. The large cabin could be purchased for \$400, but as the owner of the other was away at the time of my visit I was unable to ascertain its price. Were a few hundred dollars expended on these two cabins, we would have a schoolhouse quite suitable to the needs of the village and a comfortable residence as well.

Boulter to Philander P. Claxton

Tanana, January 23, 1912

On my recent visit to Stevens Village I found that the school work was being greatly retarded by the dissipation of the adults there. Although there was a good school attendance, many of the children have since been taken away from the village. The men had squandered their money and consequently, when they left on their hunting trip, there was not enough food to leave in the village for their children. There are many elderly natives in the village who would look after the children were the parents to properly provide for them.

Although there is no liquor license at Stevens Village, many of the natives spend much of their money on whiskey and frequently make journeys to Rampart for the sole purpose of bringing back a supply of liquor. The ninety-mile journey from Stevens Village to Rampart is often made under very adverse

57 Lawyer E. Rivenburg (whom George first mentions in his letter to Elmer Brown of May 1, 1911) was indeed an avid photographer. Although he remained in Alaska for only four years, from 1910 to 1914, teaching first at Stevens Village and then at Rampart, he left behind important visual documentation of the period. Nearly 460 of his photographs are preserved in the Lawyer and Cora Rivenburg Photograph Album, 1910–1914, a collection housed at the Rasmuson Library, University of Alaska Fairbanks. See also James H. Ducker, “Stevens Village Life, 1910–1912: The Photographs of Lawyer E. Rivenburg.”

conditions but is willingly undertaken. When I arrived at Stevens Village I learned that some of the Indians had gone to Rampart and were expected back shortly. As it was well known that they were bringing back a supply of liquor for their New Year's festivities I waited for them. When they returned I attempted to search their sleds for evidence that could be brought before a jury. The natives, however, had been drinking heavily, and so menacing was their attitude toward me that I had to discontinue my search. They had evidently been told by the whiskey sellers that few people had any legal right to interfere with their sleds. I realized that I could not enforce my orders and felt somewhat chagrined at my helplessness. This was a case where I could have obtained clear proof of the sale of liquor to the natives had I possessed some legal authority for my search.

Stevens Village is so remote from any regular travel route that it is seldom visited by any officer of the law. The Indians there have frequently brought back as much as twenty gallons of whiskey at a time from Rampart, after which the village has been the scene of much drunkenness. There is only one saloon at Rampart, therefore the whiskey taken to Stevens Village must have come either directly or indirectly from this place. There are not enough white people at Rampart now to warrant a saloon and it is clear that if liquor was not sold for later re-sale to the natives, there would be insufficient demand to justify the existence of this saloon.

By the same mail I am writing to Judge Overfield and to the district attorney at Fairbanks about the liquor question and shall protest against the renewal of the liquor license at Rampart. It is gratifying to know that a protest against the renewal of this license is also to be sent by the better class of white people who reside in the neighbourhood of Rampart. Were this license cancelled we could reasonably hope for better conditions at Stevens Village.⁵⁸

James Crossley, District Attorney, to Walter E. Clark, Governor of Alaska

Signal Corps telegram, Fairbanks, February 17, 1912

George E. Boulter, District Supt. Tanana desires be made special peace officer under Act March third nineteen nine. This would be wise provision. Save government considerable expense in cases within his scope.

58 A similar problem had evidently developed at Nenana. Less than a week later, on January 28, 1912, the *Fairbanks Sunday Times* reported that "James Duke, the Nenana trader"—who figures in George's letter to William Lopp of August 12, 1910—had been denied the renewal of his liquor license "on the ground that the natives in the vicinity of Nenana had of late been imbibing too freely of the firewater." In journal entries written during her year at Nenana (1910–11), Alice refers several times to excursions to Duke's trading post but, unsurprisingly, makes no mention of the sale of liquor.

W. R. Harry, Assistant Attorney General, to Boulter

Washington, DC, March 19, 1912

Under the provisions of the Act of Congress approved March 3, 1909, and upon your designation by the Secretary of the Interior, you are hereby appointed a Special Peace Officer of the Fourth Division of the District of Alaska.

You should execute and return the enclosed Oath of Office.

Enclosed is a copy of Department Circular No. 120 giving information as to your duties and powers under this appointment.

You will receive no fees or emoluments for performing services under this appointment, but will be allowed expenses actually and necessarily incurred, in accordance with the provisions of said circular.

Boulter to Philander P. Claxton

Tanana, May 27, 1912

I beg to acknowledge receipt of your letter dated March 21, 1912, in regard to my having been appointed a special peace officer.

Although I am hoping that only few occasions will arise when I shall be called upon to exercise my authority in this new capacity, doubtless such occasions will arise in the future as they have done in the past. Our work in many isolated places has been retarded by the infrequent visits by deputy marshals. Both whites and natives have often brazenly defied the law, owing to there having been no officer of the law in the vicinity.

I am pleased, therefore, to have received this appointment as I hope thereby that my work among the natives will be rendered more effective. I realize, however, that much discretion will be needed before I take any action under my new appointment, but I trust that by carefully reviewing any case that may come to my notice, such action as I take will meet with your approval.

Boulter to Philander P. Claxton

Tanana, April 6, 1912

In reference to your letter dated August 3, 1911, I herewith submit for your consideration information concerning conditions at Tanana which I trust will be the means of your securing for me permission to purchase food and other supplies at the commissary at Fort Gibbon.

Without hesitation I would say that, in the whole of Alaska, there is no more expensive place to live than Tanana. Circle and Fort Yukon, however, are perhaps as expensive. It is safe to say that a dollar up here is worth little more than forty cents in the States or sixty cents in southeastern Alaska. So expensive is the

cost of living up here that there is no money in general circulation of less than twenty-five cents. A bottle of ink, a writing tablet and other such articles that cost but a few cents elsewhere cannot be obtained at the Tanana stores for less than twenty-five cents. One hundred pounds of flour costing from \$7 to \$7.50 at the stores and milk costing \$7 per case can be purchased at the post commissary for less than one-half these prices. Other supplies at the commissary are sold at proportionate prices.

It is, therefore, owing to the exorbitant prices of food supplies, clothing, cabin rent, etc. that I am again asking to have the privilege extended to me that I had in 1908-1909 when I was allowed to purchase supplies from the commissary at Fort Gibbon. Were I to have this privilege again, my office wood, for which I now have to pay \$12 per cord, could be purchased at the post for about \$9.75. It is probable that should my request be granted I would be allowed to purchase my dog feed at the post. The army authorities at Fort Gibbon give large contracts for fish during the summer season and thus secure their dog feed at a far cheaper rate than at the local stores. The post office officials at Tanana, having commissary privileges, purchase their wood and oil at the post.

Trusting that you will earnestly recommend that I be given full commissary privileges with authority to purchase wood and dog feed at the post.⁵⁹

Robert Shaw Oliver, Assistant Secretary of War, to Walter L. Fisher,
Secretary of the Interior

Washington, DC, May 14, 1912

Replying to your letter of the 8th instant, requesting that the privilege of purchasing food and other supplies from the commissary at Fort Gibbon be granted to Mr. George E. Boulter. I have the honor to advise you that while the Department does not like to depart from its practice of confining, as far as practicable, sales of government stores to persons in the military service, yet it is thought that the case in reference is a meritorious one, in view of the facts contained in the correspondence submitted with your communication.

The Department has therefore approved the application, having in mind the excessive cost of supplies at Tanana as stated by the applicant, the favorable recommendation of the application by the Department of the Interior and the further fact that employees of certain other departments serving at that place are enjoying commissary privileges. Consequently, Mr. Boulter will be permitted to purchase quartermaster's and commissary stores, subject to the usual conditions governing such sales. [. .]

⁵⁹ As we saw, George requested commissary privileges once before, just before his marriage, but was unsuccessful. This second request seems to have been made about the time he learned he was to become a father.

Boulter to Philander P. Claxton

Tanana, August 21, 1912

In reference to the letter from the Secretary of War to the Secretary of the Interior dated May 14, 1912, in which permission was given to me to purchase quartermaster's and commissary supplies from the military post at Fort Gibbon, I beg to say that the authorities at said post have not been notified by the War Department regarding my being allowed to purchase supplies from the quartermaster's stores. They were duly notified, however, regarding my purchasing commissary supplies and I have experienced no difficulty in procuring them.

As the commissary and quartermaster's stores at Gibbon are each separate from the other, the authorities here hesitate to sell me anything from the quartermaster's stores because they have only been notified with regard to the Commissary Department. In the letter from the Assistant Secretary of War it is distinctly stated that I be "permitted to purchase quartermaster's and commissary stores subject to the usual conditions governing such sales."

Will you therefore kindly make known to the War Department the case as I have stated, with the request that the quartermaster at Fort Gibbon receive authority permitting me to purchase supplies from the quartermaster's stores.

In regard to the commissary supplies I have purchased here, I would say that a charge of ten per cent is added to the usual price and an additional two and one-half cents per pound is charged for freight.

Boulter to Scott Nesbit, Coast and Geodetic Survey, Washington, DC

Tanana, June 6, 1912

In accordance with instructions from Mr. Thomas Riggs, Jr., of the Alaska Boundary Survey, which were contained in a letter to Mr. Lopp dated April 29, 1912, the six dogs belonging to the Alaska Boundary Survey which were transferred to me by Mr. Riggs last summer have been sold at public auction for a total sum of \$36.

I would say that it is a most difficult matter to sell dogs at this time of year. In the first place, it is expensive to keep dogs during the summer months. The usual charge at Tanana for the keep of dogs is \$4 per month for each dog. As there are about six months a year when the dogs cannot be used for work, prospective buyers take into consideration the sum of from \$20 to \$24 for the maintenance of each dog during the summer if they are buying them at this time of year.

The advanced ages of the survey dogs also adversely affected their sale. A buyer hesitates to purchase a dog that is much over two years of age. The ages of the survey dogs are: "Prince" and "Shy"—between seven and eight years;

“Nigger,” “Bones” and “Socks”—about six years of age; “Fritz”—about two years. “Fritz” was substituted by me for the dog that was lost.

At the first auction, held May 9th, only two dogs were sold, namely “Prince” and “Fritz” for a total of \$28. On May 27th the others were auctioned again at a far lower appraisal but remained unsold as there were no bidders. On June 5th the four remaining dogs were auctioned without reserve. Although this auction was as widely advertised as the others (notices being put up in four different places at Tanana), few persons attended the sale. The highest bids were secured from Silas (an Indian) who bought “Nigger” and “Socks” at \$2.50 each. Mrs. Rice, who was the only bidder for “Bones” and “Shy,” bought them for \$1.50 per dog. Thus the total sale for the six dogs amounted to \$36.

I herewith enclose a money order for this amount together with copies of all advertisements and appraisals—also my affidavit in regard to the sale. I trust that the sale has been carried out to your satisfaction.



George and Alice Boulter, with their friend Edna Rice and dogs, out for a walk at Tanana late in 1912, a few weeks before their first child, George Edward Jr., was born. George is having a word with “Bones”—a dog formerly in the employ of the Alaska Boundary Service, whom Mrs. Rice had purchased earlier that year when he was put up for sale. Alice is wearing her beautiful caribou-skin “parkee,” with its wolverine-trimmed hood. Collection of Alice A. Boulter.

W. T. Lopp to Boulter

Seattle, May 28, 1912

I have carefully considered your suggestion regarding the possible transfer of Mr. Rivenburg to Tanana. Taking everything into consideration I fear he would not make a success of that school.

The sisters Jessie and Margaret Harper, as you know, have been applicants for the past two years. Both are graduates of a California State Normal school and one has a year's experience. Believing that their racial ties, together with their other qualifications, will help them to get a hold on these people, I have decided to recommend the two of them for Tanana. They are quite anxious for the appointment and are willing to accept a combined salary of about \$900. I saw the younger sister last March and talked with the San Francisco lady who has been looking after them. I think you and Mrs. Boulter will like them. I believe they will strive hard to do faithfully the work which you lay out for them and will gladly follow your directions and advice in all things.

I shall probably wire you in a few days regarding Rivenburg. You have never spoken very encouragingly of his work. I am wondering if it is not advisable to discontinue him in the Service.

Bishop Rowe to W. T. Lopp

Tanana, June 29, 1912

I wired you today that "the appointment of the Harper girls to the native school in this place was unwise. Request you wait for explanations." So the following "explanations" are submitted for your serious consideration.

The native mother of the Harper girls lives in this village and is now the wife of a native man. Four brothers of the Harper girls live here. They are notoriously bad—drunkards, whiskey peddlers, adulterous debauchers of native women generally. Now I know nothing of these girls except that since they were very young they have been Outside and have received such education as they have Outside. I know nothing, however, of them now; of their character, education or religious training.

But supposing their character, qualifications, etc. to be all that could be desired or required, is it wise or right to appoint them as teachers in a native village where their native mother lives, where their brothers are the vilest of the vile, and where they cannot, try however they may, escape some association, contact or mingling with their own, and with dangerous consequences to their influence and character, no matter how strong the latter may be? Even the brothers, I am told, desperately evil as they are, feel shocked and distressed at the thought of their sisters coming to this place. I am sure you will give the above explanations

*your best consideration. On behalf of these girls, innocent and young, I protest the appointment.*⁶⁰

For this school I recommended the appointment of a young man—married—who is the cousin of the retiring teacher, Miss Clark. I made this recommendation upon the strength of Miss Clark's word and information. As you have not answered my letter—perhaps there has not been time—I want you to tell me frankly whether or not you are disposed to accept—and act—upon my recommendation of applicants for schools in missions of our Church. Please say “Yes” or “No.”

Miss Clark tells me that Mr. Boulter had ordered her to gather up the medicines which were sent here through the Bureau of Education and lock them up in the schoolhouse. Miss Clark was unqualified to administer these for the benefit of the natives, and as the mission was able to do this—ministering to the sick through the provisional hospital—she sensibly turned the medicines over to the hospital. Now because a government teacher leaves, one confessedly unable to apply to the natives the medicines sent for their relief, is that a reason for not permitting them to be used, just because there is no teacher competent to dispense them? It seems to me that you are too practical and sensible to see in such a policy anything else than a petty narrowness too ridiculous for anything. It is that to me—and more, it spells hostility to the mission. The latter is all that concerns me. We can get along without such medicines and yet care for the natives. The medicines are sent for the natives, what matters it by whom they are used as long as they are used and used well?

May I tell you that in appointing so young and attractive a girl as Miss Hammond to such a place as Eagle you placed her in a very dangerous position. She has gone, but that she has done so without serious injury is happily due to the efforts made by older people to shield and protect her. There was much gossip—some ground for the same—and even Mr. Boulter was worried.

⁶⁰ As is apparent from the correspondence that follows, the Bureau of Education was not swayed by Bishop Rowe's protests. Jessie and Margaret went on to become successful and popular teachers, who worked at Tanana and Fort Yukon from 1912 to 1916. They and their brothers—Walter, Fred, Charlie, and Sam—were the children of gold prospector and trader Arthur Harper and his Koyukon wife, Seentahna (Jennie Bosco). Walter was already a favourite of Hudson Stuck and, just a year later, in June 1913, would accompany Stuck on the first successful ascent of Mount Denali. However, writing to Lopp and Claxton on November 14, 1912 (see letter below), Stuck likewise takes issue with the appointment of the two Harper girls, but for a different reason. Whereas Rowe claims to know nothing of their “religious training,” Stuck objects on the grounds that they had recently converted to Roman Catholicism.

Boulter to W. T. Lopp

Tanana, July 12, 1912

In the annual report of Miss Nielsen at Fort Yukon she stated that the schoolroom is "poorly ventilated." This is not so. A year ago I had an extra window placed in the schoolroom for the purpose of affording better ventilation. By opening this window a direct current of air was admitted into the room. When the opposite window was also opened the room was filled with fresh air in a few moments.

In regard to the smallness of the schoolroom—it is true that a larger room would be preferable and that when there is a large attendance the room is unduly crowded. Because of the unsatisfactory state of things at Fort Yukon, however, I have hesitated to suggest enlarging the schoolroom, more particularly as the alterations would entail a deal of expense. I think it would be as well to let the schoolroom remain as it is for another year, after which we shall doubtless be able to better decide about any alterations.

At Tanana I have just completed a few alterations and repairs to the school residence. The upper storey has been floored and a six-light window placed in the front room. The back door of the upper floor has been closed up as it will not now be needed. An inside stairway has been built leading from the downstairs front room to the upper storey. This will be a great convenience as the teachers will now be able to reach the upper storey easily from inside the building.

The Harper girls should be quite comfortable in the dwelling as made ready for them.

Boulter to W. T. Lopp

Tanana, October 8, 1912

In reference to Bishop Rowe's letter to you of June 29, 1912, I herewith beg to explain my action in having our medicines removed from the mission house at Tanana and placed in the government school building.

Miss Clark, our former teacher, frequently spent from Saturday to Monday downtown, during which time everything in her cabin would freeze. It was therefore thought advisable to remove the medicines to the mission house which is kept at an even temperature both day and night. This was the only reason that our medicines were taken to the mission house. They were not taken there because the missionaries were short of medicines. On the contrary, the mission hospital was well supplied with drugs of every description.

Realizing that friction might possibly occur between the missionaries and our teacher were we to dispense medicines to the natives, I struck out all medicines from our Tanana requisition last December, adding a few lines to the effect that it was not advisable to send medicines to this particular place. On

the supposition, therefore, that no medicines would be sent here this year, and assuming that it was right and just for the Misses Harper to be in possession of the few medicines belonging to the Government, I requested Miss Clark to remove our medicines from the mission house to the government residence. This was done, and it was made clear to the missionaries that if at any time they wanted to use any of our medicines they were very welcome to do so.

There is yet another reason why I wanted our medicines removed to the teacher's residence. It is my custom when travelling to carry a few simple drugs for the benefit of certain natives who are far removed from our schoolhouses. This meant that every time I wanted a few medicines I had to go up to the mission house which, from various points of view, was not always desirable or convenient.

Taking these facts into consideration I think that my action in removing our medicines was a very reasonable one, and one which showed no hostility to the mission.

In regard to Bishop Rowe's statement that my action in the matter was "petty and narrow," I think these terms might well be applied to the Bishop himself. It is unfortunate that he is not in a position to gather his information first-hand instead of having to rely on the statements of his subordinates whose vision is limited, owing to the missionary haze in which they envelope themselves.

Boulter to W. T. Lopp

Tanana, October 26, 1912

Personal

The enclosed is the best reply I can give to Bishop Rowe's statements. I have refrained from commenting on conditions in the Aleutian Islands and elsewhere because I am not fully acquainted with them.

I would say that, on reading the statements of Bishop Rowe, I spent many sleepless nights—so hot and angered was I by the falsity of the statements.

I have said nothing in this official letter that I wish to withdraw, consequently should you deem it expedient to send a copy of my letter to the Bishop I am willing and ready to stand by all I have said.

[enclosure: Boulter to W. T. Lopp]

Tanana, October 26, 1912

It is my desire in this letter to reply to some of the statements made by Bishop Rowe when being heard before the Committee on the Territories on January 16,

1912.⁶¹ *While some of the Bishop's statements are vague and misleading, others are entirely erroneous and go far to prove that the person who uttered them is but superficially acquainted with the many subjects upon which he comments.*

The Bishop states, through a want of knowledge, that there are about 30,000 natives in Alaska. One would think that a man whose "life work" is associated with Alaska would know that, at the present time, there are probably no more than 24,000 natives. The Bishop, when referring to the Eskimos, stated that "they have taken care of themselves very well." There were many things unspoken by the Bishop which should have been mentioned by him. Why did he so studiously ignore the work of the Bureau of Education among the Eskimos? A work, too, of the most practical kind, inasmuch as the majority of the Alaska Eskimos owe their very existence to the reindeer enterprise which is wholly the work of the Bureau. And yet the Bishop states that "they have taken care of themselves very well." A thing concealed is the truth withheld, and the Bishop, when failing to mention how and why the Eskimos have been able to take care of themselves, did not present the true situation to the members of the House Committee.

Bishop Rowe stated before the Committee that he had no suggestion to make in regard to the Eskimos except that "they can be very well left alone at the present time." Surely the Bishop did not mean what he said, or was his statement meant to signify that the work of the Government was so thorough that it could not reasonably be attacked by the missionaries? He must know very well that the Eskimos could not very well be left alone and that, were it not for the strenuous efforts made by the Bureau of Education on their behalf, they would be poverty and disease stricken instead of being more or less self-supporting and in fairly good health.

Again Bishop Rowe makes an erroneous statement when he says that "the trapping is nearly exhausted." I would say that the trapping season along the Yukon River in the winter of 1911–1912 was a phenomenally good one. At such places as Circle, Fort Yukon, Stevens Village, Rampart and Kokrines, the past trapping season was almost a record one. At Fort Yukon alone, over \$60,000 worth of furs were brought into town. A trader at Fort Yukon informed me that,

61 During the second session of the 62nd Congress, Bishop Rowe appeared before the Committee on Territories of the US House of Representatives in connection with an ongoing inquiry into conditions in Alaska. His central objective was to press for the creation of reservations. That same day, James Wickersham wrote in his diary: "Bishop Rowe appeared before the Com on Ter. today & argued in favor of a policy of establishing reservations for Indians in Alaska. He did not make much headway & the committee asked him to confer with me & Daly (the Dem. Nat. Com. & lawyer from Alaska) about formulating a plan—I think there is but little to expect from his plan, for it has long been the policy of the Govt. not to establish reservations in Alaska. I shall favor giving the Indians lands in severalty & establishing reservations of say, 2 sq. mi. to cover each of their villages—but no more" (Alaska State Library, Historical Collections, "Diary of James Wickersham," MS 107, box 3, diary 20, entry for January 16, 1912).

of this amount, seven-eighths was paid to the Indians and the balance to white men. Because of the quantity of furs caught by the Indians they are becoming very independent. Whereas formerly they would work occasionally at sawing wood, etc. for 50 cents per hour, they now want and are able to command 75 cents and sometimes \$1 per hour. Trapping along the Yukon is by no means exhausted but will continue to be a profitable source of industry for many years to come.

At Circle, owing to the Indians' prosperity, certain of them, instead of going into the near-by woods to cut their own fire wood, have bought the same from white men and had it freighted to their cabin doors at the rate of eleven or twelve dollars per cord.

Bishop Rowe states that the Indians "very often find themselves in want." It so happens that my district embraces three-fourths of the missions and territory covered by Bishop Rowe. I have no hesitation in saying that, for several years past, I have come into direct contact with the Indians of the interior to a greater extent than has Bishop Rowe. It is very seldom that I come across an Indian who is actually in want. If I did, I could draw on my destitution authorization, but such have been the conditions that I have seldom had occasion to use any of that authorization.

It has been chiefly in times of sickness, blindness, etc. that I have felt called upon to assist the Indians through my authorization for destitution. If the Indians of the interior find themselves in want, it is invariably due to their dissipation and proverbial laziness. The natural resources of the interior such as moose, caribou and mountain sheep, the very plentiful supply of fish and the trapping industry are sufficient to guard against want. I venture to assert that no able-bodied Indian of the interior would ever find himself in want were he to take advantage of the many natural resources of the country which lie at his door.

The plan as suggested by Bishop Rowe of placing certain Indians on reservations is, when applied to those living along the Yukon and Tanana rivers, undesirable and unworkable. To place those Indians on a reservation would be a most difficult matter owing to the comparative ease with which they are now able to make a living. Such, too, are their careless and migratory habits that any kind of life on a reservation would be distasteful to them owing to the restraints that would be put on them. With the growth of Alaska, the Indians are mingling more and more with the white people from whom they obtain a considerable amount of work. Were the Indians placed on a reservation such work would be denied them and in consequence they would have to be supported by the Government.

While big game is plentiful, there is not enough in any one section to support the many Indians—say 500 as mentioned by Bishop Rowe—on a reservation. The occupants of certain villages cordially welcome visitors from other villages, yet at the same time they would resent these visitors taking up permanent abode among them for the simple reason that the big game and fur in their immediate

vicinity would be far more quickly exterminated with the increased number of hunters and mouths to feed. So it is with the making of certain articles by the Indian women. The white population is limited, and were the Indians from one village to take up their abode with the Indians of another village, the supply of articles such as mittens, moccasins, etc. would exceed the demand. This, therefore, is the reason the Indians prefer to remain in small groups rather than to merge together into larger communities.

A reservation would surely be the means of destroying the independence of the Indians inasmuch as their hunting, fishing and trapping would be curtailed and the work they now do for white people would cease. Such a scheme, to my mind, would make paupers of the Indians instead of the self-supporting people they now are. As to “inviting” the Indians to live on a reservation, such an invitation might be accepted by them but their stay would undoubtedly be short. In regard to “compelling” the Indians to live on a reservation, I doubt the wisdom of such a course of action. Neither do I believe the Government will resort to such an extreme measure while the Indians of the interior are so well able to look after themselves.

Bishop Rowe’s statement that, when referring to the Indian Commission, “we do not have anything in Alaska that is looking after their general welfare,” is absolutely false. If Bishop Rowe were to make a study of the government schools instead of accepting the biased statements of his subordinates, he would know that many things are being done through these schools which greatly tend to the general welfare of the Indians. He would learn, for instance, that in addition to their schoolroom studies the girls are taught sewing and cooking, and that the boys are given general instruction in elementary carpentry. At most of our schools practical gardening is taught to both children and adults. Night schools for the adults are special features, while the weekly bath given to most of the children is surely inculcating a spirit of cleanliness in them that will not easily be forgotten. The Bureau of Education, moreover, furnishes all its teachers with a liberal supply of medicines with instruction on how to use them. The sanitary condition of the native villages along the Yukon is vastly better than formerly, owing to the efforts made by the government teachers. The statement, therefore, of Bishop Rowe when he says “we do not have anything in Alaska that is looking after their general welfare” is untrue, biased and bigoted.

Again Bishop Rowe makes an untrue statement by saying “when we were threatened with smallpox this past year it was the mission that stepped in to protect the people of Alaska.” I beg to present a few facts which will prove most conclusively that, instead of the Fort Yukon mission protecting the people at “cost to themselves” they were paid, and paid well, for any part they took in the matter. Prior to the quarantine station at Fort Yukon being established by the Bureau of Education, the white people there were much concerned about possible infection reaching their own town from the infected region of the upper Porcupine. So concerned were they that a subscription was raised among them

for the purpose of sending Dr. Burke, the missionary doctor at Fort Yukon, up to Circle so that he could telegraph Governor Clark to have a quarantine established. I cannot say just how much money was subscribed by the people at Fort Yukon but it would probably be in the neighbourhood of forty to fifty dollars.

With the subscription money, Burke telegraphed the Governor but did not receive much satisfaction from him. It was not until I myself took up the matter that we were able to obtain what we desired. To make clear the untrue statement of Bishop Rowe when he says "we saved our country, etc., at cost to ourselves," I would say that Dr. Burke evidently thought that the threatened scourge did not come within the scope of his missionary duties, for when the quarantine was established and a health officer was necessary, Burke did not volunteer his services and consequently he was employed as health officer by the Bureau of Education—there being no doctor within a radius of several hundred miles.

This "self-sacrificing" missionary doctor, in a spirit truly mercenary, did not hesitate to charge the Bureau of Education \$25 per day for his services for a term of twenty days, thus making a total of \$500 paid to him by the Bureau of Education. And yet Bishop Rowe, in his desire to laud the work of the mission, would so pervert the truth as to make the egotistical statement that "we saved the country at cost to ourselves." His statement is nauseating to one who is fully acquainted with the facts of the case, and there are a number of people up here, especially those who subscribed to the fund for sending Burke to Circle, who are justly angered by the Bishop's statement. It is doubtless true that the mission people sent some telegraphic messages to the Bishop but it is surely right and just to say that they should pay for the same, even at \$4.80 per message.

In conclusion I would say that, taking Bishop Rowe's statements as a whole, they are calculated to grossly mislead members of the House Committee who, naturally, are not fully conversant with conditions as they exist in Alaska.

Boulter to W. T. Lopp

Tanana, September 2, 1912

I have just received a letter from Mr. Evans in Nome asking me if I would extend my journey down river as far as Loudon so as to meet him there soon after the freeze-up. As I intend to visit Kokrines sometime before Christmas and as I may be of some assistance to Mr. Evans in connection with the reindeer at Loudon, I wired him today stating that I would endeavor to meet him there when he arrived.

After Loudon and Kokrines I propose to visit Rampart, travelling by way of the Yukon River. Some time after Christmas, say, the early part of February, I plan to make my trip to Eagle, travelling by way of Fairbanks and Circle and

returning to Tanana by way of the Yukon so as to make a report on Stevens Village, also to visit Rampart for the second time.

When at Eagle, I wonder whether you would like me to visit the Ketchumstock country? It can be reached in winter after four or five days travel from Eagle. There are a lot of neglected people in this area such as Ketchumstock, Tetlin and Mansfield Indians. The Episcopal Church has lately started a mission at Tanana Crossing but the tribes I mentioned are at some distance—50 miles or so—from the crossing.

Boulter to W. T. Lopp

Tanana, November 2, 1912

I visited Circle on September 12th and am pleased to inform you that everything is going well there. Eleven pupils were in school and there was a good prospect of further children being enrolled later on. The school work is being carried on in the usual good manner—Miss Ellis being very thorough and conscientious in her work.

I have had a new woodshed built at the rear of the schoolhouse for Miss Ellis's convenience. The original shed is now used to store certain school materials. Prior to the new shed being built, the school wood used to be covered in snow during winter and it was hard on the teacher to have to go out into the cold and bring wood into her kitchen and schoolroom. The new shed will keep the wood free from snow and the teacher will not be subjected to the former inconvenience. The walls and ceiling of the schoolroom, which were calsomined and much soiled, are now being repainted. The calsomine was rubbed off before the paint was applied, and the work being done will add much to the cleanliness and cheerfulness of the room.

There is no friction between the school and townspeople. On the contrary, the school and its work are now well spoken of, even by those who formerly were antagonistic toward the school. Among the townspeople, however, there is much division. There are only six or seven white women in Circle but even among this small number there are several cliques. Miss Ellis, recognizing the conditions, wisely holds herself more or less aloof from them all. Consequently, while she does not mix to any great extent with any of them, she is on good terms with them all. She is quite comfortable at Circle and although the winter will be a quiet one for her, it may be a very pleasant one on account of her quiet disposition.

Boulter to W. T. Lopp

Tanana, November 2, 1912

I visited Fort Yukon on September 16th. Miss Breece arrived a few days earlier, but as the schoolhouse needed cleaning and her supplies had not arrived, school was not started until some days after my arrival. The schoolhouse had been unoccupied since Miss Nielsen's departure, during which time there had been many sandstorms and the building needed a thorough cleaning. Evidently, Miss Nielsen did not leave the schoolhouse as tidy as she might have, for on her departure she left some money with Miss Woods to have the floors washed by a native. Miss Woods, however, did not have it done. Probably she forgot all about the matter. Pending the arrival of her supplies, Miss Breece stayed with Dr. and Mrs. Burke and was going to compensate them at the end of her visit. At her request I had the partitions between her living rooms removed, thus making one large room of the three former rooms, namely bedroom, sitting room and kitchen. This is a great improvement and the one large room is now very attractive and home-like. I had a closet built in one corner of the room and some shelves installed on which she can keep part of her supplies. A cellar was dug in the kitchen area so that perishable supplies may be better preserved. With the earth removed from the cellar, the school building was further re-banked, thus the whole building should be extremely warm.

Miss Breece and I called at all the native cabins where she became acquainted with the parents of the children. She plans to hold evening classes for some of the young married people who appeared to be quite interested and promised to attend. Miss Breece, I am pleased to say, takes much pride in the appearance of her schoolroom. She has placed curtains to the windows and hung bright pictures on the walls, and in many ways has added to the schoolroom's cheerfulness. Her schoolroom work is quite satisfactory and the children, while it is yet early to report on their progress, have taken kindly to their teacher and are much interested in their studies. Before I left Fort Yukon, Miss Breece had started school with a fair attendance and there was the prospect of a larger attendance at the end of the fishing season.

Up to my departure from Fort Yukon, after having waited many days for a steamboat, Miss Breece was quite happy and extremely comfortable. There was no friction of any kind between her and the missionaries and it is probable that the two branches may work in harmony with each other. Miss Breece appears to be quite a good and sensible woman and it is her desire to cooperate with the missionaries just as long as she can conscientiously do so. I am pleased with her and I quite think that women of her age make ideal teachers for the lonely places along the Yukon.

Hannah E. Breece to W. T. Lopp

Fort Yukon, October 31, 1912

In this mail I send you the reports of the Ft. Yukon School for September and October. I did not write last month as Supt. Boulter was here quite a while and I supposed he had written. Also the actual time for teaching was so short and the mails have not been regular owing to the "open" fall. Mr. Boulter did so many things to make it pleasant for me. He was indeed a real Superintendent. I think he is the best one I have ever had in Alaska. Understands his business and yet has a kindly way.

I have had a very pleasant time here so far. Of course, there are many things that are not altogether easy to overlook. However, I have tried to have no friction and so far there has been none. The natives have been much interested in the night school, but this month I will have to devise another plan as most of the men will be away trapping. In fact, all of the "night school men" will be away.

We had a very pleasant journey here and were much disappointed that you did not follow—at least as far as Fort Yukon. It is so nice to be where I can have congenial white women for friends. Mrs. Burke and Miss Woods are indeed very friendly and kind to me.

I have upheld, and will uphold, the rights of the government school, but it is most difficult to do so and still be on friendly terms with all. I write for myself only, of course.

Boulter to W. T. Lopp

Tanana, November 2, 1912

The school at Tanana, I am pleased to say, is in quite satisfactory condition. The attendance has been fairly good considering the time of year. Quite a number of the natives have not yet returned to the village from their fish camps but we expect them now that the river has frozen.

The Misses Harper are diligent and capable teachers, and they have spared no pains to make their school work attractive to the children. We thought it best, as there is not yet full attendance, that Miss Jessie should have the morning session while Miss Margaret should take the afternoon class. Both teachers, however, have occupied themselves in school matters even when it has not been their turn to teach. Later on, when we have full enrollment, the two will teach together. Both are excellent teachers and up-to-date in schoolroom methods, especially those relating to kindergarten and primary work. Their manner is kind and winning and yet they are able to preserve good discipline. It is a pleasure, therefore, to speak well about their work. They are quite comfortable in their living quarters and are using the newly boarded-over upper storey to sleep in. During the very severe weather, however, when it may be too cold for them

upstairs, they may prefer to sleep downstairs for a month or two. Their brothers, especially Fred and Charlie, have been very helpful to their sisters and have made several things for them including a dresser and brackets. The Harper boys are building themselves a nice cabin on the trail between the town and the mission, and their sisters are helping them make the cabin more comfortable.

Both teachers have been well received by the better class of white people at Tanana and they should not, therefore, feel lonely or isolated. Some of the [army] post people have interested themselves in the girls, and one of the lieutenants had attended the same school in California as some of the Harper boys. Many of the white people have driven out to the village to visit the girls and the school, and it has been encouraging to hear them speak in high praise of the schoolroom work. As a whole, the school work is more satisfactory than it has been at any former time.

At present there is no friction of any kind between the school and mission. Miss Langdon and the Harper girls are on good terms and there is complete harmony between the two branches of work.

Hudson Stuck to W. T. Lopp and Philander P. Claxton

Fort Yukon, November 14, 1912

I had entertained the hope that the appointment of Miss Breece to the school at Fort Yukon had removed the grave cause for complaint which we have had against the Bureau. Miss Breece is an excellent teacher and is moreover a gentlewoman. She has shown every desire for cordial relations with the mission, a desire which we have gladly reciprocated. Instead of insulting the mission staff, and refusing to notice them when passing on the street as her predecessor did, she has cultivated kindly relations; instead of curtly refusing to allow the native bible class to meet in the schoolhouse, she voluntarily offered it. Miss Breece is, I believe, a Baptist, but she has attended divine service constantly at our church and I do not think the natives know that she is not a member of our communion. In a word she has acted as a tactful friendly gentlewoman, and her long experience in Indian schools adds increased value to her natural capabilities as a teacher. There will be no trouble with our missions and the government schools anywhere so long as you send us teachers such as Miss Breece. I had thought to start on my long winter round of visits to our various stations with my mind at rest as regards the situation at Fort Yukon.

I have been rudely awakened from my dream of peace, however, by the information which I have just received from Miss Breece that she has had a communication informing her that her term as teacher will expire on 30th April, without a word of explanation thereof, although she was sent up here with the expectation of staying at least two years. Coupling this with the knowledge that the school has

always been maintained in the past at this place until the end of June, and with private word that has come to my ears that Mrs. Curtis [Gertrude Nielsen, who had since married] intends returning here in the spring, the suspicion arises, which Miss Breece shares, that it is intended to send Mrs. Curtis back here as teacher.

Such an act, the sending back here of a teacher who has made herself obnoxious to the mission and against whose reappointment a formal protest has been lodged, would be nothing else than an open declaration of war with the mission and would certainly lead to the setting up of a mission school. It is hard to believe that the Bureau of Education could do so foolish a thing, and I hope and trust that there may be some other explanation.

But it would be equally hard to believe that a wise Bureau, desiring cordial cooperation with the mission authorities, should deliberately send two Roman Catholic girls as teachers to another of our missions, despite the Bishop's telegraphed protest, as was done last summer at Tanana. I have nothing against the [Harper] girls, they seem good, well-trained girls; indeed I have every sympathy and liking for them. Their brother, Walter Harper, has been my dog-musher in the winter and my launch-engineer in the summer for the past three years, and I am very much attached to him. I hope to take him out to a technical school next summer. But to any man of experience, the delicacy of the situation that is created when Roman Catholic teachers are intruded into native villages where the whole population belongs to the Episcopal Church, especially at a point on the river where the two religious bodies begin to come into contact, must be apparent. My only feeling is one of great regret that the girls should have become converts to the Roman Church in the last year or so, as I understand. It must seriously interfere with their usefulness at Tanana and should, it seems to me, have contraindicated their appointment there.

I have Mr. Claxton's assurance of his desire for harmonious relations between the mission and the government schools. I have no right and certainly no desire to question the genuineness of that wish. But it is hard to believe that his wish is shared at Seattle and impossible to believe that it is shared by the Superintendent on the Yukon. Shortly before he was searching his brains for reasons to sustain the refusal of the teacher at Fort Yukon of the use of the schoolhouse for a native bible class, he had assured Father Jetté, the Roman Catholic priest and government school teacher at Kokrines (a man for whom all in Alaska have respect as a gentleman and a scholar), that he might make what use of the schoolhouse as he pleased and hold religious services therein whenever he did not care to light the fire in the church. Indeed, Mr. Boulter does hardly attempt to conceal his antagonism to the missions of the Episcopal Church, and sayings from him derogatory to them are continually brought to my ears. Yet Mr. Updegraff informed me that he had appointed Mr. Boulter largely because of his previous connection with the Episcopal Church in its missionary work in Alaska, with the expectation that his exercise of his office of Superintendent of Native Schools would be in sympathy

therewith. That expectation has been wholly unfulfilled. Miss Clark, one of the best teachers ever sent to Alaska, would, I think, be teaching at Tanana now had Mr. Boulter shown a sympathetic attitude to her; instead of which he faulted her, in my hearing, because she was "under the thumb of the mission." We were glad to appoint her to our school at Anvik. Miss Nielsen [now Mrs. Curtis] was supported by Mr. Boulter in her attitude of open and insolent antagonism.

The whole matter of the relations between the missions and the government schools on the Yukon cannot rest where it is. I hope to be Outside next October, attending the General Convention of the Episcopal Church in New York. The Bishop hopes to be there too. If the present unsatisfactory state of affairs continues; if teachers like Miss Breece who show their willingness to work with the missions are summarily removed; if such an outrage as the reappointment of a teacher who has displayed the attitude which Mrs. Curtis has displayed is perpetuated; if Roman Catholic teachers are intruded into our villages against our protests—if these evidences of unfriendliness continue, the whole matter must be brought before the Convention and some resolution taken for the future. We maintained our schools on the Yukon long before the Government had set on foot any work amongst the natives; we can maintain them again if necessary. We are willing to share with the Government the care of the natives; we are not willing to be elbowed out of long-established posts by the setting up, under government auspices, of antagonistic agencies in the very midst of our native tribes. If you were in our position—if I may take that liberty with you—I have no doubt you would feel exactly as we do. If you had been here last winter, confronted by a rudely antagonistic teacher supported by an antagonistic superintendent whose ruling passion seems to be bitter resentment at any seeming invasion of his official authority, I think you would have protested to Washington also.

With the earnest hope that the necessity for the resumption of mission schools along the Yukon may be avoided.

Philander P. Claxton to Hudson Stuck

Washington, DC, December 30, 1912

Referring to your letter of November 14th, I enclose herewith a copy of my letter of July 10th which you state failed to reach you.

I can see no occasion for your assuming that the reappointment of Mrs. Curtis as teacher at Fort Yukon is contemplated by this Bureau. Mrs. Curtis has not requested a reappointment in our service and, in accordance with our policy, it has been my intention to recommend the continuation of Miss Breece at Fort Yukon as long as her services are satisfactory to this Bureau.



Tanana in winter. Collection of Alice A. Boulter.

W. T. Lopp to Hannah Breece

Seattle, December 31, 1912

I received a letter today from Archdeacon Stuck accusing me, by insinuation, of deliberately planning to discontinue you next spring and reappoint Mrs. Curtis. He intimated you fear that such are my plans, and proceeds to make dire threats as to what he will do in case she is returned. I can hardly believe that you would think me capable of doing you an injustice or giving you anything but a square deal. I don't suppose Mrs. Curtis could be induced to return there and teach. She has not sought reappointment in our service. We have absolutely no intention of appointing her or anyone else to take your place. As long as you are willing to remain at Fort Yukon and your work and loyalty is satisfactory to this Bureau you will be reappointed.

The possibility of continuing you the balance of the fiscal year is simply a question of funds. I hope there will be sufficient funds to permit it, but this cannot be determined before February or March. I am glad to know that you and Superintendent Boulter have a mutual appreciation for one another, and sincerely hope you will permit no one to interfere with or destroy the relationship. Your position at Yukon is a difficult one, but I believe you are equal to its requirements.

On December 20, 1912, in the midst of this verbal battle between church and state, the *Yukon Valley News* reported the birth of George Jr., in Tanana.

At 7:30 in the morning of the 16th a big, lusty boy arrived at the home of Mr. and Mrs. Geo. E. Boulter of this city. The boy is said to be an extremely fine specimen of his kind and weighed about 10 pounds. Mother and boy are getting along very nicely. Dr. Pierson is in attendance and Mrs. W. E. Voight is the nurse in charge. Mr. Boulter, who intended leaving for Eagle directly after the holidays, has decided to postpone his departure two or three weeks. By that time, it is hoped, the boy will be strong enough to go along with him, and do away with the necessity otherwise of hiring an Indian.

Boulter to W. T. Lopp

Tanana, December 31, 1912

When I visited the school at Kokrines on November 25th the school work had not started as there were no children in the village. During the month of October there were but two or three women there, the rest of the tribe being on a hunting trip that extended as far as the Kuskokwim. About half the tribe returned to Kokrines on the evening of my arrival, with the rest of the hunters expected in a few days. They brought eight children with them, and with this number, school was opened on the following day.

The Indians would not remain at Kokrines for long, however, as near the middle of December they planned to leave the village again and proceed to Koyukuk where the Christmas potlach was to be held. After these festivities, they would probably return to Kokrines, in which case the school work would proceed uninterruptedly until the end of term.

I had the opportunity of talking to some of the adult natives at Kokrines about their children not attending school because to the absence of their parents and guardians from the village. I am afraid that my talk and counsel had little effect upon them, for they remarked that they were too poor to stay in one place all the time and that it was compulsory to take their children with them. I regret to say that the natives at Kokrines appreciate the advantages of a school less than at any other village in my district. Here they are still very superstitious and cling most tenaciously to their old ideas and customs. The medicine men are still looked upon with a certain amount of awe, and should it happen that the school work was unfavorably thought of by the medicine men, this attitude would permeate throughout the whole tribe. The medicine men at Kokrines are ignorant and resent more or less the "white man's ways," for they pay more heed to their ancient rites and ceremonies than they do toward the school and church.

They surely strive, however, to emulate the white man's ways when it is a question of drinking and gambling. During my visit, the second party of hunters had not been in the village more than three hours before they were all more or less intoxicated. It has always been comparatively easy for the Indians to procure liquor, but since the town of Ruby was established it is easier still. Ruby is thirty

miles below Kokrines, but such is the Indians' craving for whiskey that they willingly undertake this journey to buy liquor. Between Kokrines and Ruby there are several native families living in tents so as to be within easy reach of the greatest city they have ever seen—the mining town of Ruby.

The dissipation of the natives has much to do with the unsatisfactory attendance at school, and unfortunately there are no indications of any decrease in their drinking habits—rather are they more careless and brazen than they were years ago. It is possible that, at the end of the school term, I may have to recommend the discontinuance of the school at Kokrines. It is so little appreciated by the natives that the money spent on it could doubtless be put to more profitable use elsewhere. The Catholics have built a small church at Ruby, and it is probable that the Rev. Julius Jetté will be transferred there, in which case the mission at Kokrines would be temporarily abandoned.

Rev. Jetté, our teacher at Kokrines, has tried for many years to do good work among the Indians but he remarked to me that he was somewhat discouraged at the few results he has obtained. His spare time is occupied with compiling an exhaustive dictionary of the languages spoken by the natives in the Kokrines region. From first to last, including notes and descriptions, this dictionary will contain over a quarter of a million words. It is well to preserve the language of this dying race as, in view of the dissipation among them, they are hastening their end. In all probability there will not be many natives left at Kokrines, except in the churchyard, by the time the great work of Rev. Jetté is finished and printed.

At Mouse Point, six miles from Kokrines, I found an Indian much diseased and thereby spreading contagion among the other people. I directed him to be brought to Tanana. By an arrangement made with the post doctor, the man will be admitted to the military hospital where he will undergo an operation for the removal of one of his tubercular testicles. The cost of the operation will be charged to my authorization for medical relief. The man being destitute, I shall doubtless have to furnish him with some food during his stay there.

Boulter to W. T. Lopp

Tanana, December 31, 1912

When I visited the school at Rampart on December 5th and 6th there were eighteen children in attendance, all of whom will attend more or less regularly throughout the entire term. The fathers of most of the children are white men who have married native women. These men find some occupation in or near Rampart and so their children are not taken away from school. It may be that they are somewhat more intelligent than the native children, chiefly due to their having been taught to speak English from infancy. Thus they more readily understand what is being taught them.

Mr. Rivenburg, our teacher at Rampart, is doing fairly good work and is well liked by both the children and the townspeople. In arithmetic the children are noticeably more advanced than at any other school in my district—due to their previous training as Rivenburg has not taught them long enough to produce such good results. There has been no attempt at manual training as there is only one boy of sufficient age to receive such instruction, and even he is not regular in attendance. Because no school supplies were sent this year, the teacher is placed at a disadvantage. I have, however, managed to send him a few supplies from Tanana.

The schoolhouse and residence are both in good condition and quite comfortable. With ordinary care there should be no accident by fire at either building. All the stovepiping has been thoroughly overhauled and new safeties made for both buildings. We anticipate having a good school garden at Rampart next summer. The children have for many years been interested in caring for their own garden patch, and with this end in view the ground will be ploughed early next spring. Through the courtesy of the agricultural experiment station at Rampart, most of the garden seeds will be furnished by the agent in charge.

There is every prospect that the illegal sale of liquor to the natives will be considerably checked in the near future. On January 26, 1912, I wrote to the district attorney at Fairbanks protesting against the renewal of the saloon license at Rampart on the grounds that liquor had been openly sold to half-breeds, and that the natives at both Rampart and Stevens Village were able at all times to procure liquor from this saloon—either directly or indirectly. The case is now being heard at Fairbanks and in all probability the saloon will be closed, especially as the proprietor of the saloon has been indicted by the grand jury. We are therefore hoping that conditions for at least one hundred miles along the river will be improved.

Boulter to W. T. Lopp

Tanana, December 31, 1912

Personal

Rivenburg, I am pleased to say, is doing better work at Rampart than he did at Stevens Village. He evidently feels that the eyes of the Rampart people are on him for he is more careful than formerly. He was so isolated at Stevens Village that he became rather indifferent to his work, doubtless the cause of the small attendance at school.

I do not place much reliance on Indian reports, but one of the Stevens Village natives (Sam Roberts) called to see me some time ago and reported that Rivenburg would, after ringing the school bell, leave the children alone in the schoolroom while he would retire to his living rooms. At other times—so the

Indian said—Rivenburg would be reading a magazine in the schoolroom and the children would be left to their own devices. I asked him if there was any truth in the Indian's report but of course he denied it.

Knowing the unreliability of statements coming from certain natives I let the matter drop, but at the same time I think it just possible that there might be a certain truth in Sam Roberts's statements. The fact remains, however, that Rivenburg is going better work at Rampart and evidently feels some responsibility, especially as most of the fathers of the school children are white men who would quickly report to those in authority any irregularities in his manner of teaching.

Rivenburg and his wife are much pleased at their transfer and would not willingly leave Rampart for any other place, although they regretted leaving Stevens Village. They are quite comfortable in their residence—Rivenburg having made several pieces of furniture, and in other ways made the place home-like.

Boulter to W. T. Lopp

Tanana, April 28, 1913

The school at Circle was visited on March 24th and 25th. Much of the work is of a kindergarten nature as the majority of the children are quite small. They take a great interest in their studies and good discipline is maintained by Miss Ellis, the teacher. In reading and writing, although there is an improvement, progress is not very marked. The older children have much improved in sewing and nearly all the children are neater in appearance than formerly.

There is a growing tendency on the part of the Circle natives to migrate to Fort Yukon and several families have already abandoned their homes. They have been invited by the missionaries to move down river and I quite think that other families will move to Fort Yukon during the coming summer. It is difficult to determine how many natives will remain at Circle as they themselves are uncertain of their movements.

Miss Ellis has not been very happy during the past winter owing to her unsatisfactory relations with the majority of the townspeople. Circle has always been a somewhat lawless town and it resents the actions of anyone who is not in sympathy with its doings. Miss Ellis absented herself from most of the social gatherings of the town as she did not find them of a nature which she considered entertaining. These social affairs consisted chiefly of dances at which considerable drinking took place among both men and women. Because of Miss Ellis's attitude, she has had to stand practically alone in the town, and any good feeling which existed between her and the other white women has ceased. There are only a few white women at Circle but they can make life unpleasant for anyone who is not to their way of thinking.

Miss Ellis does not desire reappointment at Circle but wishes to be transferred to some school, if possible, in the Seward Peninsula. I recommend that she be transferred as the school work at Circle is necessarily handicapped by the ill feeling of the town toward her. I wish to say that she has done conscientious work at Circle and that the children, under her tuition, have progressed in their studies as well as could be expected.

Boulter to W. T. Lopp

Tanana, April 29, 1913

I visited Fort Yukon from March 30th to April 5th. I did not visit Eagle as I had heard from Mr. Irons, the special agent for the suppression of liquor among the natives, that there were certain matters needing my immediate attention at Fort Yukon. Mr. Wood, the "roving" deputy marshal, was on his way to Fort Yukon and I decided to proceed there without delay.

Fort Yukon has been much agitated over the actions of Dr. Burke, the missionary doctor and commissioner at Fort Yukon. He has lately been prosecuting a white man for unlawfully cohabiting with a native girl. The majority of the people at Fort Yukon claimed that it was not so much the fact of Dr. Burke prosecuting this man, but the fact that he singled out a person for whom it is said he entertains personal feelings of ill-will. Justice, it is said, has been made a travesty of, and most of the Fort Yukon people are incensed at the incompetency and partiality shown by Dr. Burke toward this person.⁶²

A deputation of white men waited upon Dr. Burke a short time ago and asked him to resign [his post as justice of the peace]. He refused to do so, whereupon vague threats of violence were used toward him. The white man who was prosecuted by Dr. Burke is out on bonds and the case will probably be heard before the court at Fairbanks. Miss Breece is liable to be called as a witness

⁶² As is evident from his letter of October 26, 1912, to W. T. Lopp, George was not altogether sympathetic to Dr. Burke, whose actions at the time of the Fort Yukon smallpox epidemic he criticizes in that letter. A medical missionary, Dr. Grafton Burke had arrived in Fort Yukon in 1908 and, in 1910, had married Clara Heinz, a friend of Deaconess Clara Carter (who helped to found St. Matthew's Hospital, in Fairbanks, and subsequently served at Allakaket). Concerned about impact of the whiskey trade, Burke agreed in 1912 to assume the position of US commissioner and justice of the peace at Fort Yukon and proceeded to wield his power to make arrests. As Jane Jacobs points out in *A Schoolteacher in Old Alaska*, "cohabitation" probably amounted to a charge of "living off the avails of prostitution" (231), as opposed to the simple fact of living with a Native woman without benefit of marriage. Jacobs identifies the man charged by Burke as a "young fellow whose gangrenous arm the doctor had saved a few years previously" and who now "purposely paraded his 'unlawful cohabitation' to challenge the doctor's authority" (232). In all likelihood, the man in question was Merle McCambridge, about whose trial we hear more below. McCambridge later married Edith Edlund, and, according to family records, his right hand was partially crippled as the result of a gunshot wound.

although, as far as I can see, any evidence she could offer would only be what she has heard from Dr. and Mrs. Burke.

The mission at Fort Yukon is more divided against itself than at any previous time. While a year ago there was a coolness between certain of the missionaries, there is now a feeling akin to hatred. Miss Woods and her husband [Frank White] are in sympathy with the townspeople and consequently are against Dr. Burke and Archdeacon Stuck, while Miss Breece is on the best of terms with Burke and Stuck but is hardly on speaking terms with Miss Woods. It is a situation that requires the greatest tact and diplomacy to enable one to be on good terms with both factions of the mission people at the same time. Such is the situation at Fort Yukon. Every white person seems to be at enmity with his neighbor.

Many were the complaints made to me—especially by Miss Woods and her husband regarding the excessive gambling that was going on in the town, both among the white people and the natives. Mr. Wood and I did our best to collect evidence regarding the gambling and endeavored to obtain affidavits from those who were loudest in their complaints. We made a special journey one day to a wood camp many miles from Fort Yukon to see some men who had loudly complained about the gambling, and from whom we hoped to obtain some affidavits. Neither they, however, nor Miss Woods's husband were willing to state under oath what they had complained about and upon which they had expressed so much indignation. These people realized that, by making an affidavit, they would probably have to go to Fairbanks later on when they could ill afford to. There is no doubt that gambling is carried on to excess at Fort Yukon but it can only be stopped by an energetic and capable commissioner.

Among the other troubles at Fort Yukon was the case of a man named Peterson—a white man with a native wife. Miss Breece had occasion to reprimand this man's daughter for being late at school and for misbehaving. Such was the girl's unruly conduct that Miss Breece sent her home one day and instructed her not to return until she could better behave herself. Peterson called at school the next day during school hours and acted in such a manner that Miss Breece ordered him out of the building. He raved and stormed and informed Miss Breece that she was a public servant, and consequently his servant, and as such had no right to prevent his child from attending school. He also informed Miss Breece that he wanted his child to have a seat all to herself. This was at a time when, owing to the crowded classroom, the children were seated two to a desk. All this unpleasantness occurred before the school children. Miss Breece was much upset over the affair and told Peterson that his child could not attend school again until at least the time of my next visit.

On arrival at Fort Yukon I made it my business to see Peterson and informed him that the course he had taken was a very unmanly one and that his child should be shown no special favors on account of her father being a white man.

He was given to understand that if he wished his child to attend school he must see that she conformed to the rules and regulations of the school. At last he consented to do this and I accompanied him to the schoolhouse where he made ample apology to Miss Breece for his unbecoming manner.

I further explained to Peterson that, as he wished his child to be called a white child, she was received into our school only by courtesy and not by right. Our schools, I said, were for native children, but white children, were there no white school in the neighborhood, were welcome to attend provided they conformed to all the rules of the school. Peterson said he did not want his child to be received into the school by courtesy and said that he would write to you concerning the matter. I told him he was welcome to do so.

At one time during the winter Miss Breece was much discouraged and, had it been possible, would have contemplated going Outside. She was somewhat mortified to receive the notification from the Department informing her that her appointment would terminate on April 30th instead of on June 30th as expected. It was by a coincidence that, at the same time, she heard many rumors that Mrs. Curtis was to be reappointed to Fort Yukon. The rumors were circulated, so I was informed, by Mrs. Curtis and by Miss Woods with whom Mrs. Curtis corresponds. Miss Breece—coupling together these rumors and the notification from the Department—was greatly upset and thought that the Bureau wished to dispense with her services.

I was able, however, to place the matter in a right light and informed her that there was no truth in the reports concerning Mrs. Curtis, and that the matter of her appointment terminating at the end of April was simply due to the Bureau's limited funds. She saw that she had been needlessly worried. Miss Breece is an excellent woman but she is apt to be oversensitive and to magnify trifles. I sometimes think that, had she not been so outspoken, she might have been on fairly good terms with both factions of the mission people. She now fears that she may be very lonely next winter as her friends Dr. and Mrs. Burke and Archdeacon Stuck are going Outside this summer on a year's furlough, and she will be left in town with Miss Woods.

Miss Breece has done excellent work at the school in spite of many difficulties. The chief drawback to success has been the overcrowded state of the classroom, with two children having to occupy one seat and many having to sit on the floor. Fort Yukon has grown and is still growing. During my visit, there were over thirty children at school, and many times during the winter there have been from fifty to sixty children crowded into the schoolroom. Miss Breece is very popular with the children and they do not willingly absent themselves from school.

The time has now come when it is imperative that something be done to relieve the congested state of the schoolroom. We have two alternatives, namely, either enlarge the schoolroom or use the living rooms as an additional

schoolroom and build a residence for the teacher apart from the present building. The latter plan would, I think, be the best. My suggestion is to retain Miss Breece and to allow her an assistant teacher. The elder children could be taught in the present schoolroom while the younger ones could be taught in the room now used by Miss Breece as living quarters. A residence for both teachers could be built on our school lot. I do not believe Miss Breece could be induced to remain at Fort Yukon unless she could teach under more favorable conditions.

As a social worker, she has done good work. She frequently visits the children's parents and, as she is well liked by all the natives, her visits are very welcome. Miss Breece and I called on everyone in the village. There is a marked improvement in nearly all the cabins which we found to be fairly clean and which contained many comforts and even luxuries such as phonographs. Miss Breece has given cooking instructions in her own kitchen to the older girls, with encouraging results. The girls are quite interested in sewing and have attained a deal of proficiency. They can, with the aid of the teacher, make their own dresses, resulting in their neater appearance.

Night classes have been held for the adults and have been fairly well attended. Miss Breece has also inaugurated a school council composed of both boys and girls. So far it has worked well and promises to aid the teacher and improve certain conditions. The youthful officers of the council appear to feel the dignity of their position and, while in office, would be loath to do anything amiss which might tarnish their official reputation. I think the council will do some good, especially as their advice and decisions are looked upon as final by the rest of the children.

The Reverend William Loola's native classes which were in our schoolroom for the study of the Bible in the Takudh language have ceased to attract the natives and therefore have been temporarily abandoned.

Hannah Breece to W. T. Lopp

Fort Yukon, April 7, 1913

Superintendent Boulter has just left Fort Yukon after a little over a week's visit among us. We all enjoyed his stay in the village, besides it has been of great help to me in my school work.

I will repeat what I said last fall when I did not understand his work as well as I now do—which was that he is the best superintendent I have had in Indian work. The natives have confidence in him and like him.

We are having a very cold April. Not a sign of a break-up at present. I would like to see a blade of green grass most of anything I can think of.

Boulter to W. T. Lopp

Tanana, April 30, 1913

When I visited the school at Eagle last September the work under Miss [Lula] Graves was running smoothly. Toward the end of March, however, Miss Graves notified me by wire that she had but three pupils as the natives were away on a protracted hunt and had taken most of the children with them. I directed her to continue holding school and to do her best under the circumstances. It has not been customary for the natives at Eagle to take their children with them as they seldom have to travel more than twelve to fifteen miles for both moose and caribou.

The natives at Eagle are less prosperous than at any other place in my district. Although there is an abundance of big game in the neighborhood, there are few fur-bearing animals. It is the trapping industry which has made the natives at places such as Fort Yukon and Kokrines so prosperous. There have been a few cases of real destitution at Eagle owing to sickness and old age, for which a sub-authorization for relief was issued to the teacher.

Miss Graves has interested herself in village affairs and made frequent visits to the homes of the children. She has, however, an unfortunate manner when dealing with the natives, and in consequence is not well liked by them. She is inclined to be somewhat autocratic, which they resent. The village is in a better condition, however, owing to the work done by the natives under her direction. Some of the loose river banks which recently caved in have now been cribbed, improving the appearance of the village. Miss Graves has been very energetic in almost compelling the natives to keep their cabins cleaner. She has also been instrumental in having their half-starved dogs chained up instead of being allowed to roam about the village to the danger of the white people. The natives, however, might have done all these things willingly had they been approached with more tact and with a less authoritative manner.

Several of the natives at Eagle have written to me asking that another teacher be sent there on account of their antipathy toward her. They do not always know, however, what is best for them. Miss Graves's manner may not be conciliatory, yet I feel sure that she is activated in her motives by a desire to promote their best welfare.

I do not think we could do better than to retain Miss Graves at Eagle although it is regrettable that she has not yet learned to understand the natives and their ways.⁶³

⁶³ Despite George's concerns, Miss Lula Graves remained at Eagle Village school until 1915. She had previously taught for two years at Eagle City school and from 1917 to 1918 she taught at Rampart.

Boulter to W. T. Lopp

Tanana, April 30, 1913

It is with regret that I am unable to report very favorably on conditions at the school at Kokrines. Our teacher there, the Rev. Julius Jetté, has done faithful and conscientious work, but many of the causes contributing to the unsatisfactory attendance at school have been outside his control. The apathy and indifference of the natives has resulted in a discouragingly small and sometimes total absence of scholars. The natives have not appreciated the efforts made on their behalf and have, indeed, expressed a desire to be left alone and to be allowed that which seems best to themselves.

The potlaches and the large amount of liquor which, unfortunately, they can at all times procure from Ruby, tend to still further lower the general tone of the community. Some of the native women, who until recently did not indulge in liquor, now do so to a large extent whenever they have an opportunity.

The Kokrines natives have had a fairly prosperous winter. It has been a good trapping and hunting season, and all of them have had plenty of money for the purchase of necessities and even luxuries. In addition, they have been able to indulge in their favorite vice of gambling.

In a letter recently received from Rev. Jetté, I am informed that he will be unable to accept reappointment at Kokrines for the next term as he expects to be stationed at either Ruby or Nulato. In view of the unsatisfactory school attendance and the lack of appreciation by the natives for those who have worked on their behalf, it might be as well to close the school at Kokrines for a year or so. By that time the natives might realize what they had lost, and would perhaps be better able to appreciate the advantages of the school were it to be reopened later.

Boulter to W. T. Lopp

Tanana, April 30, 1913

The school at Rampart was visited for the second time on April 15th and 16th. Rivenburg's work appears to be wholly mechanical and without any particular animation. He seldom visits the natives and when I questioned him as to whether or not he hunted up absent scholars, he admitted that he did not.

Just prior to my recent visit he had been absent for several days on a trip to the creeks [perhaps taking photographs], during which time his wife took charge of the school. I gave him to understand that a similar occurrence must not happen again unless he first applied for and received permission to transfer his school duties to his wife. It is such incidents as these, combined with my previous estimate of him while at Stevens Village, that makes me rather hesitate to recommend his reappointment.

I had thought of recommending his transfer to some school other than in my district but perhaps it might be well to let him remain at Rampart for another year in the hope that he will put more life into his work. I am, therefore, recommending his reappointment at Rampart from August 1st to May 31st—ten months at \$110 per month. A vacation during July and the following June would do him no harm. I would like him to be reappointed on August 1st so I can keep him busy that month. I wish to have a woodshed built and to have the walls of the residence calsomined. Rivenburg is quite capable of doing this and, moreover, the work of the garden will help fill out his spare time. He has lately applied for an increase in salary. He has stated to several people how, when at Stevens Village, he was able to save \$1,000 a year over and above his expenses. Any man in his position who can do this hardly needs to have his salary increased.

Boulter to W. T. Lopp

Tanana, May 1, 1913

While I was on my recent long journey my wife was urged by some of the Tanana people to become a member of the local school board. She was asked because of her knowledge of school matters. She accepted the position, which is of course an honorary one, and with two others of the board will assume office about the end of May.

The present teacher at Tanana, Miss Lloyd, has not given entire satisfaction and many of the parents desire a change. The Harper sisters are quite popular in town and it has been suggested by some parents that Miss Jessie Harper be offered the appointment. It is Jessie's wish to accept, should it be offered to her. The position is worth \$150 or \$160 per month for a nine-month term—including furnished living quarters, wood, oil and janitor services.⁶⁴

The way I feel about the matter is this—I do not want my wife to be the means of taking Jessie away from our school in the native village if such should be contrary to your wishes. I realize that you sent the two girls up here hoping they would do good work among their own people. They have done that and have, moreover, kept on the best of terms with the mission people. At the present time, there being no children at the village, Jessie is holding school in a tent on the other side of the river where a large number of natives are camped while hunting. Margaret Harper is looking after the few people left at the village and is staying with Miss Langdon at the mission. Should Jessie be offered the town school, and were she able to accept the appointment, her sister would like the

⁶⁴ The position in question was at the “town school,” that is, the government school in Tanana for non-Native children. At the time, it was not common practice to employ Native teachers in predominantly white government schools; Jessie Harper was an exception.

Indian school, in which case she would continue to stay with Miss Langdon. I think Margaret is quite capable of teaching the Indian school by herself.

I do not want my wife to give her support to Jessie Harper until I know your views on the matter. As the town appointment will doubtless be made as soon after May 31st as possible, I would like you to wire me upon receipt of this letter as to whether or not the suggested plan in regard to Jessie will meet with your approval.

W. T. Lopp to Boulter

Seattle, June 6, 1913

I have read with great interest your report on Miss Breece and Ft. Yukon, and regret to inform you that there is little likelihood that we can enlarge our plant there or give Miss Breece an assistant. With the same appropriation as last year, we cannot hope to increase in any way our expenditures in the Yukon valley, unless for medical work. In order to have a larger allotment for medical work, I am seriously considering the closing of some of our smaller schools in order to provide funds for the extension of our medical service. Therefore I shall be inclined to recommend the closing of the Circle school if the school population continues to diminish. I hope I can find a place in the Nome country for Miss Ellis.

I am glad Miss Breece has been so successful and hope she will decide to remain another year.

We are again embarrassed by the delay in the passage of our appropriation but trust that it will be made before many days. As framed, the bill gives us the same amount as last year, \$200,000 for Education and \$5,000 for Reindeer. We submitted estimates for \$248,000 Education; \$70,000 Medical and \$8,000 Reindeer, but the Appropriation Committee refused to grant us any increases for the extension of our work.

I am not surprised to hear that the Misses Harper have been successful and satisfactory. I am glad Mrs. Boulter is in a position to help them. The arrangement you suggested for next winter, i.e., that one teach the native school and the other the territorial, should work out well. I wish we had sufficient funds to keep both of them.

Boulter to W. T. Lopp

Tanana, June 16, 1913

A few days ago two native women called on me and asked for my assistance with a native woman at the village. They stated that she was very sick and needed medical attention. In view of my not being in a position to engage the services of the army doctors here, I requested Dr. Brown, who is here en route to the States,

to accompany me to the village and to render what service he could. He complied with my request but our combined action has aroused the displeasure of Miss Langdon, the missionary [nurse] at Tanana. She has not written or spoken to me concerning the matter but in a personal letter to my wife she says:

Mr. Boulter's discourtesy can hardly be overlooked. His discourtesy in ignoring the authority and responsibility of the mission and of the nurse who has been caring for a patient for four years by inviting the attendance of a passing physician, without asking the permission of the attending physician, is a setting aside of the recognized etiquette of the medical profession which might well result in making trouble between the management of the mission and those upon whom the mission is dependent, and is something which cannot be allowed to pass unnoticed. It is such disloyalty and such discourtesy which makes for the lack of harmony between the mission and the government employees which Mr. Boulter so loudly deploras.

In the same letter she says that she "has a right to request that I cease to interfere."

This incident is one of many that I have had to put up with from the mission people. Here was a case of the natives applying to me for help and to which I responded to the best of my ability. There is no mission doctor at Tanana. I have made careful enquiries with the doctors at the military post and have been informed that the sick woman in question has not been visited by them. The statement in Miss Langdon's letter referring to the "attending physician" is therefore a willful fabrication. Dr. Artaud at the post has informed me that, such has been Miss Langdon's objectionable attitude toward himself and Dr. Pierson, they will do nothing for her except it be a matter of life or death.

It is safe to say that Miss Langdon is mentally deranged. This opinion of the woman has been expressed to me by Dr. Artaud. Owing to her state of mind, combined with the usual missionary antipathy toward the work of the Bureau, one can readily see how extremely difficult it is to always work in harmony with such people. This incident and other such actions on the part of the mission people makes my work up here at times very unpleasant and not so profitable as it otherwise would be. There is no more personal ill-feeling displayed by Miss Langdon toward myself than there would be toward any other employee of the Bureau. It is simply a case of the mission people wanting the whole field to themselves, and anyone outside the mission whose work brings them into contact with the natives is looked upon with disfavor. The reason that there has not been more friction between the missionaries and myself has been due to my forbearance and toleration.

The attitude of Miss Langdon is such that she claims the sole right to exercise any authority over the Tanana natives. Her contention is that the natives, being on a mission reserve, belong to the mission, and anyone other than mission staff,

whether they be a government employee or not, is looked upon as being more or less an intruder. As her letter was written to my wife and not to myself, I shall take no notice of it but propose continuing what work I can at the village. I trust you will see, however, at what a disadvantage I am placed when my duties bring me into contact with certain missionaries.

Dr. Brown in his examination of the sick woman pronounced her to be suffering from womb troubles, to relieve which an operation would be necessary. The operation could not be performed in the woman's cabin on account of its filthy condition, and there is no other place in which it can be done except at the mission hospital. Owing, however, to Miss Langdon's attitude toward anyone not connected with the mission, the use of the mission hospital is denied us. The sick woman, therefore, must continue to suffer as there is no place where she can be operated on. Following Dr. Brown's advice I have given her some medicine which will doubtless do her some good.

We sadly need a government hospital in the Upper Yukon District but it would be inadvisable to build one near a mission reserve. Were we to have a central hospital along the Yukon I would suggest it be built at Rampart or some place more or less removed from missionary influence.

In George's long annual report for 1912–1913 to Claxton, he made some new recommendations:

[. . .] At Tanana the [school] attendance has been fairly good with the exception of the spring months when almost the entire village migrated across the river for duck hunting and fishing. We were thus left with but one or two children able to attend school, while across the river were at least ten children unable to reach school. In accordance with the teacher's wish, the school work was transferred to a tent across the river near the natives' camp. The tent school was a great success. On most days, owing to favorable weather, school was held in the open air. A number of school books and writing tables were taken across the river and the children were thus furnished with sufficient material to occupy their school hours. During the early part of May the tent school was discontinued and our teacher returned to the village.

School attendance at Fort Yukon has been very encouraging. This has been due to the fact that Fort Yukon is becoming more of a rallying point for many natives who hitherto lived in outlying districts. Many families from Circle have moved to Fort Yukon and there are indications that others will follow. They are attracted to Fort Yukon chiefly on account of its being a fur center where they can market their furs more profitably than elsewhere. Owing to the increased population of the town, our schoolroom has been overcrowded at times. Next term, by admitting only the younger children in the mornings and the older ones in the afternoons, we shall be able to avoid overcrowding and the teacher will be able to do better work.

Many of the brightest children in our schools have been taken away from their respective villages by the missionaries and transplanted to one or other of the

mission boarding houses. The missionaries are seeking only healthy and intelligent children on whose behalf the boarding houses are intended. The weaklings and those who do not show much promise of intelligence are not sought after. Several of our school children have been taken to a mission boarding house at Carcross by Canadian Bishop Stringer, but so far as I can gather those he has taken were born on Canadian soil. While the idea may be good to pay special attention to healthy and intelligent children, the fact that some of them have been removed to mission boarding houses has somewhat decreased the attendance at certain schools. [. . .]

Gambling is still largely indulged in by the natives. Some of them so crave the excitement of gambling that after they have lost their money they will gamble for clothes, household furniture, etc. When they have been reasoned with on the advisability of buying some useful article for their home instead of spending their money on drink, they have replied, "What is the use, I am sure to gamble it away." Not only do the Indians gamble among themselves, but they do so with the low class of white men with which the Yukon valley is infested.

There are few perceptible good results to be seen from the education the native girls have received. The more care that is bestowed upon them by a teacher the more readily are they sought after and ruined by certain white men who have boasted that they are at or near a village "waiting for the girls to grow up." Along the whole stretch of the river between Eagle and Kokrines there are probably not more than three or four virtuous girls and but few virtuous married women, and yet these people attend church, join in the responses and appear for the time being very devout. Their old superstitions enter largely into their lives and in their hearts they fear the medicine men more than they do the missionaries.

Potlaching is an evil which is difficult to eradicate. These festivals, supposedly in memory of the dead, are very harmful and have a tendency to keep the natives in a constant state of poverty. There is little incentive for any one native to get financially ahead of his fellows, for in the event of doing so he would be expected to "potlach" the rest of the tribe. Should he not do so, he would be more or less ostracized by them and his life would be made unpleasant. Some of these potlaches cost the giver a thousand dollars or more. Presents are given to all who attend, but the value of the presents depends upon the rank and standing of the recipient. Among the presents frequently given are rifles, shot-guns, furs, blankets, clocks, phonographs, photographic apparatus, etc. It need hardly be said that few natives know how to use a camera but one will often be found in their cabins.

It is seldom that there is any real poverty among the natives of the interior. Where poverty does exist it is nearly always due to extravagance or sickness. There is, moreover, no occasion for any able-bodied native to be in a state of poverty. The hunting and fishing are good and, in certain districts, the trapping is exceptionally good. At Fort Yukon, Stevens Village, Tanana and Kokrines the trapping season was excellent and the natives there have been fairly prosperous. [. . .]

Recommendations: I would suggest the gradual closing of certain schools along the Yukon which are located on reserves owned by the Episcopal missionaries. These missionaries have, in their arrogance, shown such antipathy toward the Bureau that it has been most difficult to always work in harmony with them. It has

only been a question of funds with them that they have not already established their own schools along the river. There are several indications that much money will shortly be raised by certain missionaries who are about to leave Alaska for the States on a year's furlough. Should they achieve their financial desire they will undoubtedly, as they have openly stated, build schools at certain places where a mission can be established. In view of that contingency, it might be well to take into consideration the purpose of the Episcopal missionaries and to govern our schools accordingly.

I recommend that we have a reservation of our own at some central point along the Yukon. Such a reserve is hardly necessary on account of the poverty of the natives—on the contrary, they are well able to look after themselves. We need a hospital in this district but it would be advisable to build one on ground other than our own. In view of other work in connection with a hospital being taken up by the Bureau, a reservation where we would be unhampered by outside influences would appear to be necessary. To such a hospital could be taken, in the "open" season, those natives who are suffering from an incurable disease and those who, by nature of the disease, are spreading infection among the people with whom they now live.

A sawmill could well be established on such a reservation and the lumber could be used for government buildings, also for cabins for such natives as cared to voluntarily make the reservation their home. The natives could be furnished with lumber in return for their labor at the sawmill and for cutting and rafting saw-logs. It might be well, however, for the Government to own a controlling interest in any cabins that might be built, as thereby those natives who did not live up to the rules and regulations of the reservation could be expelled. For hunting and trapping, the natives would undoubtedly have to travel outside the reservation, but such steps could be taken to see that law and order were maintained within the limits of the reservation. It is probable that, after the reservation gained favor among the natives and they began to voluntarily settle there, enough children would be present to justify a school being established. A government store on such a reservation might be worth consideration. At present the natives are dealt with most unjustly by the majority of local storekeepers. Another feature which might be added to the reservation would be a fox and other live animal farm. Such a farm would be somewhat experimental but, if successful, could doubtless be carried on at a profit to the Government. At one or two places in my district, certain natives have live fox and mink which are enclosed in a wire corral and are kept for breeding purposes. The natives have not had these animals long enough to determine whether or not they will breed successfully but it is quite probable that they will. Their food consists of salmon, rabbits and other food easily obtainable up here.

Were we to have a reservation it might be well if, by arrangement with the Department of Justice, native prisoners sentenced to a long term could serve their time there. They could be made to do much useful work such as clearing the ground, making roads, digging ditches, etc. There are at all times many natives in the various jails along the Yukon River. Life in these jails is made far too pleasant for them and they have practically no work to do. At Tanana where there are generally several natives in jail they are given the usual three meals a day, they are allowed

to play cards, they may smoke, read magazines and listen to the phonograph. This kind of treatment is far from being a punishment to the majority of the natives. Were they placed on the proposed reservation some real hard work might be given to them so that they would hesitate before committing any further misdemeanor when they are released. Prisoners could be looked after by the Bureau for a financial consideration, or they could be looked after in the usual way by a United States deputy marshal.

Lewis A. Kalbach, Acting Commissioner of Education, to Boulter

Washington, DC, July 1, 1913

*As District Superintendent of Schools in the Upper Yukon District of Alaska, with headquarters at Tanana, you will be allowed a per diem not exceeding four dollars (\$4.00), in lieu of subsistence, while away from your headquarters, on official duty.*⁶⁵

Boulter to W. T. Lopp

Eagle, August 9, 1913

I am pleased that you have recommended Miss Graves for reappointment at Eagle. There was no real cause why friction should have occurred between our teacher and Mr. Burgess, the missionary. Miss Graves has done good work here but, as I mentioned previously, she is inclined to draw the rein too tightly over the natives which has not pleased some of them.

At one time during the winter she prosecuted a native for swearing in the village. The case was tried before the commissioner at Eagle and the offender was fined. Burgess was in court and defended the native. I myself think that Miss Graves was hardly justified in having the man prosecuted. He can hardly speak a word of English and can therefore little understand the meaning of the swear-words he used. I have suggested to Miss Graves that she be a little more lenient in regard to the faults of the natives.

There have been wood problems during the last winter. Last autumn Miss Graves made an arrangement with certain natives whereby she would purchase some wood from across the river. This wood was to have been hauled during the winter but, owing to the deep snow and rough ice, the natives kept postponing the hauling until it was too late. After the ice went out, Miss Graves made an arrangement with other natives to raft the wood across the river. In consequence of these natives not fulfilling their contract to raft the wood, Miss Graves asked

⁶⁵ Compare this to Elmer Brown's request on May 4, 1910, that George's expense limit "for board and lodging while travelling on official business from Fairbanks to Valdez, Alaska, February 10 to February 19, be fixed at \$8 per day."

a white man to do the work. This man attempted the rafting but because of some difficulties the raft and wood were lost. The lost wood, however, has been made good by the man and we shall lose nothing over the transaction. The wood matter was one of the causes of some ill-feeling of the natives toward Miss Graves. They resented the fact that a white man was allowed to do the rafting. Owing to their laziness, however, it was necessary for Miss Graves to have someone else do the work. Burgess thought fit to mix himself up in the affair and, to an extent, sided with the natives. I have gone into the matter very thoroughly and am convinced that Miss Graves has acted very fairly toward the natives. The matter, however, is now at an end and I think the natives see the justice of Miss Graves's actions.

An Indian named "Big Jim" is the native marshal here. He seems to have acted as if he were employed in this capacity by the mission people. He is a lay-reader for the mission and receives a salary from them for his services. Burgess [the teacher at the mission] does not, according to the best reports, visit the village very often but seems to rely on the news brought to him by Big Jim. This marshal, observing that Miss Graves and Burgess were not on the best of terms, appears to have made a special point of reporting to Burgess the most trivial incidents in connection with village affairs. This underhanded work by the native marshal has been a source of annoyance to our teacher who is a good and a well-informed woman—to be thus spied upon, as it were, and then reported to a missionary who is not particularly noted for his literary attainments.

Bishop Rowe recognized the injustice of this for, as he told me at Tanana, he had to chide Burgess for acting as he had. The Bishop also censured the native marshal for having unduly exceeded his duties. The commissioner at Eagle and myself have also informed Big Jim as to his duties and limitations. I think he will do better work in the future.

It is with great satisfaction that the better class of white people at Eagle have learned of Miss Graves's reappointment. They hold her in the greatest respect and they realize that she has worked at the village under somewhat trying conditions. With the exception of the native marshal and a few natives with whom Miss Graves had some trouble over the wood question, all the natives are on the best of terms with her. I feel sure that everything will run smoothly during the next term.

Burgess will be leaving here in a few days for a year's vacation, during which time Miss Graves will have the field to herself and will therefore be unhampered in her work. She is happy here and would not willingly give up the appointment to resume similar work elsewhere. She has worked at the village just as faithfully during June and July as she has the rest of the year. She takes a real interest in her work and, with a little more tact and patience, will make a success of things here.

The gardens, over which great pains have been taken, will not be a success this year owing to the absence of rain. In addition to the school garden there are about a dozen good-sized native gardens at the rear of the village. The natives have taken more interest in their gardens than formerly and it is a great disappointment that we will not obtain better results. Miss Graves has worked hard on the gardens and the natives certainly appreciate what she has done for them.

Some further work has to be done on the drain leading from the schoolhouse cellar to the river bank. We had trouble with this drain last year but I hope to have it thoroughly fixed while I am here.

Boulter to W. T. Lopp

Circle, August 18, 1913

I had hoped to hear from you while I was at Eagle in regard to the school at Circle, concerning which I wired you on August 4th. Doubtless you were away from Seattle when my telegram was sent. In it I stated that there would probably be an average school attendance at Circle of seven or eight children. The present indications, however, are that this number will increase as some of the Circle natives who migrated to Fort Yukon during the early summer have now returned to Circle to stay. The Woodchopper Village natives who stated that they were going to return to their own village—about 55 miles up the Yukon—have now decided to remain at Circle. It is difficult to determine in advance just what these people will do. At one time it looked as if the entire village would follow the advice of Archdeacon Stuck and move to Fort Yukon.

Yesterday I took a census of the native population here and found that there will be from thirteen to fifteen children of school age remaining here throughout the coming winter. We could thus count on an average attendance of ten or twelve—perhaps more. The natives, I am pleased to say, appreciate the school here and it would be a disappointment to them if it were closed. If, therefore, it is not too late and funds permit, it might be well to continue the school for another year. There would yet be ample time for a teacher to reach here by the middle or third week of September, in which case the school might begin on October 1st. I would like to hear from you about this as soon as possible.

I left everything at Eagle in good shape. Before leaving I called all the native men together for a general conference. I discussed with them, in the presence of Miss Graves, their so-called grievances of the past winter and came to the conclusion that they had little to complain about. Their chief complaint appeared to be that Miss Graves insisted too much on their keeping the village and their cabins in a sanitary condition. Concerning the wood question, I called the natives to task for their behavior in the matter, especially as Miss Graves informed me that they had placed rocks and stumps in the wood pile they wished

to sell her, thus enlarging the pile and deceiving her. On the whole we had a very satisfactory talk and I am confident that everything will run more smoothly in the future.

On Wednesday (Aug. 20th) I am leaving here in a small boat for Ft. Yukon. If, upon my arrival, Miss Breece has not returned from Ruby, I shall proceed to Tanana and visit Ft. Yukon sometime next month.

Boulter to W. T. Lopp

Tanana, September 4, 1913

I reached here a few days ago from my recent up-river trip. I was disappointed at not seeing either Mrs. Eby or Miss Breece. Mrs. Eby had not reached Circle from Seattle and Miss Breece had not returned to Fort Yukon from Ruby where she and Dr. and Mrs. Burke, together with ten or twelve other Fort Yukon people, had been called to testify in the McCambridge case. Miss Breece, I believe, passed through Tanana a day or so prior to my arrival. She is doubtless now at Fort Yukon. I have heard indirectly that she will be called to Fairbanks during the winter to further testify at the trial of McCambridge. There are many matters I wished to talk over with both Mrs. Eby and Miss Breece. I may therefore visit both Circle and Fort Yukon sometime this month.

At Fort Yukon I spent some time with Mr. Maloney, a new mission worker, who is going to divide his time between Fort Yukon and Tanana. He seems to be a good and broad-minded man, and is going to work on very different lines to those pursued by Stuck and Burke. He is already well liked at Fort Yukon and I feel sure that he and our teacher will get along well together. Mrs. White (Miss Woods) is now no longer connected with the mission as she sent in her resignation at the request of the Bishop.

I am hoping we will soon have a deputy marshal stationed at Fort Yukon. I wrote to Mr. Crossley some time ago concerning the matter, and in reply he stated that he would do his best to have one stationed there. Upon Burke's retirement as commissioner it will be difficult to find a suitable person for the office unless one is sent there from some other place. It will be bad for Fort Yukon should a suitable man not be found, for otherwise there cannot very well be a deputy marshal unless there is a resident commissioner. Mr. Maloney (very rightly, I think) refuses to act as commissioner. He claims that his influence as a missionary would be off-set were he to act as a representative of the law.

Mr. White at Fort Yukon is now running his sawmill and it appears to be quite successful. It is a secondhand affair which cost him less than \$1,000 landed there. He is selling lumber at \$40 to \$50 per thousand feet and has already sold five thousand feet to the natives. Now that the natives can procure lumber at

a reasonable price they are making many additions and improvements to their cabins. I wish we could have a similar mill in connection with our work.

Boulter to W. T. Lopp

Fort Yukon, September 17, 1913

I have returned to Fort Yukon with the purpose of seeing Miss Breece who was detained at Ruby for several weeks giving evidence before the grand jury on the McCambridge case and other matters relating to Fort Yukon. The jury indicted McCambridge and others including two prominent merchants, Horton and Phillips. The jury complimented Miss Breece on her straight-forward evidence and informed her that she was the best witness of all those who testified.

The deputy marshal from Tanana arrived here a few days ago and has taken McCambridge and Horton to Fairbanks. The other men who were indicted are out of town and will have to be sought. Mr. Gillette, the assistant district attorney, is here and has suggested by telegram to the court at Fairbanks that I, as a peace officer, be given instructions to take the other men to Fairbanks. It is therefore probable that Mr. Gillette and myself with two or three of the indicted men will leave here for Fairbanks within a few days. In that event I shall take the opportunity to confer with Judge Fuller and Mr. Crossley. Miss Breece will be absent from Fort Yukon for five or six weeks when she will have to go to Fairbanks around Christmas time to testify regarding Fort Yukon matters.

There is still much friction at Fort Yukon. Mrs. White, together with Mrs. Curtis, entertains the most bitter feelings toward the Burkes and Miss Breece. There is no doubt that Mrs. Curtis has indirectly been trying to supplant Miss Breece as teacher. Both Mrs. Curtis and Mrs. White have influenced the natives to such an extent that some of them have been asking to have Mrs. Curtis reappointed.

A short time ago, the much-talked-of adult Indian Council called on me for a conference. Many matters were amicably discussed but the council as a whole thought fit to introduce the subject of having Mrs. Curtis for a teacher. That ended the conference, for I showed my displeasure and informed them that Miss Breece was here to stay and that they had no right to attempt to dictate to the Government on the choice of a teacher. There is no doubt in my mind that certain white women and some of the men who have been indicted by the grand jury have been talking to the natives and have advised them to ask for a change of teacher. It is only the disappointed white people and the worst class of white men in the town who have suggested that Miss Breece be replaced. Mrs. Curtis is still, to the best of my knowledge, writing to influential people in the States and making many charges—most of which are quite false—against the mission people.

The constant friction and troubles here are telling on Miss Breece. At times she looks very weary and ill owing to the effects of the venomous gossip and false statements about her which have been circulated by persons who are not sympathetic with her work. She is surely a reformer of the most active type, but she is suffering both mentally and physically from her efforts to do good. As I mentioned in an earlier letter, she is apt to unduly brood over conditions here and to distort and misinterpret the actions of persons who are not to her way of thinking. She is, moreover, inclined to be somewhat distrustful toward certain persons who mean her well. She is too out-spoken and would have more friends were she to exercise a little more diplomacy in certain matters. The situation here is strained and I shall feel concerned for Miss Breece should the Burkes go Outside, in which case she would be without a friend in the town. I have suggested to her that she try to take Fort Yukon matters less to heart, and it is possible that my advice may be taken.

The school is progressing well with a fair average attendance. Many families have not yet returned from their fishing camps but will as soon as the river freezes. Quite a number of Fort Yukon natives left here a few weeks ago for New Rampart House on the Porcupine where they will stay the whole winter. Hence, it is probable that we shall not have as many children here as last year. The schoolhouse is in good condition as I have lately had a few repairs done. It is perfectly warm and has a bright and cheerful appearance.

The fishing season has not been successful and many of the natives will have no fish for their dogs this winter. Their unsatisfactory catch, however, must be due to their lack of energy for the fishing season at Eagle has been very good.

At the time of the trial at Fairbanks this winter, there will be no one left at Fort Yukon to look after the place. It is therefore probable that, unless I hear from you to the contrary, I may spend two or three weeks here during the early part of the winter so that some law and order may be maintained during the absence of Miss Breece and the Burkes. Should I do so, I propose to hold school as often as practicable.

I have recently appointed a truant officer for Fort Yukon, and similar appointments will be made at other places where it is practicable.

There is every prospect of an early winter as it is quite cold and the snow has been on the ground for some time.

Boulter to W. T. Lopp

Tanana, September 27, 1913

I returned to Tanana a day or so ago from Fort Yukon in company with Mr. Gillette. We did not bring any of the indicted men with us as a deputy marshal has been sent after them.

Fort Yukon is now much agitated over the land question. The mission people—claiming their square mile—are endeavoring to drive off most of the white people and some of the stores located on their reserve.⁶⁶ Some of these buildings will be swept into the river next spring if the main channel continues to wash away the banks, and injunctions have been issued to prevent the owners from rebuilding. There is bound to be a law suit over the affair and it will surely be an interesting one.

There is still much animosity existing between Miss Breece and Mrs. White. Mrs. White has a protege—a half-witted native boy—who attends our school. During my recent visit to Fort Yukon, Miss Breece had occasion to correct this child for telling lies and lightly strapped him across the legs with a shawl strap. The boy then stayed away from school for several days and it was given out that he was sick in bed from the effects of the strapping. Mrs. White sent for me and told me that the boy was very sick, also that his legs were very much swollen with the veins protruding, etc. I told her that if such was the case it was her duty to call in Dr. Burke. On no account would she do this. I therefore asked to see the boy. She then became embarrassed and said she could not find him. I discovered the boy later in the schoolroom, whereupon I called in Dr. Burke, Mr. Gillette and Miss Breece. Together we examined the boy's legs and found them to be perfectly normal and, in fact, there was and had been nothing the matter with them. Mrs. White had concocted this story for the sole purpose of trying to injure Miss Breece. Such is the ill-feeling between these two women.

During my visit there was a fair attendance at school. The schoolhouse is warm and comfortable and there is no reason why Miss Breece should not—apart from the friction in town—spend a pleasant and profitable winter.

Boulter to W. T. Lopp

Tanana, October 7, 1913

The school work at Tanana is progressing well. We began with only a few scholars as quite a number of families are still at their fish camps where they will remain as long as possible because of the somewhat small catch they have had to date.

There has lately been a deal of sickness in the village and several deaths have occurred among the younger people. The sickness which has carried them off has been of short duration—generally lasting but a few days. A short time ago I held an investigation at the village concerning the death of a young girl who died

⁶⁶ "Claiming their square mile" refers to the 640 acres (one square mile) originally allowed to missionary stations under section 8 of District Organic Act (1884). As we saw in the introduction, the Act of June 6, 1900, reaffirmed the right of missions to their 640 acres, specifying that "the Indians or persons conducting schools or missions in the Territory of Alaska shall not be disturbed in the possession of any lands actually in their use or occupation."

suddenly at Old Station and whose body was brought to Tanana for burial. As there were rumors that she was pregnant and that some drugs had been given to her to prevent the birth of the child, an investigation was thought necessary. The rumors were false, however, as Dr. Pierson made an examination of the body at my request and found no traces of anything wrong. There are now several sick children in the village who have been brought here from Old Station and Crossjacket. They are suffering from a peculiar disease which attacks them in the lower limbs and has the same effect on them as paralysis would have. Doctor Pierson, who has been in constant attendance, pronounces the disease to be a form of infantile paralysis which is infectious—more so among children than adults.⁶⁷ I have, at the suggestion of Dr. Pierson, instructed the natives of the village not to allow their children to go to town, and as far as possible we are trying to prevent the children who are well from entering the cabins of those who are sick. This is difficult to do but it will be carried out as far as possible.

I was present at the adult Indian Council yesterday and explained the nature of the disease running through the village, and asked the Indians to see that the doctor's orders were carried out. They promised they would. The mayor at Tanana has been notified by Dr. Pierson about the disease and steps have already been taken to see that as few native children as possible come to town. At the post, no one from the village is allowed except those on strictly official business. At the present time the disease has somewhat abated, but a day or so ago we were contemplating closing the school until the sickness is over. As it is, we are strictly limiting attendance to those we know to be perfectly well. Regarding the possible closure of the school I shall be wholly guided by Dr. Pierson's advice. He deserves our thanks for all he has done on behalf of the natives. He has constantly visited the village which is three miles from the post and has rendered valuable assistance without compensation of any kind. Dr. Pierson was here seven years ago, and after his long absence is again stationed here. Consequently, the natives know him very well and have great confidence in him.

The missionaries here are doing good work. Deaconess Pick is in charge while Miss Dorothy Tate, who is a trained nurse, is in constant attendance upon the sick. The Rev. E. Maloney has taken up his headquarters at the village and will, I think, make a success of his work. The work of the missionaries and that of the Government is running smoothly and there seems to be a desire on all sides for cooperation.

Both the schoolhouse and residence are in good repair and thoroughly warm. New flooring has been put down in the schoolroom and storm windows have been placed on all the windows. The new flooring has been given two coats of boiled oil which will not only preserve the wood but tend to make it easier to keep clean. Both buildings have been well banked with earth. Our teacher, Miss

67 Infantile paralysis is a now somewhat outdated term for polio.

[Margaret] Harper, is boarding with the mission people and this arrangement appears to be a happy one.

As soon as the river freezes I propose visiting Crossjacket. There are from fifty to sixty natives in that locality, some of whom are sick. I also propose visiting Kokrines sometime in November. Some sickness has been reported both there and at Mouse Point. About the first of December I shall be leaving here for Fairbanks to attend the court.

Boulter to W. T. Lopp

Signal Corps telegram, Gibbon, October 22, 1913

Am leaving for Crossjacket tomorrow morning. Much sickness among natives. Letter follows concerning leave.

Boulter to W. T. Lopp

Signal Corps telegram, Hot Springs, October 28, 1913

Several deaths Crossjacket infantile paralysis also serious case near here. By advice Assistant Commissioner Health Fairbanks will quarantine about dozen natives. Am returning Crossjacket today. Letter follows.

Boulter to Philander P. Claxton

Tanana, November 30, 1913

ALASKA SCHOOL SERVICE SUPERINTENDENT'S MONTHLY REPORT,
NOVEMBER 1913

Places Visited: Crossjacket, Hot Springs, Old Station, Mouse Point, Kokrines

- Nov. 1–5 *In charge of quarantine station at Hot Springs Slough which was maintained from Oct. 28th to Nov. 5th inclusive. The quarantine was established on account of an epidemic of infantile paralysis occurring among the natives. Eleven natives died from this disease—six at Crossjacket and five in the neighborhood of Tanana. Several natives have been left hopelessly paralysed as a result of this epidemic.*
- Nov. 6–8 *Travelled from Hot Springs Slough to Tanana by dog team, taking a native boy with infantile paralysis to hospital at Tanana. Distance 65 miles.*
- Nov. 12 *Visited school at Tanana Village.*

- Nov. 18–26 *Travelled by dog team from Tanana to Kokrines and return. The journey was accomplished with some difficulty on account of deep snow and unbroken trails for nearly the whole distance. Distance 95 miles each way.*
- Nov. 27 *Thanksgiving Day. Attended school entertainment at Tanana Village.*

Boulter to W. T. Lopp

Fairbanks, December 10, 1913

On November 18th I left Tanana for Kokrines. Nearly all the natives were away but I was fortunate in being able to see Chief John with whom I discussed school and other matters.

Chief John is not an ideal chief as he is over-fond of liquor, as are nearly all the Kokrines natives. He showed some desire that the school should be reopened but his enthusiasm was not very marked. I pointed out to him that he, as Chief, should have more control over his people than he now has and that, if he and his people did desire the school to be reopened, it was his duty to set the others a good example by abstemious and thrifty habits.

Some impression was made on Chief John by informing him of the assertion of Chief Ivan at Crossjacket that, should a school be established there, he would guarantee that the children would remain at school throughout the whole term. Chief John—not wishing to be less ambitious than Chief Ivan—then informed me that as soon as the natives returned to Kokrines from their hunt he would call them together and see if some arrangement could not be made whereby, should the school be reopened, the children would not be taken away from it.

It is probable that the medicine men at Kokrines have too much influence over the natives to agree to any proposal that Chief John might make regarding the school. The majority of the natives there do not value the advantages of a school. On the contrary, they look upon it as something that interferes with their old-time customs and superstitions. One of the native children at Kokrines is being brought up by a white trader and his native wife. The child is being taught English by these people but there is much opposition to this from the medicine men. Kokrines has ceased to be a permanent residing place for the natives and has become more or less a rallying point where they meet about twice a year, at midsummer and at Christmas time. They are now scattered up and down the river and have built themselves cabins at many different places. The attractions at Ruby, and the comparative ease with which they can procure all the whiskey they can pay for, are among the chief causes of their deserting Kokrines.

The natives at Kokrines are notorious gamblers. I am informed that they often play for high stakes and that on a recent occasion a certain native lost

over seven hundred dollars at a single sitting. The trapping season is unusually good and this, combined with the high price of furs, is a source of much money being at their disposal—most of which is either gambled away or spent on liquor. Under these conditions it can readily be seen why they display much apathy toward school matters. Chief John, however, has promised to write to me later on with the result of the conference he is going to hold with the other natives.

There are about sixty-five adults who have their headquarters at Kokrines and from sixteen to twenty children of school age at the village and in its vicinity. With a little effort by the parents, nearly all these children could attend school. As it is, they are now living at various camps and go on protracted hunts with their parents and guardians. At Mouse Point, six miles above Kokrines, there are ten or twelve adults and six children of school age. Should it be thought advisable to reopen the school next year, I would suggest that a woman teacher be sent there. A good middle-aged woman might be able to do something for these people and might be the means of their refraining from some of their vicious habits.

The health of the natives, both at Kokrines and Mouse Point, appears to be fairly good. There was no sickness at the time of my visit with the exception of an old woman who is in an advanced stage of tuberculosis.

Boulter to W. T. Lopp

Fairbanks, December 10, 1913

Personal

The position of teacher at Kokrines appears to be much sought after by some people. Last autumn I received a telegram from a saloon man at Ruby requesting that his daughter be given the position. I answered his telegram in a very few words. Ruby is so poverty-stricken that anything which looks like ready money is eagerly sought after. There is another man from Ruby, a Mr. Light, who is employed by Governor Strong as an agent for the suppression of the sale of liquor to natives. This man is one of the cheap politicians with which Alaska is infested and who has thought fit to wire Governor Strong concerning our school at Kokrines. He has been talking up and down the river that a certain woman he knows would be an ideal teacher for Kokrines. I happen to know this woman, and will tell you in a few words about her in case Governor Strong or anyone else should think fit to nominate her as a teacher. Her name is Miss Galbraith. I knew her in Tanana years ago when she was a waitress in the employ of Mrs. Cooper. When at Tanana she made a proposition to Rosin that they go to Iditarod together and open a hospital. The proposed partnership fell through and she went to Iditarod alone. During the last few years she has been located at various camps, including Ruby, and is known as something or other "Kid." She

is now cooking in a roadhouse kept by a Mr. Grider where I stayed on my recent trip to Kokrines. I do not say that she is a bad woman but she is of the adventurous type and quite unsuitable for a position in any of our schools.

It might be well, should Governor Strong pay any heed to Mr. Light's telegram, to suggest to him (Strong) that Light be given instructions to attend strictly to his own duties and not interfere with matters that concern the Department of the Interior. It is a perfect farce the way in which the funds of Governor Strong for the suppression of the sale of liquor to the natives are squandered. The men employed by him are travelling all over the country and all their movements are known and heralded in advance. The only way to suppress this sale would be to employ secret service men—men who would act as detectives and thereby secure results.

Boulter to W. T. Lopp

Fairbanks, December 10, 1913

Shortly before leaving Tanana I was subpoenaed by the court at Fairbanks to appear on behalf of the Government in the case of McCambridge of Fort Yukon. I am thus here on two subpoenas, one issued by the defendant Horton of Ft. Yukon, and the other on behalf of the Government. The trial of these men was to have taken place on the 8th or 9th. Owing to the pressure of court business, however, the trials may not take place for several days—possibly a week or more.

Of a total white population of about twenty people at Fort Yukon, fourteen are now at Fairbanks, having been subpoenaed to attend the court. There are also over a dozen Fort Yukon natives here who have been subpoenaed on behalf of various cases. In addition to the trial of Horton and McCambridge, the mission reserve question at Fort Yukon is to come before the court. Miss Breece may have to remain here for that case as well. At the conclusion of the cases for which I have been subpoenaed, I shall proceed to Fort Yukon to look after the place during the absence of Miss Breece and Commissioner Burke.

My expenses to Fairbanks from Tanana will be defrayed by the Department of Justice. From Tanana it was necessary to hire a dog team and driver to take me to Fairbanks. As I shall be going to Fort Yukon from here, the driver and his dog team will return to Tanana alone. The Court has allowed \$180 for the hiring of the team. This is at the rate of \$15 per day for 12 days (six days each way). The stage fare from Tanana to Fairbanks is \$60. Because of my recent return from Kokrines I was unable to take the stage, and the following stage would have brought me to Fairbanks one day too late. Special transportation, therefore, had to be secured and the cost of it has been allowed by the court.

From here to Fort Yukon I can probably arrange for my transportation with one of the many witnesses who will be returning there at about the same time I desire to go.

Boulter to Philander P. Claxton

Fairbanks, December 12, 1913

In accordance with the instructions contained in your telegram of November 21, 1913, I herewith submit a list of the villages in my district which are unprovided with schools. In addition, there are probably over two hundred migratory natives and at least forty children of school age who are not living in villages. These people are temporarily dwelling in tents and in small settlements of one or more cabins. Even at the villages I have enumerated, the Indians are very migratory in their habits and seldom congregate there more than two or three times a year. The length of time they usually remain in these places would not exceed a total of probably three months in each year. The rest of the time would be spent in the hills where they engage in hunting and trapping. Among the most permanent villages in the attached list are Stevens Village and Crossjacket. At these places we could be more or less assured of a satisfactory school attendance.

Charley Creek: *On the Yukon River, eighty miles above Circle. Total population 35. Children of school age 8.*

Woodchopper Creek: *On the Yukon River, fifty-five miles above Circle. Total population 36. Children of school age 7.*

Birch Creek: *Six miles above the mouth of Birch Creek, which flows into the Yukon half-way between Fort Yukon and Circle. Total population 24. Children of school age 5.*

Stevens Village: *On the Yukon River, ninety miles above Rampart. Total population 85. Children of school age 16.*

Old Station: *On the Yukon River, sixteen miles below Tanana. Total population 42. Children of school age 8.*

Mouse Point: *On the Yukon River, six miles below Kokrines. Total population 22. Children of school age 6.*

Kokrines: *On the Yukon River, ninety-five miles below Tanana. Total population 93. Children of school age 18. (At this place we have a schoolhouse and a teacher's residence but the school is closed).*

Crossjacket: *On the Tanana River, forty miles below its confluence with the Yukon at Tanana. Population 55. Children of school age 12.*

Chandler Village: *On the Chandler River, which flows into the Yukon above Fort Yukon. Population 45. Children of school age 9.*

Tolovana: *On the Tanana River, 133 miles from its confluence with the Yukon at Tanana. Total population 35. Children of school age 7.*

Ketchumstock, Mansfield, Tetlin: *Three villages located near Tanana Crossing, which is situated on the Tanana River below Fairbanks. Total population about 200. Children of school age about 60.*

Minto: *Near the Tanana River, 183 miles from its confluence with the Yukon at Tanana. Total population 35. Children of school age 7.*

Christian's Village: *On the Black River, sixty miles north of Fort Yukon. Total population 55. Children of school age 18 or 20. (Chief Christian is a good man and would much appreciate a school in his village).*

W. T. Lopp to Boulter

Seattle, December 12, 1913

The Commissioner would like to find out what taxes are paid by the natives of Alaska and the amount of such taxes; also how much of these taxes has come back to the natives, or what benefit the natives have derived from such payments.

Will you kindly send the Commissioner as complete and definite information as you can obtain on these subjects.⁶⁸

Boulter to W. T. Lopp

Fairbanks, December 13, 1913

On Thanksgiving Day I attended the entertainment at the Tanana village school to which many of the white people were invited. Although it was a very cold day, quite a number of people from the military post and town journeyed the three miles in order to be present.

Our teacher, Miss Harper, had been preparing the children for this program for some time. It was very successful and a source of pleasure both to the guests and to those in charge of the school. Among the features were singing, reciting and drilling, all of which were done well by the children. Examples of their schoolroom work such as writing, sewing, drawing and painting were on view and were favorably commented on by all present. In addition to the white people, quite a large number of adult natives attended. One and all enjoyed the occasion which reflected great credit on our teacher.

I have visited the school many times during the present term. Miss Harper is doing good and conscientious work, and the children are making satisfactory progress. Once every week they are given a bath in the schoolroom, which is much appreciated both by them and their parents. Miss Harper is devoting considerable effort to teaching the girls cooking. She frequently holds classes in her cabin where the girls are taught bread making, etc. Cleanliness in cooking is an important feature dealt with by the teacher.

68 As is evident from his letter to Lopp of October 22, 1914 (below), George received this request only some eight months later.

The schoolhouse and residence are warm and attractive. The new flooring and the storm windows that were put on in the Fall have added considerably to the warmth of the buildings. The walls of the schoolroom are decorated with examples of the children's work and it is a matter of pride to them to have their best work thus exhibited.

It is pleasing to report that perfect harmony continues to exist between our teacher and the mission people. Miss Harper is boarding at the mission house where, for the first time in many years, there is a complete absence of friction.

Boulter to W. T. Lopp

Signal Corps telegram, Fairbanks, December 16, 1913

May be detained district court until after Christmas. All schools visited during fiscal year. Health natives normal. Many matters necessary confer with you. My wife about to undergo operation. Upon termination court may I proceed States via Valdez on official business. Request to begin leave of absence after arrival States.⁶⁹

Boulter to W. T. Lopp

Fairbanks, December 17, 1913

I beg to inform you that, while at Fairbanks, Mrs. Curtis made oral application to me for a position as teacher at Fort Yukon. Such is the animosity of most white people toward Miss Breece that they have taken for granted that she will not care to teach there next year. Mrs. Curtis and her associates have even gone so far as to say that Miss Breece would hardly dare return to Fort Yukon at the expiration of the cases now pending at the district court. I need hardly say that Miss Breece will return to Fort Yukon just as soon as she can. Her return, however, will be unpleasant owing to the acute ill-feeling displayed toward her by certain white women who have thought fit to identify themselves with the vicious element in town. There is also some ill-feeling existing between

⁶⁹ The nature of this operation is unknown, although it seems unlikely that it was anything serious. Alice and George Jr. (who was then only a year old) had accompanied George from Tanana to Fairbanks on December 2, and the three of them remained there until the start of the new year. On January 3, they travelled to Valdez and then on to Cordova, on the Gulf of Alaska, to board the SS *Mariposa*, which arrived in Seattle on January 26. George's seven-line superintendent's report for December 1913 and January 1914 consists only of these travel details, along with a note that, on January 1 and 2, he was "detained at Fairbanks upon District Court cases." After arriving at the Seattle headquarters of the School Service, George requested a conference in Washington, DC (although he did not specify with whom). Lopp was in Washington at the time, and H. C. Sinclair, in the Seattle office, forwarded George's request to him there. The reply, from Philander Claxton, appears below.

Miss Breece and Miss Effie Jackson who is looking after the mission during the absence of Dr. and Mrs. Burke. Certain people have ventured the opinion that Miss Breece would not be willing to seek reappointment at Fort Yukon next year. It is yet early to say whether she will apply. It may even be thought advisable to transfer her to some other place where conditions would be somewhat easier. However this may be, I felt called upon to tell Mrs. Curtis that it would be perfectly useless on her part to apply for a school position at Fort Yukon. She asked if she might write to you on the matter. I told her she was at liberty to do so, but that she could not rely in any way on my support. She therefore does not feel very kindly toward me at the present.

It may be due to Mrs. Curtis having a husband who is somewhat worthless, but she has surely drifted away from the few people at Fort Yukon who are trying to do the right thing, and has associated herself with a class of people whose reputations would not bear the strictest investigation. She has continued to write a large number of letters to influential people in the States concerning certain missionaries at Fort Yukon and, from what I can learn, has begun to attack our school and its teacher in her letters. I would suggest that, should the Department receive any letters from her about our school, the same be treated with a deal of reservation.

Mrs. White (Miss Woods), a good friend of Mrs. Curtis, has several times hinted that she too would like the position as teacher at Fort Yukon. In consequence of my not advancing the cause of these two women—together with their positive hatred of Miss Breece—they will, and probably have already, resort to any means to disparage the work of the Government up here. I will relate a trivial incident that occurred last September but which has been magnified out of all proportion by Mrs. Curtis during her stay at Fairbanks.

I have been asked officially whether the United States flag had been lowered at Fort Yukon following the death of a missionary. I replied that it had been lowered—not so much because the deceased was a missionary but because he had been a friend to the Indians. The missionary in question was Archdeacon McDonald. He was well known and loved by the Fort Yukon natives, having lived among them thirty or forty years ago. When the news of his death reached Fort Yukon, all the flags were lowered with the exception of our own. Chief Robert then came to Miss Breece and asked her (such was the respect in which Archdeacon McDonald was held by him and his people) that our flag be placed at half-mast. This request Miss Breece willingly acceded to. I myself was not at Fort Yukon at the time the flag was lowered but arrived in time for it to be raised. I have related the foregoing to illustrate the venomous disposition of Mrs. Curtis and the trivial matters over which she and her associates are trying to make trouble. I would be much pleased if you would write to Mr. Crossley, the district attorney at Fairbanks, regarding this view of Mrs. Curtis, Mrs. White and

the trouble-makers in general. He has stated that he would be very glad to give you all the information at his disposal.

There are many cases before the court here in connection with Fort Yukon. Not only are two white men on trial for cohabiting with native women, but certain charges against Dr. Burke—as a commissioner and as a medical man—are being tried before the grand jury. After these cases are disposed of, the land question at Fort Yukon is to come before the court. I am a government witness and must come before the grand jury in regard to the investigation concerning Dr. Burke.

Boulter to W. T. Lopp

Fairbanks, December 24, 1913

I wish to report that the case of the Government versus Horton of Fort Yukon was concluded last Saturday. The trial lasted six days and at its conclusion the jury retired but a few minutes—returning a verdict of not guilty. Because of the statements made by Miss Breece and others to the grand jury at Ruby last summer concerning conditions at Fort Yukon, Horton had been indicted for unlawfully cohabiting with a native woman.

During the recent trial, which has excited a deal of comment both here and elsewhere, there was little direct evidence offered by the prosecution. Some of the native testimony was good. Miss Breece and Dr. and Mrs. Burke, although they were undoubtedly correct in their assumptions regarding Mr. Horton's conduct, yet, when it came to offering any positive evidence against him, they were unable to produce any testimony to which much weight was attached.

Such ill-feeling has existed between nearly all classes of people at Fort Yukon that during the trial much of the slander and petty spitefulness that has occurred was brought into prominence. There has been much adverse criticism by the majority of the people up here concerning missions in general, and the Fort Yukon mission in particular. It is generally conceded that the missions have been conducted in an arrogant spirit and that the conduct of certain missionaries has not been altogether without reproach. The career of Dr. Burke was made public at the trial. The defendant's counsel made a special point when questioning certain witnesses of bringing out the weaknesses and irregularities in Dr. Burke's conduct. The evidence placed him and the Fort Yukon mission in an unenviable and somewhat humiliating position.

During the trial, Miss Breece and Mrs. Burke were openly accused in court by the defendant's counsel of attempting to influence some of the natives in the witness box by nodding and shaking their heads at them with the view of intimating to the natives whether they should answer certain questions in the affirmative or negative. This action on the part of the counsel for the defence was

one of the many mean methods they resorted to when attempting to disparage the character of some of the government witnesses. I need hardly say that Miss Breece and Mrs. Burke were entirely innocent of these charges. Notwithstanding the baseness of the accusation, there were a number of witnesses placed on the stand who testified that the alleged offence had been committed. The matter, however, was waived and finally had no bearing on the case. It was unpleasant, and much sympathy was expressed by the better class of people to the two women for having been subjected to the painful incident.

Today the case of the government versus McCambridge of Fort Yukon was concluded. This man was indicted by the grand jury at Ruby last summer for having unlawfully cohabited with a native woman. The jury returned a verdict of not guilty. In this case the evidence of guilt was complete, but it appears to be the set purpose of the people up here not to convict anyone against whom any of the Fort Yukon mission staff have testified.

The grand jury here have not yet returned their verdict in regard to the investigation of charges preferred against Dr. Burke. Because of the bitter feelings in town toward him and the Fort Yukon mission, it is quite possible that he may be indicted on some charge or other. The Fort Yukon people, together with Burke's many enemies now at Fairbanks, appear determined to hound him to the finish.

Much perjury has been committed by these people during the recent trials—in fact there is nothing they should stop short of to gain their ends. It is a deplorable situation and I much regret that Miss Breece feels it her duty to return to Fort Yukon. I suggested to her that I might be able to arrange a transfer for the rest of term. She prefers, however, to return to Fort Yukon and to continue her school work to the best of her ability.

I am pleased to report that a deputy marshal has been appointed for Fort Yukon. Thus will our teacher have some protection from the unprincipled people in the town.⁷⁰

70 In her memoirs of Alaska, Hannah Breece made little reference to events at Fort Yukon, but see the discussion offered by Jane Jacobs in *A Schoolteacher in Old Alaska: The Story of Hannah Breece*, 228–38 (“Fort Yukon Troubles”). Hudson Stuck wrote about the trials in an article for the *New York Evening Post* that was reprinted in the *Boston Evening Transcript*, February 18, 1914, under the title “Alaska’s Angry Natives: What the Indians Suffer from Dissolute Whites.” Describing James Crossley as a “resolute and fearless district attorney,” Stuck wrote that Crossley had made himself so unpopular among the local white population that “a concerted effort is now being made to secure his removal, after repeated unavailing efforts to secure the removal of Dr. Burke.” Indeed, Crossley was asked to resign as district attorney, and Burke was likewise dismissed from his position. Hannah Breece completed the school term at Fort Yukon at the end of April and then moved south to another government teaching position, and milder weather, at Wrangell. She retired from the Alaska School Service in 1918 after serving fourteen years, then a record for a government teacher.

Philander P. Claxton to Boulter

Department of the Interior telegram,
Washington, DC, January 30, 1914

You are hereby directed to proceed to Washington, D.C., for conference with me regarding the work of the Bureau of Education in the Upper Yukon District of Alaska.

Your expenses for transportation and subsistence while on this detail will be paid from the appropriation Education of Natives of Alaska, 1913–1914.

Boulter to Philander P. Claxton

Washington, DC, February 11, 1914

I herewith make application for a three-month leave of absence to begin on February 14, 1914.

It is now four years since I have had a vacation—having been stationed in the interior of Alaska where it has been impracticable to take advantage of the annual leave. From my headquarters at Tanana it takes approximately three weeks to reach the coast; therefore, on an annual leave of one month I could not satisfactorily have taken a vacation. In view, therefore, of the unusual conditions existing in the interior of Alaska, I would ask you, if possible, to kindly allow me two of the three requested months on full salary.

Trusting that my requested leave of absence may be granted.⁷¹

Philander P. Claxton to Boulter

Department of the Interior telegram,
Washington, DC, May 18, 1914

You are hereby directed to return to your headquarters at Tanana, Alaska. Your expenses for transportation and subsistence from Washington, D.C., to Tanana, Alaska will be paid from the appropriation Education of Natives of Alaska, 1913–1914.

⁷¹ During this leave of absence, George, Alice, and George Jr. continued their journey from Washington, DC, to Austin, Texas, to visit Alice's aunts, and then travelled to New Orleans to see her family there. Early in March 1914, they sailed from New York to England on the SS *Carpathia* (the Cunard liner that had rescued the only survivors of the *Titanic* in 1912). Alice kept a diary of their travels, which has, unfortunately, been lost. After a long visit to George's family in London, they returned to New York on board the Norddeutscher Lloyd liner SS *George Washington*. Passenger lists for its sailings show that the Boulter family departed Southampton on May 3, 1914, and arrived New York on May 11. This must have been the *George Washington's* next to last arrival in New York under the German flag, as she was interned by the United States on June 9, less than a month later, at the outset of World War I.

Philander P. Claxton to Franklin K. Lane, Secretary of the Interior [with copies to Boulter and W. T. Lopp]

Washington, DC, April 17, 1914

Replying to the letter of the Assistant to the Secretary, April 15, transmitting a letter from the Secretary of Commerce dated April 9, 1914, accompanied by a copy of a letter from Reverend P. T. Rowe, Bishop of Alaska, dated March 9, 1914, calling attention to the desirability of securing Indians in Alaska the exclusive rights to their villages which they have had from time immemorial; and requesting to be advised as to what steps have been taken by this Office in relation to setting aside for the use of the Indians lands in Alaska, I beg to report that during February, 1914, Bishop Rowe, while in Washington, urged the representatives of the Bureau of Education and of the General Land Office the necessity of setting aside a tract of land at Fort Yukon for the use of the Indians at that place.⁷²

On February 24, 1914, in accordance with the recommendation of this Department, a tract of land with an estimated area of 75 acres, including the site of the native village of Fort Yukon, was reserved by Executive Order for the use of the United States Bureau of Education and the natives of Alaska of indigenous race, residing now or hereafter at said village or within the limits of said reservation. The metes and bounds of this reserve are those which were recommended by Bishop Rowe, and a copy of this reservation has been received by him.

I am convinced that in certain localities in Alaska, tracts of land must be reserved exclusively for the natives of Alaska where, secure from the intrusion and evil influences of unprincipled white men, the natives can build their own industries. Four such reservations have been made. The number of these reservations will be increased as rapidly as their locations and boundaries can be determined.

72 In his letter of March 9 to Secretary of Commerce William Redfield, Rowe pleaded the church's need to have full title to the lands not only on which its missions stood but also on which "its Indians" lived, as only then could it "protect them from evil white men." His plea was prompted by the arrival of Dan Cadzow at Fort Yukon. Cadzow, a white trader at Rampart, claimed to have purchased a cabin site from one of the Native residents of Fort Yukon (a Gwich'in settlement) and let it be known that he intended to build further structures within the Native village, including a trading post. Hudson Stuck urged District Attorney James Crossley to bring a government case against Cadzow. Crossley won the case and, by Congressional order, Cadzow was forced to build outside the village. In his decision, Judge F. E. Fuller confirmed that, per the District Organic Act of 1884, the United States had the duty to protect the right of Alaska Natives to occupy their lands undisturbed. At the same time, because Alaska Natives were considered to be wards of the state, they could not claim ownership of the lands and thus could not legally sell any portion of them. The decision against Cadzow caused something of a political uproar, to the point that the government of Woodrow Wilson chose to remove both Crossley and Fuller from office. See David M. Dean, *Breaking Trail: Hudson Stuck of Texas and Alaska, 198–99*; *United States v. Cadzow*, 5 Alaska Reports 125 (D.C. Alaska, 1914).

Boulter to W. T. Lopp

Tanana, August 20, 1914

Your letter of July 2, together with a copy of Doctor Hamilton's letter of June 24, has been received. In accordance with instructions contained in the said letters I herewith submit a recommendation regarding a possible reservation for Indians in the Upper Yukon District.

There are, to my knowledge, no islands in the Yukon suitable for a reservation. The main channel in the Yukon River is constantly changing, and the high water every year washes away the banks at certain places causing destruction of property. For this reason, an island reservation would hardly be suitable owing to the uncertainty of its boundaries. There are, moreover, no islands in the Upper Yukon District large enough for a reservation.

For many years I have been favorably impressed with the location of Koskaket [Crossjacket] on the Tanana River as a possible center for a reservation. This native village is about forty miles up the Tanana River from its confluence with the Yukon River at Tanana. Koskaket is within a few miles of the Kosna River and is situated in the midst of good hunting, fishing and fur-bearing country. On account of its favorable location many natives have settled here, and many others have left or are contemplating leaving the nearby villages to take up residence at the more prosperous village of Koskaket. Chief Ivan at Koskaket is a good man and is anxious for the welfare of his people. He has asked for a school and there are enough children in the village to justify one being established. I have recommended this, but on account of the scarcity of our funds we have not been able to.

When recommending Koskaket I have taken into consideration the fact that there are no white people nor any stores or industries in the immediate neighborhood of the village. Were a reservation placed near a white settlement where the traders have invested much capital in maintaining their businesses, we would have to overcome bitter criticism from them if we encouraged the natives to open a store that would naturally conflict with the traders' interests. At Koskaket no such opposition would be encountered as there are no stores nearer the village than those at Hot Springs—twenty or so miles distant.

At the back of Koskaket is a vast country in which few white people have settled. It is well timbered and there should be no difficulty in establishing a sawmill at some point along the Tanana River. At Koskaket, were a reservation established, we would also be able to work out our plans untrammelled by any existing institutions. There is no school or mission nearer to Koskaket than Tanana, forty miles away. At the proposed reserve, therefore, we could begin our reservation work with a perfectly free hand. These conditions, combined with the natural resources of the district, have influenced me in making my recommendation.

Because the country at the back of Koskaket is so large and uninhabited, I hereby make a recommendation that a reservation of the following dimensions be set aside there for the Indians: ten miles frontage to the Tanana River and ten miles in depth, namely, one hundred square miles.

Boulter to W. T. Lopp

Tanana, October 22, 1914

Your letter of December 12, 1913, relating to the payment of taxes by the natives was received by me about two months ago upon my return from leave. Since that time I have been in communication with most of the local commissioners in my district regarding the matter and they have furnished such information as was at their disposal. Having now heard from all these commissioners, I hasten to reply to your letter.

It appears that fully ninety-eight percent of the natives in my district have never paid any taxes. A few have paid stumpage at the rate of twenty-five cents per cord on the wood they have cut. As the majority of natives usually cut wood for white men, the stumpage is invariably paid by these same white men. The total stumpage paid by the natives in this district would probably amount to no more than one hundred and fifty dollars.

A few half-breeds, probably twenty, have paid an annual Territorial Poll Tax of eight dollars which has entitled them to a vote. These taxes, with the exception of a tax paid by one native at Fort Yukon for the doubtful privilege of opening a pool room, are the only payments that have been made by the natives.

In reply, therefore, to your question as to the amount of taxes paid by the natives, I would say that, from July 1, 1913 to June 30, 1914, not more than two hundred dollars was paid by them. This does not include the taxes paid by certain half-breeds. The aforesaid taxes have not come back to the natives in any way, either directly or indirectly, nor have the natives derived any benefit from the payment of these taxes.

John F. A. Strong, Governor of Alaska, to Franklin K. Lane, Secretary of the Interior

Juneau, February 17, 1915

Experience in enforcing the law for the suppression of the liquor traffic among the natives of Alaska has shown that a number of white men who ply the trade of furnishing liquor to the Indians are aided in their nefarious work by reason of the fact that they have easy access to native villages and frequently live therein and thus become on intimate terms with the Indians; and this very intimacy not infrequently renders their convictions a difficult matter.

As a means of correcting this evil in part, I therefore recommend the withdrawal from entry or occupancy by white men of a tract or reservation of land from one to two miles in all directions from the native villages at Crossjacket, Tanana Mission, Old Station, Kokrines Landing, Louden and Koyukuk. Of course steamboat traffic or the rights of travellers passing through these reservations should not be interfered with, nor should the rights of traders already established in these villages be unrecognized except for cause; the object of such reservations being the exclusion of white loafers, idlers, hangers-on, peddlers and white men generally who should not be permitted to annex themselves to the native villages.

Were such reservations to be established and white men excluded therefrom, I believe a long step forward would be made in promoting the general welfare of these natives. In my last annual report I discussed at some length the necessity which exists for medical work among the natives of Alaska. The natives of the American Yukon and the Tanana are practically without medical attention of any kind and they need it urgently. If it is possible to do so, a physician should be located at Tanana and he should be required to visit the villages between Stevens Village and Kokrines on the Yukon River and up the Tanana at least as far as Nenana.

Boulter to Philander P. Claxton

Tanana, June 30, 1915

**ANNUAL REPORT OF THE SUPERINTENDENT OF THE UPPER YUKON DISTRICT,
ALASKA, FOR THE FISCAL YEAR ENDED JUNE 30, 1915**

During the year ended June 30, 1915, the Bureau maintained five schools in this district, namely those at Eagle, Circle, Fort Yukon, Tanana and Louden. In addition to these, there are three other villages where we have school buildings—Kokrines, Rampart and Nenana—but they have not been used by us during the past year. The schools at Kokrines and Rampart, owing to lack of funds, have been temporarily closed, while that at Nenana has been used by the missionaries for their school. [. . .]

Bishop Rowe has lately suggested to me, in view of his intention to do considerable building at Tanana Crossing, that the Bureau maintain a school there which might attract the Mansfield and Tetlin natives. I hope next winter to make a journey through this region and ascertain whether conditions would justify the maintenance of one or more schools.

The Indians at Minto are a striking example of the nomadic and uncivilized condition of certain tribes. These natives, about thirty-five in number, possess seven or eight cabins located at various places on the Tanana River and elsewhere. They seldom occupy these cabins, however, as their headquarters are near

the Minto roadhouse on the mail trail between Tanana and Fairbanks. Here there are no cabins but merely a collection of dilapidated poles on which the natives place their tents.

These are occupied only a few weeks at a time, after which they are taken down and erected again at the next camping place. These Indians are among the most migratory people in the interior. They may well be compared to gypsies as they are wandering the whole year round and have no fixed place of abode. While there are about fifteen children in this tribe, yet it would be almost impossible to give them schooling under these adverse conditions. This tribe is but one of many which support themselves by trapping and by following the herds of moose and caribou that wander over the country.

In this district there are, apart from our school centers and the villages where the missionaries are holding school, from eight to nine hundred natives who live in isolated groups and are under no constant supervision. Many of them do not know, and we have not thought it advisable to inform them, that the law providing a penalty and exacting a fine from parents for their children's constant non-attendance at school is not now in force. It has to be admitted that it is partly from fear of the law that some parents now take a greater interest in the school and that, in consequence, they do not permit their children to play truant. A compulsory attendance law would be helpful, provided that good judgement were used in its enforcement. This matter, were it well presented to Congress, might be given some attention.

Until there is prohibition for Alaska, the sale of liquor to the natives will still go on—to the detriment and undoing of all that has been accomplished on their behalf. Cases of excessive drinking by native women, however, have been the exception and have been confined chiefly to those married to white men. There are few of these mixed marriages that have been successful. The white man usually sinks to the level of his native wife while she appears to be incapable of raising her standard of living to his—always assuming that her husband's standard of living is superior to her own, which, unfortunately, it seldom is. It is the height of ambition of many native girls to marry white men, however profligate they may be. There are many such marriages and, as a consequence, there are large numbers of half-breed children growing up who imbibe the vices of the white people rather more quickly than do the full-blooded natives.

There have been more marriages between white men and native women this year than previously. Thus there will be a still larger number of half-breed children later on to swell their ranks. At the rate these mixed marriages are increasing, it is safe to say that, within a generation or so, there will be as many half-breed children as there are natives of full blood. It is possible that the natives will gradually be merged and lost in the white race and that, in fifty years, there will be few natives of full blood remaining.

Much educational work among the natives could be done by means of motion pictures. Pictures of Alaska would especially appeal to the natives who know little of conditions outside their immediate vicinity. The natives of the interior, for instance, would take the keenest delight in seeing villages on the coast and, in the event that these villages are superior to their own, might try to make the one they live a little better. Pictures of school children in other villages, Indian-owned gasoline launches, native bands in uniform, Eskimo life, reindeer herds, etc., all such pictures would be educative and entertaining. Were the natives to see and know that not all Indians in Alaska are heavy drinkers and gamblers, but that the more enlightened prefer to spend their time and money in more profitable ways, they might take the lesson to heart and try to profit by the pictures they have seen.

To expedite the payment of accounts such as the salaries of teachers and other employees, and accounts for fuel, repairs, etc., it might be well to consider the advisability of appointing a disbursing agent for the interior. Owing to the long distance separating this district from Seattle, salary checks and payment for other accounts (in spite of the prompt payment by the disbursing agent in Seattle) are received here long after they become due. Fairbanks would probably be the most central point as headquarters for such an agent. During the winter all the interior mail for the States, also the mail from the northern coast, is carried through Fairbanks en route to the States. In the summer, mail from all our school centers could reach Fairbanks in one to nine days. During the winter, mail from Eagle to Fairbanks is carried in twelve days; from Circle in six days; from Fort Yukon in nine days; from Loudon in twelve days; and from Kokrines in nine days. Thus, by having a disbursing agent in the interior, payment for all services could be made more promptly than by the present method of forwarding vouchers from Seattle.

I would respectfully recommend that an authorization be given to the superintendent of the district to provide for his living quarters. It is well known that a dollar in the interior has no more purchasing power than has fifty to sixty cents in the States. In view of this fact, it would seem that a superintendent whose headquarters are situated in a part of Alaska where prices are nearly double what they are in the States, should receive either the maximum salary allowed by Congress, namely \$200 per month, or else be given, in addition to his present salary of \$166.67, a monthly allowance of \$20 for office rent. I hope this matter will be taken into consideration.

It is pleasing to note that in Montana a system of teachers' pensions has been entered into law, and that in New Hampshire, Nebraska and elsewhere, a similar system is under consideration. Some such system might with advantage be applied to the field workers in Alaska, in which case the teachers and other employees would not be ever changing as they are now and there would be a strong incentive for them to remain in Alaska. Instead of their being up here

a few years only, with a little encouragement many teachers would spend the greater part of a lifetime here. It may be said that all the employees of the Bureau in Alaska are living under hard conditions. It would inspire them with courage and hope were they, at the expiration of twenty or twenty-five year's service, to be assured of a pension, which in most cases would be well deserved and which would to an extent compensate them for a life of loneliness and hardship spent under harsh conditions.



The Tanana chiefs, on the occasion of their meeting with Judge James Wickersham and other officials of church and government, in Fairbanks, July 5 and 6, 1915. Courtesy of the Smithsonian Institution.

Boulter to Philander P. Claxton

Tanana, September 30, 1915

**ALASKA SCHOOL SERVICES, SUPERINTENDENT'S MONTHLY REPORTS,
JULY–SEPTEMBER 1915**

July 1–31 At headquarters and the Indian village at Tanana.

August–September. Places Visited: Rampart, Louden, Fort Yukon, Stevens Village and numerous fish camps.

Aug. 5–8 By steambot from Tanana to Rampart and return, 75 miles each way.

Aug. 9–15 By steambot from Tanana to Louden and return, 165 miles each way.

- Aug. 28-31 *By steamboat from Tanana to Fort Yukon, 323 miles.*
 Sept. 7 *Fort Yukon to Beaver, 85 miles.*
 Sept. 8 *Beaver to Victor's Landing, 25 miles.*
 Sept. 9 *Victor's Landing to Stevens Village, 60 miles.*
 Sept. 12 *Stevens Village to Anderson Point, 28 miles.*
 Sept. 13 *Anderson Point to Rampart, 61 miles.*
 Sept. 16 *Rampart to Tanana, 75 miles.*

I travelled from Fort Yukon to Tanana by my power rowboat. After having had the engine overhauled and certain worn parts replaced, the motor worked well and I was able to make good time. I was much delayed en route by wind and rain—especially by wind—against which I was sometimes unable to make headway.

Boulter to Philander P. Claxton

Tanana, October 28, 1915

In accordance with your wishes and the instructions of Mr. Lopp, the school at Tanana will be taught by myself this winter during such times as there may be a school population at the village.

I regret that it has been found necessary to assign me to duties from which I was promoted eight years ago. To the best of my knowledge I am, in length of service, the oldest superintendent in the field, and last year was given an increase in salary which I greatly appreciated. The fact, however, of my having received instructions to again teach school does not appear to me to conform with this promotion. I realize that the Bureau is short of school funds and that it has had to economize as much as possible. I trust, however, that the arrangements made this year in regard to the Tanana school are but temporary.

When I was first appointed to Tanana in 1908 (after having been in the employ of the Bureau for two years) my travelling authorization was such that I was able to supervise the greater part of my district during the winter months. It is only when the ground is frozen and covered with snow that certain remote villages can easily be reached. My authorization for travel, however, has been reduced from year to year, until at present time it is but \$400. It need hardly be said that scant justice only can be done in this large district on such an inadequate allowance.⁷³

During past years, until I was instructed otherwise, it was part of my winter's work to visit all the schools in my district. During the summer months the schools are closed and most of the natives are away at their fish camps. For the

73 Compare William Hamilton's letter to George of August 25, 1909. As assistant superintendent, George had been allocated \$1,250 in travelling expenses for the fiscal year 1908-9.

success of the work, all parts of my district inhabited by natives (not only the school precincts but the out-lying and isolated villages) should be visited as often as possible, to the end that the natives are given more thorough supervision and assistance.

It was suggested by Mr. Lopp when he was here last August that next year I should probably make my headquarters at either Eagle or Rampart. I would respectfully say that I question the advisability of my headquarters being transferred to Eagle. It is a small village at the extreme end of my district from which, during the winter months, the remainder of my district would be more or less inaccessible. With regard to Rampart—this place is not a center of native population and therefore can hardly be considered suitable for headquarters. Tanana is the logical center of the interior. It is unquestionably the most central place for the superintendent of this district to be stationed as he is able to reach all parts of his district during the winter months and in time of emergency. I beg to suggest, therefore, that Tanana remain the headquarters of the superintendent, and that he be given facilities for visiting various parts of his district more frequently.

I had hoped that by now the Bureau would perfect plans for a reservation at Koskaket, in which case I could have spent considerable time on the reserve to further its development. Whether or not the Koskaket natives will petition the government to set aside this reservation on their behalf is a matter of conjecture and doubt. Nearly all the natives of the interior, owing to their not having seen a reservation in working order, are very mistrustful of the probable outcome of their villages being enclosed and surrounded by reservations. It is most difficult to eradicate from their minds the impression that the act of setting aside a reservation is merely preliminary to their being corralled and fenced in. They have been led to believe this because they have been misinformed by various people, including certain traders who are not anxious to see cooperative stores set up for the benefit of the natives.

Many score of natives have come to me during the past few months wishing me to inform them on the Government's policy regarding reservations. I have tried to make clear to them the beneficent intentions of the Government, but as yet they have only slightly regarded what I have told them. If my travelling funds and other conditions will permit, I hope to meet several hundred natives at either Loudon or Koyukuk this winter to discuss the advisability of the two villages uniting and the natives therefrom settling on a joint reservation. I have already discussed this with some of the more influential natives who, while not expressing themselves absolutely in favor of it, are not wholly antagonistic to the plan.⁷⁴

⁷⁴ George was correct in his perception that local populations did not share his (and the government's) enthusiasm about reservations. Earlier that year, on July 5 and 6, Tanana chiefs held a council in Fairbanks at which representatives of the government and the Episcopal Church were also present. The meeting was the outcome of earlier conversations of Chief Alexander (of Tolovana) and Chief Charlie (of Minto) with James Wickersham, the district judge. At this

W. T. Lopp to Philander P. Claxton

Seattle, November 30, 1915

In transmitting Supt. Boulter's letter of October 28th, I regret to inform you that Mr. Boulter was very much disappointed when given the detail for teaching the Tanana school during the winter. He seemed to think that it was very much beneath the dignity of a superintendent to teach a native school. I tried to show him that he should not take this view, but should rather welcome it because it would permit him to be at home with his wife and two little children during the short winter days.⁷⁵

With reference to the reduction of his travel allowance during the years of his incumbancy, I will state that in some ways Mr. Boulter has been more extravagant than any superintendent we have had in the field. It seems difficult for him to get away from the old, prosperous Klondike ideas, and to realize that these conditions no longer exist in Alaska. During the second year of his superintendency we purchased for him a dog team which was a source of trouble and big expense to the Bureau. The next year he secured for himself a dog team from the Coast and Geodetic Survey through Mr. Riggs which, through its transfer, caused some little misunderstanding between the two bureaus. Last year we purchased for Mr. Boulter a detachable Koban engine, together with a clinker-built rowboat for the Yukon costing \$192. He seems to have gotten but little use out of the boat.

I suggest, therefore, that you write him that as long as our appropriations are limited, you do not consider it wise to expend funds in making costly trips between the few isolated schools in his district during the winter months and, if there were no reindeer in connection with the schools on the coast, you should make the same change in the Western and Northwestern districts.

The question of changing his headquarters to either Rampart, Fort Yukon or Eagle was brought up in connection with his living quarters. I pointed out to him that if one of these places could be used as his headquarters, he might occupy the government building and thereby save rent. However, I agree with Supt. Boulter that there are more reasons for having his headquarters at Tanana than at any other place in his district.

historic meeting, the chiefs sought to explain their concerns about the increasing encroachments on their lands by white prospectors, traders, and settlers. Although Wickersham did his best to convince the chiefs that reservations would be to the advantage of their peoples, the chiefs were skeptical. As they well understood, reservations represented the loss of traditional ways of life, which depended on unrestricted access to their lands for hunting, fishing, and trapping. For a useful description, see William Schneider, "The 1915 Tanana Chiefs Meeting," *AHS Blog*, July 18, 2015, <http://alaskahistoricalsociety.org/the-1915-tanana-chiefs-meeting/>.

⁷⁵ The addition to the Boulter family was Alice Campbell, born December 13, 1914. She was followed by Jennie May, born on January 28, 1916, and then by Isabel Margaret, who was born on April 13, 1918, six months after George's death.

With reference to the Koskaket reservation, I told Supt. Boulter at Tanana, and also Chief Ivan and a number of the Koskaket Indians whom I met there, that I should not recommend that we take any steps whatever in requesting the reservation at Koskaket until the Indians themselves understood it and desired the same. I think much of their opposition is due to the fact that they fear a government reservation would be similar to the mission reservation at Tanana on which the present village there is located. I have written Chief Ivan and sent him copies of the President's Executive Order setting aside the Hydaburg and Klukwan reserves [in southeastern Alaska near the Canadian border]. I firmly believe that after the Koskaket Indians understand the nature of the reserve, and that it is made for their benefit only, they will withdraw their objection.

W. T. Lopp to Boulter

Seattle, November 9, 1915

I have just read your letter of October 4th regarding the antipathy of the Indians to the reservation idea, and agree with you that the whites are largely responsible for this antagonism being prevalent. You will recall the pow-wow I had with Chief Ivan and a number of the Crossjacket Indians when at the Tanana mission last summer. I assured him on that occasion that the Government would take absolutely no steps to make any reservation for their protection until they thoroughly understood the meaning of such an act and favored it, and that you would talk to them further this winter concerning the same.

When you take this up again with them I suggest that you show them copies of the reservations made at other places and show them how these reservations in no way lessen the liberties of the Indians, but do protect them against the encroachment of the white settlers. I think about the time of the Christmas holidays would be a very opportune time for you to visit the Loudon-Koyukuk region and see what those Indians are willing and ready to do along these lines.

It seems to me that the homestead is not well adapted for use of the Indians, in that 160 isolated acres will be of little or no use or benefit to them. So I think you can safely point out to them that there is little likelihood of selling these homesteads even after they secure title to the same.⁷⁶ I am today writing Chief Ivan and enclosing a copy of the reservation made at Klawak [near Cape Prince of Wales], and am assuring him that if one is made for his people it will in no way interfere with their liberties.

⁷⁶ As the introduction notes, the Alaska Native Allotment Act of 1906 allowed Alaska Native males to acquire restricted title to a "homestead" of no more than 160 acres. However, lacking clear and full title, the landholder could not sell or lease the land without permission from the secretary of the Interior.

Boulter to Philander P. Claxton

Tanana, December 31, 1915

ALASKA SCHOOL SERVICE, SUPERINTENDENT'S MONTHLY REPORTS,
OCTOBER-DECEMBER 1915

October

At headquarters and the native village at Tanana. All travel during this month has been suspended due to the closing of the river which took place on October 27th. Consequently, the Tanana natives will now be coming in. Hitherto, the village has been practically deserted. School will begin the first Monday in November.

November

At headquarters and the native village at Tanana. During the month I have held school at Tanana nineteen days. The attendance has been small owing to most of the natives living at a considerable distance from the village. Many have settled on their homesteads, others are living at Old Station and Koskaket, and there are a number out in the hills hunting and trapping.

There have lately been a few cases of smallpox at Allakaket but fortunately the disease appears to have been stamped out. There are many sick natives at and near Tanana—doubtless owing to the severity of the weather. For a week or more the temperature has been from thirty to forty-five below zero.

I constantly hear from the teachers at the various schools, and from their reports the work is progressing well. There has been much sickness at Circle, but happily conditions appear to be improving. Miss Harper at Fort Yukon is well pleased with her assistant who, according to reports lately received by me, appears to be capable and thorough.

December

Dec. 1-27 School and office work at headquarters.

Dec. 28-31 En route by dog team for the lower river—Tanana to Mouse Point, 84 miles.

During this month I have held school at Tanana fourteen days. The attendance has been very unsatisfactory as Tanana is no longer the natives' permanent dwelling place. The missionaries have encouraged them to stay away from the mission, and as a result the majority of Indians come to Tanana only for festivals and for trading.

From reports received from the various teachers, our school work in this district appears to be satisfactory. Miss Graves at Eagle has written informing me that she has been ill for some time because of the adverse conditions at the village.

Chief Thomas to Franklin K. Lane, Secretary of the Interior

Wood River, January 17, 1916

The white men are settling on my people's hunting and fishing grounds and taking the best spots of land among us. It will not be many years before the game and fish are all killed off. We depend upon the game and fish for our living, not being able to live on white man's food entirely. It will not take long before we are driven from our old grounds, especially when the railroad is completed.⁷⁷ We earnestly beg you to advise us what to do to prevent encroachments of the white people on our homes and grounds on which we were born and raised and on which we will find our last resting place.

William Hamilton to Chief Thomas [copy to W. T. Lopp]

Washington, DC, April 14, 1916

Secretary Lane has referred to the Bureau of Education your letter telling that the white men are settling on the hunting and fishing grounds and taking up the best tracts of land in your part of the country.

I hope that before very long it will be possible for the Government to reserve a tract of land for your people which white men will not be allowed to enter, but before this can be done your people must be willing to come and settle on such a tract.

I think it would be well for you to write to Mr. George E. Boulter, Tanana, or to see him about this.

Boulter to W. T. Lopp

Tanana, January 18, 1916

I beg to report herewith on my talks with the natives in my district concerning reservations and homesteads.

My talk with the Tanana natives apparently fell on deaf ears. I was able, however, to thoroughly convince them that their personal liberty would not in any way be restricted by their living on a reservation. They failed to see, however, how their condition would be improved by any alteration in their mode of living. I pointed out to them, as I did later to the Koyukuk and Louden natives, how, by their living together in larger numbers, the Government could do more for them in the matter of schools and medical attention than was being done at present.

⁷⁷ Construction of the Alaska railroad from Valdez to Fairbanks and Nenana had begun in 1906 but was not finished until 1923.

I showed them copies of the reservations in other parts of Alaska and explained the improved condition of the natives now living on these reservations. I also explained to them as clearly as possible the working of the Hydaburg and other reservations—pointing out that, among other things, the Government has assisted those natives to put up a sawmill. This fact did not arouse any enthusiasm among the Tanana natives, at which I do not wonder, for the mission people here have had a sawmill for the past ten years or so, but so badly has it been managed that neither the natives nor but few white people have derived much benefit from it.

The whole tone of the meeting was one of apathy and unconcern. The fact of the matter is that all the Tanana natives are over-prosperous, causing them to be well satisfied with present conditions. In spite of the falling fur prices, the natives at Tanana, including their visitors from Koskaket and Old Station, spent from eight to ten thousand dollars at the local stores during the Christmas holidays. This was the estimate given to me by one of the local storekeepers. Consequently, it was difficult to interest them in the plans I laid before them.

In his talk toward the end of the meeting, Chief Alexander of Tanana said that he and his people would like the Government to adopt some means whereby their children could grow up healthier than they are now. They deplored the sickness and large number of deaths among the young children. It was the opinion of the meeting that the Government should take entire charge of the children, that not only should they be fed, clothed and given medical attention, but that they could attend school for the whole session. In other words, they wanted the Government to establish boarding houses for the children. I informed them that, while I was not in a position to offer any encouragement, I would be careful to make their wishes known to you.

One of the older natives suggested that since the army posts have supplies shipped to them which can be purchased up here at cost price by anyone connected with the army, the Bureau should establish commissary stores in Alaska at which the natives could also purchase their food supplies at cost. Even assuming that the Bureau could follow this suggestion, the fact would remain that they do not deserve such concessions. They have been drinking heavily all the winter and, because of their excesses, an unusually large number of them have been fined or otherwise punished by the local commissioner. Chief Alexander of Tanana is a worthless man and is far from being a good example to the rest of his people.

The meeting, therefore, while it afforded an opportunity to discuss many matters, was not markedly productive. It is probable that at some future time, when the natives are not so prosperous, they will give an ear to plans for their advancement. I encouraged Chief Ivan of Koskaket to write to you, and assured him that you would welcome such correspondence.

The natives showed some pleasure and gratification when I read them the recent order of the War Department which will give them the opportunity of furnishing fuel, dog feed and other native commodities to the army posts and telegraph stations.

I have every reason to believe that many natives have taken up individual homesteads for the sole purpose of circumventing the Government in its plans to settle them on reservations. There is a certain native at Tanana named Paul Williams (a mission layreader and brother of the worthless Chief Alexander) who is considered to be an educated native, and he has done much to influence the other natives against the reservation idea. Some time ago he telegraphed many chiefs up and down the river, telling them that if they did not at once stake homesteads they would be placed on reservations. I have therefore found it quite difficult, when explaining the true nature of reservations, to favorably impress the natives.

At the Kokrines meeting the natives were very attentive and appeared interested in what I had to say, but they did not evince any enthusiasm for the plans I laid before them.

In contrast to the natives at Tanana and Kokrines, I found the natives gathered at Louden to be in quite a receptive frame of mind toward the plan of the two villages—Louden and Kokrines—uniting and building a new village on a joint reservation. Conditions appear to be ripe for such a movement. For many years the Koyukuk natives have been dissatisfied with their village because it is frequently inundated by floods—while the Louden natives have for some time contemplated moving elsewhere.

The meetings held at Louden were attended by all the natives in the village, and at the second meeting I invited the local storekeeper and the other few white men in the village. All the white men accepted the invitation and, I think, appreciated being asked to attend. Chief Paul informed me that, while no new land had yet been staked by them, he and all the natives had partially agreed that, should a new village be decided on, a site about seventeen miles below Louden would meet their needs. I informed him that I was willing to help them stake the land right away, but they thought the matter had better be left in abeyance until spring, as presently there was three to four feet of snow over the country. I have promised them that any time they wish to stake a reservation I will make the journey down river to assist them.

The Indians placed before me the difficulties of their making a new village. What they want is a sawmill and they asked if I could promise this. I told them that since the natives at certain other parts of Alaska had acquired a mill, I did not see why they themselves could not have one. If these natives could be assured of a sawmill, and hopefully they can, I think the problem would be solved regarding the two villages coming together. Chief Paul said that if they have a new village they want it to be a good one and to include sidewalks. Without a sawmill they do not see how they can accomplish this.

Chief Paul said he would like to write to you and I encouraged him to do so. I shall appreciate your writing to him as I know that by doing so, our plans for the welfare of these people will be furthered.

Boulter to Philander P. Claxton

Tanana, March 31, 1916

ALASKA SCHOOL SERVICE, SUPERINTENDENT'S MONTHLY REPORTS,
JANUARY-MARCH 1916

January. Places Visited: Louden, Kokrines, Mouse Point, Old Station.

Jan. 1-11 By dog team to Louden and return to Tanana, 155 miles each way.

Jan. 12-31 School and office work.

February. At headquarters and the Indian village at Tanana. School has been held by me at the village sixteen days this month. Office work has occupied me the days on which no school was held. I walk each school day to and from the village, a distance of three miles each way. My reports concerning conditions at various schools have been forwarded by letter.

March. Places visited: Rampart and Koskaket, also various natives camps along the Tanana River, travelling by dog team.

March 9-10 Tanana to Koskaket, 40 miles.

March 11 Koskaket to Hot Springs, 27 miles.

March 12 Hot Springs to Eureka, 22 miles.

March 13 Eureka to Rampart, 28 miles.

March 17 Rampart to Eureka, 28 miles.

March 18 Eureka to Hot Springs, 22 miles.

March 19 Hot Springs to American Creek, 31 miles.

March 20 American Creek to Tanana, 30 miles.

Boulter to W. T. Lopp

Signal Corps telegram, Gibbon, April 16, 1916

Have Typhoid Fever. Suggest sick leave be extended to thirty days.

William Hamilton to H. C. Sinclair

Department of the Interior, telegram, Washington, DC, April 22, 1916

Inform Boulter sick leave cannot be granted in advance. Can be adjusted later.

Wish him speedy recovery.

Boulter to Philander P. Claxton

Tanana, May 31, 1916

ALASKA SCHOOL SERVICE, SUPERINTENDENT'S MONTHLY REPORTS,
APRIL–MAY 1916

April

On the 8th of April I was taken to the military hospital at Fort Gibbon where I had to stay until May 15th on account of my having typhoid fever. It is the opinion of the doctor that I became infected by having to sleep in certain foul native cabins along the Tanana River on my Koskaket-Rampart journey which was taken a short time before my illness.

May

May 16–31 Office work at headquarters.

With reference to my being in hospital from May 1 to 15, kindly refer to my April report. I am pleased to say that I am getting stronger every day, although it will yet be some time before I fully regain my former health and strength.

W. T. Lopp to Philander P. Claxton

Seattle, June 20, 1916

Referring to the enclosed monthly reports of Supt. Geo. E. Boulter for April and May, 1916, I respectfully recommend that he be given sick leave from April 8th until May 7th, inclusive, and annual leave with pay from May 8th to the 15th inclusive.

Boulter to William Hamilton

Tanana, June 12, 1916

I am pleased to let you know that I have now fully recovered from my recent typhoid illness, although I still have 25 pounds in weight to make up. During the five weeks I was in the hospital I lost 35 pounds. By taking care of myself, however, I quite expect in another month or two to regain what I lost. We have had a very severe winter and it was a trying time for us all—especially for the women and children who were necessarily much confined to the house.

Boulter to Philander P. Claxton [copy to W. T. Lopp]

Tanana, February 8, 1917

In answer to your letter of October 28, 1916 (received by me February 2, 1917), I beg to report that there are no native villages in the Upper Yukon District which are self-governed under the Territorial Act of April 27, 1915.⁷⁸

The natives in this district are very migratory in their habits and often reside in their respective villages only a few months in each year—and then only at irregular intervals. There being no industries in the interior such as there are on the coast, the natives here spend the greater part of their time in the hills where they trap and hunt, and are not in the villages long enough to take an intelligent part in conducting their affairs along the lines of self-government.

There are, however, several village councils in this district, including those at Tanana, Nenana and Fort Yukon. These councils, some of which were in existence before the Territorial Act of 1915 was enacted, are good in their way but have no official standing. The ordinances they make are not binding on the village unless it is in the interests of the natives to comply with them. A native will often abide by the decision of the council for the sake of his prestige with the rest of the tribe but, unless he has committed a serious offence which calls for action by the nearest United States marshal, his compliance with any decision is more or less a voluntary matter. These councils, therefore, cannot be said to come under the Territorial Act.

The Annette Island Reserve Act of March 3, 1891, possesses advantages over the Territorial Act of 1915 inasmuch as the Annette council is required to report concerning its affairs to the local representative of the Bureau for transmission to the Commissioner of Education. There are no provisions in the Territorial Act whereby the doings of the council are to be reported to officials of the Bureau. The omission of such requirements is detrimental to a successful form of self-government. Unless the work of a council is to be made known to and supervised by a government official, it would not greatly differ from that of the village councils now in existence. It is probable that, were the Territorial Act of 1915

78 George is apparently referring here not to the act approved by the territorial government on April 27, 1915 (ch. 24, *Session Laws of Alaska*, 1915, at 52), which established a procedure whereby “every native Indian born within the limits of the Territory of Alaska, and who has severed all tribal relationship and adopted the habits of a civilized life,” could apply for US citizenship, but rather to the act approved on April 21, 1915. Sometimes called the Indian Village Act, this act (ch. 11, *Session Laws of Alaska*, 1915, at 24) provided for the incorporation of Native settlements, allowing residents to “form a self-governing village organization for the purpose of governing certain local affairs” (sec. 1). It outlined the procedure to be followed (sec. 2), as well as making provisions for the election of a local council and laying out the scope of the council’s powers (sec. 4). On May 1, 1917, the act was amended by the addition of a fifth section, which stipulated that such village organizations had no “right, authority, or jurisdiction over the property of white residents” (ch. 25, *Session Laws of Alaska*, 1917, at 47).

amended and framed along the lines of the Annette Act of 1891, there would be several villages in this district which would be self-governed.⁷⁹

Enclosed is a list of ordinances passed last August by the Nenana council. These would indicate that the intentions of the natives who comprise the council are good, but since they themselves invariably break their own laws at the first opportunity, they are not taken seriously by the rest of the people. The council at Tanana, which has met but twice during the past twelve months, passes similar laws from time to time. Therefore, while these councils may have a more or less restraining influence on the natives, they have not accomplished what could be done if they were directly controlled by the government.

The Territorial Act, as it stands, is not sufficiently comprehensive to cover conditions as they exist in the native villages in this district, as the natives are not civilized to the extent that they are able to govern themselves without the aid of official assistance and control.

[enclosure]

Schedule of Ordinances Passed by the Nenana Council, August 1916

1. *No one shall gamble. Penalty \$10 and 10 days in jail.*
2. *No one shall drink whiskey. Penalty \$12 and 12 days in jail.*
3. *No one shall sell or give away intoxicating drink. Report offender to the U.S. Marshal. Penalty \$15 and 15 days in jail.*
4. *No one shall get fighting drunk. Report to U.S. Marshal. Penalty \$20 and 20 days in jail.*
5. *No one shall fight with his wife. Penalty \$8 and 8 days in jail.*
6. *No one shall lie with a woman unlawfully. Penalty \$16 and 16 days in jail or more.*
7. *No one shall steal. Penalty \$22 and 22 days in jail or more.*
8. *No one shall fight with his friend. Penalty \$18 and 18 days in jail or more.*
9. *No one shall kill calf moose. Penalty \$25 and 25 days in jail or more.*
10. *No woman shall go down town after 6 o'clock in the evening.*
11. *No little boy shall go down town by himself.*

79 On March 3, 1891, the US Congress passed an act whereby the Annette Islands were reserved for the use and occupancy of the “Metlakatla Indians,” that is, the followers—who were, in fact, Tsimshian—of Anglican missionary William Duncan. Duncan had founded a mission community at Metlakatla, in British Columbia, but he eventually clashed with the church, and, in 1887, moved his community to Alaska. In all likelihood, George has in mind the *Rules and Regulations for Annette Island Reserve, Alaska*, issued by Secretary of the Interior Franklin K. Lane on January 28, 1915—which, as one might expect, provided for federal oversight of the activities at local councils at the new Metlakatla.

Boulter to Philander P. Claxton [copy to W. T. Lopp]

Tanana, February 20, 1917

In reply to your letter of October 28, 1916, part of which relates to the political status of Alaskan natives, I wish to report that there are no natives in this district who have become citizens under the Territorial Act of April 27, 1915.⁸⁰ I knew there were none in our school precincts, but to make quite certain there were none in other parts of my district which I am unable to visit, I communicated with the district attorney at Fairbanks who has informed me that as yet there are no Indians in this district who have become citizens.

The natives of the interior are undoubtedly a generation or more behind those in southeastern Alaska where several natives have, I believe, qualified for citizenship. I am personally acquainted with all the natives along the Upper Yukon and to my knowledge there are few, if any, who could be considered eligible for citizenship. The natives of my district have by no means abandoned their tribal customs and relationships, although it must be said that these do not to any extent conflict with Federal or Territorial laws. Moreover, they have not adopted the habits of a civilized life as their mode of living is precisely the same as it was twenty or thirty years ago. Any way of living such as practised by white people is more or less distasteful to them.

Although nearly all the children living within a reasonable distance of our school precincts have attended school, yet because they are frequently taken away from school by their parents to attend the hunt—and because they are withdrawn completely from school at too early an age—their education has not reached that point which would enable them later on to pass the required examination for citizenship at the District Court.

To the best of my knowledge, only one native in this district has endeavored to become a citizen. In this case the applicant was an intelligent man with a fair education, but because he had insufficient knowledge of the subjects necessary for him to be fairly well informed, he failed to qualify. Also, the facts of his not having taken up residence separate and apart from other natives, and not having adopted the habits of a civilized life were the contributory causes of his application being rejected.

80 In this case, George's reference to the act of April 27, 1915 (ch. 24, *Session Laws of Alaska, 1915*, at 52) is correct. He had good reason to take an interest in the matter of applications for citizenship. Section 2 of the act read: "Every Indian native of the Territory of Alaska who shall desire a certificate of his citizenship shall first make application to a United States Government, Territorial or municipal school and shall be subjected to an examination by a majority of the teachers of such school as to his or her qualifications and claims for citizenship. Such an examination shall broadly cover the general qualifications of the applicant as to an intelligent exercise of the obligations of suffrage, a total abandonment of any tribal customs or relationship, and the facts regarding the applicant's adoption of the habits of a civilized life."

It is probable that in the course of a few years, when the natives of this district reside more permanently on their homesteads—at which time they will be living separately and apart from other natives and may then be considered to be living a civilized life—they will be partly eligible for citizenship. Unfortunately, however, by the very fact that they reside on homesteads, many of which are fifty miles or so from a school, they are shutting themselves off from any educational advantages they might have were they to reside within the precincts of a school. Their lack of education, therefore, would probably be an obstacle to their qualifying for citizenship—despite their more civilized mode of living.

Just as soon as there are any natives in this district who appear to be eligible for citizenship, steps will be taken to prepare them for the same. I have requested the teachers to keep me informed of any likely candidates at their respective villages.

W. T. Lopp to Boulter

Seattle, April 6, 1917

I have read your letter of February 20, addressed to the Commissioner, with reference to the application of citizenship by Indians in your district.

While I consider it unwise to encourage very many Indians to make application, I am of the opinion that there must be a number in your district who have severed tribal relations and are living civilized lives. This, as you know, is the test of citizenship.

Lewis A. Kalbach to Boulter

Washington, DC, March 31, 1917

I enclose a copy of a letter from the Attorney General to the Secretary of the Interior, March 28, requesting that the employees in the various field services of the Interior Department be instructed to keep on the lookout for suspicious characters, disloyal and treasonable acts and utterances, and anything which might be important in case of war, and promptly to report the same to the Department of Justice or to a United States District Attorney.

In compliance with Secretary Lane's instructions, you are hereby directed to carry out the request set forth in the letter of the Attorney General; also to report to the Commissioner of Education any action which you may take under these instructions.⁸¹

81 This cryptic letter was written just six days before the US declared war against Germany.

Boulter to Philander P. Claxton [copy to W. T. Lopp]

Tanana, July 5, 1917

In accordance with the instructions contained in your letter of May 7, 1917, I herewith enclose a statistical report on the number of natives in this district whom the Bureau of Education has not yet reached; also a list of the villages or regions in which such villages are located.

According to my report, there are approximately 1,420 natives in this district who are not yet reached from an educational point of view either by the Government or the missionaries.

Within our school precincts, namely Eagle, Circle, Fort Yukon, Rampart, Tanana, Kokrines and Louden, there are approximately 950 natives. At the missionary centers, namely Nenana, Allakaket, Tanana Crossing, Stevens Village and Salchaket, there would be about 800 natives. Thus the total number of natives in the Upper Yukon District would amount to approximately 3,170.

[enclosure]

Koskaket	Total population	65
<i>On the Tanana River, 40 miles below its confluence with the Yukon River at Tanana.</i>		
Old Station	Total population	45
<i>On the Yukon River, 16 miles below Tanana.</i>		
Tolovana	Total population	56
<i>On the Tanana River, 133 miles from its confluence with the Yukon River at Tanana.</i>		
Minto	Total population	42
<i>On the Tanana River, 183 miles from its confluence with the Yukon River at Tanana.</i>		
Ketchumstock	Total population	30
<i>120 miles southwest of Eagle.</i>		
Mansfield	Total population	60
<i>40 miles northeast of Tanana Crossing.</i>		
Mouse Point	Total population	22
<i>On the Yukon River, 6 miles above Kokrines.</i>		
<i>Number of natives in villages not yet reached:</i>		320
<i>Number of natives living in small and isolated groups:</i>		
<i>From Eagle to Circle, 170 miles</i>		40
<i>From Circle to Fort Yukon, 80 miles</i>		40
<i>From Fort Yukon to Tanana, 350 miles</i>		150
<i>From Tanana to Tanana Crossing, 450 miles</i>		250
<i>From Tanana to Louden, 165 miles</i>		120

<i>Along the Koyukuk River</i>	150	
<i>Along the Porcupine, Black and Chandlar rivers</i>	150	
<i>Along small creeks and at other places</i>	200	1,100
<i>Total number of natives not yet reached</i>		1,420

Boulter to Philander P. Claxton

Tanana, July 31, 1917

ALASKA SCHOOL SERVICE, SUPERINTENDENT'S MONTHLY REPORTS,
JUNE–JULY 1917

June. Places visited: Eagle, Circle, Fort Yukon, Stevens Village and Rampart; also a number of native camps and homesteads.

June 1–5 At Fort Yukon.

June 6–8 By steamer from Fort Yukon to Eagle.

June 12–14 By small boat from Eagle to Circle.

June 16 By small boat from Circle to Fort Yukon.

June 22 By steamer from Fort Yukon to Stevens Village.

June 23–24 By small boat from Stevens Village to Rampart.

June 26 By small boat from Rampart to Tanana.

June 30 Visited homesteads up the Yukon River for a distance of 20 miles, by hired launch.

During the month I inspected seventeen Indian homesteads. There are still over forty to be visited by me, some of which are 300 miles up the Tanana River. It is impracticable to do this by steamboat—a gasoline boat being the only way these homesteads can be reached. By letter I am making a requisition for a small but efficient power boat.

July. Places visited: Fort Yukon and Rampart; also a number of native camps.

July 18–20 By steamer from Tanana to Fort Yukon.

July 28 By steamer from Fort Yukon to Tanana

The natives are taking considerable interest in gardening. At Eagle we have over two acres under cultivation; at Fort Yukon the garden is being cultivated jointly by the school and the mission, and is about two acres; at Rampart the school garden consists of about one-half acre. Apart from our school gardens, many of the natives living on homesteads have done a fair amount of gardening. Our somewhat cold summer, combined with excessive rain, has retarded the growth of many vegetables. The potato crop all along the river will not be as good as it has been in former years.

Balance in [travel] authorization: my authorizations have not yet been received.

Boulter to Philander P. Claxton

Tanana, August 31, 1917

ALASKA SCHOOL SERVICE, SUPERINTENDENT'S MONTHLY REPORT,
AUGUST 1917

Places visited: Koskaket, Tolovana, Minto, Nenana, Chena; also a number of native homesteads and fish camps.

Aug. 10-18 By gasoline boat from Tanana to Chena and return, inspecting Indian homesteads. Distance travelled about 560 miles.

Aug. 23 By gasoline boat from Tanana to Old Station and return, also five miles up the Tanana River and return, inspecting Indian homesteads. Distance travelled about 42 miles.

During the month I have visited over forty Indian homesteads—a full report of which will follow shortly. The run of fish has been unsatisfactory, especially along the Tanana River. The natives at certain places state that they have not had so poor a catch for about ten years.

Dr. Leonard to W. T. Lopp

Signal Corps telegram, Fort Gibbon [no date]

Boulter returned to Hospital. Relapse from former illness with added intestinal infection. Condition serious.

H. C. Sinclair to W. T. Lopp

Signal Corps telegram, Seattle, October 28, 1917

Boulter died Saturday. Mozee suggests Mrs. Boulter holds his position until navigation opens. He will be able to assist her.⁸²

Philander P. Claxton to W. T. Lopp

Washington, DC, November 19, 1917

I have today appointed Mrs. Alice A. Boulter teacher of the school at Tanana [. . .] and I have informed her that she is to act as Superintendent of the Upper Yukon District during that time.

I believe that in the more remote parts of the Upper Yukon district there are many natives whom we do not now reach. I think we should be on the lookout

⁸² Lopp was travelling in southeastern Alaska at the time that George died. Sinclair's telegram went to Ketchikan and to Metlakatla.

for an energetic, forceful man to serve as Superintendent of the district, who should take hold of his work not later than June 1, 1918, so that he would have time to travel extensively in his district during the open season of 1918.

Philander P. Claxton to Alice A. Boulter

Washington, DC, November 19, 1917

I was very much pained to hear of the death of your husband. I wish to express to you my sincerest sympathy and my appreciation of the work that Mr. Boulter has done for the Bureau of Education.

I am today appointing you as teacher of the school at Tanana from November 1, 1917, to May 31, 1918, at a salary of \$150 a month, and I ask you to act as Superintendent of the Upper Yukon District during that period.

I understand that it will probably not be necessary for you to visit any of the schools during the winter months, but you will keep in touch with them by mail. The teachers will report to you, and you will report for them to Superintendent Lopp.

Alice A. Boulter to Philander P. Claxton

Tanana, December 20, 1917

I feel that I would like to express my appreciation of the appointment lately extended me by the Department. This means so much to our dear little children and me.

My dear husband's death is such a sorrow and it was a dreadful shock. At times the burden of it all seems greater than I can bear, but for the sake of our dear little children I must be brave. 'Tis very hard to become reconciled to it all as I do not believe George's time to go had really come, but that from the lack of proper attention and medical skill, which amounted to almost shameful neglect, the result of his illness was fatal. It is all oh! so hard.

Alice A. Boulter to Philander P. Claxton

Tanana, December 31, 1917

ALASKA SCHOOL SERVICE, SUPERINTENDENT'S MONTHLY REPORTS,
NOVEMBER–DECEMBER, 1917

November. Work of the office has been reviewed and stock has been checked. Communications have been directed to all schools in this district in order to

come into closer contact with the work and that any unfinished business might be taken up with a view to settling same.

December. Some destitution may result from the extreme scarcity of fur in the Interior. Reports from many places in the Interior indicate that the condition is general. This, in view of high prices and the poor demand for labor, will greatly affect the native population, more especially since the shortage of fish during the summer and fall robbed the Indians of much of their winter food. Game was scarce and none of the natives have supplies on hand.

Some of the Interior merchants have refused credit to the Indians because they see little likelihood of an early or satisfactory settlement. This action on the part of certain merchants is almost wholly due to their realization of the existing local conditions.

Horace J. Boulter to the Honorable Mrs. Franklin K. Lane

Toronto, January 14, 1918

I feel sure that you will pardon my troubling you with this letter, also the copies of two letters which I ask you to be so kind as to read. I have by the same mail sent the originals to Mr. Lane, but knowing him to be a very busy man with many secretaries, I am not certain that he may even get my letter. And as what I am writing requires Mr. Lane's attention and influence I am taking the liberty of addressing you also.

I am writing on behalf of Mrs. [Alice] Agnes Boulter, widow of my brother, the late George E. Boulter of Tanana, Alaska. My brother died in Tanana on Oct. 27th last, leaving a young widow and three small children and, as you will see from my sister-in-law's letters to me, another little child to be born in a month or so. No doubt Mr. Lane knew my brother personally, but if not he surely would have known him in the official position he held for many years in Alaska for the American Government. He looked after the Indian and Esquimau [sic] people all over Alaska.

My object in writing to you and Mr. Lane is to ask if a pension cannot be arranged for Mrs. Boulter. Her letter to me will explain the situation thoroughly. My late brother was very highly esteemed by all in Alaska, and I believe also by the American Government by whom he was employed. I think that here is a genuine case where they would like to show their appreciation of his good work in a practical manner. I personally am in no position to help. I only wish I were, for my sister-in-law's case is most pathetic.

Perhaps you will be so kind as to answer this letter, and if Mr. Lane should receive the one I have sent him, I should indeed be glad to know it.

Philander P. Claxton to Horace J. Boulter

Washington, DC, January 26, 1918

Secretary Lane has sent to me your letter to him and to Mrs. Lane, with their enclosures, which I have carefully considered. I had the highest regard for your brother, Mr. George E. Boulter, who for so many years rendered faithful service to the Bureau of Education in its work among the natives of Alaska, and I have deep sympathy for his widow.

I regret that there is no way by which a government pension can be arranged for Mrs. Boulter and her children, but I am glad to know that her immediate needs are provided for. She is under appointment as teacher of the school at Tanana at a salary of \$150 per month from November 1, 1917, to May 31, 1918.

I have assigned to Mr. W. T. Lopp, Chief of the Alaska Division of the Bureau of Education, the duty of recommending to me for appointment teachers for the Bureau's schools in Alaska, and I shall be very glad to consider the reappointment of Mrs. Boulter if she should wish reappointment and if Mr. Lopp recommends.

Alice A. Boulter to H. C. Sinclair

Tanana, January 26, 1918

Enclosed are the papers (duly signed) sent me for signing in order to receive Mr. Boulter's October salary. The receipted bill requested is also enclosed.

Am also enclosing one of your checks which I signed or endorsed as you will see. The bank returned said check, and I would ask that same be reissued in my favor.

Philander P. Claxton to the Auditor for the Interior Department, Treasury Department

Washington, DC, March 15, 1918

I enclose herewith a check dated October 11, 1917, for \$31.50, payable to George E. Boulter, Superintendent of the Upper Yukon District of Alaska in reimbursement for Mr. Boulter's travelling expenses for the month of August, 1917. Mr. Boulter died on October 27, 1917, and the enclosed check was received by his widow after his death. Mrs. Boulter endorsed the check and tried to cash it, but payment was refused because the check had not been endorsed by Mr. Boulter.

I am sending herewith voucher No. 1800 for \$150, in favor of Mr. George E. Boulter covering his salary from October 1 to October 27, 1917, which was paid to Mrs. Boulter on February 26, 1918. Attached to this voucher is an affidavit

to the effect that Mrs. Alice A. Boulter is the widow of George E. Boulter and is entitled to receive any money that may have been due him at the time of his death. The receipted bill of the undertaker is also attached to this voucher.

I respectfully request that proper action be taken by the Treasury Department to make the enclosed check for \$31.50 payable to Mr. Boulter's widow, Mrs. Alice A. Boulter, and that when this is done the check be returned to this office for transmittal to Mrs. Boulter.

W. T. Lopp to Alice C. Green, Royal Street, New Orleans

Washington, DC, April 9, 1918

Your letter of February 14 was forwarded to me from Seattle. I delayed answering until I could take up certain questions with the Commissioner of Education.

I am glad that you agree with me with regard to it being unwise for your daughter to remain longer in Alaska. We have no suitable residence in that district for you and her family of five, and the salary which we could pay her and you would not enable you to save any considerable amount of money, therefore I fear that your financial condition would not be improved at the end of next year. Then the risk of keeping a family of small children in an Indian village should be considered.⁸³

W. T. Lopp to Alice A. Boulter

Washington, DC, April 9, 1918

I have your letter of February 7 in which you repeat your request for a school at Tanana or Rampart. I am wiring you today that your mother and I consider it unwise for you to remain in the country with your family of small children. We feel that you would be incurring too much risk; that the salary which we could pay would not enable you to save any money; that the school residence is too small and uncomfortable; and that the risk you would incur by keeping your children in an Indian village is too great. Both the Rampart and Tanana residences are too small and uncomfortable for six people. Our appropriations may be delayed so that it will be impossible to count on funds for increasing the size of these buildings this summer.

⁸³ Alice would of course have written to her mother (Alice C. Green) about George's death, and she apparently proposed that she come to Alaska, no doubt in part to help care for the four children. As is clear from Lopp's next letter, Alice had written to him as well, on February 7, to request a teaching position for herself. Given Lopp's reference to "the salary which we could pay her and you," it appears that Alice was also hoping for some kind of government position for her mother, who was, at that point, sixty-five years old. Small wonder that Alice was distraught: she had just lost her husband, she was pregnant with a fourth child (born on April 13), and she was very short on funds.

We believe that you need a change and that it will be easier for you to make a living in the States than on the Yukon. I think there would be openings for you in kindergarten or primary work, in lecturing on Alaska to the public school children in the States, or by making a few month's preparation I think that you could pass a Civil Service examination and secure a position in one of the departments of the Government. So many young men have gone off to the front that there are now many opportunities for women in all branches of Government. I hope it will be possible for us to order you to Seattle for a conference and to pay your transportation. This, of course, will depend upon whether or not we have a balance remaining in our 1917–1918 fund.

Believing that after you have reconsidered this matter you will agree with Mrs. Green and myself.

W. T. Lopp to Philander P. Claxton

Seattle, June 4, 1918

I respectfully recommend that Mrs. Boulter's appointment as teacher at Tanana be extended to cover the month of June, 1918.

It was my intention at first to order her to Seattle, with a view toward paying her transportation from Tanana, but inasmuch as she will not be able to leave Tanana until after the end of her present appointment, namely May 31, I believe it would be advisable to recommend the extension of her appointment one month and have her pay her own expenses.

As soon as I learn when she leaves Tanana, I will recommend that she be granted annual leave from that date to the end of June.

W. T. Lopp to Alice A. Boulter

Signal Corps telegram, Seattle, June 10, 1918

Cannot pay transportation. June salary will be allowed in full. Suggest you assign if necessary and come on first boat.

Alice A. Boulter to W. T. Lopp

Signal Corps telegram, Fort Gibbon, June 18, 1918

Expect to leave on Yukon about twenty-first. Can easily take Coruna up river.



Alice Agnes Boulter at the time of her departure from Alaska, June 1918. Collection of George E. Boulter II.

W. T. Lopp to Philander P. Claxton

Seattle, July 25, 1918

Mrs. Boulter, with her four children ranging in years from three months to five years, arrived in Seattle several days ago and plans on going to San Francisco as soon as her mother, who is now en route from New Orleans, joins her here.

She hopes to enter a normal or training school for six or eight months and then secure employment in the California public kindergartens. She thinks she

is qualified to become an assistant teacher while she is in the normal. She would appreciate a letter from you during the next two or three weeks, introducing her to the head of some department of the California State Normal at San Francisco.

Mrs. Boulter has informed me that it required all her salary and \$500 of her \$3,000 life insurance to pay her debts in Alaska. She thinks if she can get into kindergarten work in San Francisco she can make her own way. Her mother will live with her and help in the care and responsibility of her children. She is building much hope on the letter or letters of introduction which you can send her to some of your private acquaintances in San Francisco who are engaged in education work, and desires you to send them in care of this office.

In October 1907, shortly after she reached Alaska, Alice wrote, “The future, God but knows.” On June 21, 1918, she and her four children left Tanana aboard the *Yukon* and took three further riverboats to reach Whitehorse, where they boarded the White Pass & Yukon Railway for Skagway. They continued by steamer to Seattle, where they were met by Alice’s mother and where Alice received five letters of introduction from Claxton to California educators. The six of them sailed from Seattle and arrived in San Francisco on August 6. Alice never spoke of this journey in later years, or of the numerous expressions of sympathy and good wishes that she must have received along the way, nor did she save any letters of condolence and sympathy. The only one discovered is that from Claxton, written on November 19, 1917.

Upon arriving in San Francisco, they boarded the ferryboat to cross the bay to Berkeley, where they stayed for a week at the Claremont Hotel, until Alice found their first California home in nearby Kensington.⁸⁴ Grandmother Green remained with them for a year or so while Alice attended the State Normal School in San Francisco to raise her teaching credentials to California standards. Eventually, the care of four small children became too great a burden for Alice’s mother, and she returned to New Orleans. Alice was then forced to board the children with different families and to work part-time in the Berkeley post office to pay the bills, while at the same time attending the state college in San Francisco.

After receiving her diploma Alice taught in the public schools of San Rafael and Mill Valley, California, and she was able to support her children. They eventually settled in Oakland, where Alice taught school until she retired. Her teaching career in California was again devoted to young children, especially those with learning

⁸⁴ Opened in 1915, the Claremont Hotel (now the Claremont Hotel Club and Spa) still stands, situated on 22 acres of grounds. Years later, Alice told George Jr. that the total bill for a week’s stay at the Claremont for two adults and four children amounted to \$53. This would be roughly \$840 in US dollars today, but, of course, the cost of living differed: at the time of his death, George had been earning only \$150 a month.

difficulties. She bought a little house in Carmel, on Monterey Bay, and lived there after retiring in 1946 until shortly before her death in 1972 at age ninety-four, never having remarried. Honouring her wishes, her ashes were scattered at sea off Point Lobos, near the rocks and beach of Carmel that she loved so much.

part two

Alice Agnes Green (1878–1972)

A spirit of missionary zeal drew Alice to Alaska, which is perhaps best expressed in an article she wrote for *The Alaskan Churchman*, published in November 1907:

MEETING THE BISHOP BY LETTER

Some many months ago a special number of the *Spirit of Missions* was handed me by a friend.¹ “Do read the account of the winter journeyings of one of our much beloved missionaries away up in Alaska,” was her urgent request. Up to this time I had never taken any great interest in Alaska missionary work as it seemed a field too heartlessly cold and barren for a Southerner, unfortunately, to truly appreciate. I had, however, often glanced over many of the articles about Alaska, and would gaze wonderingly at the pictures of the winter scenes, thinking, “How is the Gospel spread abroad there? What enables the workers to stand the severe climate?”

[. . .] When handed this particular article, intuitively I looked at once for the signature, for therein additional charm is often added to a writing. The signature “P. T. Rowe” created immediate interest. Word after word, line after line, was so full of interest, the personality of the writer was clearly portrayed. This same Alaska experience which might have seemed fairy-like, unreal, penned by another, was so realistically told by the Bishop that the possibilities for Christian good, amid the trials and the hardships that must be endured, stood out, as it were, as positive truths in the wonderful word pictures.

[. . .] This article did not reveal the man as he must be, and at once I was eager to know the Bishop and to learn of his wonderful work. But how could I know him, so many thousands of miles intervening? With paper and pen the only alternative, I determined to make the effort. My letter to the Bishop was an expression of the new interest his article seemed to stir within my very soul, while at the same time I could not fail to express my utter astonishment of all he had accomplished. [. . .]

Upon mailing the letter, day after day I thought, “Oh, will the Bishop really have time to reply to a casual letter from a perfect stranger?” My hopes were high. No one could imagine my joyous surprise when in about five weeks a letter did really come. Just a note, however, a few lines of appreciation for my interest in his article. This delightful note did but cause me to wish to hear again from the Bishop, and so a correspondence was begun. “The field is large and the workers are few.” Thus wrote the Bishop in referring to the condition of the Church in Alaska.

This seemed an urgent call for helpers; it came to me with great force. And as by letter I met and really learned to know the Bishop, so by letter I applied and received the appointment in one of the Church’s missions in Alaska. My association with the Bishop continues, letters from him still bring encouragement, the words of help and cheer are but a glorious inspiration for me in the new work.

¹ Possibly, Alice was referring to “Bishop Rowe and the Children,” which appeared in the February 1907 issue of *The Spirit of Missions*. The piece consisted of an excerpt from one of the bishop’s letters, written at Sitka on December 10, 1906.



The Kenwood Hotel, in Dawson, with Alice on the right, wearing the large hat, Miss Farthing beside her, and Miss Alexander second from the left. Collection of Alice A. Boulter.



The Reverend John W. Chapman. Collection of Alice A. Boulter.

In May 1906, Alice had contacted the Episcopal Church headquarters in New York and was accepted as a teacher in their mission schools in Alaska. Her initial letter of appointment at Anvik, at a salary of \$70 per month for the nine months of the school year, was signed by Bishop Rowe at Sitka on December 27, 1906. Six months later, on July 30, 1907, Rowe wrote to Commissioner of Education Elmer E. Brown to recommend her appointment, noting that he had, in fact, already engaged her. “Miss B. Sabine is going out this year for a furlough,” he informed Brown, “and a Miss A. Green of Winnfield, Louisiana, is coming in to take her place. Miss Green is a qualified teacher, and has been so engaged in the schools of Louisiana for several years. I can heartily endorse her and respectfully recommend her appointment in Miss Sabine’s place at Anvik.”

Alice left New Orleans by train on the morning of August 2, 1907, passed through Los Angeles and arrived in San Francisco on August 6. Although she had only a few hours there, she hired a taxi to see the city and how few signs remained of the fire and earthquake the previous year. Another train took her to Seattle, where she joined Miss Annie Farthing and Miss Alexander, staying with them at the Rainier Grand Hotel and completing the purchases for her northern wardrobe. Miss Farthing had already spent five years as a missionary teacher in Alaska, including one at Anvik. She had been on leave and was returning to take up a position at the new boarding school for Alaska Native children at St. Mark’s Mission, in Nenana, where Miss Alexander was to be the mission nurse.

The three sailed from Seattle on August 10 aboard the *Dolphin* for Skagway, stopping briefly en route at Ketchikan and Wrangell. From Skagway, they took the White Pass & Yukon Railway to Whitehorse, then the steamer *Casca* to Dawson, arriving there on August 22. On August 27, they departed Dawson, where they had stayed at the Kenwood Hotel, for Fairbanks, travelling on the steamer *Lavelle Young*. In Fairbanks, the three women separated. Miss Farthing and Miss Alexander went on to Nenana, and Alice continued on her own, taking the *Schwatka* to Tanana and then the *Herman* to Anvik.

Government and Mission Teacher at Anvik, 1907–10

Alice began her journal the evening that she arrived at Anvik, after a journey of five and a half weeks. She was met by the Reverend John W. Chapman, who, together with the Reverend Octavius Parker, had founded the Episcopal mission at Anvik two decades earlier.² While we cannot be certain precisely when Alice learned that she was

2 As Chapman explains in *Forty Years in Anvik*, when he volunteered to serve the Episcopal Church in Alaska, he was unaware that the Reverend Parker had already been sent out, a year earlier. The two met up in St. Michael, and shortly afterward Parker’s wife and two sons returned to the United States, “while Mr. Parker fulfilled his intention of going on to Anvik to establish a mission” (3). It was Parker who chose the site at Anvik, which, Chapman wrote, he “acquired from the Indians for a feast and

officially employed by the government, Rowe had written to Brown only a few days before her departure. Quite possibly, then, she arrived at Anvik under the impression that she was a missionary teacher.

Monday, September 9, 1907

Arrived Anvik today 6 p.m. about dusk at the post landing. By special request the captain of the Herman brought us down to the mission, the attractive little hillside village. All friends on the boat interested in my new life to be. Reverend Chapman a joyful surprise. A disappointment in the mission, the home—fishy odor almost unbearable—but soon the smiles of the dear little girls made all things right. My room, disappointment number two. Letters from the Bishop and Mr. Betticher, however, brightened, saved the day. Sweet, encouraging words, cheers and goodbyes of tender affection from the Herman until the bend of the river closed us from view. At home in Alaska.

Alice A. Green to the Reverend Joshua Kimber, Church Missions House,
New York

Anvik, September 11, 1907

How delightfully pleasant it is to be settled and at home in my new quarters. Anvik is a picturesque place and I am sure, even with all its ice and cold, cold breezes, I will find it most enjoyable. The children here in the house are so interesting, while my co-workers will be very congenial. The trip to Alaska, though very long, was intensely interesting all the way. Not a moment passed without some bit of pleasure and wonderful surprise being in store for me. In fact the trip was one of marvelous beauty.

In a letter from Bishop Rowe he informs me of my appointment as government teacher in the school here at Anvik. The Bishop writes that the government should allow my expenses in, and he has told me to send my expense account to the Bureau of Education in Washington. Then, when the amount is sent to me by them, I can return it to the Mission Board. I am sending the account to you first as it is not complete, for I do not know the cost of my railroad ticket from New Orleans to Seattle. You sent an order for this, so the cost is unknown to me. Add this amount please, to the full account enclosed and then I can write at once to Washington.

Having had ten dollars over from my expenses, I added more needed things to my outfit and then six dollars remained. If it was an over indulgence on my part to thus use the left-over dollars, I understand that this is to be deducted from my salary. I hope to hear from you as early as possible, and trust that my expenses along the route meet with your satisfaction. [. . .]

some sixty dollars' worth of merchandise" (4). Parker left Alaska in 1889, to rejoin his family, and it was Chapman who was responsible for the future of the mission. He remained in Anvik until 1931.



The Christ Church Mission, at Anvik. “The great forest of pine, spruce, and fir was a magnificent background for the Anvik mission,” Alice later recollected. “The building on the right housed the dining room, kitchens, pantries, washrooms, and Mrs. Evans’s bedroom, all on the ground floor. The dining room was also used as a reception room. Upstairs was the girls’ dormitory, and on the right end was my own room. In the right section of the double building at left was the rectory, where the Reverend John Chapman and his family lived. In the left section, downstairs, was the schoolroom and the US post office. Upstairs was the boys’ dormitory. In the little gulch between the two buildings was the school playground. In winter the area was firmly packed with snow over the deeply frozen earth, a popular place indeed during the all-too-brief periods of daylight—sometimes a mere hour of twilight at high noon.” Hudson Stuck photograph album, in the collection of Alice A. Boulter.

Sunday, September 15

Busy, happy days. All unpacked, assisted by the dear little girls. Visits to the village and the Indian burial grounds, strange sights, evidences of strange beliefs. After dinner a delightful trip in the launch down the Anvik, out to a little stream for wood with Mr. Chapman and five of the girls. Such glorious scenery, but thoughts of home and loved ones come thick and fast. A rainy day with Mr. Chapman in the rectory talking things over, then an inventory of school books and supplies. A pleasant walk up the hillside with some of the children, a visit to the trading post, and quiet moments on the beach alone with my thoughts.

Excitement Wednesday at noon, cries of “Steamboat! Steamboat!” But it did not come any further than the post. Saturday, a day of personal whims and fancies, write a bit, read a bit, some time out in the yard. My last day of absolute freedom. Schoolroom all arranged, two delightful visits with Mrs. Chapman. No word of any steamboat. Letters are wanted, do they miss me at home and elsewhere?

Late rising today, my first Sunday in Alaska. Sweet, but oh! such a newly strange service at the dear little church. Sunday School did not show in the children what excellent material we have to work with. Some few minutes on the river’s edge while waiting for dinner. Met the old native, Simon Kisset, how his face beamed at my mere mention of Mr. Brooks’s name. A lovely walk down the beach with Mrs. Chapman and the children. Marvelous cloud effects gladdened the skies, and the day ended with gorgeous tints of red, blue, pink and gold. Miss Girault my only puzzle, would that I knew her better.³

Sunday, September 22

Monday, my first day at school, a most vivid contrast to the first days in Winnfield or in Bastrop. Impressive opening by Mr. Chapman. The children grow in attractiveness, but I must be strict with them. Happy walks in the woods with the girls gathering autumn leaves for our nature study. After school, delightful walks down the Anvik River.

Wednesday, a day of days—the Hannah arrived! My two lovely friends Mr. Child and Mr. Brooks came ashore for just a minute—Alfred H., dear above all dears except one. What a world of news the mail bag held for me! But above all, Randolph’s letter, so tender, so beautiful, and yet, must I say, a strain of deception or insincerity. “Time will tell.” Yes, I should have a thought for those at home, but the rich experiences I have just had would never have been mine, and Mr. Alfred H. would have been unknown.

Dear, dear W.R., the lamp burns low, the night is far spent, a long time thinking of the contents of my letters. His picture consulted, too.⁴

Friday, another birthday dawneth. The children so sweet in little gifts, oranges and wild flowers and carefully selected stones from the beach. They considered the day a most joyous one, ’tis beautiful to see their sweet spirit. A delicious cake from Mrs. Chapman and an elegant basket, but thoughts of other birthdays and other times intrude.

3 Phoebe Girault was temporary matron at the mission during the leave of absence of Mrs. F. B. Evans. “Mr. Brooks” was evidently Alfred H. Brooks, head of the US Geological Survey in Alaska, whom Alice must have met at some point on her journey to Anvik.

4 In the diary that Alice kept in 1903–7, while she was teaching in Louisiana, at Bastrop and then Winnfield, she wrote about meeting “W.R.,” described as a “lawyer” who “becomes rather dear,” on January 19, 1907. Just a month before, she had received confirmation of her appointment to Anvik from Bishop Rowe. Randolph continued to court her and to “spin air castles” until her departure from Winnfield in May, and the two corresponded for roughly a year and a half after Alice arrived at Anvik. Nothing more is known about this mysterious suitor, whom Alice never mentioned in later life. Especially during her lonely first year in Alaska, however, “Sir Randolph” (as she sometimes calls him in subsequent journal entries) came to symbolize the possible future that she had left behind, one that, at least initially, she dreamed of someday recovering.

Sunday brought more drizzle and snow before noon, but 'twas wet snow, the weather too warm. Sweet service at church, the reward to Caleb and Joshua impressed me very much. Stood godmother for a little native girl. At supper had quite a treat and quite a feast, ate smoked salmon with the children.



The Anvik River—"with peaceful course," wrote Hudson Stuck, "which no rude storms annoy." Hudson Stuck photograph album, in the collection of Alice A. Boulter.

Monday, September 30

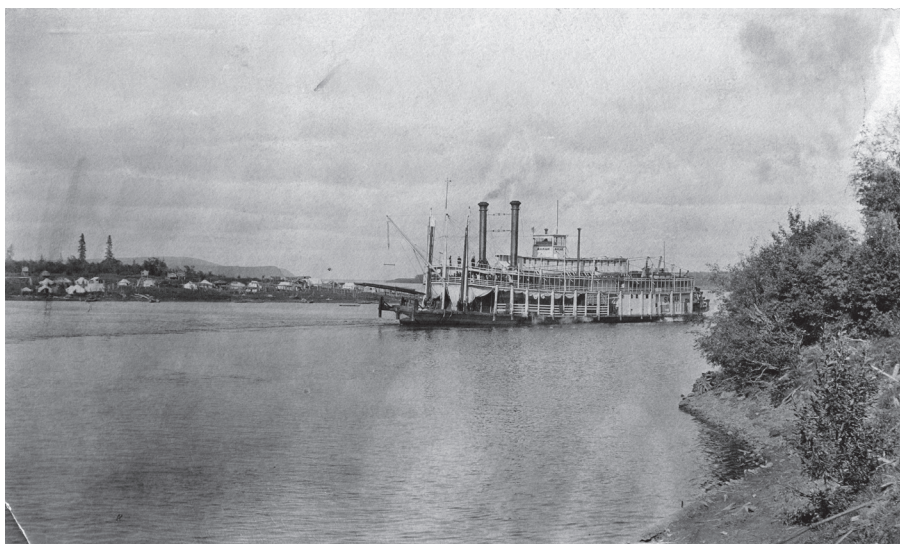
Last Monday, a day not understood by myself, the children seemed uninteresting, or perchance uninterested in school. Thoughts on how to spend the last abominable hours of class rather troubled me. But the day brought great possessions, my new boots, charming to look at, the comfort of them greatly anticipated. All the children in my room after supper until I just had to insist upon bedtime.

My spirits better these past days, sparkling weather, good classes, delightful walks in the golden afternoons. Friday, however, a day of intense pain, insult from Miss Girault with whom I have sought to be so friendly. But at school the incident was soon forgotten. Saturday, at twilight, "Steamboat!" 'Twas the Herman with just a bit of mail and some information from the Government. Starlight calm and so beautiful. Slight indications of snow. Sunday, ideal weather, Indian summer truly.

Today, two steamboats!—Oil City and St. Michael. Some tourists visit the house. Had quite a chat with several. Afterwards a fine ramble through the woods with the children gathering spruce boughs for the altar. Poor little Ada met with a dreadful accident, fell into a miserable hole and broke her arm. Miss Girault continues and increases in her surliness. September gone.



The confluence of the Anvik River with the Yukon—the site of the Episcopal Christ Church Mission, founded in 1887. Hudson Stuck photograph album, in the collection of Alice A. Boulter.



The Sarah entering the Anvik River, at its junction with the Yukon. Hudson Stuck photograph album, in the collection of Alice A. Boulter.

Not only during her first rather lonely months in Alaska but throughout her stay, Alice took a keen interest in the comings and goings of steamboats. In such isolated settings, boats were, of course, the link to the broader world, and their arrival provided a welcome disruption of daily routine. But, beyond that, Alice had a personal connection to these paddle wheelers. Commenting many years later on Hudson Stuck's photographs of the confluence of the Anvik and Yukon rivers and of the steamboat *Sarah*, Alice said:

Where these two rivers flowed together was a most picturesque point, enhanced as it was by the soft green bushes on the left bank of the Anvik and reflected in its still waters. When steamboats came, however, it seemed as though the little Anvik would groan with pain as its quiet, restful waters were disturbed and tossed about by the great paddlewheels of the boats. The Anvik was a somewhat shallow river and was not navigable by steamboats very far upstream.

The first time I saw one of these great river steamers in Alaska I felt a thrill of joyous amazement, for when I had been a girl in New Orleans a group of us would often take a trip up the Mississippi on just such a boat. Upon first seeing the *Sarah*, I felt I had met a beloved friend from the faraway Mississippi and that the *Sarah* and I would always be close. And so she and her sisters remained throughout the summers, which came and passed with my years in Alaska, and were to become a significant tie with all the life I had left behind in New Orleans.⁵

From a window in the schoolroom at Anvik one could see an approaching steamer, just a speck at first, between two distant mountains. As the boat came nearer, the boys could tell whether she was a wood-burner, an oil-burner, or a coal-burner from the color and density of the smoke. The Indians called them "inside-burning" boats. The children had been given permission to watch for a boat coming around the bend of the river, and whoever would sight it first might begin singing, "There's a steamboat coming 'round the bend! Can't you hear dat whistle blow?" Then the children and I would take up the joyous cry of "Steamboat!" and at once go down, all of us, to the riverbank. Soon the cry would resound throughout the Indian village up the river, where a few Natives lived the year round, and on the point where a greater number lived in tents during the busy fishing season. By the time the boat landed, the Indians would have gathered in great numbers on the bank, those from the point taking to their rowboats and canoes as soon as they heard the cry, trying to be first to reach the steamer.

These steamboats were indeed a bit of Outside for they brought not only freight but our always eagerly awaited mail. [. . .] And so every steamboat, even the smaller

5 The *Sarah's* sister ships were the *Hannah* and the *Susie*, all three built by the Alaska Commercial Company. At 223 feet long, they were the largest and finest sternwheelers on the Yukon River, patterned after the flat-bottomed, shallow-draft models of the best Mississippi River paddle steamers. Riverboats were built of wood, which allowed for easy maintenance and was also more resilient and flexible on the Yukon rapids. Paddle steamers were well suited for navigating the sand bars and snags in the rivers, and sternwheelers predominated as they were cheaper to build, more manoeuvrable, and easily repaired. Most of these boats were wood-burners, denuding the riverbanks of timber and cover for game, although the *Sarah*, *Hannah*, and *Susie* were oil-burners.

ones, would create this happy excitement when coming to us at Anvik. They made a strange and beautiful sight as they sped downstream in the Arctic twilight, with their many cabin and deck lights all aglow, through narrow channels and between islands covered with spruce and willow as high as the smokestacks, and so near that they seemed like fairy palaces floating noiselessly through the dark green forests.

Sunday, October 6

Tuesday, October dawned cold but beautiful. Rewarding day at school and a splendid walk on the hillside, warmly dressed. Wednesday afternoon a little while at the woodpile talking to two of the older boys. A near disaster on Friday, a fire in the schoolroom! One of the girls put the oil lamp too near a window, setting the curtains ablaze. Thankfully 'twas quickly extinguished.

Saturday, cold, cold, but clear and beautiful. A walk before breakfast down by the Anvik, ice all about, the distant mountains aglow with a wondrous early light. Household duties in the morning and peaceful moments in church while I swept and cleaned it.

Today, a day of great pain. Sweet communion service, after which my mail was given me, a steamboat coming in the night. The letter enclosing clippings of dear Papa's death came as a shock. The rest of the day spent in letter writing to poor dear Mama and all others whom I love. A warming visit from Mrs. Chapman, her sympathy helped to ease my aching heart. Dear little Fred so tender and affectionate.

Sunday, October 13

A freezing day on Monday, the Anvik a sheet of ice. 'Twas hard to begin school, but best to do so. At noon the Tanana stopped, the last boat of the year. Mr. Jones, the purser, and someone else came up to see me, bringing nuts and fruit. Excellent day in school, the children becoming dearer. Down to the river in the afternoon, a marvelous day, the ice seems so wonderful. But thoughts of home are always with me. Poor, dear Papa, does he know now that I love him?

Tuesday, the Anvik frozen entirely. Before breakfast Mr. Chapman tested the ice, walking carefully over it and bumping it with a stick. How beautiful it was, just as a sheet of thick clear glass. Little fish, and every now and then a large one, would dart to and fro, and the entire village was soon catching them through holes cut in the ice. Out on the ice in the sled in the afternoon, and until supper the whole time was spent on the river, the older boys burning the grass near the banks and the little children sliding and skating. I had my first lesson on skates, enjoyable beyond any and all expression. After supper the girls and I went out again on the ice to watch the grass burning. A strange sight! But oh! what of home and home news? I must content myself, however, with the fullness of each day, the joys that are at hand, for the future may reveal sorrows undreamed of, unthought of.

Wednesday, our whole little world covered with a mantle of snow. A quick toilet then down to the river before breakfast to try skating again. Got along splendidly.

Before school Mr. Kruger took me for my first dog sled ride, the three handsome huskies skimming us smoothly over the frozen river. But then dreadful displeasure from Mr. Chapman with Miss Girault for ringing the school bell before we returned. He came over to the house but I did not see him, the talk was between the two.

A cold, brisk Thursday morning. Exhilarating walk before breakfast down to the Yukon, how peaceful and quiet the hour always is, and how magnificent the mountains are. A long talk with Mr. Chapman about the school bell, the trouble somewhat lightened. The afternoon spent in visiting about the village and some time on the river with the children watching the big boys gather hay. Had a dreadful fall on the ice, senseless for a second or so. How fatal it might have been! After supper a fudge party for the children, successful candy making amidst much fun and folic. The evening stars radiant, with faint visions of the Northern Lights.

Saturday, a fine photo by Mr. Chapman from the schoolroom window, Tom and Fred pulling the sleigh of newly mown hay over the ice and snow. Cleaned the church in the afternoon, but my heart did ache so dreadfully with thoughts of other church days when Papa was with us. After dinner a few visits in the village, then the children in my room to write their Sunday texts. A brief time on the ice before supper. Splendid sunset, the half moon rising just as the sun dropped behind the hills. But oh! that I might know the news from home! And how I wish that loved ones could be with me.

No Sunday School, in memory of little Norman who died suddenly in the early morning. After church a light snowfall, and as evening deepened it fell more heavily, yet softly. Evening service impressively solemn by candlelight, the prayers for the little native boy opened afresh the wounds in my heart.

Sunday, October 20

No school on Monday because of Norman. In the afternoon a short burial service at the church, then up the hill through the snow to the little boy's last resting place. Who was at Papa's grave? A sad, strange day numbered with the past.

Tuesday, try as hard as I can, a wearing day with the children. Until bedtime they are in my room, hardly time to write or read. No morning walk, the snow too thick and deep. How I missed the early communion with nature! What will next year bring? It must ever be so, dreaming our futures. The rest of the week, many children out busy at necessary work for their parents. Little Fred grows dearer every day, but when I wanted to talk to him and he covered his ears, I did not love him at that minute. I was so happy when he told me he was only playing. Later he had an unexpected surprise for me, a little wooden cross of his own handiwork and sweetly presented. Splendid times on the ice, but low in spirits, sad, so sad. The children are always with me.

Today, two of the older village boys in for dinner, Ralph and Harry. A week since the last steamboat—how long the week has been. The Northern Lights faintly showing in the heavens. Dear sister Caroline [in New Orleans] must be happy on her wedding day today.



The mission grounds at Anvik, with some of the local villagers. Hudson Stuck photograph album, in the collection of Alice A. Boulter.

Sunday, October 27

Cold, windy days. On Tuesday a brisk morning walk but the severe north wind sent me home very quickly. Wednesday, to school in a snowstorm. How brave I must be, the children think me a never ceasing informant and companion. The few times I am alone, how precious the moments are! Quite a tiresome day Thursday, school seemed all awry. The children come into my room at night as usual, not a moment to call my own. The Yukon almost frozen.

Friday, the first overland mail of the year. Many Christmas greetings from dear friends at home, but no news from Mama. A pleasant visit to Mrs. Chapman listening to the gramophone and planning for Halloween. A lovely walk home all alone, the twilight hour quiet and peaceful. The great round moon rising from behind the bare trees added beauty to the evening, the cold air only magnifying the glories of the heavens.

Today, another fire! In the early evening one of the girls knocked over the lamp in my room—how dreadful it might have been! Fortunately, I had the presence of mind to smother the blaze. The ever faithful responder to all calls, Mr. Chapman, came to my assistance.

Thursday, October 31

Calm and beautiful on Sunday with a light snowfall in the evening. An afternoon walk down to the Yukon, the great river now completely frozen. Monday, a fine romp on the ice with the children after classes. Had a frightful fall, my right knee badly hurt. The children were sympathetic indeed. Fred caught "Frederick Henry" the crow. Refreshingly glad days in school the rest of the week. Some fine times skating with the boys on the ice after tea. Tom caught his crow "Blackie." More talk with Mrs. Chapman about Halloween, then such fun bundling up the Christmas packages. This evening the Halloween party in our schoolroom a great success, many of the village natives with us. Home by starlight while thoughts of a dear one fill my mind. The evening sublime, the stars so brilliant. The future, God but knows.

Friday, November 1

The morning cold and clear, then a heavy snowfall about noon. A delightful walk with Mr. Chapman to the upper village to visit a sick child, my first long walk in a snowstorm. Mr. Chapman a wonderful companion, our slide down the river bank was ridiculously funny. The crow "Frederick Henry" escaped while Fred was feeding the dogs. All of us over to Mrs. Chapman's in the evening to hear the gramophone, then home, and at ten-thirty while waiting for my milk to boil, wrote a few lines in my notebook.

Tuesday, November 5

Warmer on Saturday but another heavy snowstorm continued all day. Sunday extremely cold. A happy walk with Ada on the ice as we watched a native with his fish trap on the frozen Yukon. Tom, Roger and Fred up to my room in the evening while I wrote to my friends at home, and little Henry at my side while I read to him. At Sunday School the children were especially dear. Tom's "soft answer turneth away wrath" was reverently said and I think the words will sink down into his precious heart and become a part of him. Monday, another day of tears, the missing box of matches. Who? An early morning walk and a lovely greeting from Henry at the wood pile, together we admire the sunrise. An easy school day as so many children out doing necessary chores for their parents with ice and wood.

Today, a visit to Mr. Kruger's store and to see his dogs. Was almost bitten by "Hoggie" if his master had not prevented the intended snap. Mrs. Chapman, Ada and I visited down by the post and then started back by dog team about twilight—four in the afternoon—when the evening star was in its splendor. An hour or so with a poor lonesome little lady, then home by starlight, the dogs mushing along splendidly with Tom and Fred leading the way with the lantern.

Sunday, November 10

Attempted a walk early Wednesday morning but the deep snow and unruly winds drove me back. No afternoon outing either because of the severe cold. Such a long day! Two

unusually hard days at school, so many of the children out at work with ice and wood. Had a bursting headache Friday but I must possess my patience. Up early Saturday to straighten my much-used-by-children room. Tom and Fred up for their usual morning greeting. Tom met with a fearful accident as he left, falling headlong down the stairs and cutting his hand badly with a new knife he proudly had been showing me. Mr. Chapman rendered first aid and put Tom to bed in the rectory. A queer day, the hours seemed an eternity. Nature called strongly for me to come outside, but I did not venture far as the ice on the Yukon had some water near the bank. A short afternoon nap by the firelight of my stove—dreams, dreams, dreams. Supper with Mr. and Mrs. Chapman, then a candy pulling for the children. A nice little visit from Isaac in the evening until bed-time with his “talking machine.” Tom grows dearer every day.

The short days are now upon us and I have to dress by yellow candlelight. Thursday, Bessie came down in the afternoon. The girls and I took our little friend home, the bitter coldness did make us hurry along. A shut-in day today, just to church and back again thrice was my only outing, a severe north wind keeping us housebound. Scarcely a handful at church.

Sunday, November 17

Particularly good start to the week, paper folding pleased the children. A gratifying talk with Mr. Chapman about how the children must or should spend their evenings. Fred grows worse every day, he is strange indeed. His impudent manners must be stopped. Wednesday, a fine morning, and all day a gentle breeze made the day almost spring-like. A long walk with Ada up the hill then a few slides down the icy slope with the other children before tea. Five of the boys in my room after supper, all of us writing and reading, dear little Lee beside me on his special stool. Fred was as dear and sweet as he could be, just at bedtime he wrote me a little note: “I will try to do good things to Miss Green.” How happy I and everyone else will be if he keeps his promise.

Thursday down to the schoolroom to continue the basket weaving. Mrs. Kruger and her family to help with the process. The evening was spent with Mr. Chapman and the boys weaving “rope yarn.”

Pleasant morning walks alone on Friday, not far but most refreshing, the weather much warmer. Several small falls on the ice, but no one near to help me. I enjoy the little tumbles and the quick get-ups. The children and I skate in the afternoons, the water that came up over the ice on overnight made us a fine skating rink.

Saturday, cloudy and snow-like, breakfast at eight-thirty. A sad little service at church, another village child died. A dozen or so Indian men and women in attendance—how strange they looked all in their native costume. Tom’s hand much better, he began his meals at the house today at dinner. A soothing walk all alone up the hill through the deep snow, then home in a snowstorm with huge flakes falling gently. Mr. Blaine arrived, but little mail, no home news. How my heart did drop! But hope sustains the soul. A visit later with Mr. Blaine to see the mail dogs, nine handsome creatures. A comforting talk

with Mrs. Chapman about my sore disappointment. Little visits about the village, how cunningly dear the new baby is, how wonderful the precious mite did seem.

After evening service a little practice with the children of our Christmas carols. Read to the boys until almost bedtime, and after all the goodnights were said, added more to Randolph's letter.

Sunday, November 24

Up by moonlight these mornings. Then slowly sinks the wonderful ball of light down behind the mountains, the last touch of brightness has vanished and the dark days are with us. Monday, cold, 15 below zero, but oh! so beautiful. A little run out into the garden to get a pitcher of snow to melt so I can wash. Easy days at school, many children out with chicken pox—Dora, Lena, Mona, Frank and Henry. Ada and I spend happy moments on the little strip of ice near the slough, sliding and sled riding until her toes become chilly.

Tuesday, the children in a splendid mood, the teacher, too. Tom was well enough to join us, but only as a visitor. At one-thirty in the afternoon, Mr. Chapman called us to see a marvelous sight, the Aurora, two pillars of light, all the prismatic colors, so exquisite. School hours were changed, thus making the end of classes by gas light. A pleasant surprise, a box full of wood awaiting me outside my room, put there by Fred. He can be so sweet when he wants to be, but when he is rude I do not love him at that minute. Thursday, a trip to Mr. Spaulding's store to get ribbon for the girls' book markers. Basket making in the afternoon and an evening in the schoolroom with Mr. Chapman and the boys weaving rope yarn.

From now on, yellow candlelight both mornings and afternoons. Busy indoors Saturday with domestic duties, a thorough house cleaning. A very cold day but I suffered none from the weather. A little lay-down before supper, but no sleep as downstairs the children made too much noise. In the evening they write letters to Santa Claus. A dark but lovely night, so quiet and the snow soft. Alone with my thoughts I watched our silent world and before bed added a few more lines to Randolph's letter. How I long for mail! What news is on its way to me?

No evening service as the gas was frozen. After tea a long letter writing period with none to disturb me. A letter to Miss Farthing.

Saturday, November 30

Happy days in school. Our spelling match a brilliant success. Mr. Chapman changed the hours again so that after school we will have an hour of light for play and recreation. Much fun with the children upon the ice, the severe winds clearing the snow in many places for our runs and slides. An afternoon walk to the village with Cora, my first glimpse into real Indian homes. How the natives need enlightening! Fred suffers from toothache. Tom's hand is improving wonderfully.

Thursday, Thanksgiving Day. A queer episode in church, my fainting spell. With the aid of Mr. Chapman I was able to get home and to bed, resting. A glad visit from Mrs. Chapman then over to Hubert's with Mr. Chapman and assisted in a communion service for the bed-ridden little boy. For our Thanksgiving dinner we had real beef, not canned, and mince pie. I took mine over to Hubert. Some of the girls joined us there later for an hour or so of practising their special songs. Then back to the schoolroom where at six I put the candy on to boil. 'Twas not done until after nine and we played games while we waited. I came home tired, oh! so tired. The walk was refreshing, a heavy snow falling, and from the light of my lantern a million and more diamonds seemed sprinkled upon the ground. How differently this Thanksgiving was spent from last year! What, oh what, of my loved ones?

High wind all Friday morning, and at noon and until bedtime a steady but not thick snowstorm. Read to the boys before tea, and afterwards a few minutes to call my own. Re-read Randolph's letters, wondering and thinking as I have always done, is he true, is he "God's good man"?⁶ The girls in my room later to draw and to color with their crayons. Dear girls, indeed.

Today, really cold, but a kind winter's sun lent some warmth and beauty to the day. Two of the children ill from Thanksgiving candy. Ada and I went out for a little walk while the other girls ironed. Tea with Mrs. Chapman, and afterwards a delicious grouse served for supper.

Sunday, December 1

A most blustering first of December, the north wind blew furiously. To church and back again was my only time outside. Little Fred sick with a toothache. A lovely reading hour after dinner, no one about. No evening service on account of the gas being frozen.

Sunday, December 8

The wind still high on Monday. Up and dressed by moonlight. A tiring day at school, my entire body suffered from a cold in my bones. Small school attendance, so many children out with chicken pox. Little Ada became ill. Tuesday, 20 below. A good day at school but too cold for the children to play outside. The new schools hours work charmingly. Mr. Chapman announced regretfully that the aching in my bones is rheumatism. Oh, how dreadful! God grant that it is only temporary. Another evening at Mrs. Chapman's and a walk home alone in a night of still beauty, the great round moon rising in splendor.

By Wednesday all was cloudy, no moon, no stars. Am sick for news from home and loved ones, my enthusiasm is rather low. Just one week more and the mail will come. What will it have for me? The morning sky on Friday lovely, the stars out again and softly beautiful. Indoors all day, 30 below and too cold for any outdoor activities. Ada

6 Here, Alice is almost certainly alluding to Marie Corelli's *God's Good Man: A Simple Love Story* (1904), an inspirational romance set in an English country town. Corelli's rather melodramatic novels were immensely popular at the time.

much better, and Henry is back with us. The children up in my room after school and after supper, too, and until bedtime we all worked on Christmas secrets. To bed about eleven, the moonlight on the mountains sublime from the windows of my "prison house."

Saturday, snowy and somewhat warmer. After dinner a long while with Ada and Bessie upon the ice and snow. Tried to read after tea but too many interruptions. A pleasant visit to Mrs. Chapman, taking Ada home between the twilight and the dark. Then home myself and a most refreshing turkish bath.

Today, weather moderated to zero, more snow falling during the night, the wind still a bit too high. After Sunday School the children and I plodded through the deep snow to see Hubert, and gathered about his bed we sang our carols. After tea a most delightful evening at the rectory. They all enjoyed looking at my photos and seemed impressed with Sir Randolph's picture. We laughed and joked the time away with delicious ice cream and cake. The little walk home was a benediction to the sweet, glad day, the stars brilliant even though the moon was bright. And Fred did not forget his sweet goodnight to me.

Sunday, December 15

Monday, calm and clear with some soft snow. Tuesday, letter day, Mr Blaine arrived! Bitter and sweet news. Aunt Fannie's letters, cruel even though somewhat true.⁷ Others from friends, and last but not least two from Randolph, letters which make me love him more. God bless him and keep him well. But no news from home. What of them all? How conscience smitten I have become! Why did I leave Mama? But if God will but guide and protect her from all that may be and give her peace of mind, during my absence, I will, with the same Divine help, assist her as best I can.

Wednesday, balmy and spring-like, the air invigorating. But my bones, poor bones ached dreadfully all day. Meant to stay only ten minutes with Mrs. Chapman after tea but she got down her box of photos and entertained me until nine o'clock. Home in time for a lovely hot plunge, a turkish bath really. Friday, a few romps in the snow with the children and our dear Rover. How they love the dog! In the afternoons we continue our basket making in the schoolroom. Mrs. Kruger and her family to help. Visits around the village and a short hour at Mrs. Chapman's sewing machine working on Christmas things.

A glad Saturday morning surprise from Henry and Fred. "Holy Night" as a sweet duet. But several little things about the house—foremost the girls trespassing upon my belongings—caused the day to be anything but cheery and all that it could have been. While in the midst of preparing our Sunday school lesson, Isaac came by and invited me over to make candy for his small son Paul. Such a neat Indian home, and quite a pleasant evening.

⁷ "Aunt Fannie" was Frances Campbell Maxey, the sister of Alice's mother and the wife of Judge Thomas S. Maxey, of Austin, Texas.

Sunday, December 22

Beautiful weather on Monday, even though the sky was gray and somber. Good morning session in school. In the afternoon up upon the hill with the children to gather spruce boughs for decorations. Wonderfully fine fun! The air was so balmy it put energy into every muscle, up, up through the deep snow we went, and at last on top of the hill found our trees. What perfect Christmas pictures Fred, Tom and Henry did make, way up in the topmost branches of a tall tree, breaking off twigs and shaking off the snow that had lodged in and among the branches. And what a beautiful sight, each child with an arm full of evergreens, tugging them through the snow, the air filled with the sweetness of their singing. With crimson cheeks and snow-covered garments we reached the bottom of the hill joyously tired. We decorated the schoolhouse until the bell summoned us to tea. But I was so tired that instead of going down to the house I sat at my school-room desk and found rest in writing to dear Randolph.

No more rheumatics these mornings. Calm days, some snow falls softly. Up to bedtime all of us busy working at our Christmas secrets. Radiant, moonlit nights, and up to eight or nine in the mornings the moonlight is golden.

Tuesday, December 24

No school during the holidays. Monday down to the woods for the Christmas tree. Such a jolly time we had, even though the weather was 10 below. Through three feet of beautiful snow, over hill and down again through the deep valley, two hills did we climb before we found the tree we wanted. How lovely the woods were. The boys and dear old Fido went ahead making us a trail. The winter's sun lent such beauty to the sky and the mountains, gorgeous colors. Back in my room dear little Anna brought me up some wood shavings for my stove. A line added to Randolph's letter, and then to bed to dream of?

From my eastern window the moon looked in last eve to say goodnight, while from the north window beams of brightness came streaming in at peep of dawn today to say good morning. Just a few household chores and then with the children over to finish decorating the schoolroom. How festive it looks! So much fun and enthusiasm that I was a bit late for dinner. The children very sweet and dear, but as we twined the decorations round and round, thoughts of other Christmases filled my mind and heart. After tea we all finished our secret gifts, then in the wee small hours of the night while all were sleeping I played Santa.

Wednesday, December 25

Christmas Day. At five in the morning Lena's soft tap at my door awakened me. She woke the other girls and down the stairs they scampered to see their Christmas joys. The boys had long since been up. Then out we started on our carolling. How beautiful the morning was, 20 below, with a tingling crispness to the air. The stars so brilliant and the moon most tender as it shown down on the snow-covered village all wrapped in sleep. To

all the homes we went, our crowd dwindling as some of the children's toes became cold. I enjoyed every second of the time. Last but not least we sang at the Chapman's door. Reached home joyful and warm as toast. Sweet morning service, the church crowded with natives. 'Twas most pleasing to see so many all in their best native dress. Three such handsome boys among the lot. After dinner, doughnuts in the schoolroom and the children's singing around the Christmas tree. The evening passed pleasantly, and again 'twas gratifying to see so many natives with us. Mr. and Mrs. Chapman so sweet with thoughtful gifts. Came home so tired but quite happy, a new sort of happiness.

Tuesday, December 31

Did not rise until just before noon the day after our Christmas festivities. A quiet day with a few visits before dinner. Out on the ice afterwards with the children, the air delightfully balmy at 18 below. Home again to write letters but was pleasantly interrupted by Mr. Kruger to "come take a ride." Over the snow, under the starlight we sped, the dogs, Hoggie, Nigger and Sandy pulling and trotting their best. After tea settled down again to letter writing but still another nice interruption, an invitation from Mr. Chapman to come over to see the new magic lantern.

How perfectly blissful the holidays are! Friday just before noon a solitary walk up the hill, far up on top, out of sight of every dwelling. From the soft snow the stately spruce rose green and lovely, the other trees all jewelled with frost. For many minutes I was on the wrong trail but the sun soon guided me right. Before reaching home, the sun going to rest behind the distant white-domed mountains lent a glorious beauty to the scene— not a sound to be heard, no one near. At night not a star to be seen.

Saturday, a cold, cold day, 32 below, but my room warm and comfortable. A little scamper up the hill with Anna and Dora, the woods beautiful. Several of the village and house children to visit me in the afternoon, all of them in my room while I was in the midst of letter writing. After tea took Marguerite back to the village, a quick run there and back with some of the girls in the intense cold.

Sunday, another very cold day, 42 below, but it did not keep us housebound. Between services many breaths of the wonderful fresh air. Before tea wrote a bit, adding another few lines in a separate envelope to Randolph. Spent a most delightful evening in conversation with Mr. Chapman and his family. A brilliant late night sky, but the bitter cold made me hurry home.

Monday, the glad and sad old year is dying. Glad because I met Randolph, and sad because of dear Papa's death of which I know so little, and because possibly I ought not to have left Mama. An intensely cold day, 47 below. Holidays are over, school is begun. Quite a nice beginning but the children and I had to huddle close around the stove. For two hours at mid-day, however, the sun blessed us with his light, the snow-covered mountains shimmering. After school an unpleasant talk between Mr. Chapman and Miss Girault about the too-cold schoolroom. Her red eyes reveal that which no doubt took place. Poor Miss Girault, would that I could mend matters some way, somehow. Her non-appearance at tea, secluded in her room, so I had to help a little with the housework.

New Year's Eve today, goodbye to 1907. An unusual day, Miss Girault still in her room. Had more taste of what housekeeping would be like, think I would like it very much. Attended to getting breakfast then hastened to school leaving two girls in charge of the house, Mr. Chapman coming down to see that everything was right. We all took dinner with Mrs. Chapman as she was kind enough to open her door and her heart to us. After school attended to supper, the girls cleaned up beautifully and then we had our candy pulling. It did not prove very successful but we had great fun. At ten-thirty, the children all in bed, I spent the last hours of the old year adding some brief words to Randolph's letter. Tried to stay awake to welcome the New Year but my eyes refused to stay open.

Wednesday, January 1, 1908

New Year's Day and oh! such a glorious morning. Miss Girault still secluded in her room. A long talk with Mr. Chapman before we decided that I should assume the housekeeping duties. Gave the house a good going over, every nook and corner cleaned. Dinner cooked without any trouble, the children thoroughly enjoying the baked fish. Supper put on and had settled down to some letter writing in the neatly cleaned and nicely arranged dining room when Miss Girault appeared on the scene. My brief time as housekeeper ended.

Saturday, January 4

Thursday I resumed my own happy duties in school but at recess had another talk with Mr. Chapman, and his announcement of Miss Girault's departure came as a shock. I would probably have to accept the responsibility of the home and he would take over the teaching. At eleven I went down to the house and found Miss Girault in the midst of her preparations to leave. In one short hour I got dinner! Afterwards, with all things done, I went to relieve Mr. Chapman for an hour in the schoolroom. Home again to cook supper. Then letter writing—some government reports to go in the mail.

Friday, such a busy day! Mr. Chapman now schoolmaster, but I took classes for an hour in the afternoon. Oh! so weary when day was done. Today, another busy, busy day. General housekeeping and cleaning assumed by a native woman and the dear little girls. Not a moment to read. Two greatly appreciated visits from Mr. Chapman, such a lovely man and a dear friend. Cora and Rachael from the village in for a short visit.

Saturday, January 11

The weather a bit warmer last Sunday. Busy again with housekeeping, but the children were so sweet and helpful that I got along nicely and found more pleasure in my new duties. Tuesday, housework so well arranged that I had time to go out for a little recreation in the blissful afternoon. A merry skip and run with the children on the snow, a new moon lending tender beauty to the hour. A little visit with Mrs. Chapman, she very much an invalid with a frightful toothache.

Wednesday, quite a joyous day. Little Henry Chapman's birthday dawns. Extra house cleaning in the morning, and after dinner happily preparing for his party. When finished, how lovely all things were. The children made a pretty picture under the soft candlelight around our festive board and after the party we played several enjoyable games. Mr. Chase, Mr. Kruger and Isaac were our only visitors. Just at the close of the happy evening we saw a wonderful curtain display of the Northern Lights.

The children in fine spirits the rest of the week, all duties nicely done. Some few minutes in the glorious outdoors, the afternoons very cold but wonderfully clear. The pink and blue sky beyond the great Yukon mountains adding much beauty to our little world. A very tiresome day Friday, two natives came to "visit" me. They meant well but had little to say, and I was relieved when they finally left. Tom and Fred severely corrected about improper talk. I am content with my present position in life, but oh! how I long for those loved ones who are ever present with me in thought.

Sunday, January 19

A most blustering day last Sunday. Busy, but not quite so busy over the pots as my Saturday cooking for Sunday gave me somewhat of a rest. How the wind did blow and howl at night! On Monday after housework was done Harriet and I enjoyed some fresh air sitting on the porch. Late in the afternoon a fierce snowstorm raged, the mountains lost in the blizzard and even the upper village hidden from view. Isaac had a hard struggle with the elements coming over the snow against the wind with his sled of ice, our water supply. Tuesday, a talk with Mr. Chapman about household matters. I welcomed his praise of my efforts and was glad to hear of his plans for the next school term when Mrs. Evans returns. A typical winter's day, cold and windy, but the house was warm and comfortable. Trouble, however, with the water. Mr. Chase, our handyman, and Tom worked earnestly at the pipes all afternoon. Harriet and I have a few moments of fresh air sitting out on the front gallery, but the snow and wind soon drove us inside. Another oh! so tired day.

More wind and snow on Wednesday, the storm so thick that the opposite side of the Yukon could not be seen during the morning hours. Housework seems a bit easier but achy joints bother me somewhat. Only a few more days and the mail will come. What messages will be mine? To think that whatever will betide me is now on its way. Would that I had some cheery letters to read tonight! Late, late while the children slept I made my first preparations for bread-making.

Busy all day Friday and, as I feared, the bread was not a success as the fire was entirely too hot. So tired because I felt really ill. A marvelous night, the moonlight almost bright as day. The children romp and play in its light but I was too weary to join in their sport.

Saturday, a day of days, Mr. Blaine arrived! A touchingly sad letter from Mama. Others from new friends helped to brighten my loneliness. A sweet surprise, a letter from Mr. Green, purser on the Schwatka. All afternoon I spent reading my mail. But nothing from Randolph! This night a year ago we first met. How many changes have come

about in the year. And this night I sit a few minutes trying to think and to write while dishes and forks and spoons clatter amid the songs the children sing. A full and somewhat strange day ends.

Today, cold and crisp. A fine sleep after my rather disturbing mail, and I am not one bit tired. The children and I spent the entire evening up at the rectory, the children playing in the kitchen while Mr. and Mrs. Chapman chatted with me. Such a pleasant time we had exchanging bits from all our many letters. Just before leaving we gathered in the kitchen and sang many songs.

Saturday, January 25

Monday, busy day, washing begun, bread started. Very cold indeed. Up late Tuesday with the bread. Wednesday, snowy and windy. Washing finished. Up late again, this time with Paul waiting for Isaac to come from the kazheem to get him, but it resulted in Paul spending the night with us.⁸ The children are all so dear. Thursday, one of the heaviest snowstorms. It began in the night no doubt, for when I went out to ring the breakfast bell my first peep at the morning was nothing but blinding snow so thick and fast that two feet ahead could not be seen. A thoughtful visit from Mr. Chapman to see how things were. Bread a wonderful success. How pleased I was!

Somewhat warmer on Friday, but about noon a severe wind and snowstorm clouded the day. The unknown stranger on the point passed away. How sad his death seemed to me, but a beautiful day for a soul to pass into the great beyond. The children all down to the house to make candy and play games. Today, mild and spring-like, 28 above, but a deep, flaky snow all about. The unknown stranger laid to rest. A few of the men carried the remains to the church on a sledge. I was spared the sorrow of attending the services. Then up the hill went the silent procession, the men plodding through the snow carrying snowshoes should they be needed. About noon from my own window I watched them with spade and hoe prepare the last resting place, their every effort seemed most solemn and devoted. How pitiful the scene. A poor lone man! All the girls with me during most of the rest of the day, all merry and helpful. A nice visit from Isaac in the evening until bedtime.

Friday, January 31

Sunday, quite early, the girls and I trudged through the deep snow up to Mr. Chapman's. The morning was beautiful, the moon so bright that it somewhat dulled the luster of the stars. Under the rectory window we sang our morning serenade, "The Holy City." After a few notes, a light went on and Mr. Chapman greeted us with smiling thanks and a morning blessing. Then home, my heart so rejoiced, the household duties seemed no care. After dinner had time to play a bit with the children and dear old Fido in the deep

8 The "kazheem" was a feature of Eskimo villages—a large hut where men gathered to hold meetings and conduct ceremonies and into which women were rarely (if ever) admitted. The kazheem also served as a workshop and provided lodging for unmarried men and for travellers.

downy snow. Spring-like days the early part of the week, a little above freezing, much melting and thawing. The boys have fine sport snow-balling.

Wednesday, very early, at five-thirty, I was awakened by the sweetest music I ever heard. My dear precious girls had such a lovely surprise for me—all up and dressed they came to my door and sang so beautifully “The Holy City.” How happy it did make me feel. After the song another surprise, the little voices saying in chorus, “Can we tell you how we love you? Yes, indeed we love you with our own little hearts. By your bed the white angels keep, the bright stars twinkling through the sky. But Miss Alice lies in her bed sleeping.” Such sweet girls, and around my bed they said their morning prayers. How God must love these children as their little voices and their little lives praise Him.

Very busy days, rather mild weather with exquisite skies and heavenly tints of blue and gold on the mountain. Today, quite an experience—a visit with Isaac to the kazheem in the native village. How refreshing prayers and hymns are after such a meaningless entertainment. Great fun with the children racing back and forth over the snow.

Here, with the entry for January 31, 1908, the first notebook of Alice’s journal comes to an end. Her journal begins again on September 6, 1908, in a new notebook, on the cover of which she has pencilled “7 Mos. Missing.” This notebook is numbered “2,” so the notebook containing the missing seven months of her journal must have been lost before she numbered them. Preserved in the National Archives, however, are several letters and a report that help to fill the gap from February to September. From these we learn more about the situation created by Miss Girault’s unexpected departure.

Alice A. Green to Harlan Updegraff

Anvik, March 2, 1908

On the first day of January I was asked to assume the duties of housekeeper here in our mission, as the housekeeper left us all without a moment’s warning. Mr. Chapman agreed to take over the school work and, inasmuch as the school was thus placed in such excellent hands, I was confident the Bureau of Education would sanction our action, the only thing that could relieve the situation.

It was quite a sorrow to give up my interesting work in school with the children, but Mr. Chapman tells me how they, one and all, are doing. I often visit the school and enjoy every minute of each visit. How nice it would be if the Government will furnish our schoolroom for another term; we not only need the furniture, but I think these children really deserve the most attractive room we can arrange. Mr. Chapman is writing in this mail of the transfer of the school work.

John W. Chapman to Elmer E. Brown, Washington, DC

Anvik, March 2, 1908

Miss Green informs me that she has already written to you that we were under the necessity of placing her in charge of the matron's department here at Anvik, and that I have undertaken the teaching. I was sorry to be obliged to deprive the school of her services as teacher, for which she has unusual qualifications, but we had no other way of meeting an emergency which could not have been anticipated. If agreeable to you, the bill for services, etc. may still be paid to her. They will be sent by the next mail.

The schoolroom at Anvik is not properly furnished. Twenty-five desks and chairs are needed. The present furnishings are neither attractive nor convenient, and we have no means to supply better ones. The room is also in need of repairs and the means to finish it in a respectable manner. A new floor should be laid and, with minor repairs, the cost of putting the whole in good condition would be about one hundred dollars. We can get out the lumber here. The room is large enough for the purpose of the school and we are glad to furnish it free of rent, but our resources are so heavily taxed at present that we cannot undertake any further outlay.

We have a sawmill and planer, gardens under cultivation and a herd of cattle, a bull, two milch cows and two calves, also a few chickens. We have kept cattle for three years and found it perfectly practicable. We also have a blacksmith's forge—bellows, tools, etc. There is a man of excellent qualifications who could be secured to teach the boys handicraft. He understands wood and iron work, construction and repair work, steam and gas motors, and is of an amiable and obliging disposition—has the respect of the boys and of the natives and whites alike. It seems as though, with these advantages, we should be able to cooperate with the Department toward furthering industrial education. I have written to Bishop Rowe suggesting that he correspond with you upon this subject.

Harlan Updegraff to Alice A. Green

Seattle, May 21, 1908

Replying to your letter of March 2nd, I have to state that the Commissioner of Education directs the services of Mr. J. W. Chapman be accepted as substitute teacher at Anvik until the close of the present term, the vouchers and reports being submitted in your name.

The Commissioner directs that in the future, whenever the services of a teacher terminate, his or her resignation should at once be submitted, and that, except in cases of illness, no substitute should be employed without the consent of this office.

Alice A. Green to Elmer E. Brown

Anvik, June 2, 1908

Again I must express my deep regret in having been forced to give up the school work in January when I really had just begun. The work was continued, however, most thoroughly and uninterrupted by Mr. Chapman. In April the work about the mission doubled and redoubled itself, and Mr. Chapman's attention had to be given to the crying needs about him, and so the school was suspended as the April report states. The girls, though out of regular school work, have since been in domestic training, housework and cooking, while the boys have their own duties about the place.

This is the earliest opportunity I have had, because of the uncertainty of our recent mails, to reply to your request of February fourth in reference to my reappointment. I am anxious to continue in the school work here at Anvik for another term commencing September 1908. I trust no one has been appointed to the place during my long silence which has been unavoidable. I shall be in Anvik all summer, and so during the mornings of the weekdays I shall be able to hold a few hours' sessions to make up for the lost time and to keep the children well up in their studies.

The voucher for my salary for the month of October 1907, was duly sent, but I never received the check for that month's salary. The September, November and December checks have been received. No regular school could be held in May, so of course no salary is expected this month. As to the matter of salary after the change of teachers, I place this entirely in your hands. With the transfer of teaching to Mr. Chapman did my salary cease? This is a question we are not able to decide.

Alice's consternation is understandable: at the time she wrote to Brown, she would almost certainly not yet have received Updegraff's letter to her, written less than two weeks earlier. From that letter, it appears that the Bureau of Education had acquiesced to Chapman's proposal that the government teacher's salary continue to be paid to her, on the understanding that he was serving in her stead. However, as Updegraff's closing paragraph suggests, Brown was not happy that the Bureau of Education had had no say in the choice of a substitute.

Alice A. Green to Elmer E. Brown

Anvik, June 8, 1908

REPORT ON THE YEAR'S WORK AT ANVIK

Considering the somewhat interrupted work due to the change of teachers, the session has been a most successful one. Twenty-two children have been enrolled

with an average attendance of fourteen. Each and every day has been glad and happy. The last hour of each Friday afternoon has always been devoted to an extra program consisting of recitations, compositions and special songs. It was such a pleasure to see the children in these their special efforts, and each child was most anxious to do his or her best, and each effort was encouraging and most agreeable to us, the children's teachers.

The children have watched their own progress from day to day with great interest and have kept a record of it all. A word must be said on behalf of their deportment in school and of their conduct in general. With "severe sweetness" the children have been governed, the rule or rod not used, and love, just love, has prevailed. In consequence, only slight punishments have been inflicted now and then. Good order has prevailed in the schoolroom and orderly behavior on and about the school premises.

Our nature study has been interesting. In the afternoons when school was over we would look for specimens of whatever nature would hold at each different season. In the depth of winter the snow crystals, the changes of the wind and the heavens were our special subjects. This summer we expect to spend many other pleasant and profitable hours in our gardens which now promise to be most flourishing. Our Christmas entertainment was one long to be remembered. The Sunday School and the day school were combined so as to have one Christmas tree for everyone. More than seventy natives gathered with us in the schoolroom and enjoyed an interesting program given by the children. Washington's Birthday and Valentine's Day were celebrated with great merriment and appropriate activities.

I shall send the inventory of the school material by next mail as the last shipped books are still en route.

Sunday, September 6

Rather cold with some sunshine. Many natives and six white men at church, and near the close of service quite a stout lady joined us. Afterwards Fred reported their favorable comments to me, quite pleasing indeed. At Sunday School time the men gathered outside the church, but before lessons were over they all came in and listened to us. Later I had the pleasure of entertaining them until evening service.

Sunday, September 13

Woke up last Monday feeling fine. Potatoes and eggs are so good for breakfast! A beautiful day with more than an hour out in the sunshine. Some candy making in the afternoon for Fred's steamboat friends. Tuesday, another oh! so beautiful day. Quite a while outside. Only Billy Field's mother to help with the laundry but the work was nicely done.

Wednesday, one year at Anvik. Weather somewhat cold and damp. About noon the Florence S. came in port. Quite a delegation of men on the river bank, and soon one of them came up to the house and asked to engage board "for a lady." She came, a Mrs. Hutchinson, had dinner and supper, then she and the girls went up to the rectory. I did not care to go as I had not met with Mr. Williams's cooperation in regard to Frank's deserved punishment.⁹ Then, too, I remained at home to be with Anna M. who had been put to bed because of naughtiness. Fred soon came home to be with me and to talk rather than to be with the others. The Florence S. in port all day as the wheel needed repairing. Mrs. Hutchinson occupying the housekeeper's room.

Much activity on Thursday. Late breakfast as Mrs. Hutchinson was tardy in arising. She became more talkative in her uncouth but open-hearted way and presented me with quite a pretty, almost one ounce gold nugget. At dinner the stout lady, Mrs. Taylor, who had been in church came to call with her splendid husky, a Siberian joy. How the dog loved the kittens! 'Twas wonderful to see them together. Quite a nice visit with her, and she promised to return to spend the night with us as her tent was uncomfortable and cold.

In the afternoon the children and I went up on the hill and had our supper among the trees. Then along the beach and met Mrs. Taylor who came home with us. Mrs. Hutchinson was still at the house taking supper. We all had warm milk, the ladies enjoying it hugely. Then great excitement! Three whistles and the Herman was at the post. Mrs. Hutchinson had to run and left five dollars as a gift to the mission.

No more of the nice Mrs. Taylor, but a sweet message from her through Tommy and Fred. Then up to the rectory to see about the mail. Very little as the Herman came only from Tanana. 'Twas after eleven, however, before I finished my two letters and papers. Friday and Saturday, busy days with some cloud and rain outside—and some within. An unhappy talk with Mr. Williams, he very dictatorial as to my duties beginning Monday—I had to be teacher as well as housekeeper until Mrs. Evans returned.

Could not go to morning service as Anna J. had a dreadful fit of the pouts and her dish washing was undone. Unpleasantness again with Mr. Williams who insisted on more lenient punishment than that which I had inflicted on Frank. But I had my way. In the early afternoon quite a snowfall covered the ground, the distant mountains beautiful with their new caps of white. Several cheechakos at evening service,¹⁰ and although some were our friends, I could not appear friendly as the village reports of Rosa and Mr. Nelson stirred up my disgust. Such a child, to be married to a man so dreadfully much older! Mr. Williams came to the house to announce that the wedding would be in his parlour. I did go, however, and was a witness to it all. Dear little Rosa looked quite sweet

⁹ Mr. Williams is the Reverend Charles Williams, who, with his wife and young daughter, Jane, had arrived to take the place of John Chapman, who had gone on leave with his family, presumably after the end of the school year.

¹⁰ In the Chinook Wawa, or Chinook Jargon, a *cheechako* is someone new to Alaska and therefore inexperienced.

though very shy. Mr. Nelson seemed as proud as could be, the native witnesses who came with the bride all solemn and attentive.

Thursday, September 17

Up at six on Monday, a damp, cold day. The schoolroom uncomfortably cold with the drafts from below the floor, could teach but an hour in the morning. 'Twas such a pleasure, however, to be with the children once again in their studies. Some sunshine after dinner and a nice little walkabout. Many cheechakos ashore from the Ben Hur who would have talked had I stopped.

Tuesday, more dampness, more cold. Housework done and all ready at nine-thirty to begin school, the room somewhat warmer. Taught all morning but could not return to school in the afternoon as I did not feel at all well. Mrs. Williams came down and sat while I sewed, fixing over a waist [blouse], and while the washing was in progress.

Quite a lovely snow covered the ground Wednesday morning and beautified the trees, but by noon 'twas all melted. Up early, but what with the cold schoolroom, dinner in the oven and fires to keep up, decided to hold school in the house. So in the dining room, everyone as quiet as a mouse, lessons were heard while dinner was attended to. A few minutes of afternoon sunshine on the woodpile while Tommy chopped firewood. Then in the house again to be with the children and supper to get. The girls delighted over "Hood's Sarsaparilla" paper dolls. The Ben Hur left in the morning, the Evelynne, a new boat, stole upon us at dinner time bringing freight to Mr. Spaulding.

Today a day of days! While teaching in the dining room I had occasion to go upstairs for a book and oh! I spied a steamboat! School was suspended, all of us busy preparing for its arrival. As it neared we recognized the Hannah and in some moments Fred announced, "Mrs. Evans is coming!" Many visitors from the boat flocked to the mission, but as I was in such a state of happy excitement I did not have time to entertain them as I might have. Mrs. Evans soon arrived, Arthur and Bob running ahead of her.

Tuesday, September 22

The housekeeping given over to Mrs. Evans! Her room thoroughly tidy and clean, all signs of the uncouthness and abruptness of Mrs. Hutchinson gone. But a week of tears and smiles and all sorts of distresses arising from not being understood by Mrs. Evans. Her disapproval of my housekeeping and of Mr. Williams and of all things in general. But each and every bitterness brought a lesson, the days are never to be forgotten. Bright weather, but freezing and with ice bordering the Anvik. Busy arranging my own room and belongings. Mr. McFerson, the government man, our guest at the rectory for a few days. My birthday on the 20th passed unnoticed.

Wednesday, September 30

A clear day on Sunday. Several white men with us at morning service, the crazy little Englishman monopolized the singing and the talk afterwards. After service a nice walk

with the children up the hill, then down to the beach to see the ice. Glorious sunset, Mr. McFerson photographed it. Quite an interesting conversation with him after tea, and at ten o'clock goodnights were said. Stars so bright, a faint glimmer of the Northern Lights. Perplexing and troubling thoughts make me rather not myself.

The rest of the week and until today, just busy days getting ready for my normal school duties. Mr. McFerson left on Monday. Tonight a dazzling display of the Northern Lights.

Thursday, October 1

School began sure enough today, the children attentive and well behaved. The afternoon spent sewing with them in my room. Brilliant sunshine melted all the ice in the Anvik and the river is quite lively.

Saturday, October 3

Thursday quite cold and sunless, but pleasant as the air was wintry fresh. Mrs. Evans rather sweet and talkative, interestingly so. We did not go to bed until ten. I enjoyed making up with her, she can be so pleasant at times. Tried to bathe in the little foot tub but without much success. Yesterday, an exceptional day at school. Recesses always enjoyable chatting to and with the bright sweet little ones. Today, the Herman arrived in the afternoon bringing some welcome letters from all the home folks, but not a line from Randolph. Shall I remain in Alaska or not? The test of time solveth all things.

Saturday, October 10

Moderately warm last Sunday with some clouds. The Bible hour with the children in my room, then evening service with Mr. Williams at the organ. A walk with the children afterwards and a talk with Mrs. Evans after supper. How wise I am becoming.

Pleasant autumn weather during the week but with high, sharp winds at times. Splendid sunsets. Rather a perplexing day Tuesday inasmuch as I just did not feel well. Wednesday, much thin ice in the Anvik but it soon melted in the warm sunshine. Felt much better in mind, body and soul, helped by a fine walk with Tommy up to the village by the woodland trail. Visited Eliza and Julius—such a neat home. Visits to several other native homes revealed much and showed how great is the need to instruct the adult natives in cleanliness and hygiene. Home by rowboat to accommodate a native.

Thursday, pleasant hours at school with a sewing class, and a wee walk with the tots in the afternoon to see the livestock.

Today, cold, damp and snowy. The children upset the milk after breakfast while playing with Blackie the cat. Dreadful displeasure from Mrs. Evans, tears, but all things soon over. Help with the bread and to bed fairly early.

Saturday, October 17

I do miss dear Mr. Chapman. Some ice about, the Anvik thicker. A little visit to Hubert while the girls were washing up, and a cozy talk with Mrs. Evans before going to bed. Monday, somewhat cold, the boys skate hugging the shore. Mrs. Williams told me of her coming child, her second, and married only a year! Just now, though, 'tis a secret. By bedtime snow was falling. Tuesday, rosy tints in the sky advanced the dawn. Quite freezing, but brilliant sunshine all day. At noon Mr. Williams and the boys skated on the Anvik. A walk with the children in the afternoon to view the Yukon, ice floating down.

By Thursday a three-inch snow had covered the ground and still more was falling. Really a beautiful day, cold and crisp. The children and I have a jolly time at recess sliding down the hill. After school up to the village escorted by Tommy, Fred and Mr. Williams, all of them on skates. Little Rowena and Eliza walked with me. 'Twas so delightful. Then to Mildred, Esther and Ralph for lessons in basket making. Mr. Blaine arrived, coming by boat down the Yukon with the flowing ice, but no Outside mail. The disappointment was great, but Mrs. Evans is teaching me how to brave all such things and to look to the future without fear or failing.

The thermometer rose a bit on Friday and rain was dripping, but radiant sunshine broke out about three in the afternoon to last an hour or so. Mrs. Evans bright and jolly. Choir practice after supper as usual, the sky dark, the ground slick with ice. Today, one month ago, Mrs. Evans returned. So much has happened since then! Quite cold, with snow in the afternoon.

Saturday, October 24

Cold last Sunday but with welcome sunshine to gild the day. As for myself, a little listless. Few natives at morning service, fewer still in the evening. A wee little walk in the snow before evening service—two dog teams seen far off, just black shapes upon the great white land. Mornings are getting darker but with brief moments of light on the mountains before breakfast. By the middle of the week snow clouds thick, hiding the mountains entirely from view.

Played with the children on the snow-covered Anvik. Bitter criticism from Mrs. Evans about my hill-sliding with the children brought tears and distress to me, but after the storm all was calm. Another lesson learned, another day long to be remembered. Started up to the village by myself but 'twas too cold, and as I had not my native boots on I was afraid to venture far, so just walked about the mission in the fresh, cold air.

On Thursday a pleasant walk to the village with Fred, but we had quite a time getting on and off the river as the Yukon water was unfrozen near our banks. Little visits about the neighborhood, went over to see the new Jureau baby. Friday, choir practice in the rectory after supper, quite a few village people with us.

Today, the Yukon running slower than a snail's pace. A wondrous night, the stars radiant in all their splendor.

Saturday, October 31

Marvelous colors on the mountains these days but the sun is only with us a few minutes in the morning hours. Last Sunday 'twas almost dark before the evening service ended. Over night the Yukon ceased to be active. Somewhat colder as the winds are high. After school, little romps with the children on the Anvik ice. Picked up [wood] chips and walked about in the crisp, cold air.

Some visiting in the village during the week in the cold but oh! so beautiful afternoons—8 and 10 below. A visit to the rectory to spend a day with Mrs. Williams. While she busied herself about the kitchen I worked at raffia baskets and we planned the Halloween entertainment. Today, a brisk house cleaning and then assisted Mrs. Evans with the bread making. Our Halloween party in the schoolroom was quite a success, the children bobbing for the few apples we had. Mr. Williams joined us in the festivities. A beautiful night with the lustrous moon rising from behind the gloomy woods. Kind, kind stars.

Alice A. Green to Elmer E. Brown

Anvik, October 29, 1908

Circumstances prevented my opening the school the first of September. At the outset there was absolutely no one to relieve me of the housekeeping duties at our mission. Moreover, I had received no other communication from the Bureau of Education since the letter of July 11, 1908, in which Mr. Hamilton stated that the Bureau was awaiting word from Bishop Rowe who had asked the privilege of nominating a teacher here at Anvik, as he did not wish me to act in the dual capacity of missionary and government teacher.

At all events, when the former housemother did return the latter part of September I resumed my school duties, to continue only until some definite word was received. As of yet no further word has reached me from anyone, so I continue teaching in the hope that I have, in some way, been granted the privilege and this pleasing duty both by you and by Bishop Rowe.

On October first, school opened with sixteen eager children who had been waiting and longing for school to begin. "We are forgetting all we know" was the constant complaint brought to me by the children during all the unfortunate but unavoidable vacation. "Ring the bell a long, long time," little Paul said as I was about to call all together that morning, "we are not been to school for a long time." Although we failed to receive our desks and other needed furniture, the old tables and benches looked cheery and fresh after a good scrubbing. The bare and somewhat dingy walls of the schoolroom were brightened by the clear and kind October sunlight as it streamed through our windows.

From the families now about Anvik there are but four children, other than those enrolled, who could attend school if they would. These four, however, are

young boys who seem to have other interests. One is the sole support of his widowed mother, while the other three are truly mischief makers, having become worldly wise from their experiences as deckhands on the river steamers. These boys would influence the entire school for the very worst. So many of the young girls and boys have married lately. Our attendance at school, therefore, is made up largely of the mission children, but as the church and the school go hand in hand, each one is blessed by the help of the other.

The children are so interested in "Uncle Sam." It is amusing and so interesting to hear their wonder about this "great person" who they thought, until an explanation was given, was one huge man who, in some mysterious way, lived in Washington. "We love the Government next to Santa Claus," was a tiny child's expression of gratitude for her schooling. Though no doubt we have the most crudely equipped school throughout Alaska, brighter, happier and more healthy children nowhere can be found, and our days are golden.

I must now consider the session after this one. Recently my father passed away so unexpectedly, and my mother in New Orleans needs me nearer for comfort and support. At the end of this term would the government bear the expenses of my transportation home? Inasmuch as my expenses to my assignment were not borne by the Bureau of Education I presume to ask this assistance. We are favored with reduced rates both on land and by water so the expenses of the journey would be less. However, if this cannot be granted, do pardon my presumption and, if it is for me to say, I will remain in the school work for another term. I would appreciate a telegraphed reply at my expense to enable me to prepare for my going out or my remaining in, such as the case may be. Further particulars from you could follow by mail.

Sunday, November 1

A bleak Sabbath. All Saint's Day, but Mr. Williams made no mention of it. Weather too raw for any outdoor recreation.

Sunday, November 8

Monday, so windy and cold indeed, not in mercury but from Mrs. Evans. How changeable she is! A short afternoon visit to Si Von Von in the village with little Katherine and Mary. We were almost carried off our feet by the winds that did blow. Mr. Blaine left with all my mail.

Cold days, 15 to 20 below, but not too severe as the wind lessened a bit, and with enough sunshine to lend beauty to our afternoon skies. Just walked about the mission grounds for some fresh air as I was in mukluks and could not venture far on the slick ground. By Friday the weather somewhat milder, and for needed moments of recreation took a brisk walk to the Yukon to see the great ice jambs. Had a most fearful fall, my

boots with the studded soles slipped from under me and down I came upon the ice. My, how it did hurt! There was no one near to see or to help me up.

Colder on Saturday, 40 below and with very high winds. I could scarcely walk over to the church. Just before noon the fierce wind increased, bringing with it blinding snow for the rest of the day. Helped with the bread while Mrs. Evans sewed.

Warmer today, 10 below. Soft snowdrifts everywhere, three and four feet in depth. No natives at church, all of Anvik, few excluded, down to the river to meet the eels. A slight misunderstanding at breakfast, "I am glad Mrs. Chapman had you to contend with last year" was Mrs. Evans's unkind remark. How strange indeed the new friend is! Evening service by candlelight as the gas was frozen. Afterwards, a little walk in the lovely snow and then home again to my four walls. How lonely I am! My every action is watched and criticized. How my heart yearns for love.

Sunday, November 15

Monday, a dark gloomy day, snow fell most of the afternoon hours piling up great deep drifts. Tom and Fred out of school busy with work for their parents. Mrs. Williams invited us to sew and to make baskets in her parlour so a merry crowd of the girls and I had quite a sociable time. While at supper, Mr. Chase, our handy-man, came hurriedly in, "Mrs. Evans, the house is on fire!" Great excitement! While Mrs. Evans rang the alarm I ran up to see to my own stove, and thank God 'twas all right. Smoke was seen coming from the cellar flue, but when Mr. Chase poured a bucket of water down it all was well. How great was our rejoicing over the escape from destruction, for with the high wind the smallest fire would have been disastrous. We were all settled again and ready to go to bed when another excitement—the eel catchers returning, sleigh after sleigh, one great black line across the snow. Bad luck, no eels, as the natives believed some forbidden persons had gone on the hunt which made the eels disappear.

Thursday, Election Day at home, just a cold school day here, little cheer, little comfort. I try to be pleasant with Mrs. Evans but she resists all my little pleasantries. Rather a good day at school but my heart still aches. But the mail is near!

Dark mornings, the sun coming to our little world about ten, but by two 'tis gone again. A trail is scarcely made before 'tis covered again. Wednesday, a walk about the mission grounds my only recreation. Thursday, a somewhat provoking day at school as the room was unkempt and the children seemed disorderly, but not unmanageable. A visit to the village to see Rachael and her little boy Albert. I took her the little kitten as Mrs. Evans will not have him in the house any longer. 'Twas really a grievous pain to me to part with precious Blackie but Rachael will take excellent care of him. How long the days seem now that Mr. Blaine will so soon be here! What is in the mail bag for me?

Friday, a balmy, delightful day, 10 above, the children bright and happy. Had to stay indoors and iron although I did so want to go outside. Mrs. Evans her natural self, really sweet—I am so glad! Soothing starlight and moonlight. Saturday, snow in the afternoon, and Fred and I went up to the village, plodding our way through the still whiteness. How enjoyable the walk was there and back. Several white men in the

kazheem, the “city hotel.” Wondrous starlight, the moon full and bright. One day nearer the mailman’s coming!

Today, 28 above. Quite early, about seven, the white men from the kazheem left with Isaac, his leader dog Rover heading the other ten dogs of the team. Some afternoon reading and a nice little chat with Mrs. Evans at supper while we washed and wiped the dishes. Magnificent sunset. No Mr. Blaine!

Sunday, November 22

Last Monday, 26 above, more snow, but soft and beautiful. Quite a joyous day at school but a dark cloud about supper time. Mrs. Evans greatly provoked over my bringing in some wood instead of having one of the boys do it. To bed with a sick, wounded heart.

Tuesday, a mild morning, the early light as it flashed across the mountains was indeed a marvel. All morning I waited and watched for Mr. Blaine but no such glad sight met my eyes. But while just starting my afternoon session his coming was announced, how long the moments seemed before my mail was given me! Disappointments—no letter from Sir Randolph, sad, depressing letters from Mama, upsetting letter from Government. Mr. Blaine brought news of Mr. Lopp on his way to see our school. A little visit from Mr. Williams while we were at supper to exchange bits of news. To bed late with an almost throbbing brain. No stars!

Such colors upon the mountains these mornings as the sun begins to rise! Eight o’clock and in just another few moments the mountains are all aglow with a magical purple light. School on Thursday with a fearful headache and a heart so full of woe. The mercury down to zero by Friday, and my headache vanished. Another visit to Rachael to see dear little Albert, the cunning baby, and precious little Blackie. Saturday afternoon with Fred up to the village through the deep snow. The skies glorious with glad, bright stars.

Today, a few visits from some of the village women in the afternoon. In the evening a pleasant little time with Mrs. Williams and Jane.

Friday, November 27

Monday, 19 below. Mr. Lopp arrived with his reindeer—great excitement! Took the children down to the river to see the deer, then later went for a thrilling ride with Mr. Lopp, one of the reindeer pulling our sleigh smoothly over the snow. ’Twas cold and windy but thoroughly delightful. Tuesday, Mr. Lopp left at noon with Isaac and his dog team. Snowy and windy. Spring-like on Wednesday, 29 above.

Thursday, a mild but somewhat gray Thanksgiving Day. Service at nine, too early for any but Si Von Von, the faithful old native woman. Mr. and Mrs. Williams and Jane took dinner with us, the occasion, however, not as festive as last year with the Chapmans, and the day seemed a bit awkward. Poor Mr. Williams, I do feel sorry for him, but Mrs. Evans spareth no one. The girls and I took little Harriet and Katherine for

a ride in the wood sled down to the river. Just a bite for supper as I was not hungry after our good holiday dinner.

Today, more trouble! Mrs. Evans fearfully displeased with Mr. Williams for giving Delia the little silver cross she is wearing. Mrs. Evans wants no one child favored over another. But she, herself, surely favors and spoils Arthur. Delia, however, has been such a help to Mrs. Williams with Jane. The talk between Mr. Williams and Mrs. Evans was dreadful! A long cry as though my heart would break—how awful it all was! A soothing night outside.

Monday, November 30

Saturday, a snowy but happy day. Spent the afternoon with Mrs. Williams, a sweet chatty time so entirely free from gossip. No trip to the village. Sunday, more natives than usual out to morning service. A short visit to Hubert after dinner. Dear evening service but none with us except the children and faithful Si Von Von. Today, a mild day, the sunrise over the mountains sublime. Mr. and Mrs. Williams receive Mrs. Evans's apology with thankfulness.

Tuesday, December 1

Another bright, clear day, rather good at school. Our clocks are all awry and Mrs. Evans is again boiling over with righteous indignation, this time over Mr. Williams's lack of attention to them and to the state of things in general. How dreadful it all seems to me!

Sunday, December 6

A dark morning Wednesday, but oh! how brilliantly the sunlight streamed upon the mountains a little later. Mrs. Evans still in a stir, talk rises high, Mrs. Williams telling me about it afterwards. She is so hurt, poor soul. How dreadfully mixed up everything is! Sometimes I feel I could weep until I cease to be. The world is so beautiful, but 'tis the strange people that make the disagreeableness and all the heartaches. Mr. Blaine arrived on Wednesday through the deep snow. All my letters gone, but I withheld the one to Sir Randolph. A lovely night.

Mild and spring-like the latter part of the week, but I feared to tramp through the snow to the village as oh! I did feel so badly, natural and unnatural causes intermingled. The children somewhat upset in school, their strange ideas of geography quite amusing but reminding me again of how much they have to learn. At Friday choir practice I had no voice to sing after the unjustness of Mrs. Evans taking Arthur's part when the child was indeed in the wrong. She spoils him dreadfully. Today, streaks of welcome sunlight off and on between eleven and two, and at two-thirty the sun sets. Oh! so weary, not from work but from sore-heartedness.



Mrs. Evans, the matron at the Anvik mission, and her adopted son, Arthur, with "Bob." Alice recalled that, when Arthur was only a few days old, his mother had drowned in Chageluk Slough, while trying to fetch water from a hole in the ice. The infant was carried some twenty miles to Anvik, in the bitter cold, and later adopted by Mrs. Evans. Hudson Stuck photograph album, in the collection of Alice A. Boulter.

Sunday, December 13

Felt pale and weak last Sunday, and did so look it. So many natives at church, the old ones particularly, as they wanted to see the ceremony for Anna M. dressed in her new parkee, a gift on her advent into womanhood. A little visit to Hubert while the girls were washing the dinner dishes. Sweet evening service with just old Si Von Von, the children and I. A visit with Mrs. Williams after services for a long talk about everything. Mrs. Evans becoming less stiff with me, but oh! how bitter her feelings are against Mr. and Mrs. Williams. In the still night when all is peaceful I try to forget our troubles and I wonder about Mama and Sir Randolph. Could I but go home, and could I but live the rest of my days with him—such happiness seems too great for me!

Monday Lena's birthday. More snow during the week but considerably warmer with much water upon the ice. Silvery moonlight about bedtime and continuing until around 9:30 in the morning. The sun shines only from 10 until 2 in the afternoon. Too dark after school for even a romp outside. Good sessions in school, we practice our Christmas carols in the afternoons. After supper, while I read, Delia combs my hair and brushes my few remaining locks. My hair is so thin these days! Today, a disagreeable south wind. A few morning visits in the village with Mildred, but 'twas hard plodding through the snow, the trail scarcely beaten down. The air was crisp and cold, the sunshine glorious, the mountains beautiful beyond all description, bathed in the welcome light of a winter's sun. After dinner a short visit to Mrs. Williams to carry a message from Mrs. Evans—the strife still continueth! Oh, so tired, and oh! so lonely for someone nearer, a dear one, nearer.

Sunday, December 20

Last Sunday, somewhat colder. Many, so many natives at church, the Indian medicine man, Nicolai Doctor looked quite scrumptious in all his attire and finery.¹¹ At evening service the gas light went out and so hymns were omitted. One day nearer Christmas, and one day nearer to Mr. Blaine's coming. More snow the rest of the week, cloudy and dark indeed, but brightness within doors. The days seem full of mirth and gladness as the season deepens, and we live as one large and happy family. Good days at school with the usual petty annoyances. The children and I work on our Christmas secrets. Friday afternoon Frank sighted Mr. Blaine far up the Yukon. When he did arrive at the mission how picturesque it was, the native in front breaking trail, then Mr. Blaine with his splendid team of dogs, then another man in the rear. Some rather lovely letters, the one from Nenana just the one I wanted. The move there looks certain now. The many registered packages were received, all of us so happily delighted with them.

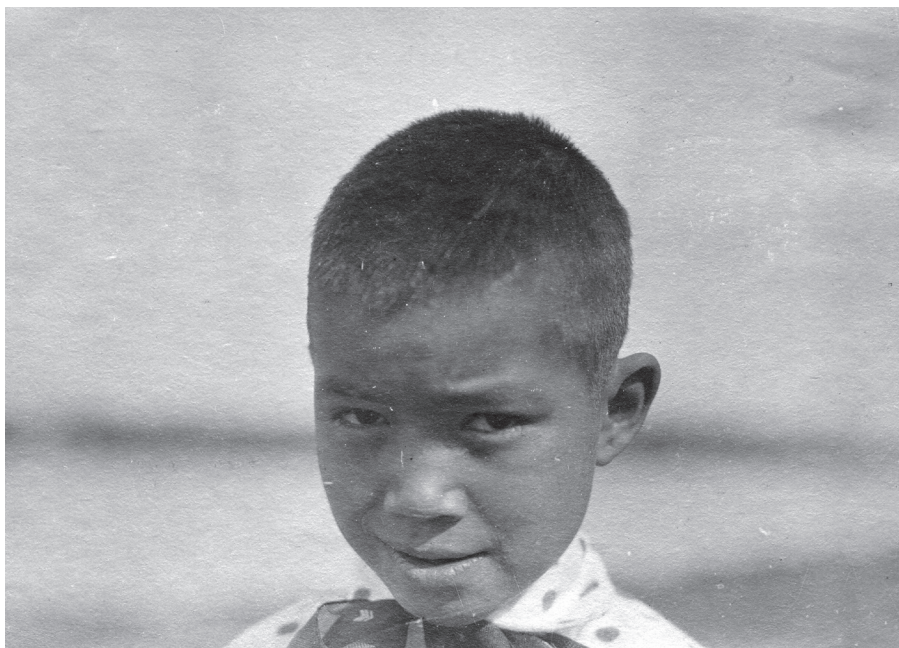
Today, clear and much colder. The sun came out for only an hour or so, but flooding our world for a few minutes with divine light. Late dinner and then a visit to Mrs. Williams to make candy for birthdays. Came home under a Christmas season sky, one bright star resting upon a bank of clouds and shimmering with divine brilliance.

Wednesday, December 23

Sunday, a beautiful winter's morning. Our little world seemed a fairyland, the bare trees sparkling with new frost and the spruce trees heavily laden with snow. Quite a good many natives at service. Very late dinner, Mrs. Evans pleasant and talkative, and the

¹¹ "Nicolai Doctor" may have been the Chief Nikolai associated with the settlement of Nikolai, on the South Fork of the Kuskokwim River, a site known to Hudson Stuck. See "Background: The Upper Kuskokwim River Region, Alaska, UKPreservation.com, 2014, <http://ukpreservation.com/background/>. It seems highly unlikely that this Nikolai was the Lower Ahtna leader Chief Nikolai of Taral, who served as a guide to prospectors along the Copper River (and is generally believed to have died in 1899 or 1900).

meal was agreeably prolonged. A little visit to Hubert. Evening services could not be held as the fire had gone out and the church was too cold. Monday, the shortest day of the year. The children and I out in the woods gathering spruce boughs. Homeward we were overtaken by the horse sled and some of us piled on amid much fun and laughter. Not many lessons as we decorated and decorated the schoolroom. Some letter writing before tea while the children looked at picture books. Fred's birthday. Today, more decorating and getting all in readiness for Christmas.



Arthur—"demurely conscious of his pre-eminence," in the words of Hudson Stuck, who nicknamed the boy "Humpty-Dumpty." Arthur, Alice recalled, "was at times a most difficult child. Mrs. Evans spoiled him overly much, and very strongly protested any punishment Mr. Chapman or I thought necessary. Arthur was quite conscious of his special status as Mrs. Evans's son and, at times, took full advantage of it." Sadly, Arthur died when he was only about nine years old. Hudson Stuck photograph album, in the collection of Alice A. Boulter.

Friday, December 25

Christmas Day, my second in this strange land. Very early the girls and I went around the village singing carols at all the homes. The wind was high, the stars like diamonds as we plodded merrily through the deep snow on our rounds. Then home to our Christmas tree and all our presents. Arthur came in to see his tree, soon there was a perfect din of merriment. 'Twas beautiful indeed to see Delia's delight at her gifts, particularly her

doll. A lovely surprise for me in Miss Sabine's little gift and card. A much appreciated remembrance from Mrs. Evans and another from Mrs. Williams. Many natives with us at church, and before service the kind winter sun flashed across the mountains.

Yesterday, a sad Christmas Eve in many ways. Finished decorating the school at noon and after dinner trimmed the home with spruce boughs. While I was busy Mrs. Williams came in with the distressing news of Tom, Fred, Lewis and Kate. She had found them smoking in the schoolroom. What a shock it was! I learned more about it in the early evening when I went down to decorate the schoolroom tree. Before supper Fred confessed all that had happened. He had gotten the cigarettes from some white men in the village, and he and Kate had persuaded the other two boys to join them in smoking. Fred also admitted he had taken the box of matches we had missed.

Such a conference we had—Mr. and Mrs. Williams, Mrs. Evans, Isaac and myself. I truly blamed Kate, while Mr. Williams blamed Fred. What an hour it was, almost more than I could endure. Our Christmas Eve somewhat spoiled but Mr. Williams put off the punishment until after the holidays. Quite late the children and I went up to the rectory to sing our carols.

Before dinner today went over to Hubert's to arrange his little tree. A large, cheerful party for us at dinner—Mr. and Mrs. Chase and their three children, Mr. and Mrs. Jureau and three children, Ruth's mother, Paul, Theresa and Mildred besides our own family. The table looked most festive, the dinner delicious, but I had to leave before all was over to be at the schoolroom to prepare for our evening program. The children all did especially well in their recitations and singing, and the awarding of the prizes was well received by all. I sorely miss Mr. and Mrs. Chapman.

Thursday, December 31

Saturday, all of us up very late. A crisp and clear day, the new moon rose glowing in a rosy sky. Sunday, the coldest day of the year, 30 below. Many natives at morning and evening services. Still cold on Monday and Tuesday, the schoolroom miserably uncomfortable. Upset school days, too much holiday spirit. Little visits to Hubert and to Mrs. Williams and Jane. Somewhat warmer on Wednesday but with high winds. The boys fly their kites.

Today, the last day of the year. Letter writing again in the afternoon, to Mama and to Miss Sabine at Nenana. Then after supper, at 11:30 and so near the New Year, I closed my letter to Randolph. The year was glad, yet sad—'tis gone now.

Friday, January, 1, 1909

New Year's Day, a glad one, bright and cold. No natives at services except the faithful old woman, Si Von Von. Isaac and his family to dinner with us, quite an event. A grand concert in the afternoon rendered by the gramophone. After supper Mrs. Evans entertained me most pleasantly by showing me her Alaska photos and some of her family pictures.



Alice with some of the female students at Anvik. The oldest of them was Kate, the tall girl on the left in white, who was sixteen at the time. She is wearing what Alice described as “her always present furry tam-o’-shanter,” which had been given to her by a passenger on one of the riverboats. “It can be seen in almost every photo of Kate,” Alice said, “for she could not be separated from it for very long.” Hudson Stuck photograph album, in the collection of Alice A. Boulter.

Sunday, January 3

Saturday, rather milder weather. As many natives were expected in the village for the holidays, I knew ‘twould be best for me not to go up. Nine sleds and more than double that number of Indians arrived, the party halting down by the river bank until the messenger came from the village to say that all was in readiness for them to come in. What a strangely picturesque sight it was then, the sleds all in line, the cries and shouts of the drivers, the dogs pulling and racing up to the village. Some time to spin the gramophone in the afternoon. Mr. Blaine arrived late.

Today, a pleasant visit with Mrs. Watson at her husband’s store and then over to see Hubert. He talks surprisingly well about his people. A strong wind blew as I walked homeward across the slough, the moon rising bright and full from behind the snow-covered hill. Back home I received a terrific bump on my forehead when I hit it on a low beam over the pantry door. How it did ache!

Harlan Updegraff to Alice A. Green

Washington, DC, January 6, 1909

I beg to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of October 29th last.¹² Bishop Rowe has doubtless informed you that the school work at Anvik will during the present year be under the care of the Protestant Episcopal Missionary Society.

Although the school at Anvik will this year be carried on independently of this Bureau, we are greatly interested in its progress and shall be pleased to hear from you from time to time.

I note your willingness to accept appointment by this Bureau as teacher of the school at Anvik for the term commencing September, 1909. The Commissioner of Education has invited Bishop Rowe to nominate a teacher to take charge of the Anvik school during the next term. If you will submit your application, together with Bishop Rowe's recommendation, it will receive careful consideration.

I enclose herewith for your use the form of application now adopted for the Alaska School Service.

Sunday, January 10

Quite thick headed when I arose Monday morning. A bit of excitement among the children at school when Mr. Simel's little boy was admitted.

Tuesday, an eerily strange display of the Northern Lights. From the moon streamed a broad band of pale light perfectly encircling the heavens, and apart, almost equally spaced, were four balls of the same luminance, like other moons. And above all a wide arch of the same pale light. The children flew kites for long minutes after tea in the moonlight.

After an early dinner on Wednesday Mr. Williams invited me to visit the fish trap with him and Tommy. All bundled up in Mrs. Williams's new "ticking" parkee I was snugly fixed in the sled, with Tommy at the handlebars and Mr. Williams mushing to the side as we went. We had Isaac's gallant dog team and they sped us along nicely. A fine snow clouded the sky and came down upon us unceasingly. The trail was rather rough as the horses had been that way many times, and when within sight of the trap the sled tipped over in a rut and out I went, but the soft snow was there to catch me. The dogs did not stop until they reached the trap and then Tommy brought them back with the sled to fetch me.

Tommy and Mr. Williams found much work ahead of them as the snow, water and ice had covered the opening of the trap. As they worked with pick and shovel I tried snow-shoeing, and for awhile succeeded quite well. But when I had gone some distance

¹² Presumably, Updegraff is referring to the letter that Alice addressed to Elmer Brown (see above). It is hard to say when his letter, written in midwinter, would have reached her, although it couldn't possibly have been part of the shipment of mail received on January 17.

my snowshoes became crossed in the back and down I fell. It took me many minutes to get back on my feet again. Then I amused myself by watching the antics of the huskies as they waited patiently for us. After more than an hour of hard digging Mr. Williams and Tommy brought up the trap—without a fish! The ride home was thrilling, the dogs fairly flew over the snow. No moon, no stars, but tender little snowflakes falling.

Thursday, the trees heavily laden with snow, and for a few hours the soft winter sun lent even more beauty to all nature. Friday, Tommy's birthday. Saturday dawned gray and misty, the trees still white with frost and snow. A visit to the village, many natives sick with colds. Their homes seemed especially dirty today, the odors almost unbearable. As I left, the sky cleared and a great golden cloud rested upon the mountains and touched the trees with a gilded radiance. Arthur and Frank, with Golden and Bob, ran across the Anvik to meet me, and all of us, boys, dogs and I, had a fine walk home along the river. The excitement of the day—the boys knocking down much of the piled wood in the shed as they tried to catch one of the chickens which somehow had gotten loose.

Today when services were over, the hillsides were such a sight, the trees bent down under their burden of snow and frost, tinted with the golden rays of the sun. Spent some time talking with many of the village folk who came to church. A little visit to Mrs. Chase.

Sunday, January 17

Monday, an excellent day at school, did not have to light the gas until almost four in the afternoon. After school, Arthur and I, with Bob trotting alongside, went some distance snow-shoeing. We did not get as far as the Yukon as our snowshoes were not well fastened and the little boy became somewhat tired. By Wednesday a high wind stripped the trees of all their snowy blanket. In the afternoon Mr. Williams and Isaac brought two infant boys from the village to stay with us, their mother seriously ill. After they were washed and scrubbed Mrs. Evans came in to see them and her approval was indeed welcome. The two little boys, Dan and Wallace, came down to supper looking so fresh and clean. Mrs. Evans told me of their white father who had drowned last spring when he fell through the thin Yukon ice.

On Friday the two new boys came to school. Dan, the youngest, very quiet, while Wallace runs about freely and happily. Just as classes ended Mr. Blaine arrived—such excitement! I tarried until the mail was taken into the post office, and while Mr. Williams was sorting it I stood right at the door. How my heart did beat at the sight of Randolph's letter, the contents were consoling and refreshing. Other good news, a beautiful box of valentine candy from Miss Wightman at Fairbanks and welcome letters from Mr. Chapman. Up late reading and re-reading my letters.

Today, very cold and windy. Ice, ice, ice in my room in the morning, the house hard to heat. Good congregation at services but the church uncomfortably cold. A visit to the rectory to share the contents of my pretty pink box of candy. 'Twas even colder in the afternoon, the wind seemed to almost tear me to pieces while going to see Hubert. Began



The congregation in Nenana after a winter service, February 1909. “This sizeable crowd of communicants turned out to worship on a day when the temperature was forty degrees below freezing,” Alice was told by Miss Farthing. Hudson Stuck photograph album, in the collection of Alice A. Boulter.

*a letter while waiting for supper but I put it aside to read to Tommy and Fred. Artaban has sold his wonderful sapphire.*¹³

Sunday, January 24

Monday the wind still bloweth, really disagreeable and raw. Busy day in school, little Wallace is beginning to make friends. A short talk with Mr. Williams about my personal account. Tuesday, had great trouble getting the schoolroom warm. Tiresome days in school. Children, children, their noise and their needs, all day! Not a minute to read or write. I deeply long for some fun, some recreation.

Saturday, the weather better, still cold but with some moments of warming sunshine. A short visit to Mrs. Williams in the morning to get a few things to take up to the village. Bundled up quite tight, but did not cover my ears as I thought my coat collar

¹³ This Artaban may have been so named by missionaries, or even by Alice, because he owned a sapphire. In Henry van Dyke's *The Story of the Other Wise Man* (1895) there were four Magi, not three, and Artaban was the fourth. Along the road to Bethlehem he was forced to sell the gift he was bearing—a sapphire—to continue his journey. Alice owned a copy of this small book.

would keep them warm. Half-way to the village I was forced to turn back as the wind was biting my ears so severely that they were all frost bitten when I got home. Mrs. Evans rather laughed and applied some snow to my poor ears. I was silently provoked. Then, bundled up tightly again with my ears well wrapped, I made a second attempt. Got to the village blowing like a war horse, dreadfully worn out. Went to three homes with Mildred and accomplished my errands and then started home. Such a walk! My ears burned and 'twas difficult walking against the fierce wind. No kind word awaited me, but instead Mrs. Evans's criticism of me and her praise for Miss Sabine. Days are much longer now.

Today, cold and windy but arose refreshed and rested. Few natives at morning service as the Eskimo visitors from Unalaklik were expected at any moment for the big feast. A visit to Mrs. Williams, she is not too well, and unable to attend church. Nobody at evening service but the children and myself. Learned that Artaban sold his beautiful sapphire to send his small boy Outside for medical treatment. The boy has some strange weakness in his legs.



The columbarium at Anvik—"so far as I know," wrote Hudson Stuck, "the only one in the Interior of Alaska." Hudson Stuck photograph album, in the collection of Alice A. Boulter.

Sunday, January 31

The Unalaklik feasters arrived Monday, delayed by deep snow. Very cold on Tuesday, the schoolroom could not be heated and so school was dismissed until recess time. Mrs. Evans frightfully displeased. Mary Simon's baby passed away. Wednesday, the schoolroom much warmer due to the efforts of Mr. Chase. Before dinner went up the village to see poor Mary Simon. More curious native customs learned. The burial service at the church attended by just the baby's father, one or two natives and Mr. Williams. Thursday, the school room comfortably warm with the new stove installed by Mr.

Chase. The days are getting longer now, and the boys work before breakfast bringing in our wood and water.

Today, very cold but beautifully clear, and at times a bit of most welcome sunshine. Mr. Chase worked on the church furnace and today the building was nice and warm for service. Many natives in attendance. An afternoon visit to Mrs. Williams who feels quite unwell and does not leave the rectory. Then over to see Hubert. He seemed somewhat better.

Monday, February 1

The new schoolroom stove works splendidly. Today the room was very warm, so much so that my stomach became sick. More Eskimo visitors, the Holikachuk people, arrive for the big feast, sled after sled, a long black line on the frozen river.¹⁴ They halt at the lower village until word is sent that all is ready for them to come into the upper village.

Saturday, February 6

Tuesday, the kazheem in full blast with the visitors, no native women to help with the laundry. After school Mr. Williams, Tommy, Fred, Frank and I went up to the village to watch the festivities. A jolly ride on the river, the boys pulled me, mushing along rapidly along on Fred's sled. Had a little peep inside the kazheem, very hot and close. The same performances, the same dances as last year's potlach. On the way home Isaac overtook us with his fine dog team. He put me on the sled and away we went, a gentle snow falling, the moon trying to shine through the thick snow clouds. Home quite early and had a pleasant talk with Mrs. Evans about all the great doings.

Wednesday through Friday, much warmer with light snowfalls. Wallace grows dear and sweeter each day. Good days at school and a short, pleasing visit from Mr. Boulter. The long afternoons are a delight, time now to have a breath of fresh air after school. Many amusing sled rides and slides with Arthur down our hill. From our upper bank could see the snowshoe race in the village. Such excitement and enthusiasm among the crowds of natives! Fred visits the kazheem accidentally and witnesses the "spirit feasts." The mother of little Dan and Wallace very ill.

Today, two reproofs from Mrs. Evans! I came down too early for breakfast, before the bell rang. Then in the evening when Dora was bringing up my kindling wood the poor child upset my water bucket and the water dripped to the floor below. Oh, my! Oh, my! In the morning I called around the neighborhood to see Rachael, Rosa, Mary Simon and Agatha. All the women were in the midst of domestic duties, washing and scrubbing. Enjoyed all the visits, but particularly the one to Mary Simon. Found her talkative

¹⁴ Holikachuk (Dough Hit'an) peoples were not, in fact, Eskimo but speakers of a Dene language who lived along the middle and upper sections of the Innoko River. As was also the case with the Deg Hit'an (the local people at Anvik), their culture shared much with that of neighbouring Yup'ik peoples. The feasters from Unalaklik would, however, have been either Yup'ik or Inupiat.

and resigned to the loss of her baby. Then a walk in the refreshing sunshine to see our pigeons, many of the handsome birds sunning themselves out on their perch.¹⁵

Quite a confusion all day, the house full of children the entire time. Jennie's mother came to announce a new arrival in their home and that she wanted something to wrap the baby in. Rachael made us a nice visit, bringing the baby over to see about his "sick face" which was frostbitten. To bed rather late with a deep longing in my heart. All my days go on in ways I cannot understand.

Saturday, February 13

*Last Sunday, cold and clear, but oh! so beautiful. Quite a number of natives at both morning and evening services. So many of the village children with us that I announced that the next Sunday we would hold Sunday School in the church instead of at the house. The usual reading hour to the boys, thrilling *Jungle Tales* [sic] by Kipling. Monday, quite a miserable time at school, for some reason the children seemed upset. Katherine very naughty, in a fit of temper throwing her books and crayons to the floor. These children, in all their dearness, can be so annoying! Little Wallace's mother passed away in the evening.*

Tuesday, a sparkling day. After school Delia and I had a fine walk, following the horses' trail down in the wood, crossing the immense frozen pond via the dog trail. Home again facing a terrific north wind. Mr. Chase came in while we were at tea and lingered many minutes. His conversation is always interesting. School much better on Wednesday, and a pleasant time with Mrs. Williams while Mr. Williams cut the pantry door higher so that I would not bump my head again.

Thursday, a day nearer Mr. Blaine's coming! A windy day so I sought no outdoor recreation other than picking up wood chips. Friday, quite an interesting day at school inasmuch as our usual work is somewhat changed. On his visit last week, Mr. Boulter recommended that the children be given more instruction in mathematics so we spent much time in making a good start toward this.

Today, cold and blustering, the wind almost blew me up to the village. A few interesting visits, but the more I go to these native houses the more unkempt they seem. Saw Jennie's new baby, such a wee mite it was! Had a dreadful time coming home, the wind so fierce. The longer daylight hours whisper of spring, glorious spring. Up quite late fixing valentines and waiting for the children all to be abed so that I could put the greetings around.

¹⁵ Alice said that the pigeons, a dozen of them to start, had been sent to Mrs. Evans from her home in Boston. They lived in the loft of the barn that sheltered the cows and the horses, and multiplied so rapidly that some could be used for food. (Note Alice's later reference to a dinner "treat" of squab on toast.)

Saturday, February 20

Quite a happy time last Saturday, the children overjoyed with their valentines. Mrs. Evans and I were surprised that we were remembered too. Tommy was the messenger, bringing the children's sweet thoughts. A large number of natives at church in spite of a fierce, chill wind. Mildred came up to my room to see me, she sat and sat more than two hours. It was hard indeed to entertain her. Many villagers in and out of the house all day so Mrs. Evans postponed dinner, making our dinner quite late.

Monday, such a day at school! The children seemed upset, many village children with us. Just before recess Tommy spotted Mr. Blaine and his team of beautiful huskies on the river, and before long we had the mail, disappointingly small. Fred was delighted over his mail. A refreshing letter from Mr. Chapman and a little note from Mrs. Chapman. No word from the Government about Nenana, no letter from Randolph. Mr. Blaine came in while Mrs. Evans and I were talking and stayed for dinner, a most delightful hour it was. A visit to Mrs. Williams to talk over the mail. Would that my relatives and friends knew the bliss and joy letters bring!

Tuesday, another oh! so hard day at school, no doubt 'twas because I was feeling quite ill. After school a little walk with Delia down to the Anvik toward the Yukon, fell into quite a crack in the ice—somewhat frightened. Wednesday, luckily the tide turned at school, the children really good. They are wonderfully interested in their new arithmetic and multiplication—until bedtime I was jotting down examples for them.

Thursday, the children perfectly lovely. A fine day outdoors as well, cold, but the sunshine so welcome. Mrs. Williams told me of her plan, wanting to go to Nulato to be with the doctor there for the birth of her child. Mrs. Evans thoroughly approves. And oh! Mrs. Evans found cans of fruit missing from her locker! All afternoon we planned our Washington's birthday celebration. As usual Mr. Williams opposed my thoughts, but that does not matter. A little walk, then ironed before supper until I almost dropped. Mr. Chase came in and talked long and interestingly until much after nine o'clock. Martin Skull returned from the Chageluk with a fair native bride who is the talk of the village.

Today, such a day! Very cold but with the sun shining. A hasty room cleaning and then settled down to letter writing and ordering from the Montgomery Ward catalogue. Some of the boys helped me—a fine time we had. Isaac's sister came to visit me. I entertained her in the dining room. By supper time I was really worn out with the continued sitting I had been doing all day. Mr. Chase with us again, and he stayed for supper which made everything so much better. At ten o'clock I was in negligee mending my only skirt when Mrs. Evans came hurriedly in and dreadfully worked up—many cans of milk, some butter and several more cans of fruit had been taken from the pantry locker! Oh dear! The suppositions and talk that followed! Mrs. Evans thinks it might be Mr. Williams, but how can it be he? Is it because she never had much trust or faith in him? She said nothing to him, however, and Mr. Williams appeared as shocked as we were. To bed thoughtful and so sorrowful.

Tuesday, February 23

Woke up Sunday still thoughtful and so sad. Mrs. Evans showed me the texts she requested Mr. Williams to read in church, all bearing upon the disturbances of Saturday. After breakfast she took me down to see how bare the locker was. It was truly distressing. Just as we were about to lock the door and leave I noticed a condensed milk can on a rafter. We took it down and found it to be half full. Mrs. Evans took the can upstairs and questioned all the children. Tommy and Fred replied negatively as did all the rest.

Mrs. Evans and I terribly troubled and upset. I did not care to go to service after such a doubt had been placed upon Mr. Williams. How could it be true, I agonized, when he reads the Bible to us, prays and intercedes for us? But I did go, after a little birthday visit to Mary Simon. After service went to see Hubert as I had missed two Sunday visits. Quite a nice Sunday School but my heart was sick and faint. I could not sing.

While reading in my room before supper I heard Mrs. Evans talking to the boys in her room. In some minutes Tommy and Fred came up to my room to confess that they were the thieves. Oh! such a blow it is! They stole the milk, fruit and all else—even Frank did his share. Mrs. Evans and I ate supper almost in silence, we were so saddened. At all events 'twas a wonderful relief to know Mr. Williams is not to blame. But how could Mrs. Evans have ever suspected him? And how could I ever have had any doubts?

No school on Monday as we celebrated Washington's birthday. After songs we made some candy, quite successful, Wallace charmed. Our party a splendid success. We made paper soldier caps, and the two captains, Fred and Tommy, chose up sides. We formed in line and marched over to poor Hubert's to sing to him. Then home again we marched. The boys made log forts in the schoolroom and we had our mock battle, Mr. Williams our general. A grand time had by all, and I joined in until my entire body tingled and glowed with warmth. Soft, pretty snow fell during the evening.

Today we were all sleepy after our strenuous holiday. A soft snowstorm all day. School was held, however, and a good one it was, too. Mr. Williams made a list of all that the children wished to give up for Lent—quite an interesting list it proved to be. After school I went in to see Mrs. Williams and she gave me the invitations to put at the supper plates for our Mardi Gras party. An early supper for the children, with Isaac and his family and Rosa with us. The children received their sugar candy, several were left out, Arthur among them, and then we enjoyed Isaac's magic lantern. The grownups to tea with Mrs. Williams. Returning home, Mrs. Evans was up. We talked over the evening. She was indeed hurt because Arthur had been neglected.

Sunday, February 28

Wednesday, the days are so much longer now. I do not have to dress by yellow candle-light and the gas is not lit until six in the afternoon. Quite a warm day, but I did not feel at all well. Friday, weary day at school. I felt so badly and looked miserably too. Glorious weather, but my letters kept me pinned down and robbed me of any outdoor recreation.

Friday Mrs. Williams in bed with an abscess on her finger, she suffers dreadfully, and Mrs. Evans is much upset by her condition.

Before breakfast on Saturday Mrs. Evans sent Tommy up to the rectory with the “fever medicine” and the thermometer. It was found broken. She went up later and when she returned said that Mrs. Williams’s finger really should be cut, but because of her coming child ’twas not advisable. She sent Tommy up with some morphine. In the afternoon I went up and found Mrs. Williams unusually bright, even rational, and we talked quite a bit. Mr. Williams, poor man, seemed indeed worried about his wife’s condition.

Today, a day of days! Woke up weak and exhausted, almost faint. Mrs. Evans wanted me to go back to bed for the entire day, but a little coffee at breakfast seemed to revive me. Instead of going to service I managed to get to Mrs. Williams’s and sat and talked a while with her. She was talkative, though in pain, although under the influence of the morphine. Her illness is worse. I combed her hair and rocked little Jane to sleep. Mrs. Evans and I had a long conference about poor Mrs. Williams.

A really nice looking couple, tourists, with us at dinner. As we lingered and chatted over the teacups Kate appeared out of breath and as white as a sheet saying that Mrs. Evans should come to the rectory at once. Mrs. Evans and Kate hurried over, and when Kate returned shortly bringing Jane, bottle and all, I knew that things had taken a serious turn. I assumed household duties and the girls did nicely with the dishes. In about an hour Mrs. Evans came back for a medical book and, much to the surprise of us all, announced the arrival of a fine little boy to Mr. and Mrs. Williams, the mother doing splendidly. The child came at fifteen minutes of three on Jane’s birthday today. Mrs. Evans had to return to the rectory quickly but told me all the particulars later on. How wonderful that she and Mr. Williams accomplished all with great success.

Monday, March 1

Mother and child rested well last night. Today Mrs. Evans brought the little fellow all tightly bundled up to the school for us to see. Such a wonderfully small child, two months early! That afternoon Mrs. Williams’s finger pained so badly that the two “physicians” decided to cut it. Mrs. Evans handled the ether while Mr. Williams did the cutting—a deep, wide, open cut. Felt wretchedly all day.

Saturday, March 6

Tuesday, a slight snowfall. Mr. Blaine arrives for the up-river trip, many of my letters leave. After school I spend a long while on my school reports and oh! how badly I feel. Went in to see Mr. Williams in the kitchen and he gave me my tonic and wine. As soon as I reached home Mr. Boulter was announced. I went down to entertain him, felt quite fine, but while in the midst of supper I had to be excused—oh! so sick. I was so weak could scarcely get to bed. When Mrs. Evans came up at ten, after Mr. Boulter left, I was suffering very much. She advised rest and said if I needed her to be sure to knock. At midnight I did have to rap for her and she gave me some soda water. But this was of no avail, and until five I tossed and tossed, such misery!



Alice on the top step of the schoolhouse at Anvik, with some of the children. Isaac Fisher stands on the left, at the bottom of the steps, with his wife, Agnes, on the right, and in the foreground is the dog Bob. Collection of Alice A. Boulter.

Wednesday, did not get up for breakfast, could not eat anything. At noon I went down to dinner but had to come up to my room immediately, became so sick again. After a while I went downstairs to see Mrs. Evans and Rachael, who is now baby Williams's wet nurse. I tried to work on my baskets but after a few minutes was forced to return to my room again, so sick. Anna M. and Arthur came in to read to me. Mrs. Evans gave me two doses of tonic. I went down to the supper table but had to return again, so sick, to my room.

A wee bit better on Thursday, a morsel at breakfast, another at dinner. At school, the children so considerate. Very cold but with bright sunshine all day. Michael rather furious at the spankings Mr. Williams administers. A long discussion with Mrs. Evans and Mr. Williams about Kate's leaving or remaining at the house created more upset. Mrs. Williams's finger not improved. After supper Mrs. Evans went over to see little Albert Jureau who had sprained his leg.

Friday, felt weak all day, took a dose of tonic before each meal, but could eat very little. After school I sat quietly with the girls while they sewed. Mrs. Evans up at the rectory, but she came home for some rubber tubing to use as a drain for Mrs. Williams's finger. I was sick, oh! so sick!

Today, still sick and could eat no breakfast, only drank some coffee. Mrs. Evans could come in to see me but twice as she had other calls to make. I did manage to get up to the rectory and spent almost the whole afternoon with Mrs. Williams. I cut her hair and attended to the baby a bit. Later Mr. Williams took the little infant to Rachael's to stay until Mrs. Williams is stronger. All day I tossed and suffered. Ate little dinner. About supper time I lay down and sent Kate hurriedly to get Mrs. Evans, I felt so bad. I lay awake amid so much pain. The children played nicely downstairs, several came up to see me from time to time. Little Wallace so surprised to see me in bed. Quite late Mrs. Evans returned from the rectory, but as she was very tired she did not come up, poor me, but sent one of the girls to enquire.

Saturday, March 13

Last Sunday, a day unlike any I have every known. After much effort and after many minutes I managed to get dressed after a fashion. But, Oh! such a sight I was, my face and eyes were dreadfully swollen. As soon as Mrs. Evans saw me she said astonishingly, "You have been poisoned—arsenic!" And sure enough, the "splendid tonic" prescribed by Mr. Williams was the culprit.¹⁶ Thus the mystery was solved and the reason for my thinning hair. Mrs. Evans at last understood my strange ailment which she thought was "hypo," and which Mr. and Mrs. Williams thought was "love sickness." Mrs. Williams's almost dying condition the night before was due to the same tonic.

¹⁶ The "splendid tonic" might well have been Fowler's solution, the active ingredient in which was potassium arsenite. Widely used as a tonic from the time of its invention (in 1786) to as late as the 1930s, Fowler's solution was also used to treat a wide variety of ailments, from syphilis to rheumatism to leukemia.

Her doses, however, outnumbered mine so her condition was more serious. When Mr. Williams came in, how amazed he was, but with clear evidences against him he tried to deny the charge.

Woke up Monday with a most dreadfully swollen face and much pain. No school, and the children frolic and play at will, hatless, coatless and mittenless. All day I loitered about, not so weak but so achy. No Sunday School, no service of any sort. A wee bit of sewing and some extra room cleaning until my back ached. Went strolling out in the afternoon sun down to the woodpile with Wallace and some of the little village children. Ran to see Rachael and the Williams's boy, Teddy. Then sat in the beneficial sunshine with Albert and Agnes, holding little Blackie. Golden has been missing for several days, we fear he has become a waif in the upper village. Bob misses him, barks and barks, but no bark in return. He has attempted to go up to the village but each time one of the boys brings him back.

Felt somewhat better on Tuesday and held classes. Mr. Williams seemed surprised, but he did not refer to my affliction. He was most anxious for me to return home and shut up shop for a week. But I decided to keep school open, the children so very good after their enforced holiday. Picked up wood chips in the afternoon, the weather too cold to venture out more than around the mission grounds. Mrs. Evans doctoring little Albert Jureau's sore leg and continues to visit Rachael.

Wednesday, felt still better but had a horrid pimple on my right cheek and my face was boldly swollen. While Tommy, Fred and I were busy at arithmetic Mr. Williams came in. He was most talkative and worked out a solution in geometry on the blackboard. An unusually happy day at school on Thursday. My swollen face somewhat gone down. Too windy to venture out anywhere, and coming home from school had a dreadful fall, almost dislocating my knee. Old Si Von Von cut her finger badly, Mr. Williams doctoring it for her. Several natives have been trying to take little Dan and Wallace from our home. Golden returned much the worse for his absence.

Saturday, a day long to be remembered. We lingered long at breakfast as Mrs. Evans was quite talkative, telling me much of her family [in Boston] and her life before coming to Alaska. Before we had finished Fred came in to tell us about one of the native men again trying to take Wallace and Dan away. I spoke my mind and insisted that the two little boys remain with us. Mrs. Evans (horrid somebody that she is) sanctioned it. Then I went up to see about Wallace, after discussing the training of an individual native with Mr. Williams, who agreed.

Alice's journal is interrupted here for nearly a month, where twenty-two pages had been torn out. Her entries for April 10 and April 12 appear on the last remaining pages of notebook 2.

Saturday, April 10

The day before Easter. Went over and gave the church an extra good cleaning, took down and dusted the curtains. The wind almost blew me to pieces as I went from home

and back. After ironing and mending I helped Mrs. Evans in cooking. I fried the doughnuts as she cut them. To bed around 11:30 after fixing the Easter cards for the children.



Dora, one of the children at the Anvik mission. Hudson Stuck photograph album, in the collection of Alice A. Boulter.

Monday, April 12

Easter Sunday morning. A snowstorm raged all night and the morning dawned gray, 17 above. The children happy as usual. I received my new mukluks, but was not too pleased with how Mr. Williams presented them to me. Only five natives at church, the storm having kept the others away. A sweet service however. Little Jane, looking so sweet and pretty and behaving beautifully, came with Rachael. After Sunday School the children and I went over to Hubert's, Mr. Williams with us taking the portable organ on the sled. He seemed to enjoy our singing. The weather much warmer, 36 above, and we had quite a time tugging through the deep wet snow. At home until tea time I read to Fred. He and Tommy each gave me such pretty little gifts, Tommy a whistle he had carved, and Fred a very nice picture of a pigeon he had drawn on a piece of white birch bark. Thoughts of last Easter, however, filled the day. I missed and even longed for Mr. and Mrs. Chapman and dear Ada and Henry.

Today, Dora's birthday. We indulged in some songs between the morning school lessons and played games in the afternoon. Another horrible disagreement between Mrs. Evans and Mr. Williams over which native woman should have charge of little Dan and Wallace. Glorious sunshine! Some thawing.

As mentioned in the introduction, one of Alice's notebooks (number 3) was lost sometime prior to her death. Here, then, her journal is again interrupted, for a period of three and a half months, from the middle of April to the end of July 1909. During this time, an article that Alice had written for *The Alaskan Churchman* appeared, in the May 1909 issue. In it, she describes the beauty of the Alaskan winter, offering the sort of inspirational reflections that were part and parcel of missionary publications:

We love the summer sun for the joy it brings, glad sunshine fills the sky about twenty-two hours out of every twenty-four. But the "night-time sky" as the children say, is missed and often wished for. During the nightless summertime some child often says with a sigh, "We do not have any more stars." Another remarked, "What a long rest the stars are taking," while Lena spoke and said in a consoling way, "The stars are with the angels and they will be so much brighter when they come back. [. . .]"

Each evening as the moon waxed older, the children and I watched its wondrous growth. [. . .] Our sky seemed somewhat changed then, as the moon seemed "conqueror and queen" and the stars a bit dimmed by the moon's glory. It was so hard, it was almost unkind, to go to bed without enjoying the magic of the night. We, the children and I, would wrap up warmly and play for an hour or so outside when the weather was not too cold. The moonlight lent a charm to our games of Old Witch, London Bridge, and Birds—mocking birds sing the long night through when it is moonlight, you know . . .

Off and on during the winter we continued in these moonlight pleasures. The winter days may be dark and cold, but then each day is followed by a glorious and beautiful night. Each evening after all the children were safely tucked in bed, and just before I turned the key in the front door, I would always have one more look at the beauty all around us.

Her journal begins again at the start of a journey by steamer to Fairbanks, during the school break, in part to receive medical attention for a stubborn boil on her face. But the trip was also a holiday for Alice—an opportunity to shop, to socialize, and to see "Mr. Boulter" again.

Sunday, August 1

Awakened at three this morning by Mr. Williams calling, "The Hannah has come!" Dressed in a huge hurry and went down to the river with Mr. Bressler. No lady passengers, nine gentlemen. Had my meals in my room on account of my sad, afflicted face. The U.S. Government man, Mr. Reynolds, very kind and considerate.

Monday, August 2

Monday, two years ago was starting for Alaska. What changes since then! Quite foggy and smoky today, forest fire near. The Hannah stopped a while during the night on

account of the smoke. Slept well, through breakfast. I was brave enough to go out for lunch, face somewhat better. Reached Kaltag on Tuesday morning, took on oil for more than an hour. Reached Nulato about supper time, discharged much freight. Roman Catholic brother got off, some passengers came on. Nulato is a bare, desolate looking place, the school and the cemetery on the hill were the prettiest sights.

Slept very late Wednesday, passed Louden and stopped while I was dressing. Some rain during the morning and more forest fires. Met Mrs. Williamson and the prospectors, saw some wonderful gold nuggets. Actually played cards! A nice little chat with Mr. Reynolds out on deck after tea. He and Mrs. Williamson operated on my poor face. A pleasant day, although my face still quite painful. Visited the boiler room and the engine room. Mr. Reynolds proves most interesting, read my horoscope and told me about myself. The “eyes belonging outside” amused me muchly. About eight p.m. sighted Fort Gibbon, but ’twas ten ’ere we reached it. It was raining so hard I did not go ashore—all the other passengers did. Mr. Strangman came on board to meet me, had a pleasant little talk out on deck and made an arrangement to walk out to the mission next day.

Today, the Hannah still lying in port. Got up for breakfast, feeling fine and “looking so fine,” so my new friend Mr. Reynolds declared repeatedly. Walked about town to Fort Gibbon with him in the morning, purchased some postals. Then back to the boat where we strolled about on deck. About eight Mr. Strangman came. I put on his rubber coat and off we started on our walk. The woods were lovely, flowers bright, rain and sun on and off all the way—some very hard rain too. Met the minister looking at the fish wheel, we lingered with him and a heavy shower came upon the three of us under one umbrella. Saw the church and Mr. Stangman’s dear little cabin up on the hill. Going back got sopping wet around my ankles—poor gray silk skirt!

All at dinner, the dear old chief engineer calling out to me, “Home again!” Had quite a time drying out. Mr. Murray, the purser, took my shoes to the kitchen and spread my skirts on chairs on the deck to dry out. Had a refreshing rest while waiting. The chief engineer brought a gentleman for me to meet, a southern boatman. Had to talk to him through a crack in the door as I was rather negligee. As soon as I was dressed a U.S. soldier came to see me—a New Orleans man, very fine. He prescribed for my face, went out and ordered the medicine, and while waiting for it to arrive we talked quite a bit, after which he operated on my poor sick face. A large part of the core of the boil came out.

Could not go out to lunch with Mr. Strangman as my shoes were not yet dry, although he wanted to borrow a pair for me to wear. Some last minutes with my friend Mr. Reynolds before my belongings were moved over to the Schwatka. The four boats in port, Hannah, Seattle No. 3, Herman and Schwatka switch about so much, we see them all depart, the Herman being the last. Mr. Reynolds is always somewhere near so we can wave until the Herman turns, then he is gone as we sail upstream. My face very, very painful indeed, was glad to get to bed. The Schwatka seems strange, and so does Mr. Green the purser, but then that doesn’t matter.



Alice and a friend, picnicking on top of a mountain near Fairbanks. Collection of Alice A. Boulter.

Monday, August 9

A warm, bright day on Friday. Did not get up until about eleven as my poor face pained so during the night that it was late 'ere I closed my eyes. Stopped about two hours during the night on account of the fog. Met Mrs. Richmond and her little baby outside my cabin door, found her most pleasant and was pleased to know they were from St. Matthew's at Fairbanks. While on deck met the cute little fellow from the Hannah who was writing and writing, always writing—a "hopeful prospector." He did not mind my saying that he should not smoke his cigar while talking with me, but my protests did not deter him from the vile habit. Marvelous scenery, fair skies all day.

Saturday, another bright day. Again did not get up until after ten because my poor face and eye kept me awake most of the night. Everyone becomes friendly, the cute little writer particularly so. He gave me two pennies as souvenirs, seldom seen in this land of high prices. Looked really frightful all day. Pleasant talks with Mrs. Richmond. Late in the afternoon stopped a long time at a wood camp, "wooding." Afterwards stood out on deck with the cute little writer, he most talkative and entertaining. Glorious sunset. Was to pass Nenana about midnight so did not wait up to see Miss Farthing.

Some rain fell during Saturday night. Delightful trip all day Sunday, passed several small boats and stopped briefly to give some of our freight to the Koyukuk. Passed Chena about two this morning, got up immediately and dressed as I feared we would reach Fairbanks in about fifteen minutes. Actually arrived at five-thirty. No one to meet me as none expected me. Miss Bolster from the mission finally came down to meet me.

Sunday, August 15

Happy days at Fairbanks, shopping and dentist visits and meeting friends all the while. A most comfortable room for me at the hospital. Went out to the gold creeks at Esther, a scenic train ride over the mountains with a fine view of the Tanana River and the Alaska range, great snow-capped beauties.¹⁷ Schwatka did not sail on Friday as scheduled. On Saturday had a fine climb up the mountain and watched the “clean-up” of the winter’s mining, a most interesting process. A very pleasant evening at Mrs. McQuarrie’s charming home. Today, home about six from visiting around and a lovely walk. Then to evening service at St. Matthew’s. Met Mr. Boulter after service and we enjoyed a long walk together.

Friday, August 20

Another walk with Mr. Boulter on Monday, and still another walk with him on Tuesday. Marvelous weather. Miss [Margaret] Graves arrived Tuesday.¹⁸ On Wednesday Mr. Boulter left on the Tanana, Miss Emberley on the Schwatka. A very pleasant evening at Mrs. Whitley’s, met many interesting people.

Today, left Fairbanks on the six o’clock train for Esther to visit Miss Wightman. Rev. Peabody escorted Miss Graves and myself to the train in quite a rain storm, but as we left a vivid rainbow spanned the heavens. A short pretty ride to Esther, and Miss Wightman and an Indian boy there to meet me. A delightful float down the river in a poling boat, scenery and weather superb. A gentle evening breeze made the hour most peaceful. Stopped at the fish camp and met the natives. The river was too low to pole all the way to Miss Wightman’s cabin so a pleasant walk through the woods to her dear little cabin. All a most pleasant surprise.

Tuesday, August 24

Saturday, such an interesting day! After a chatty little breakfast Miss Wightman and I took a long walk in the woods gathering leaves for the altar and chips for the stove. The woods were truly beautiful, slight touches of autumn all among the green. Visited the Indian village, everyone was away but we peeped through the windows and saw the cleanliness of everything. A most enjoyable dinner with Miss Wightman, the peace and quiet that reigns in the little home just suits my nature.

Up rather early on Sunday and all astir. Miss Wightman walked to the village with me and one of the boys poled me up to Esther. There was hard work to be done as the current was strong and swift. The day lovely and bright, the slough most scenic. Passed

¹⁷ The town of Ester (given as Esther in Baker’s *Geographical Dictionary of Alaska*, 1906) is roughly 8 miles west of Fairbanks. By 1910, the gold fields in the area of Ester Creek had mostly been worked out.

¹⁸ Not to be confused with Lula Graves, Margaret G. Graves was at this time a missionary and nurse at Fairbanks. She went on to teach at Anvik and then at Tanana Crossing, and, in 1918, she married the Reverend Charles E. Betticher.

many immense fish wheels, the largest I had ever seen. We just did reach Esther in time, the Tanana was steaming up to leave. Saw Mrs. Chrysler from the boat. Had a rather pleasant trip on the Tanana and reached Nenana while at dinner. An Indian boy carried my suitcase down the beautiful road to the mission, so much charmed with it. Miss Farthing's greeting so kind and affectionate. Met many of the village boys, the mission children most interesting. A nice long talk with Miss Farthing.

Monday, rain overnight, then a delightfully cool day. Miss Farthing good and sweet to me, her management of the household perfectly fine, exceedingly thorough. In the afternoon all of us went to the village to visit, Miss Farthing having to doctor several natives. The children had a dance in the evening, the village boys were the musicians, quite an interesting time.

Today, quite a remarkable day! Miss Farthing was good enough to let me sleep and sleep. In the early afternoon she and I took the children down to Duke's trading post, all but the two big boys Johnnie and Justin who wanted to wash. Johnnie said 'twas the first time he had bathed and for me to tell Fred [at Anvik]. The Julia B. was in port "wooding." Miss Farthing had a telegram ready requesting my transfer to Nenana. Just at the very moment she placed it in the captain's hand for him to send, I said "No" because my conscience did smite fearfully. So then 'twas finally decided that I must not think of coming to Nenana. The captain and the purser showed us all over the boat—such a fine boat it was, seemed too bad passengers were not allowed. As we were coming home Miss Farthing and all of us were asked to a native funeral. Quite a delegation of canoes and skiffs crossed the river. Very impressive service, old Blind Moses had a fit before the service began. Mrs. Chrysler arrived on the Delta.

Tuesday, August 31

I was awakened Wednesday morning by the call of "Steamboat!" Up I jumped, had three minutes in which to dress. It proved, however, to be the Tana, a through boat to the Innoko, an independent boat, so my hurrying was all in vain. Sweet hours with Miss Farthing and enjoyed the company of Mrs. Chrysler, too. A walk or two down in the thick woods with the children. Peaceful days indeed! On Friday the upstairs rooms were stained so the children made their beds in the dining room. A native woman, Mrs. "Man-Who-Made-The-Launch," and a local marshal came at bedtime. Such a pleasant disturbance seeing about some supper for them. They left in the launch Saturday morning, little Eva and I rode as far as Duke's with them. A pleasant ride, then a short and happy walk home.

Sunday, most enjoyable—delightful and cool. Morning service conducted by Moses, really impressive in its sincerity. Did not go to evening service but stayed at home with the wee small boys while Miss Farthing and the other children went. Monday, an ideal autumn day. Happy hours with Miss Farthing and the children. Today the dining room was stained so we had tea out on the porch. Tuesday all packed and ready to jump up and run at a given signal.



“Summer view of friend’s home near Fairbanks—gorgeous flowers,” Alice wrote. The friend may have been Miss Wightman or Mrs. Whitley. Collection of Alice A. Boulter.



Moses, the blind lay reader at Anvik. Hudson Stuck photograph album, in the collection of Alice A. Boulter.

Wednesday, September 1

Enjoyed all our meals on the porch today. After dinner rested and then dressed as the Tana was due on her up-river trip at any minute. As we were quietly and peacefully enjoying our tea a boat suddenly came upon us, and it proved to be the Schwatka, the one I was to take. Up we all jumped, luggage was ready, and away we went running down to the post landing. Miss Farthing could not join us but most of the children were at my heels, and in quite a rain shower we soon overtook Mrs. Chrysler who had started before us. The Schwatka was crowded, but a stateroom was reserved which I shared with Mrs. Chrysler.

Sunday, September 5

Thursday, a most enjoyable morning. Mr. Green, the purser, made room for us at the captain's table. Reached Tanana about one. My first view as we drew up to the landing was Mrs. Williams on the Susie with her two children, and Rachael with Harriet and Albert, on their way to Fairbanks. Mr. Boulter, too, was waiting on the dock—my joy seemed complete. Such a meeting. Many, many pleasant moments followed. Mr. Strangman soon joined us and we met many other friends, then a pleasant walk into town and out to Mrs. Rodman's exquisite home.

Upon returning to the boat met Mr. Boulter again. We might have had a lovely talk but many friends joined us. Mr. Strangman persuaded me to go to the "Kentucky Kitchen" for dinner—such a merry time we did have. Then a pleasant little visit to Mrs. Williams on the Susie. We saw her depart, then Mr. Stangman and I back to the Schwatka where we sat on deck chatting until it was time for my departure and good-byes were said.

Spent a relaxing Friday on deck, met charming people, also Miss Bishop and the decidedly nice little Englishman. Most of the hours Miss Bishop and I spent perfectly on the upper deck. Enjoyed a most wonderful sunset. Saturday, up early for breakfast, then Miss Bishop and I went up to the pilot house, had a splendid view of the surrounding countryside. The fall colors on the hillsides were exquisite. The captain was very provoking in all his remarks about missionary work. Anvik was sighted about ten, and in thirty more minutes we were there. The little Englishman most kind and courteous in his goodbye. What a wonderful surprise, and how joyous, to see that dear Mr. Chapman had returned. All the children, too, had a most affectionate welcome for me. Spent the entire afternoon reading my accumulated and cherished mail.

How really comforting it is to be in service with dear Mr. Chapman again. Today met many of my old friends. In the afternoon a visit to Hubert, found him bright and cheery. Good Sunday School, but there is a striking difference between these children and Miss Farthing's. We have much work to be done here. Visited the cows and the gardens in the early evening and found them all wonderfully grown. Mr. Williams still here

*to help around the mission, the stone furnaces under construction. Mrs. Williams told me that he would be staying at Anvik for a while.*¹⁹



"The cow, Theresa and the Awful Little Scamp." The little scamp was Jack, whom Alice recalled as "brimming over with mischief at all times." Hudson Stuck photograph album, in the collection of Alice A. Boulter.

Sunday, September 12

Monday a perfect autumn day, arranged my room, planned for an afternoon party for the children with games and a candy pulling in honor of Anna J.'s leaving us. Unfortunately the candy would not pull and the children had to leave without it. Tuesday afternoon about four the Hannah came up river without stopping, and on Thursday the St. Michael. Had glimpses of some of my friends on board but did not see the dear old chief engineer. Friday, more school cleaning, rubbed and scrubbed the benches in the glorious out-of-doors. A new boy, Dominic, from Holy Cross entered our household, and a little girl, Olivia, from Grayling was baptized. Heavy rain in the afternoon.

Saturday, ideal autumn weather. Still busy at the schoolroom. While Fred white-washed, I mounted pictures and cleaned and painted—I did so enjoy the wonderful day.

Today, a cool, damp Sabbath, not many at service as almost the entire village went on a grand berry hunt. Anna J. and Harriet and Lena very much missed at all times

¹⁹ While Alice was in Fairbanks, the Reverend John Chapman returned to Anvik, albeit without Mrs. Chapman and the children. The two had decided that Henry and Ada should begin regular schooling Outside, in Seattle, and Mrs. Chapman stayed behind with them. Although the Reverend Williams remained at Anvik to assist Chapman, Mrs. Williams, their baby son, and daughter Jane returned to Fairbanks, where Mrs. Williams could receive much-needed medical attention. She was accompanied by Rachael, who would care for the new baby, as well as her own two children.

in all things. After tea much excitement. A moving light up the river was sighted, the steamer soon proved to be the Martha Clow with another small boat, Innoko-bound. Many acquaintances whom I met at Esther came up to the house and spent some many minutes with us. An old friend of the missions, Mr. Edwards, was with them.

Sunday, September 19

Last Monday, Fred scrubbed well in the schoolroom while Mr. Williams painted for me. An invigorating walk on the hill in the late afternoon with our two lovely dogs, Golden and Bob. Tuesday, quite an eventful day. At five in the morning the “messenger” [Mr. Blaine] came, and just before breakfast I enjoyed my mail. A charming letter from my new friend the little Englishman. And just at breakfast time two steamers arrived, the Herman and the John G. Healey, bringing much freight for Mr. Chase and Mr. Watson. But as the river was low the freight had to be dumped off at the post and the sailboat afterwards brought it all up, towed by the launch. Such busy times hauling up all the boxes and barrels, etc. About ten the Monarch came with more freight and stopped in front of Mr. Watson’s bringing him two bundles of human freight, a young native widow and child. Fred left on the Herman as assistant to the cook, the early mail bringing an urgent letter from his father asking that Fred might come to see his dying mother.

About two in the afternoon another N.A.T. [North American Transportation] boat passed, not even whistling. My work was set aside as everyone was busy with the freight. Then more excitement! Kate almost taken from us, but her parents decided to let her remain until Christmas. A disturbance in the kitchen, too, a pipe burst and streams of water gushed from the stove.

At six o’clock Mr. Watson and the young widow were married. I gathered flowers for the church and arranged a bouquet for the bride of candy tuft tied with long white satin ribbon. Mr. Chapman conducted the ceremony, Mrs. Evans, Mr. Williams and myself present. Quite a sweet little bride, but how could a seemingly nice man like Mr. Watson accept such a native widow for his wife? The sunset gladdened the close of day, and it was at its brightest just when the simple yet impressive ceremony ended.

After supper the children and I, with Mr. Chapman, went up to Mr. Williams’s to hear his new graphophone, the cylinders quite different from our flat records. The music beautiful, however. I am truly glad the really nice little man has it. On the way saw two perfectly beautiful rainbows, one rising from the river in front of the house with the other resting behind the hills. Mr. Watson sent a real watermelon down, the children delightfully surprised, the first one they had seen. They did not like it much, some wanted to dry it. Bananas, also a treat—apples and oranges, too.

Wednesday, a heavy frost overnight but a fine day. Schoolroom floor actually painted. Mr. Chapman and all the boys work at the potatoes. Myself, painted all afternoon in jumper and white duck skirt, with paint all over me before going home. Such a wondrous starlit night, the brilliant orbs of light fairly snapped! Very heavy frost Thursday morning, then a splendid day, autumn sunshine with a cool breeze. Tacked up burlap around the schoolroom walls, and then dinner, after which I joined all hands and

assisted in the harvesting of our garden: seventeen hundred pounds of potatoes, great huge turnips of five and seven pounds, immense cabbages. Mr. Chase had one weighing eight pounds. Choir practice up at the house as the church was too cold.

Friday, truly cold, needed a fire to dress by. Painted all day in the schoolroom. Welcome sunshine in the early afternoon, and a much needed walk with the little boys on the hill after my painting was done. Early on Saturday, about five, the Seattle No. 3 passed from down-river, the purser rang the bell and I heard it. At breakfast the Jeff Davis, U.S. Revenue Cutter, came, stopping in front of the house with mail.²⁰ Two nice letters for me. Two other boats passed going up-river, the White Seal came down. A cold day indeed. Two Indian women cleaned the church, myself busy with house cleaning and ironing. A short but convivial conference in the afternoon regarding the school year ahead of us—Mrs. Evans, Mr. Williams and myself at the table with Mr. Chapman. Julius's wife, Eliza, passed away last night.

*Sunday, a full, glad Sabbath, quite cold again, a high wind blowing. Had the fire going in church. Went up the hillside to gather autumn leaves for the altar but none to be found. Very few at the service for the mourning over Eliza's body. After Sunday School all of us went over to visit Hubert and joined in a sweet personal service with him. Then a little visit with the children to see the calf and the ducks. After tea Mr. Chapman read us two chapters from *The Golden Age*—very good indeed.²¹ When the children were all tucked in I went down and put my little gifts around. At ten, thereabouts, the Reliance came up. No mail.*

Sunday, September 26

Monday, another birthday for me. Quite a happy one, none but the children were prepared for it. Found several sweet little notes from them under my door when I opened it to go downstairs for breakfast. Mr. Chapman and Mrs. Evans and all were very much surprised at the gifts I had put at their places. Tommy brought in a grouse he had killed

²⁰ Alice refers several times to a boat named the *Jeff Davis*. The USRC *Jefferson Davis* was a topsail schooner, launched in 1853, that had patrolled the waters of Puget Sound. In 1862, she was decommissioned, and her subsequent fate is obscure. According to the US Coast Guard, she was converted to a "Marine Hospital Boat." According to *Lewis & Dryden's Marine History of the Pacific Northwest* (1961), however, she was sold and sailed to China. (See United States Coast Guard, "Cutters of the Revenue Marine and Revenue Cutter Service: 1790–1900," http://www.uscg.mil/history/webcutters/usrc_photo_index.asp; E. W. Wright, ed., *Lewis & Dryden's Marine History of the Pacific Northwest*, 60n13). As a full-keel schooner, she could not have navigated the Yukon River, but well-built wooden vessels were often cut down and refitted for use in inland waters once their years of sea service ended. Possibly, then, Alice's journal sheds further light on the history of the *Jeff Davis*. For a fascinating history not only of the activities of the USRC service in Alaska but also of the era, see Thomas R. Strobridge and Dennis L. Noble, *Alaska and the U.S. Revenue Cutter Service, 1867–1915*.

²¹ *The Golden Age* was Kenneth Grahame's first major book, published in 1895, thirteen years before *The Wind in the Willows*. The volume consists of stories from Grahame's childhood, transposed into the heroic age of classical Greece.

just for me. Mr. Watson most generous in his remembrance, the cauliflower was quite a treat to me indeed, small but choice. 'Twas decided not to have school as the room was not in exact readiness. About eleven Mrs. Evans sent me up a lovely tray of fruit and flowers with an affectionate greeting card.

After tea the children and I went to Mr. Williams's to enjoy his graphophone, quite a number of natives were also there. The music was such a treat, but I think I prefer the gramophone records. As a closing feature to the day Mr. Williams took us out to the river's edge to see some fireworks. A splendid rocket—two dollars!—was the first sent up, the children and the natives all startled at the tremendous noise and dazzled at the great splendor. The Roman candles were a great excitement, too, the children thinking, however, that the stars had been shot down. After our fireworks there was a display of nature's own glory, the Northern Lights, much motion but no color.

Tuesday, the first day at school, all things very satisfactory and it seemed perfectly natural to be back in harness. The children have not forgotten as much as I feared they would. Quite a cold day, much ice in the slough but fine sunshine all day. At noon, services were held for Eliza's burial. We all went up to the grave to take part. Poor Julius looked sore distressed and it was all most sad. In the afternoon Mr. Chapman called us down to where the vegetables were piled. We were grouped about the sacks and had our picture taken. A thoroughly enjoyable evening in my room with my new rocking chair. How perfectly delightful it is to have such a lovely chair!

Wednesday was Mama's birthday, and a glorious day for her here. Much ice in the Anvik, more in the slough. Minnie Kruger was christened in the early afternoon. Several white men near the village, camping on the other side of the slough. A short walk up on the hill with the little children before tea.

When about dressed on Thursday the cry "Steamboat!" gladdened my heart, three boats were seen approaching. We had breakfast, however, and school was begun before they landed. All were N.A.T. boats going down to their winter quarters. A bright little note from Mrs. Williams in Fairbanks and a cordial letter from Mr. Betticher. Rain almost all day, but just a drizzle. Mr. Bernardo married in the afternoon and his child was christened. He had been living with the native woman about four years. Mr. Kruger and his family left for Holy Cross to continue his work on the schoolhouse, he will not return here until the freeze-up. A very pleasant walk down on the beach with the younger children.

Friday, a very rainy morning, went to school under my umbrella. At noon noticed snow on the far distant mountains, it must have fallen during the night or early morning. The clouds broke at noon and the sunlight streamed upon the newly snow-capped mountains. A little walk down to the beach after my ironing was done.

Another wedding anniversary on Saturday for Mr. and Mrs. Williams, their third. Sleeted and snowed quite a bit all morning, the ground very white. Arthur and I had a quiet little walk on the hill but the very wet grass soon sent us home. The Herbert arrived with Mr. Pilcher. Mr. Chapman again read to us while I worked on my black apron, sewing the seams which I had just cut apart. Quite a joke! Bob came to the house

with a dead grouse, and inasmuch as no bullet holes could be seen we think he caught the bird.

Today, an unusually large number of white men at evening service, the Bernardo bridal couple and others from our little hamlet. Then to see Hubert, the service for him is always a spiritual refreshment to me. I trust the others present enjoy the few minutes as much as I do. The little boy has been bed-ridden for so many years! Wallace and I went up to Mr. Williams's to hear a sacred concert rendered by the graphophone.

Thursday, September 30

Quite a gray Monday, and before I was dressed the ground was white with snow. Very good day in school. Between showers of rain and snow Arthur and I had a delightful walk on the beach, returning over the hill. Big Martha's husband passed away. Tuesday, coldest day this season, much snow on the ground. Mr. Williams's talk on the Ingalik [Deg Hit'an] people and their music very much enjoyed. In the afternoon the children and I had a happy walk in the woods up hill and down dale gathering berries and finding pine cones.

Snow almost all Tuesday night. By Wednesday morning it was quite deep and the children coasted merrily down the hill on the newly white ground. About five o'clock the cry of "Steamboat!" excited us all. I wrote a hurried note to Miss Farthing thinking the boat was upon us, but alas! 'twas but a false alarm, the boys seeing some smoke from a fire in the distance. Then "Mr. Blaine!" Another excitement, this time it was but Isaac and Agnes out with their sled getting wood. The new brick or stone furnace started up, the stove in my room moved to accommodate the flue of the downstairs stove.

A short walk with Wallace and Arthur down the beach. A glorious sunset and bright stars. Only prayers at ten as Mr. Chapman was busy in the village and did not return. While waiting for him, the children asked for some musical instruction and I reviewed with them Mr. Williams's earlier talk on the Ingalik people. Thin ice all the way across the Anvik.

Today, the first sight to greet me this morning as I looked from my window was the completely frozen Anvik. In another moment or so the glad call of "Steamboat!" and Frank announced 'twas the Hannah, and sure enough the beloved boat puffed down the Yukon, stopping at the post. School did not begin until about ten as the boat and the mail created quite a commotion. Rachael, Harriet and Joseph all returned from Fairbanks looking so well. Three white men arrived with outfits, they plan to go up the Anvik and are now occupying Isaac's cabin.

Dr. Cole came ashore and had a talk with Mr. Chapman, telling him about Mrs. Williams's worsened condition. At the same time Mr. Williams received a telegram from Miss Knox summoning him to Fairbanks. Quite a gloom was cast over us by this sad news. Ralph and Isaac are digging out the hillside for a guest house.

Friday, October 1

Such a windy, cold day. No school as the pipes were frozen. The children formed a bucket brigade and brought water up to the tank house. The new furnace in operation, the house comfortable and warm. A delightful day for letter writing and really accomplished a great deal. I broke my long sitting, however, by taking the younger members of the bucket brigade for a jolly tramp over the hills. Although the day was cold, the sunshine was bright and cheery.

About noon Mr. Chapman received word that a man was sick and alone in a cabin up the Yukon. Mr. Chapman, with Isaac and others, was about to leave in boats for him when the man suddenly appeared at the mission. Mr. Chapman took him into the rectory and bathed him, and we did not see him again until supper. Such a surprise we had, a neat and gentlemanly sort of man, Mr. Sutton. 'Twas sad to hear his experiences but wonderful to know how he endured it all. To think that the poor man lived on roseberries for four days! After supper he entertained us for quite a while with stories of his experiences. Big Martha's husband was buried about eleven. I did not go out to the service.

Tuesday, October 5

A much milder day on Saturday. At six I heard a steamboat whistle and my heart really went pit-a-pat thinking of mail. But 'twas the Hamilton and the J. P. Light, government boats which stayed at the post some while but brought no mail. Mr. Sutton came to breakfast looking really stronger. 'Twas pitiful to see how he enjoyed his meal and he was not at all timid about saying how much the food meant to him. About ten the Delta arrived and Mr. Williams left. I did dislike seeing him go, though it was best. I had learned to really like him. Poor man, what awaits him at Fairbanks? I do so wonder, hoping and praying for the best. After dinner while my irons were heating I went out to try my skill at skating and got along splendidly. Was delighted and encouraged with my success.

'Twas snowing when I awoke on Sunday, missed dear Mr. Williams at service, and then all during the day missed him sadly—no merry whistle from him to gladden the hours. Between hours had a pleasant walk down the beach, my usual promenade, then to see Hubert, he always seems to enjoy our visits.

Monday, rather a mild morning. Began school with the little ones while the older children again formed the water bucket brigade. Felt so sick in the morning while dressing but the nausea soon passed. A fine time in the afternoon trying to skate, all the children out with me on the ice. Had several hard falls but no serious hurts except to make my knees black and blue. The guest house is growing rapidly. Mr. Sutton much stronger, so like another man. Isaac over in the evening with his gramophone, his new records most enjoyable. After the concert Mrs. Evans had such a pleasant surprise for us—ice cream! 'Twas so good!

Today, a gentle snowstorm all morning. A very fine day in school, then a delightful time on the river. Almost learned to skate—used a pole just to balance me, only had a few falls. Tommy and Frank had great fun burning the grass along the river bank. Charlie, a village boy, had a narrow escape. He fell through the ice and was rescued just in time, almost paralyzed, only his head out of water, and holding on to the ice with both hands. Tommy and Frank pulled him out and took him to the house for Mrs. Evans to care for.

Sunday, October 10

Wednesday, somewhat cold but clear. The children ironed in the afternoon. About two the Herman passed the mission without even blowing but stopped at the post, and soon the purser came up with a bit of mail. The only news brought down was that ice was floating in the Tanana River and probably the Delta could not make its way up. What of Mr. Williams and his sick wife? Much ice in the Yukon. Tommy and Frank delighted with their cash gotten from filling bags with sawdust for the N.A.T. Company. Frank invested one third of his money in a little lamp. Another fine time skating, got along splendidly, only a medium-sized oar for balance.

Cold and clear again on Thursday. A really trying day at school because I did not feel so well. Tried to skate in the afternoon but my skates were not sharp enough and the wind blew too harshly. Went down for a walk on the beach and to see the great amount of ice running in the Yukon—such a rumbling, roaring sound! A happy climb up the hill and down again before reaching home.

Friday, thawing everywhere, the Anvik ice soft and very unsafe. The bucket brigade at work until ten so had just my village children at school. Mr. Sutton and Mr. Chapman came to our exercises, the children did very nicely. Afterwards a walk on the beach with Paul and Dominic. We could not go very far as the wind from the Yukon was high. More ice running in the Yukon. Mr. Williams had not taken his graphophone and until almost ten we enjoyed a grand recital from the lovely music box. Aroused during the night when Mr. Sutton heard the stovepipe rumbling. He and Mr. Chapman knocked down much soot in the pipe and then all was well.

Saturday, snowy and rainy. Did not feel particularly well all day. After dinner walked in a pleasant little drizzle down to the post via the beach. The ice is running quite swiftly in the channel of the Yukon and piled up in great drifts on either bank. Returned home over the hill, the air fresh and sweet, the drizzle now a soft snow. A visit to Mr. and Mrs. Watson at the trading post and enjoyed myself very much. Mr. Watson so entertaining in his accounts of his travels, saw many interesting postal cards and views of Australia.²²

Today, a blustering Sabbath. Very ferocious wind, but many natives at morning service. How I do miss Mr. Williams at every turn and particularly at service, the music seems almost lifeless without him playing the organ. Spent all moments between services

22 Watson may have been one of the many prospectors and traders who followed the worldwide gold rushes to Australia, in the latter half of the nineteenth century, and then to the Klondike.

in my room as the wind was too strong to go out. But Frank and the other little fellows did not think so, they rigged up sails, holding them while sitting on their sleds and the wind carried them along at a merry clip. At evening service the six strangers came with Mr. Chase, Mr. Jureau and Mr. Sutton. Afterwards the children and I went to see Hubert—the wind blew so frantically we were actually carried up the hill.

Charlie well recovered from his fall through the ice. He did not start for the village until after dark. He then became afraid and asked to sleep at the mission, and Mrs. Evans sent him out to the new guest house. This morning he reported the many devils all about the house last night and even on the roof top disturbing his sleep. Mr. Sutton is almost well and works about the mission. He has taken charge of the furnace and the pigeons. After supper we all sat around the table and Mr. Chapman read us lengthy and interesting accounts of Dr. Cook and his discovery of the North Pole.²³ Spent all evening in my snug bed reading while the wind howled without.

Saturday, October 16

Such a blustering day last Monday, the Anvik frozen solid again and most of the snow blown away, making a fine skating rink. Tommy brought ice in sacks to the house today, our first water of the season this way. Mr. Chase and Mr. Jureau working on the school-room furnace. An attempt to go out on the rink but I had gotten only as far as the beach when the wind almost tore me to pieces, so I sought the hills, the two dogs Golden and Bob with me. Up and up we went, the cold so invigorating and the hills sheltering me a bit from the wind. From the top had a most magnificent view of the Yukon, the floating ice as blue as blue could be. The fresh air gave me a splendid appetite for supper. Mr. Wolffe came about supper time with the mail—we were indeed surprised to see him instead of Mr. Blaine. Little for me, but a sweet letter from Miss Farthing and a little note from dear Fred.

Quite a cold day Tuesday, but clear. The water bucket brigade changed to the ice supply company, the children bringing the ice to the house in burlap bags. After a good day at school a jolly time on the ice—got along without the oar. Mr. Sutton went out hunting and taxed his strength to such an extent that he cared not for dinner and spent most of the afternoon resting. Wednesday, another cold, clear and beautiful day, went out after school on the rink and got along so well with skating that I needed no oar or stick for balance. How exciting it was! The children, too, had a jolly time with their sleds and romping on the ice. The stars at night snap and sparkle.

Thursday, still another bright and oh! so beautiful day. Somewhat over-confident with my skating abilities and had two falls, most severe. I did not feel the best in the

²³ These must have been newspaper accounts, given that Frederick Cook's *My Attainment of the Pole* was published only in 1911. On September 1, 1909, Cook telegraphed the world that he had reached the North Pole on April 21, 1908. Five days after Cook's announcement, Robert Peary telegraphed that he had reached the true North Pole on April 6, 1909. For a useful summary, see Bruce Henderson, "Who Discovered the North Pole?" *Smithsonian Magazine*, April 2009.

world. Later managed to get over to Hubert's and played the graphophone for him. Peter and Dominic accompanied me and carried the magic music box and a few of the cylinders. Mr. Sutton and Isaac put in the fish net under a hole they chopped in the Anvik ice. How I miss and really long for Mrs. Williams. I do hope and fervently pray she is better.

Such a fine cold day Friday. Had a miserably dull headache. In spite of that went skating again after school, well wrapped up, and did splendidly. Four village boys and Tommy with me on skates while the small children had great fun on their sleds. How prosaic and humdrum household chores seem when many letters remain unwritten, books unread and glorious outdoor weather to enjoy.

Today, just an hour or so of sunshine. After breakfast, as early as I could get started, went off to the village on my skates, the strong wind helping me along nicely. I wore my fur hood for the first time and found it indeed most comfortable. But as I went to go ashore I met with a dire calamity, the ice near the shore was very thin and gave way beneath me, and in I went. The water was not deep and I managed to get up without much trouble. Started home quickly but my feet became cold very soon. I could not skate well as I was facing the wind, so I took off my skates and walked home. I was quite wet and had to change all my underclothes by the stove, icicles hanging in my hair. Mrs. Evans terribly critical and provoked with all my falls and tumbles. At times she treats me as one of the children. After dinner, started again for the village, this time skateless and keeping to the shore. Met Harry and Jackson and we three walked up together, the boys rather entertaining. Visited Anna and Mildred—how dirty their homes seem after not having visited for such a long time. Anna promised to come to school on Monday.

Thursday, October 21

Snow all last Saturday night and again on Sunday morning, our skating rink almost covered. A cold disagreeable snow continued all day. After service the two Elizas and I took a walk down to the Yukon and found it running very slowly. Later went over to Hubert's without Mr. Chapman as he wanted to spend some time with two visiting white men.

Monday, somewhat cold but felt thoroughly fine. Ice running very slowly in the Yukon, the movement scarcely noticeable. Much overflow water and frequent ice jams on the shores of the Anvik. I miss Mr. and Mrs. Williams more and more each day. Kate comes over as often as she has the chance, to ask about Mrs. Williams and Jane. While writing little notes and waiting for supper some of the girls announced, "Mrs. Evans is dressed in her Sunday best" and that Mr. and Mrs. Watson were coming over to supper. Hurriedly I slipped on my pretty blue dress and was just ready when the supper bell rang. How surprised the children were to see me thus enrobed—such exclamations! Arthur asked if I was to be married. The Watsons did not appear after all.

After supper without them, Mr. Chapman played the gramophone for hours while we enjoyed cake and delicious ice cream. Isaac, blind Andrew and Si Von Von were with us. The old woman really came to tell me a story but as the gramophone monopolized the evening her story was postponed. The only cloud to mar the brightness of

the evening was the subdued, the indifferent manner of Mrs. Evans which has been her attitude for the last week or so. Tuesday, Isaac, Tommy and one or two villagers cut immense squares of ice from the Anvik for our water tank. How I did long to spend some of the bright sunshine hours skating but "the demand of the hour," duty, claimed my attention. After school just a wee bit of skating, but the wind was still too high for me to get along as well as I had hoped.

The weather so fine on Wednesday, six above zero with warming sunshine and fair skies, that Mr. Chapman suggested we go berry hunting. Such a time we had getting our moccasins ready! Agnes and Rachael, with Joseph on her back, led the way. Up, up we went over the hills, through the snow and deep down through the valleys, over two miles we travelled before reaching the berry ground. We all separated to do our picking but three of the dear little girls stayed near me. Our hands became quite cold so our pickings were not too successful. About one o'clock we gathered about a camp fire and ate our luncheon, delicious dried salmon. After lunch continued our picking but the berries were so soft they mashed easily. The girls and I filled a three-gallon pail with blueberries while Agnes and Rachael each gathered a large basket full. A jolly walk home but my fur hood was really dreadfully hot and uncomfortable. We passed a frozen pond and Tommy dug a water hole, the ice only about five inches thick, and around the hole the children lay on their stomachs to drink. Early supper and then to bed early. How splendidly I slept!

Today, another fine day. Harry, an older boy from the village, started to school today, which I am glad of, but means an extra class which keeps me half an hour longer. 'Tis a pleasure, however, to teach Harry, he is so apt and quick and comes to class so neat, his hair well combed. 'Twas dusk before I got out on the ice, and the rink near the shore was in excellent condition. Tommy skated almost to Old Station but I could not make much headway against the strong wind. I managed a little distance, just to be sailed back.

Tuesday, October 26

On Friday a light snow fell all day. Mr. Chapman and Mr. Sutton visited the schoolroom to hear the children recite, and Mr. Sutton talked to them most interestingly about the stars and the heavens and the Northern Lights. Harry came for his second lesson as bright and as eager as on Thursday. The old woman, Si Von Von, came over to tell me more of her story. How thrilling it is. Tommy is a splendid interpreter, and the little boys sat around spellbound. Mr. Sutton caught some whitefish in the net.

Quite a rain fell Saturday morning, snow melting everywhere. Got through with my usual chores and might have had a chance to skate but too much water was on the ice, an immense puddle. Paul and I had a bracing walk up the hill and down dale, the air so fresh. After supper had a longing for the gramophone, and while the girls were washing the dishes enjoyed a lovely concert, Mr. Chapman the only other listener. Mrs. Evans ignored us all. The white men in Isaac's cabin made preparations to leave today but the rain delayed them.

Held Sunday service by gaslight for the first time this season. A spring-like day, however, with more water on the ice, the snow entirely melted. 'Twas great fun to watch the village boys try to skate through the water and suddenly sprawl into the puddles. The cute little Englishman came to evening service all alone and I actually spoke to him—wish I had said more. Cora and Mr. Bressler arrive, and Mr. Bernardo and another white man, Mr. [Michael] Sullivan, who is occupying the kazheem.

Monday, somewhat colder with a hard rain all night. Mr. Chapman performed a difficult operation upon Mr. Bernardo, a dreadful boil on his back, the incision almost to the backbone. He was put to bed in the rectory and Mr. Sutton moved there to be with him. Hurried a bit with my dinner as the afternoons are getting so short and I longed to be outside. Just as soon as Harry's class was over had a superb skate going up the river but had to walk back as the wind was too strong. Before bed tried to write but little Arthur kept me busy answering his many questions. The white man who had been living on the beach so long now occupies the kazheem with the other white man.

Today, up before six and out on the rink. Had another delightful time skating up the river, but again 'twas impossible to get back home on my skates because of the fierce wind. Had to walk back zig-zag. After school the little Englishman came with Mr. Sutton to return some books and to borrow others. I talked with him a while and really enjoyed our conversation. A lovely afternoon skate on the river until clouds hid the stars and darkness forced me indoors. Wallace not well so he slept in the rectory near Mr. Chapman's door.



Rachael and her two children, Harriet and Albert, sitting beneath a rack of salmon. “Hung only a few days before,” Alice recalled, “the fish were not yet dry enough to remove and store.” Alice also recollected that Rachael was only seventeen when this photograph was taken and that the father of her two children was a white man who used to help out around the Anvik mission. Hudson Stuck photograph album, in the collection of Alice A. Boulter.

Sunday, October 31

Quite a snowfall last Tuesday night but still 'twas not freezing. Thawing all day long on Wednesday. At noon while Frank was skating, Leo's dog team which was in harness attacked him and had him down. Leo managed to pull the dogs off—I saw it all from my upper window. Mr. Chapman, Tommy and I ran over to Frank who was standing petrified to the spot where the dogs had jumped him. Mr. Chapman took Frank to the house and doctored several bites, none of them too deep. Excellent class with Harry. Good skating as the snow on the river was frozen. Wallace in bed all day under the care of Mr. Chapman. Simon's mother, Si Von Von, came over to continue her story, but Tommy was otherwise busy and could not interpret for me so 'twas postponed.

Thursday, all things frozen. A glorious sunrise while I was dressing, the mountains exquisitely colored. Saw Harry leave with his dog team, will miss him so much. Wallace is somewhat better and got dressed at noon. The snow was frozen quite hard on our rink and on the Anvik ice, but near the slough on a long stretch of glare ice the surface was excellent. Had the best skate I have ever known, while the little children played about me. We came home in a snowstorm, the rising moon curtained by the falling snow and making a strange and eerie column of light. Friday, a light snowstorm all day. Ironed in the afternoon while the three little girls sat watching me all the while and chattering away so merrily.

Saturday, sunrise about 8:30, full of beauty. As our clock is almost an hour behind the sun, its splendor came just as I was dressing. A very cold day. After dinner went twice to see Rachael but both times she was not at home. Joined Mr. Chapman and the boys who were going out the trail to check our supply of wood. A delightful walk, the woods a perfect wonderland of sunshine and snow. Mr. Chapman looked snug and fine in the parkee Miss Graves sent him. Reached home after sundown feeling so fine for the outing.

Today, a cold but oh! so beautiful Sunday. Just after breakfast a large number of people arrived from the Chageluk, the captain of the White Seal with his wife and others—five sleds in all. What a pretty sight it was, the sleds coming in one behind the other. Eight or ten white men at morning service, and quite a goodly number of natives, too. After service Mr. Chapman, the children and I went over to Hubert's. As we came home the stars were brilliant, and from the bare trees across the Yukon the moon, somewhat old, was rising. The little Englishman paid a long visit to Mr. Chapman. The people from the White Seal occupy the rectory.

Monday, November 1

Sweet early morning service, but only old Si Von Von, Tommy and I. Some of the men leave who had been staying in Isaac's cabin. A late walk out on the trail. Saw the evening star suddenly break forth from a blue sky and watched the moon rise. A peaceful morning, myself all alone on the frozen Yukon under glorious skies.



Hanging salmon to dry for winter consumption, at the Anvik mission. The boy hanging the fish is Fred, while Tommy hands them up, and Kate (wearing her beloved tam) stands watching them work. During the summer, the local Deg Hit'an peoples fished off the point of land at Anvik, catching whitefish but above all salmon, which came into the Anvik River from the Yukon, on their way upstream to spawn. As Alice described it, "The Native fishermen at this point used dip nets, but up the Anvik great fish wheels were used. As the Natives prepared some of their catch for winter use, the heads and tails and most of the roe were packed tightly into previously dug holes to rot. The best parts of the fish were cut into strips and allowed to dry. During the winter the buried parts of the fish would freeze, and later they would be dug up and combined with blueberries, which had been gathered in the fall and also stored." Hudson Stuck photograph album, in the collection of Alice A. Boulter.

Saturday, November 6

Tuesday, little romps with the younger children on the ice and snow and along the banks of the Yukon. Our Halloween festivities were postponed until Tuesday because of the many visitors in the neighborhood. Such a happy time we had in the school-room bobbing for apples! Isaac's family and Si Von Von and many village boys were with us. Heard the startling news of Anna J.'s marriage by the native custom to a youth named Jay from another village. Received a queer gift of a box of matches from the little Irishman [Michael Sullivan]. Harry has not been coming to school this week as he has been escorting the white men about.

Wednesday, a cold but fine day. School as usual, and afterwards went with the smaller children over to the glare ice to skate. Found quite a stretch of clear ice but my feet were too cold, even with my big boots on, to skate much. A visit to the rectory to say goodbye to one of the ladies from the White Seal and had a very pleasant little talk. Thursday, again cold with much wind but welcome sunshine. Two parties got off, the man, his wife and children who were in Mr. Bressler's cabin and the captain, his wife

and others from the White Seal. Two more white men arrived. 'Tis rumored they have come to establish a roadhouse.

Friday, quite a raw day. Pleasant hours at school and Harry returned for his lessons. Today, a few visits to the village during the afternoon, the wind rather strong but the sunshine bright. Met Mr. Sullivan roaming about looking for a lost dog and had a nice little chat with him. Julius was brought from Holy Cross quite sick with a touch of pneumonia. Some natives passing through said they had seen Mr. Williams in a roadhouse this side of Tanana, the first word we have had of him.

Saturday, November 13

A heavy but beautiful snowstorm all last Sunday. Quite a number of natives at church. Mr. Chapman spoke plainly of the liquor question and drew out Nicolai Doctor's views. 'Twas a satisfaction to hear the way the old native chief spoke up against the heavy drinking by so many of his people. Mr. Chapman had to make a call in the village, and some of the girls and I went with him and stopped to see Hubert. On the way had a pleasant chat with Mr. Sullivan at the woodshed. I had a dreadful cold, and I looked dreadful, too. The days draw near for the mail.

*Most of Monday spent in my "work shop." Harry came at 1:30 but when he left the village 'twas but 11:30, that much difference there is between the village and the mission clocks. He tarried until the children were through and then he and I had our class. No time for a walk so the children and I had great fun bumping and thumping down the frozen schoolroom steps, and then a grand slide down the hill. A bright little note from Mr. Sullivan returning *The Trail of the Lonesome Pine*.²⁴*

Tuesday through Friday, mild days and some rain. School as usual with Harry in attendance for his special lessons. With the smaller children a delightful time up through the slough and around the island, coming out beyond the village. Friday no exercise as we are making our preparations for Thanksgiving Day. My throat very sore and oh! how tired and homesick and really heartsick I am.

Today, a mild Saturday and one day nearer the mailman's coming. Felt so disheartened as Mr. Chapman announced that I had tonsillitis. Nevertheless, after dinner, well bundled up, I started out with Arthur, Paul and Dominic for a little walk in the drizzling snow. Before we got any distance up the Yukon a blinding snowstorm met us, but the snow was tender as it fell upon my face. We came across Nicolai Doctor's boys setting a fish trap. One of them saw some eels and everyone got ready for the hunt. Isaac and Tommy left about dark.

Friday, November 19

After Sunday morning service took a walk on the ice with Wallace, somewhat cold, the sunshine bright. Later Mr. Chapman came to the house and again examined my poor

²⁴ *The Trail of the Lonesome Pine* (1908) was a best-selling romantic novel by John Fox about two feuding families in the Appalachian Mountains.

throat. He pronounced such a verdict, that it must be operated on, at the earliest convenience. Oh dear! Before Sunday School I met Mr. Sullivan who went over to Hubert's with me. He is really nice, his brogue fascinating indeed. Tommy and Isaac returned about 9:30 in the morning with a sled of eels, several gunny sacks full. I got my first look at eels—such a sight, like a mass of snakes and worms.

Monday, clear and cold but another fine day. Lee and Mr. Howard from Nulato came on a visit. Mr. Howard quite wealthy with his hundred or more dollars cash received from the sale of his beautiful fox skins. Frank was caught smoking again. Quite a conference then before supper—Mrs. Evans, Mr. Chapman, Isaac and myself to decide what to be done with Frank. Some of the older children there, too, so that they may be discouraged from smoking. 'Twas determined that Frank should have no birthday party on Tuesday. Had a ramble before dark on the ice with Arthur and Lee. Met Mr. Sullivan and he went over to the store with me to get Frank's candy. Again, I like the little Irishman, he really has pretty hair. After supper old Si Von Von up in my room to continue her story. Mr. Chapman, Tommy, Harriet and all the little boys there also to hear the fascinating tale. To bed sad about Frank. My cold has vanished and my throat just a wee bit troublesome.

Tuesday, Frank's birthday but no merriment for the poor child. Mr. Wolffe arrived with very little mail—a dear letter from Mrs. Chapman in Seattle and a package of handkerchiefs from Aunt Agnes [in Louisiana]. Nothing more, and my heart would have been heavy indeed if it had not been for a long walk in the glorious outdoors. Mr. Sullivan with me, as talkative and interesting as could be.

Wednesday, our little world a fairyland again, the trees bending with the frost, and all day they glistened in the sunlight. Harry came to his class so I did not get out for my constitutional until rather late. Thursday, the heavily frost-laden trees casting strange shadows in the snow. A long time out on the ice with the children as Harry failed to come to school. The stars bright in a clear blue sky.

Friday, a terrific headache so I sought the refreshing outdoors and let the stupid ironing go. Katherine and I had a long delightful walk up the Yukon, the great white trees against the pink and blue of the setting sun were lovely indeed. Katherine so talkative all the while, chattering about Santa Claus. The little-more-than-crescent moon rose from behind a hill of white, and soon the evening star peeped out and sparkled from the blue sky. Other stars came out and by the time we reached home the heavens were bright with a thousand sparkles. After supper Mr. Chapman read a very interesting O'Henry story to Mrs. Evans and me.

Wednesday, November 24

Woke up at three last Saturday morning and as I looked from my window saw a superb display of the Northern Lights, very full of motion but utterly colorless, and in the midst of it a brilliant star. There is some sickness in the village. Mr. Chapman is visiting there constantly and advised me not to go because of my sore throat. After dinner Arthur and I, with Bob, started out for a walk. When we reached home Anna M. ran out to tell me

that Mr. Fuller, the school teacher from Chageluk, and his wife had arrived about three o'clock. A very charming afternoon with them, and after supper a gramophone concert.

Sunday, cold indeed, 6 below, and a severe wind blowing. Two more of the White Seal crew came and are at home in the kazheem, the "igloo" these days. Mr. and Mrs. Fuller to service, their singing helped so much. Mr. Sullivan came to evening service with his kazheem companions and officers of the White Seal. The gramophone busy before supper and a little social talk afterwards with our guests—really charming people. Edith's sister passed away, Isaac brought the news from the village while we lingered over our teacups.

Monday, cold but clear. Mr. and Mrs. Fuller got off about seven, the men from the White Seal leaving some time earlier. Later many villagers with their dog teams leave for the Chageluk to attend a big feast. Tuesday, coldest day of the season, 15 below, but bright sunshine all day. A glorious sunrise upon the mountains and equally beautiful sunset, then golden moonlight. A visit to Agnes for her to sew the ruffles on my blouse. A little social call to Mr. and Mrs. Watson, but also to enquire about my snowshoes. On the way back had a little talk under the stars with my very interesting friend Mr. Sullivan.

Today, another clear, cold bracing day. Over to Agnes again to deliver the material for some aprons. Isaac returned from the Chageluk with Mr. Sutton about dusk, the poor man looks ill indeed. A sweet little note from Mr. Sullivan.

Tuesday, November 30

Last Thursday, Thanksgiving Day. Very sweet morning service, five white men with us at morning service. Exceptionally good contribution from them to be used for medicines. Such a fine day, 15 below, with bright sunshine. A short walk on the ice while waiting for dinner. The white men at the kazheem were invited but they declined as they did not think their clothes suitable. Mr. Sutton was our only guest. After dinner went up to the schoolroom for the children's Thanksgiving program. Mrs. Watson and Mr. Sullivan were there as well as many natives. Arthur and Mona did exceptionally well in their recitations. While the children were singing I put the candy on to boil and it was about done when they had finished. A very successful candy pulling and great fun popcorn popping. Most of the village people left before we started our games as 'twas growing late. Home by moonlight, our little world so peaceful.

Friday, another fine, bright day, 20 below. Mr. Sutton well enough to appear at meals. Watched an eclipse of the moon, we thought 'twas to be a partial one but it proved to be total. It lasted almost two hours, a weird, mysterious shadow as the moon was darkened.

Saturday, coldest day of the year, 30 below. Made several visits to the village, the homes seemed disgustingly dirty to me today, almost all the families were cooking eels. Came home the longest way, through the slough, the cold was really a blessing. After dinner had a pleasant walk with Mr. Sullivan a mile or so down the Yukon. We saw the many sleds of people returning from the Chageluk feast, seventeen sleds, each with a

full team of dogs. As we returned a great golden moon rose from behind the bare trees across the Yukon and was well up in the sky 'ere we reached home. I can hardly forget this walk for a long time, if ever. Mr. Sullivan's hopes are high and his plans sound attractive.

Sunday, even colder, 35 below. Too cold to venture out on the ice. After Sunday School three of the village girls came in to talk to me. I do wish I could get them to come to school. After service went over with the children to see Hubert, then took Margaret home and saw Mr. Sullivan buying supplies. I thought he was preparing to leave in the morning and really felt sad to think he was going away so I hurried on without a word.

Monday, received a package of very special photos from Mr. Sullivan. Dark, dark after school so had no minutes for outdoor recreation which I sorely missed. Today, the last day of November and a cold, bright day. Came right home after school as 'twas too dark to venture out on the ice, though I should have. Such a very dear letter from Mr. Sullivan, his plans so great, but such things can never be. If the mail would but come, then my heart would not ache so.²⁵

Wednesday, December 1

After answering Mr. Sullivan's letter last night I felt somewhat better. But our engagement to meet at Mr. Watson's store did not come to pass, evidently our clocks did not agree. I went, and he went twice, as I learned afterwards, but we missed each other. Would that I might have seen him, there was much to say. Mr. Kruger and his family returned from Holy Cross.

Sunday, December 5

Quite early on Thursday I heard much commotion upon the river—Enoch, who had been occupying the kazheem, and Mr. Sullivan preparing to leave. As I dressed they went to the rectory to say goodbye to Mr. Chapman. I called from my window and watched as they started off with Mr. Sullivan's splendid dog team, but no wave to me. Just as school was about over Frank gave me a rather crumpled piece of paper which he had carried all day in his pocket—a note from "Mr. Solomon." It was so welcome. Mr. Wolffe arrived about eleven with two Holy Cross fathers, one of whom I had met while on the Hannah and the Schwatka with my afflicted face. A glorious day and a brisk long walk all by myself down the Yukon with Golden, the air cool and refreshing. Really missed Mr. Sullivan.

Friday, Mr. Sutton came to the school for a short while and gave the children such an interesting talk about birds. Great numbers of natives arrive to attend the grand parkee feast. I saw at least fifteen sleds on the ice at the same time, 'tis beautiful to see

²⁵ Michael Sullivan's attention certainly flattered Alice and turned her head, and she found his "brogue fascinating indeed." But, however enticing his plans were, she had just written that "such things can never be." It seems to have been from George, in Tanana, that she hoped for a letter.

them upon the snow. Saturday, very windy and cold. A little visit after dinner with Mrs. Kruger and a lovely walk with the children deep down in the woodland. The “igloo” seems lifeless—no Enoch, no Mr. Sullivan.

Today, still cold and windy. Few natives at church as the parkee feast is on. About two o'clock a fire at Mr. Watson's house! All the men ran over, Mr. Chapman taking the fire extinguisher, and after a few moments of vigorous work the fire was put out. Thank goodness it was no worse! A visit to Hubert with the children, 'twas much fun sliding down the river bank in the deep snow. Up to bedtime Mr. Chapman busy making preparations for his trip to the Chageluk.

Sunday, December 12

Paul's birthday on Monday. Mr. Chapman had early breakfast and Mrs. Evans and I sat with him and talked while he ate. He and Isaac got off about eight just as the first morning light dawned and we all went out to watch them depart. A windy, blustering day, but well bundled up I took a little promenade after school. The children popped corn in my room before supper.

Tuesday, Lena absent from school, her birthday. Where and how is she? Too cold and blustering to take even a little walk, and oh! how I miss the outing. The parkee feasters leave. Wednesday, still raw and cold. No recreation, no cheer, for my heart was sad all day for some unknown reason. Two white men arrive from Fairbanks, one a Christian Scientist, they occupy the “igloo.” The Fairbanks newspapers they bring give reports of gold strikes at Iditarod. 'Tis welcome indeed to have some news.²⁶

Thursday, still windy but with some sunshine. Too disagreeable to go out after school. Quite cold on Friday, but still. Too dark after school for any outdoor activity. Cora was suddenly taken ill but soon recovered. She often merely thinks she is ill. Two men who had occupied Isaac's cabin in the autumn have come from the Chageluk and are staying at the “igloo.” They brought word that Mr. Chapman and Mr. Sullivan and others had left Chageluk for Iditarod. Reports of the diggings are far from favorable.

Saturday, the coldest day of the season, 37 below, but with bright sunshine for a few hours. Right after breakfast I bundled up snugly and started to the village. The air was crisp indeed but I was not the least bit cold, my fur hood and coat and mittens perfect treasures. Mildred could not go out as she had planned, her father being quite sick. She had to stay with him while her mother went for wood. Came home the longest way, around the island and then down the Yukon to the trail that crosses the great frozen river. Golden was my only companion and he was most attentive, dear pretty dog that he is. During the night I was really, really ill with such a frightful stomach ache. Mr. Sutton was up all night, off and on, watching the furnace pipes which were kept red hot so our blocks of ice could melt for water.

²⁶ The discovery of gold on Otter Creek, a tributary of the Iditarod River, late in 1908 sparked what would be Alaska's last major gold rush, in 1909–10. The boom town of Iditarod soon sprang up, located roughly 70 miles east of Anvik.

No service today as no Mr. Chapman. I held Sunday School in the dining room, and while in the midst of singing a hymn a stranger came in the back door and asked in a most pleasant way to house his dogs in our shed. He brought word that Mr. Williams had reached Fairbanks safely and that Mrs. Williams's finger had been lanced three times. More particulars would follow in the next mail—so near at hand! A very, very windy day, much snow. Some visits in the village, to Cora, Agnes, Rachael and Mrs. Watson. A cup of hot chocolate with the children before going to bed. My heart so heavy all day in the midst of never-idle moments. I am contented but lonely, oh! so lonely.



Alice wrote that this picture illustrates the “exquisite furs” that were commonplace in the Alaska Interior—among them fox, beaver, reindeer, ermine, mink, and wolverine. This photograph was taken in Tanana about 1906, by a photographer now unknown. Collection of Alice A. Boulter.

Sunday, December 19

Last Monday, much milder with a heavy snowfall over Sunday night. Mr. Sutton confined to his room all day with a headache—poor man! Tuesday, Harry came to school for his special class, then over to the house to hear a grand gramophone concert before supper. I enjoyed it so much. While lingering over our tea cups Mr. and Mrs. Watson

came for Margaret, they sat and sat until almost ten. Mr. Watson is so talkative and his wife so pleasant and pretty.

Wednesday, a mild morning but a high wind after dinner. Vigorous practice of our Christmas program during school hours. About dusk the feasters return from the Chageluk—we ran out to see if Mr. Chapman was among them, but alas! he was not. Three dog teams with their owners left the “igloo” this morning early. So near mail day, and the postman not yet come! Thursday, truly an eventful day. Heavy snow overnight, the weather much milder. All things as usual until dinner when Mr. Wolfe arrived. During Mr. Chapman’s absence Mr. Chase had agreed to accept the mail with my assistance—and so we did attend to it. Quite an experience. We finished about six o’clock—three sacks of second class mail and only one of letters. Many nice letters from home, comforting and cheering, but none from Mr. Boulter, Mr. Strangman or Mrs. Williams. Heard the so distressing report of Mr. Sullivan and his shabby behavior on the Chageluk. I trust ’tis false.

Friday, much fine snow, the blustering wind piled immensely high drifts all about. Did not go out at all. Rachael came over and I played the ever faithful gramophone for her. Saturday, heard news that Mr. Chapman is lost, but such is absolutely absurd. Today, snow and some rain, a spring-like day until noon and then it turned very much colder. The day restful and peaceful, late breakfast, very late dinner and no supper.

Friday, December 24

Monday through Thursday, very cold bitter days without, but great cheer and warm glows of enthusiasm within. The children and I decorate the schoolroom and after classes a merry group gathers in my room stringing popcorn. We eagerly and anxiously watch and wait for Mr. Chapman. I made two trips to the post in all the biting coldness, and several over to Mr. Watson’s store, but I suffered not at all from the weather.

Today, Christmas Eve. A bitterly cold day, 40 below, with an exceedingly high wind blowing. Mr. Sutton and I look over the Christmas things, bringing them up from Mr. Watson’s. In the afternoon sorted out the many gifts I secretly hid in the Bishop’s room in the rectory. The children happily excited all day—they, too, were busy with their own secrets. The schoolroom all in readiness, and Hubert’s tree up, too. Quite late, after the children were all abed, I made my rounds of the neighborhood homes with two big baskets full of gifts. Then to bed myself with a glad heart, and the little box from Mr. and Mrs. Williams on the table beside my matches and candles.

Saturday, December 25

Christmas Day, 1909. Mr. Chapman has not yet come! Was awakened about seven by the children’s exclamations of delight. How dear they are! ’Twas so pleasing to see their joy over their Christmas presents. And how delighted I was with the lovely little locket from Mr. and Mrs. Williams. Arthur had his own small tree just after breakfast, the

neighborhood children with their mothers coming in to join us. Then we all flocked over to the schoolroom until it was crowded with about forty villagers. While Mrs. Evans served refreshments I played the gramophone for more than two hours. The natives seemed most appreciative of the music. Later I entertained several of the older boys in my room, showing them photos of my family and friends at home. Just before bedtime the children and I went around to the neighborhood homes to sing our carols. The night was still and dark after a constant and heavy snowfall all day. We missed dear Mr. Chapman. My thoughts were of all my dear ones this day.

Friday, December 31

All of us up late on Sunday, breakfast at 10:15. A mild day, everywhere thawing. Attempted a little walk after breakfast but the heavy trail soon sent me back with wet skirts. My poor bones ached all day. Monday, felt miserably bad, could scarcely wait for school to be over. Then Harry came for his lessons and 'twas late 'ere I got home. Little Wallace not well, he lay quietly on my bed all afternoon. Poor old Barney died, and the dog was taken out and left on the ice. A great quarrel amongst several of the Indian wives was the excitement of the day. I know not the cause of it all. Still no Mr. Chapman!

Tuesday, went to school by brilliant moonlight. About ten in the morning the great golden moon was still hanging just over the mountains when suddenly it disappeared, the morning sunlight robbed it of its brilliance. Quite a cold day. After school Katherine and I took a long walk under the canopy of stars. Wednesday and Thursday, heavy snowstorms but peaceful indoors. No word of Mr. Chapman. On Thursday Mr. Sutton had his kazheem feast for the boys.

Today, the last of December and dear old 1909. Short school session, Tommy with some of the other boys out, the village alive with the bang of guns and firecrackers. Matilda's baby died. Mrs. Evans walked up to the village in the morning but got there just as the little child passed away. To bed early, my alarm clock awakening me a few moments before midnight. The stars which I had hoped to see were all hidden by snow clouds. In fervent prayer and deep thought I felt the old year with all its gladness and all its sadness pass away and the New Year dawn. Loved ones, though far away, were near in prayer and thought.

Saturday, January 1, 1910

New Year's Day, 1910. Just the usual Saturday as Mr. Chapman did not return. Several inches of snow fell during the night and more continued all day. I spent most of the hours in letter writing and a visit to Mrs. Watson. Before bedtime much noise and shooting up at the village, while Tommy and Mr. Chase went "halvers" and invested in a sky-rocket and several roman candles. The children greatly delighted with all the celebration.

Friday, January 7

Quite a day last Sunday! Breakfast at ten-thirty. A little walk with the children, but we were all called back by the bell and went over to the church to attend a little service for Matilda's baby. Mrs. Evans read a psalm, we had a prayer, then the children and I sang "Asleep in Jesus." Then such a sad picture, the forlorn dirty little woman in the midst of eight or ten men, all on snowshoes in a file, following the little box to the grave on the hillside. The snow was entirely too deep for any of us to go. After Sunday School I settled myself to write when someone called out, "Mr. Chapman!" We all went running, and sure enough there he was at the woodshed looking fit and well, and Mr. Sullivan with him. How glad I was to see them both!

While at supper we enjoyed hearing Mr. Chapman's accounts of his experiences at Chageluk and Iditarod. Mr. Wolffe arrived about ten o'clock and Mr. Chapman was busy for several hours with the mail. But nothing of importance for me! Little Wallace still quite sick and was put to bed in the rectory, crying much of the night. Mrs. Evans and Mr. Sutton went at different times to comfort him and I, too, went to see him.

Monday morning, a mild day, more snow. Wore my leather shoes to school. Rather a trying day with the children after all the excitement of the holidays. Arriving home at noon found a nice little note and a few gold nuggets from Mr. Sullivan. Saw him for a minute or so when he was on his way to the waterhole and had a pleasant chat with him, poor fellow. His heart is so big, his affections so great, my feeling for him is indeed dear. Many natives arrived for yet another feast, fifteen sleds coming in a long line across the snow. Much activity in the village, the many lanterns shining cheerily in the dark night.

Tuesday through Thursday, much thawing, the spring-like weather continues. A sad little episode at school. Frank misbehaving, whistling in the classroom. On my way over to Rachael's met Mr. Sullivan sawing wood, he was pleasant in our rather long chat. I accepted his invitation to attend the kazheem with him and to go for a dog sled ride on Saturday. I asked, however, to take Frank with us. On Thursday when school was over I went to ask Mr. and Mrs. Watson and Margaret to our party on Friday. The little boys went with me and we had great fun ploughing through the high snowdrifts.

Today, quite an eventful day, our second Christmas tree party—this time for Mr. Chapman. Finished decorating the schoolroom in the morning while the children practised their program. Then assisted Mr. Sutton until after dinner tying up packages for the tree, after which Tommy joined us and helped until we had finished. By the time I put on my pretty blue party dress a great many people had congregated in the schoolroom, Mr. Sullivan among them. The children did splendidly with their recitations and singing, and everyone was greatly pleased. Mrs. Evans came but unfortunately, as Mr. Chapman said, she chose not to see or hear anything. I simply cannot understand her! The little gifts under the tree were numbered and were given to the children according to the cards they each held.

Afterwards, in a gloriously clear night, more fireworks—the splendid sky-rocket and two roman candles. The natives enthused and impressed, 'twas quite a sight to many of

them. Mr. Sullivan at last joined me while we shot off some fire works, then a nice walk home. Later Mr. Chapman and I returned to the schoolroom to take down the decorations. I fell from a rickety bench upon my poor knee—intense pain.

Friday, January 14

Last Saturday was little Henry Chapman's birthday. A cold day, but beautiful, the snow-covered trees and mountains outlined against the delicate pink and blue of the sky. My view of the colorful sight was through the fringe of icicles hanging from the roof above my window. Went over to Rachael's to give her instruction in hygiene but little Joseph was so naughty we did not accomplish much.

At three o'clock Frank and I started on our great ride with Mr. Sullivan. We took Golden with us and had a hard time starting as the other dogs were quite upset by Golden trotting alongside the sled. But when on the down-river trail, the team sped along swiftly with Mr. S. at the handlebars, he as interesting and dear as can be. Just before reaching home Frank and I became a bit cold, but Mr. S. seemed comfortable and was actually "sweating" in the 30 below weather. I regretted when the ride was over.

Sunday, very cold. 'Twas refreshing to have service once more. After church Mr. Chapman and I went over to Hubert's with the children in quite a blizzard, the wind so fierce that I had to close my eyes. Monday, a very full day. Harry came to school and I was glad indeed to see him, but his lessons did prolong my duties and I was so tired. A dear note from M.S. [Michael Sullivan] which did my heart much good.

Tuesday, bitterly cold again. Mr. Sutton planned to leave but the weather held him back. Wednesday, a day I can really never forget. The children so good in school. About three-thirty M.S. came to the schoolroom to borrow a book and lingered while I finished my classes, and read until Harry and I were through with our lessons. Then, outside, we started for our little walk. We beat a hard trail for the short distance between the schoolhouse and the mission, and back and forth we walked and talked. His nature is deep and beautiful and his love almost perfect.

Thursday, over to Rachael's after school for her hour of instruction in hygiene. The weather rather warm, a little rain and some snow. Another dear little note from M.S. A blizzard at bedtime, high winds and snow. All trails covered.

Tuesday, January 18

Saturday, again quite a day. Snow everywhere very deep, the natives from the village had to come to the mission on snowshoes. Rachael's lesson in the morning with domestic duties. After dinner M.S. and I started out for a walk, he on snowshoes and I on skis, my first attempt on these. But after a little while we had to exchange as I made slow progress. Some of the smaller children followed us for a short distance, but as it was impossible for them to continue they soon turned back. I did better on the snowshoes, but M.S. could not use the skis because of the soft snow collecting upon them so he

plodded along almost knee deep through the drifts. I can never really forget this walk, my not-positive answer kindled his intense anger and so quickly he turned.

Sunday, snow, snow all day, my heart sick and so weary. The usual note from M.S. rather upset me. In the afternoon went over to Isaac's to see Paul who is kept at home because of his badly infected face. On Monday, more snow but the wind subsided. About three Mr. Wolfe arrived. Many, many delightful letters, my heart so eased. A lovely note from George E. and a nice letter from Harry Strangman. M.S. came to the schoolroom for a book then walked home with me and we had a little talk. I am truly beginning to like him less and less, he expects entirely too much of me. I cannot and would not give all he asks. Comforting moonlight and starlight. Isaac presents me with a pair of snowshoes, a long desired want.

Today, very cold but wonderful sunshine all day. In the afternoon had a little snowshoe walk with M.S. Mr. Sutton quite ill, Isaac with the help of Lewis taking him down to Holy Cross. At noon Dr. Barber, the census taker, arrived from Nulato. A sweet visit from M.S. in school and a pleasant little walk home by moonlight, but still we can come to no definite agreement. Three white men arrive from the Chageluk.

Sunday, January 23

Thursday, another eventful day. Dr. Barber came to dinner, a pleasant man, tall with beautiful eyes behind glasses, a noble forehead and pretty hair. After dinner he attended to his census business. In the afternoon as I was putting up the school books M.S. came in and we had quite a long talk near the stove. He walked home with me and oh! our goodbye which was to be our last. How deep his nature is! Saturday, a sad day indeed. A spring-like day, M.S. busy with his departure preparations. In the afternoon we had a short snowshoe walk. Frank soon overtook us. Quite a snowstorm came up, one could scarcely see a foot ahead. Such a sad, sad walk—again we parted for ever.

Today, how sad and heavy my heart is. M.S. left without a word. I peeped at him as he was packing his sled, but not a glance did he give to my window. Sad all day, sad because he was disappointed in his expectations of me. The tears came thick and fast at times during the day. God bless him and protect him wherever he goes. I had to leave service for a minute because of my sore throat, and to my astonishment I saw Halley's great comet as it blazed in the southwest, more southerly than westwardly, with its head down and tail upward. Quite a commotion after church as we all watched for it. Went over to Hubert's after Sunday School with the children and Mr. Chapman. Music's father died up the river, the natives believe the appearance of the comet caused his death.

Friday, January 28

Monday, a bleak snowy day, and oh! how heavy my heart was. I miss dear M.S., would that I might call him back. Very trying day at school. Went for a little ski, but at every turn, at every nook something spoke of my dear friend now forever gone. Too cloudy to see the comet, no stars even visible. Tuesday, a cold bright day, but really full of distress

for me. Arthur was very noisy in school. Mrs. Evans came to the schoolroom and took him away. I sent for Mr. Chapman to present my side of the matter but he was not very cooperative, not wanting to further antagonize Mrs. Evans. The comet a wee bit visible. Venus radiant.

Wednesday, the coldest day of the season, 50 below, but brilliant skies. Had classes around the schoolroom stove. Depressed and sad all day. Dear M.S., where and how can he be? How I wish for some word from him, but alas! 'twill never come. The days are sad and lonely. The comet visible for a little while though rather dim. Thursday, the severe cold continues, had school again around the stove. Bright sunshine all day, glorious starlight, the comet visible for but a few minutes. Try hard as I can, my thoughts still wander to M.S. How long it seems since he was here, and oh! how I do miss him.

Today, still very cold and clear, 53 below. School somewhat better, my spirits awakening a wee bit, but memories of just a week ago come thick and fast. Had I been brave enough to have said the word, had I but known then as I do now my deep feeling for him, his wished for answer might have been given.

After school bundled up and took a long walk on my new snowshoes across the Yukon and then up river some distance, the fresh air so healing. Dr. Barber returned from his head-counting on the Chageluk. He came over after supper to consult with Mr. Chapman and stayed a while listening to the gramophone.

Monday, January 31

Saturday, still cold and clear. The usual morning duties. How I missed not seeing Mr. Sullivan! Walked down to the post on my snowshoes to settle my bill with Mr. Turner and found him living in the cabin. After dinner Frank and I took a short walk on our snowshoes, the little children struggling after us in the snow. Stopped at Mr. Watson's to get some candy for birthdays and listened to three or four records. On our way home started up the river bank and I had a great tumble, around and around, head over heels. Dr. Barber and Mr. Chapman watched it from afar.

Sunday, 40 below with beautiful sunshine. Wallace's birthday, the precious child ate his birthday supper at our table, cutting his little cake and lighting the candles. Before service Golden and I had a vigorous walk down the well-beaten river trail.

Today, the last of January, cold continues. After rather a good day in school a long walk up the Yukon with Golden, just the lovely dog with me. Memories of only a few days ago crowd in on my thoughts. At one moment the sadness is almost more than I can bear, while a wee small voice whispers, "It must have been for the best." Dr. Barber takes dinner with us.

Tuesday, February 1

I am glad the days are flying as my hopes lie in the next mail. Weather bitterly cold, 57 below. Mr. Chapman suggests that we should have school in the rectory guest room, and we got along very nicely seated on the floor. At noon while waiting for dinner had

a lively half mile walk down the horse trail, the sunlight dappled through the trees. The first time ever the frost gathered on my eyelashes so heavily that my eyes were almost closed before I reached home. When I entered the house the children exclaimed, "Oh, Santa Claus!" And as the frost melted my face became as wet as though I had been in a morning plunge. Delia's birthday today. Ice cream and the gramophone after supper.

Sunday, February 6

Wednesday, still cold, 40 below. School again in the rectory, but with benches today. At dinner Mrs. Evans's very unkind and uncivil criticism of my wanting to hold school in the house. Mr. Chapman put a quietus upon further discussion of it. Mr. Wolfe arrived, bringing with him a boy with a badly frozen face from the dreadful elements which raged. Bright stars and the day was done.

Thursday, decidedly more sunlight, breakfast without gaslight all this week. A very blustering day, took no walk at all. Thoughts of M.S. still linger, but the pain is gone. Friday, much milder, held classes in the schoolroom. Did not do my ironing as I should have as I craved the out-of-doors, so went for a long snowshoe walk around the island, faithful Golden my sole companion. Came home by starlight, the constellations dazzling. No comet visible. Much sickness in the village.

Somewhat cold on Saturday, but clear. Rachael could not have her lesson as Joseph wasn't well, so I went to the village instead, visiting Anna J. and Julia. Home the longest way, around the island on my snowshoes, jolly exercise indeed.

A blustering Sunday today, few at either service because of the blizzard. I stayed close indoors by a snug cozy fire. Simon returned bringing word of the New York disaster by tidal wave!

Saturday, February 12

Weather much moderated on Monday. I awoke with my throat in a frightful condition, great immense ulcers. Mr. Chapman learned more of the news from Simon, word that Roosevelt had been killed in Africa by one of the natives. Nothing more about the astonishing fact. Tuesday, another blustering but spring-like day. Tommy has begun his kite flying. In the afternoon I rested a bit as I was so weary, my throat terribly sore. Harry came by to say he would be gone a week or so at the wood camp and would not be able to attend school. Before supper Tommy and some of the other boys up in my room, we had tricks with cards and spent a most pleasant hour or so.

Snowy and warm on Wednesday. Mr. Chapman and Isaac left for the Chageluk about eight-thirty in clear good weather. After school a little walk with Jack across the Yukon, both of us on snowshoes, and a short visit to Hubert. Felt so weak and exhausted most of the day with fearful pains in my heart. After supper Tommy flew his kite wonderfully, with a lantern on its tail, and the other boys greatly impressed. Thursday and Friday, a little colder, some rain, some snow. Two good days at school, my throat somewhat improved.

Today, Lincoln's birthday. Beautifully clear but cold. Throat much better. A little visit to Rachael but no lessons as Joseph again was not well. A long snowshoe walk across the Yukon but had to keep my mouth shut tight as the air was indeed keen. Dr. Barber returned, he reports that there is no truth in the stories of the New York tidal wave or of Roosevelt's death.

Saturday, February 19

Last Sunday, a disagreeably windy day, did not go out of the house. Dr. Barber came over in the morning to look at my throat, also Frank's. Mine quite bad indeed, but the ulcers have disappeared because of the antiseptics I have used. Little Frank's really awful. Dr. Barber went up to the rectory to search for the surgical instruments for an operation on Frank's throat but could not find what he needed. I felt somewhat encouraged, however, as he did not speak too discouragingly of my throat.

He lingered and had dinner with us, after which we had a little social chat, all of us looking at pictures and photos.

Monday, still windy, did not attempt to go outside. During school hours played games in the afternoon in honor of Valentine's Day. Mr. Chapman and Isaac returned a little before supper bringing a new boy, Ignatius, to stay with us. Mr. Chapman well but a little stiff, and seemed very pleased with his trip. Tuesday, Dr. Barber to dinner again. Too damp to go walking.

Wednesday, snowy. Mr. Wolffe arrived with the mail. Several very dear letters from those at home. My heart seems lighter because my note to Michael Sullivan got off in the mailbag, although I do not know when it shall ever reach him. Dr. Barber with us for supper again, and afterwards a pleasant chat over our teacups.

Thursday and Friday, warm pleasant days. Excellent school sessions, good recitations by the children. A jolly walk with the little boys down to the slough, all of us on snowshoes. After supper much reading to all of us by Mr. Chapman from the new magazines which came in the mail. Just before tea Tommy came running into my room with a beaming face and announced, "Mr. Sullivan has come!" What astonishing news. I had to write a little note to him.

While going over to Rachael's today saw M.S. by the woodpile and we exchanged a word or two. Then as I left I saw Frank and had him deliver my note. Later, while I was arranging the church, Frank brought the answer, the same dear letter as always. We met in the afternoon and took a walk down the Yukon, and I learned why he had returned and all else. He and Jackson, his partner, are going trapping to the north of here. We had a lovely talk and "made up." He is really dear and sweet.

Wednesday, February 23

Sunday, yet another blustering day. Few natives at service as preparations for a mask dance were going on in the village. Hugged the house all day as the wind still blew and howled. The evening service seemed fuller with M.S. there again. Monday after

classes a nice visit from M.S. in my “parlor,” the schoolroom. He tarried some while, then I went to service. No one but Mr. Chapman and I. A sweet refreshing little talk with him.

Tuesday, Washington’s birthday. Quite an exciting day. We all assembled around the flagpole, and in above knee-deep snow and as the flag was being raised sang “America.” Then back to the schoolroom where I put on the candy, and while it was cooking we made soldier caps of paper and got all ready for the afternoon’s program. The candy was a fine success and pulled beautifully. After dinner we lined up with our caps and willow-stick guns and had great fun marching to and from Hubert’s. Then our great snowball battle before the fort the boys had made from small logs. To inspire us we sang “The Red, White and Blue” and “Columbia.” Such fighting, such fun! Our side had to surrender as the soldiers were soon tired. Later M.S. and I had another walk down the Yukon, the twilight serene as a great round moon rose in a sky of pink and blue. He was as dear as could be. Today, another blustering day. Did quite a bit of visiting in the village, to Hubert, Cora, Mildred, Rachael and Agatha. The little girls of the neighborhood escorted me about. Grouse and ptarmigan plentiful indeed, they are being trapped and caught in great numbers.²⁷

Monday, February 28

Thursday, the wind exceedingly high. The children delight in the wind, but as for me I stay as closely housebound as possible. M.S. came to call as usual. He is indeed dear and loveable, and I cherish our moments together. Just a wee bit of choir practice as the hour was so late. The boisterous wind prevents the mask dancers and feasters from returning to their respective villages. Friday still windy.

Saturday, again cold but bright. While on my visits about the neighborhood saw M.S. several times, busy with preparations for his departure. After dinner we had another walk, the last for how long? He has changed, all for the better, so tender and sympathetic. The sunset was lovely, the lingering twilight calm and peaceful, and we parted. My heart not so heavy as it was at our last parting, but only sad because he must go. Tommy had an accident with his gun, discharging it accidentally while reloading. We all were much alarmed but fortunately no harm done except a hole in the woodshed wall.

Sunday, still blustering. M.S. did not leave as his partner was not ready. All day I was thinking of the barrier between us which seems insurmountable. We did not meet the entire day.

Today, little Jane’s birthday. How are she and Mrs. Williams? While getting ready for breakfast saw M.S. packing up his sled. Before school he came running up to say good-bye. ’Twas just cordial as the children were with me. How hard it was to see him go! In the afternoon visited about the neighborhood. And another month has gone.

²⁷ Here, a few of the children had neatly written their names in Alice’s journal: Jack Kruger, Frank Fanchon, Delia Hamilton, Anna Minor, and Arthur Howard.

Tuesday, March 1

A loneliness about everything. A long snowshoe walk deep in the woods and on the hill. The afternoon still and calm, my thoughts with many loved ones. How far did M.S. get, I wonder? Helped Isaac with a letter after supper and wrote some of my own.

Sunday, March 6

Wednesday, still windy. Mr. Wolffe came for the outgoing mail. The children especially good in school. Not weary any more as in weeks past, but today I am lonely. More visiting about the neighborhood and the village. The wind continued on Thursday, may it bring no mishaps or hardships to M.S. A long, lone snowshoe tramp up on the hill in the afternoon, the great white sheet of woodland much marked by the tracks of rabbits, grouse and other creatures whose footprints I know not.

Friday, yet more high winds but bright skies. Another long tramp into the woods where the wind is stilled, and a calmness prevails which is restful to my heart. Saturday, little wind and some welcome sunshine. Did so miss M.S. in and about the place. After lunch took a long refreshing snowshoe walk deep into the woods, over hill and down dale. Sweet little evening service, the girls in attendance. Golden away for some days, a villager took him and some other dogs to the Chageluk.

Today, a beautiful Sabbath with wonderful sunshine and no wind. By getting-up time the sun is now rather high. Went over to Hubert's in the bright afternoon, the children and I having great fun along the way sliding on the crusted snow. In the early evening sat on the sawhorse by the woodpile a long time in deep thought watching the sun set in great glory behind the mountains. Golden returned, looking fine and barking his pleasure to be back. These days I am enjoying reading about Napoleon.

Sunday, March 13

Quiet days, some wind and a little snow. Very comfortable schoolroom as the stove had been moved on Saturday. On Wednesday a delightful walk with Katherine down the horse trail and around the hill gathering pussy willows, the woods so still. On the way home met Mrs. Kruger and Minnie, her fascinating little daughter. She brought me my finished gray waist. Am suffering from terrific headaches now, so dreadful. Mr. Chapman concerned and sympathetic and gave me some medication. Thursday, another walk with Katherine, my frequent companion, down to the post. I still feel so badly, cannot understand why. Look somewhat better but my condition not a bit improved. Would that I were nearer a physician. Friday, still windy and snowy. The children recite well in school, and before classes were over Mr. Bressler chanced along and he remained to enjoy their efforts. Katherine and I again walked to the willow thicket across the Yukon but found no pussy willows. Dear M.S., where and how is he? God bless him and protect him.

Saturday, rather mild with snow clouds all day. In the afternoon with Katherine and the little boys we go deep down into another part of the woods, out a side trail from the

usual horse trail, to look for pussy willows. The woods were magical, the children in high spirits, darting here and there like Indians sure enough, the air balmy. But in some way I caught a shocking cold which did not help my headache at all.

Today, another heavy and steady snowstorm all day. 'Twould have been an ideal day for talking and spending all the moments with M.S. whom I longingly miss.

Sunday, March 20

Monday, mail day approaching! Weather much milder. Felt oh! so bad, a huge and most painful headache from my not-exactly-understood condition. After school took a trudge up the hill in the new snow after pussy willows, Golden my only companion. The woods beautiful indeed, not a track, not a mark on the wide-spread carpet of snow. Golden and I left it rather marked up. A pleasant chat with Mrs. Evans over the teacups then up to my room to read a bit to Frank.

Tuesday, how near mail day is! A most excruciating headache all day. Could eat no breakfast. Mr. Chapman insisted that I should not try to teach but I kept on all day. At recess time Mrs. Evans sent me up a tray—some tea and milk. The tea certainly helped and even refreshed me. A heavily thawing day. After school took a stroll wearing my big leather shoes, ground too wet for my huge wide moccasins. Quite late Tommy had not returned from hunting, so after supper Mr. Chapman started out in search of him and soon found Tommy returning home happy and laden with grouse.

Such an eventful day Wednesday! Heavy snowstorm all morning. Felt weak and so badly all morning that at noon Mr. Chapman persuaded me to take a rest all evening. I had just gone to my room when Mr. Wolffe was sighted up the Yukon. How my longed for mail did refresh me! A lovely letter from George E. and consoling news from dear Mama and others at home. All afternoon I lay down with an aching, throbbing head, but somewhat quieted by the joy of my lovely letters. Woke up during the night desperately hungry and tried to satisfy myself with two glasses of water.

A little colder on Thursday, no thawing. How much more refreshed my weary body was and my mind at peace. The future seems so bright and full of hope, but day by day . . . A short visit to Rachael then a brisk walk down the horse trail with dear little Agnes, the afternoon cloudy but the air bracing and the woods so lovely. Her bright little eyes spied a tree with a quantity of splendid gum. Friday, some thawing. Felt quite a bit better. The children did excellently in their practice recitations for Easter. About four o'clock had quite a surprise, Mr. Sutton came walking in looking so well and strong.

Saturday, thawing, thawing everywhere. Rain during the night and soft snow falling thick and fast in the morning. I sat by the half opened window in my room and spent the spring-like morning letter writing, one to G.E. so far away.²⁸ A visit to Rachael after dinner, then Mary, Katherine and I started out on a walk down our usual boulevard,

28 At this point, "G.E." had just begun his leave of absence (originally scheduled to start in February 1910 but then delayed to March), during which time he travelled to England to see his parents, returning in June.

the horse trail, but had to turn back as the hour of service drew near. No one but Mr. Chapman and I at service, but nevertheless 'twas sweet and impressive.

Palm Sunday today and still more thawing. Felt so much better that my heart was truly thankful for the improvement in my health. Mr. Sutton left after breakfast, he had a day of welcome sunshine for his long walk to the Iditarod.

Sunday, March 27

Last Monday, sunshine in the morning, cloudy by afternoon. Busy with preparations for Easter. Felt somewhat better and enjoyed short walks after service with the children out on the horse trail. A thawing morning on Tuesday, and a perfectly beautiful day up to late afternoon when 'twas clouded over. A little snow. Mr. Byron arrived and is staying in the "igloo." He reports that the new strike at Iditarod is thoroughly a fake and that but few people are left there. Wednesday, a heavy snowstorm all day. Looked over school papers in the afternoon. Had a most tremendous headache, hence my spirits were down in the depths.

By Thursday the snow ceased and 'twas a clear and thawing day. After school the girls and I went up to the house to clean and scrub, the girls thus earning their Easter money. How they did work! In just a while quite a transformation in the entire house. Supper late as we worked late.

Good Friday dawned gloriously and the entire day was as lovely as one could ever wish, the sky cloudless and blue and the sunshine so warm. Sweet services but few natives in attendance. The boys and I did more house cleaning in the morning. After dinner, a visit to Hubert and a little walk in the woods with Dora, Mildred, Luke and his mother. The other girls very busy with grouse picking, nineteen in all. Arthur's birthday. After supper he and little Frank spent some time rubbing and scrubbing my silver. Saturday, cold and windy but with glad sunshine. Did not have to light the gas heater until seven o'clock. Busy with Easter preparations.

Easter Sunday today. By six-thirty in the morning the sunlight streamed across the Anvik from behind the mountains on the Yukon side. A high wind but divine sunshine all day and a peaceful sunset—a glad benediction to the holy day. The girls all received communion at service as they expect to be confirmed. A good many natives came in after service to hear the gramophone. Mrs. Evans and Arthur went with Mr. Chapman to hold service for Hubert. A very fine dinner with the delicious grouse, but Mr. Chapman did not sit with us as he had guests in the reception hall.

Just as the first bell had rung for evening service he was summoned to Cora's, her child was dying. The children and I started over to Hubert's for our special program. On the way we met Mr. Chapman returning from Cora's. He said the little girl had probably suffered a dreadful attack of food poisoning but was better and was now sleeping. Hubert was unwell but his little face really beamed when he saw my new Easter bonnet. A brisk walk home, then ice cream and cake before going to bed. Just after prayers saw a vivid display of the Aurora, the entire heavens ablaze with color and motion. Before jumping into bed took a last peep from my window at the remarkable display.

Thursday, March 31

Monday, cold but bright, and no wind. Paul and Theresa sick from the spoiled chicken pie. Visited in the neighborhood all afternoon. Cora's little girl so much better. I was not well myself with a tremendous headache. Mr. Sutton returned from Iditarod. Before bed another superb display of the Northern Lights.

More trouble on Tuesday with Mrs. Evans about Arthur's noisy behavior during our spelling match. I had punished him by having him stand in the corner with his face to the wall. Such cold and angry looks she gave me at dinner! Afterwards she awaited me in the reception hall and together we went to see Mr. Chapman. The interview is long to be remembered, but she did not gain her way, not at all, not at all. Her fury was awful, she was almost mad.

Theresa and I had a delightful walk on a branch of the horse trail and saw Tommy at work uncovering the firewood which was buried completely under five feet of snow. The spring birds were singing, the woods beautiful and the sky a boundless blue. To bed with a lighter heart as Mr. Chapman said some very encouraging things to me about Nenana. Wednesday, cold over night, 27 below. By morning 17 below but bright. In the afternoon another walk to the end of the horse trail and met Tommy again at work digging out the wood, the birds singing, the sunshine warming, the woods so beautiful.

Today, sparkling and beautiful but rather cold. Did not feel very well. After school little Frank and I took a long snowshoe ramble in the great white woods. He spied an old squirrel's nest high in a spruce tree and climbed up to investigate it. Deep down in the valley he found a squirrel's hole and then a nest in a nearby tree and set a snare. Afterwards a visit to Mary's little boy who is somewhat ill. A glad day, but alas! when I returned home more trouble with Mrs. Evans. I had to talk to Mr. Chapman about all the accusations she placed against me. The tears came thick and fast. Such a long and dreadful talk. I felt so upset that I could not go to supper. A sleepless night followed.

Friday, April 1

This morning found me still feeling ill. I went to prayers but had to leave just at the close. Another conference with Mr. Chapman and Mrs. Evans—such a meeting I can never forget! How awful it all was, but how understanding Mr. Chapman was. From this conference it was decided that I would go to Nenana. We all were in deep sorrow and 'twill be long before its sting has left our hearts. A milder day. All afternoon I stayed in my room writing as Mr. Wolfe came unexpectedly and was to leave with the mail in the morning. The children had great fun with April Fool sports, but I had not the spirit to join them.

Sunday, April 3

Saturday, a clear day with comforting sunshine which helped me to feel much better. A short visit to Rachael in the morning but no lesson as she was quite busy. After domestic duties I settled down to altering my too-fancy gray waist. Peter and I took a walk down

“River Boulevard” after supper and saw the great golden ball of the sun sink behind the distant snow-covered mountains.

Today, sharp and cold with glad sunshine again flooding the sky. Many villagers at morning and evening services. Mrs. Kruger called to show me her daughter Minnie’s pretty dress and to present me with a gorgeous pair of rabbit skin gloves. After evening church I took the girls for an hour’s walk down “Horse Trail Boulevard,” the woods brimming over with beauty.

Sunday, April 10

Last Monday a glorious day indeed, no thawing but still and clear. Arthur taken from school by Mrs. Evans, really the best thing that has happened since their return two years ago. She will give him lessons herself. After school a lovely walk in my high boots over the hills and truly far away, deep in the wooded valleys and on the hilltops. No snowshoe tracks marked the snowy ground, but rabbit tracks and other little tracks were everywhere. Rachael reached home just at sunset, we began supper in the glow of twilight and did not have to light the gas lamps until supper was almost over.

Ten above on Tuesday, but a nasty cold wind made the day seem like mid-winter. A visit to Mary, then to Cora, and found both their children somewhat better. Mr. Sutton left to attend to his fish nets, will return shortly. Mr. and Mrs. Kruger with Minnie went away for a ten-day trip to Holy Cross, leaving little Jack with us. The little boy sat beside me in my room while I wrote and read to him and did a bit of mending.

Wednesday, a clear bright day, very little thawing. In the afternoon Golden and I had a splendid long walk over the hill and far away, the great white stillness where we wandered unmarked by any snowshoe tracks. Two white men arrived and are at home in the “igloo.” They brought encouraging reports from the Esther gold diggings. Thursday, fair and somewhat mild but no thawing. After school Mr. Chapman and I had our weekly meeting concerning school matters. Later the little boys and I took a delightful tramp over many, many hills with Golden, so far that we decided to come back by way of the Yukon as evening was fast drawing to a close. We had a jolly slide down the bank to the river and then Golden made it down in one magnificent leap.

Another spring-like day Friday, some thawing in the sun. Our spelling match at school begun again now that Arthur is removed. In the afternoon the small boys and I with the two dogs enjoyed another walk in the great white woods out “Horse Trail Boulevard.” Saturday, mail day is near at hand! “Keep still my fluttering heart, keep still.” Sun and cloud off and on during the day. Mr. Sutton came back just as we finished supper, quite well and happy. He brought word that on Friday a little girl was born in the Bernardo household. Harry returned late from St. Michael with glowing accounts of his trip.

Today, wonderful sunshine but cold—the mercury dropped to 20 below. Nicholas Martin’s baby Laura was baptized, Mrs. Evans the godmother. After our usual visit to Hubert the girls and I had a fine walk in the woods. A magnificent sunset.

Sunday, April 17

Last Monday bright and cold with just a wee bit of thawing right in the sun. Mr. Sutton dug out the snow in back of the carpenter shop to make a hot-bed for our garden. Golden and I had another fine walk deep down in the woods, over the hills and farther away than ever before. The poor dear dog had quite a terrible experience of being caught in someone's snare. I was as frightened as he was and really suffered with him until I found a way to release him. He was soon scampering about and quite himself again. On our homeward walk he treed two grouse—would that I had had a gun. Mr. Chapman and Isaac left right after dinner for a little trip up river to Grayling, expecting to be away until Wednesday.

Tuesday, welcome sunshine but a nasty wind. Mr. Chapman and Isaac returned at noon, they cut short their trip as some natives they had expected to see were away. I did not venture out all afternoon as the wind was high and I felt far from the best in the world. Rested for awhile in my room and tried to nap, but the children were too full of life and excitement all over the house for my tired eyes and weary heart to find sleep. Had a pleasant game hour at school in honor of Dora's birthday.

Rather cold on Wednesday with some weak sunshine. Did not feel well enough to go outside, but lay down and rested after school hours. Mr. Sutton almost finished with the wonderful hot-bed for our planting. Thursday, Golden and I had another walk to investigate the snare which had caught him and found it at rights again, more securely fastened. We came home via the Yukon to be in time for supper. Greatly disappointed as Mr. Wolffe had not come with the mail.

Friday, quite a day of joys! Mona's birthday, and during school indulged in some games in her honor and held another spelling match. Mr. Chapman was with us, deeply interested. Mr. Wolffe appeared! Oh, joy! By noon I had my letters, all were welcome, even poor, dear Mama's. A lovely note from George E. and a letter from Mrs. Williams with dear pictures of little Jane. Rested and revelled in deep thought all afternoon with my door shut against the many earnest little knocks. I just had to be alone with my sweet thoughts, even though the children are dear and 'tis a pleasure to have them with me.

Saturday, a glad bright day, just a wee bit cold, much thawing in the sun. A visit with Golden to see Cora's little girl was my only outing of the day. Another white man arrived to spend the night in the "igloo." Today, the hot-bed furnace on in full force. Such a beautiful late afternoon, a cloudless sky of tender blue.

Sunday, April 24

Monday was warmer still. Thaw began at noon, no melting in the shade. Tuesday, a fine day with much thawing in the sun. Frank not so well with a bilious attack. Isaac and Ignatius leave for the Chageluk, but Mr. Chapman did not accompany them as Rachael was rather ill with the gripple. After school Jack and I took a happy walk out on the horse trail, playing hide and seek with Golden all along the way. Jack spied a squirrel on a topmost branch of a tall spruce and I guarded the tree while he ran back to the house

to call Tommy with his gun. As I sat in the deep soft snow waiting for them, all was so still and calm and the sky a cloudless blue. Tommy soon arrived but missed with his shot, the little squirrel ran to the very top of the tree amongst the cones. Tommy climbed after him but the little creature jumped from tree to tree getting away from us. Starting homeward, a grouse flew up almost at our feet and Tommy and Golden left in hot pursuit—but again no luck in getting it. At home found Mary and Margaret in great mischief and fun, dressing up in one another's clothes out on the storehouse gallery. Mr. Sproul arrived and is staying at the "igloo." A garden was planted in the hot-bed.

Wednesday, yet another glorious day! Mr. Wolffe arrived and to my great surprise brought a letter from Michael Sullivan. It halfway pleased me and halfway did not, but 'twas a pleasure to hear from him at last. The Kruger family returned from Holy Cross bringing a little native girl with them. Jack did not want to go home so his father allowed him to remain with us overnight. Isaac and Ignatius returned from the Chageluk. Several more white men staying at the "igloo" for the night. Golden and I had a long ramble in the woods and found much thawing and melting in progress. I checked my snare but no hoped-for rabbit was caught. Came home weary and foot-sore as my high boots were too heavy.

Thursday, thawing only in the sunshine, spring is truly late. Katherine and I took a pleasant walk on the horse trail, otherwise just a quiet day. Friday, much thawing, a flood of golden sunshine. Mr. Chapman and Isaac leave in the morning for their trip up river. Quite an unsatisfactory day at school, the children all doing miserably in their recitations. An afternoon rest, then a walk with Wallace down to the post and a bit of visiting in the village. Mr. Sutton and Tommy worked much of the day with the overflowing water at the back of the schoolhouse. After tea the children played on the ice and the gramophone entertained us in the evening. The golden sun sank in a bank of dense cloud.

Saturday, Katherine's birthday. Cloudy and chilly all morning. About two in the afternoon a snowstorm set in and continued all the rest of the day. Katherine, the small boys and I had a long walk in the new snow to check on our snares.

Today, all day a gentle snowfall. After breakfast, about ten, the boys helped me to take the graphophone over to Hubert's. The little cabin was full with interested village listeners and I turned the crank for more than two hours. After Sunday School a walk with some of the children to the end of the horse trail and down to the Yukon through the deep valley. Frank suggested we should cross the Yukon so away we went. We plodded more than knee deep through the snow and were far from dry when we reached the river. With spruce boughs we got rid of the snow clinging to our clothes and then started homeward. We dried out by a good fire and I changed garments, so all was well. Ate heartily at supper, and to bed early without a lamp. Timothy's infant passed away in the early morning.

Saturday, April 30

Monday, rain and light snow all morning. Big thawing. Mr. Chapman and Isaac returned about four o'clock, looking and feeling splendidly, reporting that geese have been seen in the Chageluk. Just as I was disrobed and about ready for my bed dear little Katherine called to see me. I entertained her for a few minutes. She is becoming dear indeed. Tuesday, a hard freeze over night, thaw did not begin until noon, then 'twas in the sun only. Lee arrived for a little visit. A walk with a few of the children on the side horse trail, crossing three ponds, but the snow became so soft that we had to turn back sooner than we wished.

Wednesday, still cold, just a slight thaw in the sun and a high wind all day. Mr. Chapman and Isaac left for a little trip down river. Tommy and Mr. Sutton worked steadily all day digging away the snow at the back of the rectory. Exceedingly pleasant day in school, little visits about the neighborhood. Started to bed about nine while the children were still playing on the ice. I did not join them as the wind was disagreeably high. Thursday, Mr. Chapman returned unexpectedly last night while I was in slumberland. I was surprised in the midst of school to hear him talking to Wallace. Too windy to venture out. Tommy in bed with rheumatism, Mr. Sutton's room the hospital. Mr. Sutton slept with the boys in their dormitory.

Friday, quite an eventful day. Hard snowstorm all night which continued until about noon. A drizzling rain all afternoon, 40 above. Sometime before twelve a baby son was born to Mrs. Chase. The entire Kruger family ill with the gripe. Tommy still in bed. Cranes were seen in the morning, and in the late afternoon Anna noticed an immense flock of geese flying just overhead toward the mountains.

*Today, rainy and cloudy with a heavy thaw. The trails are soft and the few natives going to and fro had much difficulty walking about. Some water on the ice, its first appearance. Enjoyed a long hour of reading *Under Two Flags* and washed my hair.²⁹ Late, just before supper, started out for a walk but the softness and uncertainty of the trail soon sent me back. Mr. Sutton dug a ditch by the side of the house and now the water and melting snow run off quite freely. Several flocks of geese overhead. Little birds singing and chirping all day.*

Sunday, May 1

A thawing day with rain and snow off and on. Those who came to church told of the difficulty in walking on the soft trail. Kitty's baby Conrad christened. He was awakened from a deep sleep in the arms of his pretty little mother and was quiet and good during the service. Did not go to see Hubert as the snow was too soft and muddy. Wallace inside all day as he suffered from the croup during the night. Frank was taken sick during morning service and sent to the hospital, Mr. Sutton's room. None of the Chase children to Sunday School as they, too, have colds. Damp and chilly at bedtime. Two flocks of geese

²⁹ Set in Algeria, the long-popular *Under Two Flags* (1867) was a melodramatic novel by the English writer Ouida, the pen name of Maria Louise Ramé (or, as she preferred, Marie Louise de la Ramée).

flew overhead about noon and each flock had many swans with them. Mr. Chapman said he has never before seen the two birds flying together. 'Twas such a pretty sight.

Saturday, May 7

Slight freezing over last Sunday night, more thawing on Monday. School as usual but so many children absent—Tommy, Jack, Katherine, Lucy, Wallace. Wallace quite sick and under Mr. Chapman's care. While at breakfast on Tuesday Mr. Wolfe arrived and oh! how high my hopes were. But alas, only three letters. True, they were cheery and bright but I wished for others, too. Isaac left for duck hunting early in the morning. A warm day with a bit of sun but by noon it clouded over.

Wednesday, a slight freeze overnight, then rain and snow all day. During the night little Hubert passed away—after five years of suffering his rest came at last. A very beautiful service by Mr. Chapman for the dear boy, with all the children and I in attendance. Thursday, an early service, just myself and the children. Rain and snow all day with considerable thawing. Wallace no better. I, too, felt ill all day—really weak, and looked as badly as I felt. Very easy day in school as not many children present. Delicious goose for dinner, first of the season.

Friday, slight freeze again over night, no water running in the Anvik all day. Very cold and raw day. Hubert laid to rest about one o'clock, all of us at the little grave. A solemn and impressive service by Mr. Chapman. An unusual day in school as it consisted mainly of each child reading to me individually. So tired afterwards. After supper, in bright sunshine, the children and I have great fun skating on the long wide strip of Anvik ice near the shore. Tommy and I, of course, had our real skates. Many natives with their sleds left in the morning as the trails are in excellent condition.

At four-thirty this morning Mr. Sutton left, 'twas a surprise to find him gone when I came down. A queer day as regards the weather. Snow all morning, and about noon some brief sunshine. Rain in the afternoon, then a beautiful snowstorm for about thirty minutes—great downy flakes falling thick and fast. Had a climb up the hill in back of our house, on bare ground most of the way. Little birds everywhere singing, saw five fat round blackbirds in one tree, all singing and trilling. Wallace so much better, up and about the house. But how late spring is—it seems as though the grass and running river and flowers and steamboats—hence more mail—will never come! The birds that give us joy, however, tell of promised days of eternal sunshine and joy, so in patience we must wait.

Saturday, May 14

Cloudy most of Sunday, with much more thawing. Service well attended considering the many natives who have gone away to their fish camps. The ground too sloppy to walk anywhere so I played the gramophone for the boys after service and read to the other children until supper time. I greatly missed my visit to Hubert. The sun shone brightly

in spells on Monday, much thawing still in progress. Many water puddles on the river. Went up our hill a little way, but not far as the snow was still deep.

Tuesday, a light freeze over night but a splendid thawing morning. Weather clouded over in the afternoon. Big, big water on the river ice, and more water from underneath the ice running freely in the slough. The infant Chase boy passed away about ten o'clock—only eleven days old. Wednesday, a perfectly splendid thawing morning but by afternoon a cold wind arose. Mr. Chase's little son was laid to rest in the morning, services were held at church. In the afternoon our weekly missionary meeting, a pleasant and instructive hour with Mr. Chapman talking about Africa.

Thursday, quite a hard freeze over night. The boys were up at four in the morning skating on the wide strip of ice in the slough. I longed to join them but it was much too early for me and I did not feel particularly well. Isaac returned in the night bringing fifteen geese. What a goose picking after school! Friday, a nasty breeze blowing and a little thaw about mid-day, the air filled with the songs of birds. Three robins were seen. A faculty meeting after school with Mr. Chapman telling me some of his plans for spring and summer. Before supper the smaller boys and I took a delightful walk to the top of our hill, quite a bit of it bare. And oh! the birds were so numerous and sweet!

Today, an exceedingly hard freeze over night, the sun very weak this morning, but by noon it shone bright and warm. A thorough house cleaning, four Indian women at work all day. Many more birds everywhere, their lovely voices so welcome after their long absence.

Saturday, May 21

More freezing over last Saturday night and cool on Sunday with a downpour of rain about twenty minutes before my getting up time. The day proved warm and bright with vigorous thawing. Splendid climbs and rambles up the three hills as far as the melting snow allowed us children to go. The birds in great numbers, singing everywhere. A snow-storm about bedtime, great huge flakes. Monday, somewhat cloudy, much thawing. With the longer days now our arrangement of ending afternoon school earlier works charmingly. The children busy with basket making and games after tea. The Anvik rising rapidly. Mr. Chapman and Mr. Kruger return from duck hunting with p-l-e-n-t-y!

The water in the Anvik running all Tuesday night and increasing immensely along either bank. Julius launched his canoe from the village on the point and rowed over—the first boat trip of the season. Warm day Wednesday. Had a fine walk on the hill but could not go far because of the melting snow. By Friday the slough was brimful of water, little cakes of ice were seen floating down. Another faculty meeting, all things going well. Mrs. Evans quiet and friendly.

Today, rather cold and damp. Slow thawing, but the Yukon is rising rapidly and the water in the Anvik is increasing on either side. The middle remains solid. High water is expected and Mr. Chapman and Mr. Kruger tie down the sawmill. All the boats have been moved to the slough.

Tuesday, May 24

Sunday, a comforting service but still a deep longing in my heart. The days cannot pass too quickly, yet I must and do strive to spend each day as fully as I can, with cheer and contentment. What will be the word from the Government about Nenana and from Miss Farthing? Monday, gloriously bright sunshine. Six wee radishes from the hot-bed. Water is gushing down the hillside and the rivers continue to rise. A pleasant walk down to the beach after my hour of rest. Had to keep gingerly to the side of the hill as the foot-path is all under water. A romp and play with the children after tea, a thoroughly happy time indeed. Then a long hour of organ practice. I got along astonishingly well and was greatly pleased with myself.

Today, the break-up of the Yukon! I went over the hill on my snowshoes after school to see the river, as news spread that it had broken, great pieces of stray ice came floating down the side streams. About six p.m. with a rumble, grumble, smash, bang, the river did break—whether the Yukon or the Anvik neither I nor anyone else could tell—and I saw one of the most wondrous sights I have ever seen. The boys joined me and we watched the Yukon ice as it came tumbling and racing down to meet the Anvik ice right at the junction of the two rivers. At times the tremendous force of their converging sent a huge solid mass of snow and ice fifteen or twenty feet into the air before it tumbled over. A great grinding and growling seemed to come from deep below, and all this continued for about twenty minutes. Then in an instant it stopped, a great thick column of ice rose up and became stationary, and now it thus stands. How awe-inspiring it all was. Little Frank was so impressed with the marvel of it all.

We walked home over great huge cakes of ice piled three and four feet high. Late for supper but this was a small matter, break-up comes but once a year. Mosquitoes out in great numbers, killed five immense ones in the afternoon. 'Tis impossible these long golden days to get to bed before ten.

Thursday, May 26

The ice quiet on Wednesday, it makes one or two slow moves of a few inches. The rivers continue to rise. After tea Katherine and I walked over the hill to see the Yukon, the great stationary mass of ice remains solid. Our regular school work dispensed with, Mr. Chapman and the boys at work arranging the dormitory upstairs and we girls scrubbing and cleaning downstairs.

Today, a soft breeze with warm sunshine. The girls and I cleaned windows the greater part of the day. All morning the Anvik moved slowly but steadily, and by noon the river in front of the mission was completely clear. By evening the entire Anvik was free of ice and the river reflected the delicate pink and blue and gold of the exquisite sunset. Was ready to jump into bed when someone exclaimed, "The Yukon is going!" The girls had not yet retired and they went down and joined the crowd on the river bank. From the hall window, perched on a trunk in dressing gown and slippers, I watched the Yukon and the great stream of ice pouring into the Anvik for long moments. But the excitement

of it all made me dress and join the others. What a rush of ice! Great huge pieces, crashing, pushing and racing downstream. We watched the two rivers until almost midnight. Mosquitoes, great immense fellows, were much in evidence all evening. The water very high, almost over the bank in front of Mr. Watson's. To bed, all of us with glad hearts.

Tuesday, May 31

Friday, the warmest day of the season so far. Breakfast at nine, then the girls and I cleaned the church windows. Saturday, even warmer. In the Anvik the ice running thick and fast into the Lordly Yukon. Took the greater part of the day to fix my mosquito net—the pests almost devoured me in the night. Saturday there was a precious moment or two for a walk with little Wallace on the hill. Gorgeous sunset at ten p.m.

Sunday, somewhat cool, but even so I shed my woolen undergarments. The sun came out warmly about noon. Wallace and I had another delightful walk up the hill—no flowers yet to be seen but the trees will soon burst into leaves. The Anvik water going down steadily.

Monday, a refreshing day spent working in the garden and raking the school yard. Mr. Chapman spaded the upper garden and the boys and I, after preparing the soil, planted the entire hot-bed and Wallace's little corner, too. The other beds were too wet to work. The girls busily raked and swept Mrs. Evans's garden and yard. Mr. McFarlan came in the morning from down river and reported the illness of Mr. Bernardo's infant, so right after dinner Mr. Chapman left to see the child. Three cheechakos came rowing in from up river. They brought the news that steamboats were running, just the small ones however. The Bressler family returned from up river, the mosquitoes drove them home. Mr. Kruger left for the coast to be gone about a month. Ada's birthday. I wonder how she and Mrs. Chapman are. A child born in the village to Marion.

Today, Mr. Chapman returned in the night, the Bernardo child much better. Cloudy and cool all day with a burst of sunshine now and then, and for a few minutes a little hail storm. The girls and I started to clean the yard at the back of the house but 'twas entirely too wet. Fixed Hubert's little grave in the morning, planting a ground pine. After dinner the small boys and I went on a flower hunt deep in the woods in back of Isaac's home. We went a great distance without finding any, but on the sides of the hills found many cranberries. Saw two grouse and found a bird's nest with four speckled eggs in it, our first find of the season. What a merry time we did have, 'twas too cool for the mosquitoes. Mr. Chapman, with Isaac and the boys, is still clearing the ground near the smoke house, much dynamite shooting. School over until September.

Wednesday, June 1

Rainy and really cold today, bad indeed for the gardens. I spent the greater part of the day packing Mrs. Williams's trunk with the many things she had not taken with her. 'Twas a pleasant occupation, Frank assisted me and the little girls watched us with excited chatter over each garment and item I packed away.



Some of the older girls at Anvik, with what Hudson Stuck described as “the intrusive and ubiquitous Frank.” Second from left in the front row is Dora, and the girl in the middle of the group with the plaid head scarf is Lena. Frank is in the top row, at the centre. Alice said that Frank “was a born ‘ham’ where photographs were concerned and usually turned up in them however irrelevant his presence might be.” Hudson Stuck photograph album, in the collection of Alice A. Boulter.

Saturday, June 4

Thursday, rain and sprinkles off and on all day, no gardening. Mr. Chapman’s birthday, his 52nd, and a very special dinner in his honor. At three o’clock the children assembled in the schoolroom and gave their recitations and songs. Mr. Chapman seemed to enjoy the little program. It was not as much as I had planned, but as school had been over for so many days we had had no time to practice. Much excitement about six o’clock, the mail launch, as everyone thought it was, sighted way up the Yukon. As it neared, we children ran to the top of the schoolhouse hill with the telescope to investigate. It proved, however, to be but a skiff with a house tent and four “birds of passage” who stayed only overnight. Supper very, very late with delicious fresh fish from my net brought in by Andrew.

Friday morning the sun was clouded over and we feared rain, but the clouds soon dispersed and warm sunshine flooded our little world. A splendid day to work in our gardens. Mr. Chapman and the boys planted many potatoes and the girls and I worked in our gardens. ’Twas after six when we finished. Mr. Wolfe came in his gasoline boat and left with our outgoing mail. He expects to return in eight or ten days.

Several cheechakos or “birds of passage” came and spent several hours and then left again. They brought startling reports about the Iditarod gold strike, Fairbanks being deserted, steamboats being built to take people to the new diggings, three thousand

people on their way in, the river “black with boats.” Mrs. Evans’s queer behavior at supper, Mr. Chapman having rightly corrected Bob for snatching food from the table. She spoils the dog almost as much as she does Arthur. We feel now that we are more in touch with the world as at any minute a steamer will actually come.

Today dawned cool and cloudy with some sun at times. Then just before dinner Tommy suddenly called out, “Steamboat!” And truly enough, up the Yukon a huge steamboat was seen approaching—the first boat of the year! Everyone took up the cry, and soon the air was filled with all kinds of voices pitched high and low. We were greatly puzzled to know what boat it could be as everyone differed in what they believed they saw. When at last the steamer reached the bend of the river we could easily see ’twas several boats and barges all tied together, with but one boat pulling. They looked so grand and were so welcome. ’Twas the Monarch with two other boats and four barges. What excitement raged when the whistle blew! ’Twas a great surprise to learn that Rachael and Albert were on board, the little boy quite sick and no better for his stay in Fairbanks. He had to be brought off in his bed and Rachael took him home. The boats stayed about an hour and none of us could settle down to anything while they were here. When they did leave I continued my ironing, then a walk on the hill with Frank and we found our first spring flowers, little yellow anemones. A visit to Rachael’s after supper and found Albert looking wretchedly but so bright and talkative. A sad letter from Mrs. Williams. To think how near she was to Anvik and then had to turn back.

Saturday, June 11

Last Sunday, cold and gray, just weak sunshine now and then. Several rowboats, a launch and a steamboat came during the night. The launches left about ten but the steamboat is still in port under repairs. A walk with Anna J. and Ignatius on the hill after tea. The children and I over to see Albert after evening service and sang to him. Mrs. Evans an iceberg, and I did not attempt any thawing overtures after her asking me to remove my packed satchel from the hallway.

Monday, rather damp, some rain, no sunshine. ’Twas a free day so I read, sewed, wrote, practiced a bit on the organ and visited little Albert. Had a charming walk on the hill between times and between showers. Tuesday, as soon as the boys were astir, Tommy noticed two smokestacks up the river. It proved to be a boat taking on wood at Simon’s woodpile and passed while we were at breakfast, not even bothering to whistle. Worked in the back garden all morning and the greater part of the afternoon. After tea a jolly walk with Katherine over the hills, and up and down the great valleys.

Wednesday, mail day so near at hand! The seeds in the upper bed of the front garden have come up. Just before supper Mr. Chapman noticed an immense amount of smoke far off in the woods. Frank, in his desire to clear a bit of forest, had started a little fire and it had spread alarmingly. Mr. Chapman, the boys and some of the other men went over and after a long vigorous fight managed to put it out.

A glad, sunny day Thursday. The little boys and I took a long walk far over the hills in search of berries but without finding any. I might have worked in the garden had Mrs. Evans not had all the boys assisting her in setting out the berry patch. While happily writing a letter I heard the children cry, "Gasoline boat!" and sure enough Mr. Wolfe had arrived—how excited I was! Before dinner I had my mail, many delightful letters, a cheery one from Mama and a welcome note from Mrs. Williams with a sweet photo of Jane. A pretty postal from M.S. gave me a flutter of pleasure. My letters did me worlds of good and I spent the entire afternoon with them, the time so delightful. A snowstorm of about thirty minutes at bedtime.

Friday, rainy and damp. No school duties these vacation days. In the afternoon paid Albert a little visit and found him much brighter. More rain after tea, thus no outdoors walks. Today, the usual Saturday duties, with drizzle and rain all day long.

Saturday, June 18

Last Sunday morning dawned somewhat gray but the sun broke through the clouds about noon and shone brightly the rest of the day. All of us, including Mr. Chapman, went over and sang to Albert under his window, Rachael's cabin being too small for us all to crowd in. Ice cream for supper, the last of the season.

Some bright sunshine on Monday but cool winds all day. The boys and Mr. Chapman busy at the sawmill, the first day of its running this season so I had no help in the garden. Thus a most delightful day for myself to read and write some letters, to visit in the neighborhood and to go on flower hunts with the children. Tuesday, still cool but with sunshine. A native girl, Phoebe, married to a white man. During the night she left with Mr. Howard who had chopped wood all day and put it before the door of her mother. Mr. Chapman and Isaac left via canoe for the Holikachuk festival at Unalaklik. Then a grand concert at Rachael's playing many records for Albert. Dora found several little violets deep down in the woodland, and the smaller children and I had a happy tramp in search of more.

Wednesday, about nine o'clock a steamboat was sighted up river which proved to be the Robert Cur. Such excitement! It stopped at the post and brought little mail, but oh! so much for me. Cheery letters from Mr. Betticher and Mr. Williams telling me of the great change to be—my transfer to Nenana! Too cold and rainy to work in the garden so did much letter writing. Kate's father, Phillip, came to take her away but he agreed to let her remain until Mr. Chapman returned. Did not go to sleep until after midnight thinking and rejoicing over the news my letters brought.

Thursday, still rainy and really cold, a little ice over night. In the morning I went down to the post with dear little Wallace to see about the baskets and other curios for Mr. Williams. Mr. Turner was very busy trading with some natives for furs so we had to leave without seeing him. In the afternoon the boys and I made a second trip to the post, the trees all green with their new leaves. This time I found what I wanted. We had to hurry home as a great shower was upon the mountains and we feared getting wet. All evening the weather was threatening. How discouraging this is for the gardens. Friday,

however, a bright day, just a bit cool. Wrote letters, worked in the garden and took down the pictures from my walls, the first preparations for my departure. At supper Mrs. Evans remarked about my busy moments and guessed my secret. "I could tell the difference in you right away," she remarked.

Today, a very rainy day. Did much ironing and some packing. While we were at supper Mr. Chapman returned, he was very wet indeed but well, and delighted with his trip. Afterwards I told him about my letter from Mr. Betticher, and oh! how my heart did ache at all he had to say to me. Dear, dear Mr. Chapman, how I love him. To bed late, happy yet so sad.



Mrs. Evans and a group of children at Anvik, in the summer of 1911. This photograph must have been taken around the time that Alice returned to Anvik, where she and George were married at Christ Church early in July. Hudson Stuck photograph album, in the collection of Alice A. Boulter.

Sunday, June 19

Today, one long to be remembered. After prayers Mr. Chapman announced my coming departure to the children. His words and the exclamations of the children were heart-rending indeed. How can I leave?

Delia was first to see the Schwatka way up river, excitement was high. We had finished breakfast when the boat arrived at the post. Mr. Green, the purser, delivered my new suitcase with some fruit inside—he was most pleasant and looked so well. Dr. Barber stopped by for a minute, he is on his way Outside, his census work completed. Two pleasant ladies came in and showed a friendly interest in our school and scholars. Both were teachers from Fairbanks. Many delightful letters for me. My packages also came but were not opened on the Sabbath.

Saturday, June 25

Monday, rainy and damp but with sufficient occupation to keep me busy all day. Was glad to receive Mr. Boulter's letter. So many friends remembered me sweetly. Most of my clothes came and I was so pleased with them, the brown dress especially. Much amused with Margaret and Katherine, they put two chicken eggs in with the pigeons to see if they will hatch. Could not go to sleep for such a long while as Mr. Chapman's talk with me, regretful but so understanding, saddened me and kept my eyes open.

The weather broke on Tuesday and we rejoiced in the glad day. A little work in the garden and delightful walks with the girls in the woods gathering bright spring blossoms. The children all so sweet and attentive in their protests against my leaving them. The Ben Hur arrived on Wednesday.

Thursday, a bright joyous day. After dinner an afternoon on the water was proposed. The big boys were busy at the sawmill so just the girls and I went out in the long boat upon the Yukon. Each of us had a turn at the oars, and we rowed back and forth and around and around again as we had promised to keep within sight of the boys. We stayed three hours out on the river, the clear blue sky beautiful with fleecy white clouds, their reflection in the water perfect and the sunshine warm. Back on shore we had some time to spend in the woods gathering flowers. We found a family of varied thrushes, the mother and father were teaching the young ones to fly when we suddenly came upon them. The girls fondled and caressed the pretty little birdlings, but the mother seemed so heart-broken that we put the babies down and went away hoping that peace and quiet would soon be restored in the family.

Another beautiful day on Friday with sunshine until late evening when a drizzle came down for a few minutes. Our gardens have grown marvelously the past few days. A walk again with the children in the woods gathering flowers. The woods were colorful with bright blossoms, but the mosquitoes were terrific and soon drove us home. Delia and Mona killed a tremendous mouse and Bob ran down and killed a young rabbit. Quite exciting! Set my alarm for 2 a.m. to see the sunrise, but upon arising a great bank of clouds hid the sun entirely and I had to creep back to bed much disappointed.

Thursday, June 30

Upon jumping out of bed on Sunday the shrill loud whistle of a steamboat broke the stillness of the morning. I thought it was the Sarah and that Henry Strangman would be on board, but when the boat was in sight it proved to be the Schwatka. From behind my curtain I watched much freight put off for Mr. Simel and had a glimpse of Mr. Green. Not many passengers astir. The usual sweet Sabbath, Mr. Chapman's sermon most comforting, but I felt so used up by my emotions and feelings about leaving Anvik that I felt as though I had been beaten. A little sprinkle in the afternoon. The mosquitoes fierce.

Monday, the sun warm and bright but mosquitoes by the millions and billions. Worked in my garden all morning but had to be veiled and skin-mittened. The little boys busied themselves making smudge fires. The Ben Hur still in port and the dear old

chief engineer came to dinner. Have forgotten his name but he is a Swede and wonderfully interesting, having travelled all abroad. Several dog salmon have been caught.³⁰ The children fished all their leisure moments right in front of the house and caught many whitefish, grayling and salmon trout. Later a pleasant visit to Rachael and found Albert very much better.

Tuesday, a bright day indeed. Worked again weeding the garden, the mosquitoes simply fierce, but cannot complain too much of the pests as the gardens are flourishing. Wallace and I had a walk on the beach all the way to the post and further. The mosquitoes seemed to be devouring the dear little fellow but he was almost unminding. He scratched and scratched but did not complain. I was in veil and mittens. Coming home we saw a steamboat approaching from up river. I hastened home to freshen up and had not quite finished my toilet when the Susie landed, and to my surprise Mr. Murray called to see me. He was on his way home after a short stay at his mines. I had not seen him for such a long time and 'twas pleasing to talk to him again. He told me news of Harry Strangman—he is back but came in the other way. The boat was crowded with passengers. Very little mail. I was sorely disappointed, not a word from many I did want to hear from. What has become of my Washington friend, Alfred Brooks? Mr. Chapman received a beautiful picture of his two precious children. Some government boat passed in the early morning, stopping briefly at the post. The children fished the greater part of the day, catching many.

Wednesday, a glorious day of sunshine. Worked in my garden most of the day despite the fierce mosquitoes. In the afternoon had a “bacon fry” out on the sawdust pile in honor of Peter’s birthday. 'Twas great fun, each of us roasting a slice of bacon before a genial fire. Mr. Chapman headed the fun. We all sat down and enjoyed quite a sumptuous feast around the festive board of newly-sawn lumber.

Today, quite damp and rainy. A flatboat came in the night bringing some wanderers. One of the flatboat men, a charming New Yorker, came in the evening to hear the gramophone. 'Twas so refreshing to talk with him.

Friday, July 1

Rainy all day without, but much sunshine within. The little New Yorker called up to me at my window to invite me to five o'clock tea at “his house”—he had taken up residence at the rectory. So he and Mr. Chapman and I had quite a nice tea and chat, with chocolate cake of Mr. Chapman’s own baking. The mission fish net was set today and eight splendid dog salmon were caught. Mrs. Hamilton has had a long string of fish drying for two or three days now.

³⁰ Dog, or “chum,” salmon is a lesser grade of salmon, very bony, and usually reserved for dog feed when dried.

Monday, July 4

While arranging for Sunday service the New Yorker and his English friends came in to see our little church, after which he and I had another delightful chat. The Monarch arrived and stayed several hours at Mr. Watson's unloading freight and taking on wood. All the flatboat gentlemen in for prayers, after which a grand concert was rendered by the gramophone. Sunday, drizzly and damp all day. The flatboat men all leave, their raft towed by a little gasoline boat.

Today, the Glorious Fourth—and 'twas glorious after all. The flag was raised while the children sang "Columbia, the Gem of the Ocean." Then we all had a shooting contest, each in turn using Arthur's new .22 rifle with Frank's bullets. Just as dinner was announced the J. P. Light came in, landing right in front of the mission, bringing much freight for Mr. Jureau and Mr. Chase. Then it moved over to the store to deliver more freight to Mr. Watson and to take on wood. Dinner was delayed about two hours and then 'twas too late to have the "salmon broil" as we had planned. We had just about gotten over this excitement when the Herman whistled her arrival. She left her three barges at the bend of the river and then came into Anvik with much more freight for Mr. Chase and Isaac. While the boat was unloading I had a most enjoyable time watching, unseen from my window, the antics of two rather gorgeous ladies from the boat and their train of male attendants. The little lady in gray who talked to the children seemed gentle and refined. The mosquitoes were at their very best, which is alarmingly fierce, and 'twas fun watching the people battle with them. At eleven the boat left—what a strenuous life ours of the past week has been! An exquisite sunset lent such beauty to our small world.

Saturday, July 9

Tuesday, a somewhat rainy day but a little walk with Wallace down the beach after gardening and reading. Wednesday, another day all my own to spend as I liked, and the hours seemed golden. Isaac and Mr. Jureau's families moved over to the point. We are enjoying treats from Mr. Chase's newly arrived freight—nuts, real eggs, candy and onions. Mosquitoes perfectly fearful in the house.

Thursday, still cool. Three king salmon caught in our net. The Ben Hur departed. Took a long walk along the river, much beyond the post where the beach ended. Many fish traps in this part of the Anvik. Friday, mosquitoes again fearful indeed.

Today, just as I was dressing, the welcome sound of a steamboat's whistle broke the stillness of the morning. 'Twas the long delayed Susie with much freight for Isaac and Mr. Chapman, but not my box. The barrels from the missionary society did arrive and the children and I looked over the clothes and other things they held for us. The trunk and the other belongings of Mr. Williams were sent off, all but the graphophone. Paid a little visit to Dorothy in her cottage by the Yukon. The Yukon raged so today, great whitecaps and such tremendous lashing upon the shore that it did seem as the sea.

Saturday, July 16

Last Sunday, very cool with sunshine off and on, mosquitoes again fierce. Monday, many king salmon are being caught but the general run of fish seems to have slackened. Still cool but toward evening the sun shone warmly. Worked in the garden much of the morning. In the afternoon the boys and I went down the beach to see the remarkable fish wheel Mr. Chapman and Isaac had made. Just after supper the Hannah came in bringing Mr. Kruger safe and well, everyone so relieved to see him.

Tuesday, so cool that the boys kept close to the stove in the morning. After dinner a boat was sighted way up the Yukon and excitement was high. Mrs. Evans put down the rugs, hung the curtains and generally got ready. 'Twas the Herman coming down and stopped at the post. Mr. McManners came up to the house and reported that the boat was crowded and that they expected to take on more people at Holy Cross for St. Michael. Some little mail for me. The letter from Mama was upsetting, but surely God will help and protect her, and I must and gladly will do my part. The Tanana passed coming up river just as the Herman was departing, the two boats very prettily saluted one another.

Friday, hot the past few days, splendid growth in the gardens. Mr. Chapman reported that Mr. Maddren, the government man [with the Smithsonian Institution], was coming to investigate conditions at Iditarod. A little excitement after supper on Wednesday—someone thought they sighted a boat but it proved naught. Around midnight the Sarah came, landing down on the Yukon beach. The girls and I were awakened by the whistle and we watched from the windows, but as the boat gave no sign of moving down to the mission we quietly but not contentedly went back to bed.

Today at breakfast Mr. Chapman brought us a little mail from the Sarah—a charming note from Mr. Betticher and dear letters from friends in Fairbanks. The little cliff swallows finished their nest in back of the house today. Brilliant skies all day, sunshine hot. Old Simon was taken aboard the Sarah for the hospital at Holy Cross, so ill he was barely able to make the trip.

Wednesday, July 20

Sunday was really cold, had to have a fire in church. More natives at morning service than there have been for a long while. Great bunches of large buttercups graced the altars. Squab on toast for dinner, truly a treat. Little Margaret spent the entire day with us. After evening service the girls and I went up to the rectory with Mr. Chapman to look at his book on birds and to try to identify them. While we were there the Evelyne came in, stopping at Mr. Watson's to take on wood.

Cold again on Monday, worked in my garden with a sweater on. Showers off and on all day. After dinner Frank rowed little Wallace and me over to the fish camps. 'Twas cold, really cold on the river. We made a great many visits, the homes fishy and dirty but Rachael's home quite tidy. Albert very bright and well. Mr. Chase and Mr. Kruger finished their fish wheel and put it in the water today. Just about bedtime a steamer was sighted but it proved to be only a ship that passed in the twilight and didn't bother to whistle.

Tuesday, just as I jumped out of bed a steamboat did whistle and I was sure 'twas the Herman, but it proved to be the White Seal. It stopped at the mission and a poor sick man, almost dead, was brought off. Mr. Chapman did not come to breakfast as every moment with the sick man was precious. By noon the man was much stronger and said he was a Mr. Peterson from Seattle. Had a nice surprise—Mr. McFarlan whom I met at Mrs. Whitley's came to see me. A pleasant little visit, and some delicious oranges were left for me. The boat went up the Anvik to the wood pile and was gone about three hours, then passed again going up the Yukon. Rain, rain, rain all day. A wonderful catch of a hundred and fifty salmon in Mr. Chase and Mr. Kruger's fish wheel, and just as many more were lost as the wheel boxes were not set exactly right. About midnight I was awakened by loud talking. I jumped up and peeped out my window and saw men putting freight on the river bank, but no steamboat was in sight. I called to Isaac asking if my box had come but it had not, so I went back to bed again and to sleep.

This morning Frank called and said that my freight had come. The Louise, her first appearance this year, had come and gone while I slept. After breakfast the boys brought my box up, the children crowded around me as Tommy opened it. I had to send them away so that I could be alone to examine my purchases. All things pleased me, but the hat was somewhat large and two pair of shoes did not fit. Rain all day, a contented time indoors. Dear Mrs. Chapman's birthday today, wish she and Ada and Henry were with us. The children and I wrote birthday letters to her and I bundled up my shoes to send back. Mr. Chapman doctored Simon's mother, Si Von Von, and put some mustard plasters on her chest. The sick Mr. Peterson somewhat improved.

Sunday, July 24

Thursday, more rain! Some sun every now and then. Mr. Chapman stayed all day with Mr. Peterson, his meals being sent to him. Frank and I visited Si Von Von, she still not feeling too well. Frank kindled a fire and I made tea for her. Sewed and packed all day. Met with a dreadful accident, upset a bottle of ink all over the floor and all over myself. Wonder of wonders! No comment from Mrs. Evans, only a cold frosty look.

Friday, some sunshine with passing clouds. Fixed over my new hat wonderfully and succeeded in altering my new skirts. Great excitement over the dreadful dog fight—Golden, Bob and Nigger. Don't know quite how it started but Isaac finally got them all quiet. About noon Mr. Turner sent for Mr. Chapman saying that his baby was very ill. Mr. Chapman could not leave his patient so Mrs. Evans went down. She was home again in a short while, the baby seemed all right after some doctoring. Mr. Peterson passed away about six-thirty—how sad, as Mr. Chapman was so hopeful, for the man seemed to be improving all along.

Sunday, quite cool. Hordes of mosquitoes about and very hungry. A long visit to Si Von Von, she is almost well. In the afternoon Mr. Peterson was laid to rest. Mr. Chapman had services in the schoolroom—Mr. Chase, Mr. Kruger and the boys attended. Glorious sunset.

Today, much warmer and beautifully clear. An unusual day, Mr. Chapman did not hold service as he needed rest after his strenuous efforts to save Mr. Peterson. The children and I assembled for a little service then took a delightful stroll down the beach gathering pretty stones, picking bright blossoms and selecting some clay for our pot-making. We watched the new fish wheel for over half an hour, 'twas most fascinating even though it was not fishing well and only nine fish were scooped up in this time. Just after tea a steamer was sighted, most of us were sure 'twas the Susie. Great preparations were made, curtains hung, rugs laid, but it proved to be the Julia B. and she glided past without a whistle.

Sunday, July 31

Monday, the Sarah came during the night bringing the bale of clothing for the children from the Montana mission. Early in the morning the Louise arrived bearing the official news of my transfer to Nenana, with Mr. Williams's letter of the Bishop's doings. Mr. Chapman back with us. We all welcomed him most heartily. Just at breakfast a call of "Steamboat!" made the air ring—the third boat today! We thought surely 'twas the Susie, but it was the Robert Cur and she passed whistleless.

Three birthdays on Tuesday—Anna J., Anna M. and Mr. Williams. The children and I had a delightful outing up the Anvik looking for berries. None were ripe but we found other things of interest, flowers and watching the birds. Our lunch on the river bank was great fun, with toasted fish. On our quiet row homeward we heard a boat whistle and thought again that it might be the Susie. It proved to be the Herman from the Iditarod which had arrived during our absence and had long since gone when we reached home.

Somewhat rainy on Wednesday, a dense fog across both rivers. The children and I happily busy at work all day. Thursday morning just as I was dressing a whistle surprised me. Instantly, the boys who were up and about gave a loud cry of "Steamboat!" It was the Susie at last, headed down-river for Holy Cross. Much mail, dear Mother Boulter's letter from London and Mama's good letter of glad news.³¹ The children all received beautiful bibles from Mr. Chambers in Fairbanks. The Jeff Davis passed and saluted the Susie at the post. In a few minutes the Herman came down. The rest of the day was busily spent, the mosquitoes were vile all day.

Friday, cloudy off and on all day, did much work in my garden. The mosquitoes were vile all day. On Saturday I gathered vegetables in the rain but 'twas pleasant as I was well protected from the wet. Mrs. Evans explained the Women's League to me, it seems so interesting and wonderfully full of privileges. We fared sumptuously all day—fresh greens, lettuce, rhubarb and delicious smoked king salmon from Mr. Kruger. Had to have a little fire to bathe by. Mr. Chapman rather feared a freeze over night.

Today, cold indeed, but the freeze did not come. Had to slip on my tights to really be comfortable. None of the village people at church but Harry. Mr. Chapman somewhat

³¹ Alice's reference to "Mother Boulter's" letter suggests that, while he was on leave, George had informed his parents of his intention to marry.

distressed and believes “something is up.” A lovely walk down the beach with the children and found the first blossoms of the grass-of-Parnassus. Watched the fish wheel for many minutes but no catch was made.



St. Mark's Mission, Nenana. About this photograph, Hudson Stuck wrote: "This picture has historic interest in connection with Nenana, for it had much to do with the starting of the mission. It was made in December 1906, and many copies were sent out—to various members of the Board of Missions during that winter, with the inscription, 'All these children and no school.' When I was Outside in 1907–8 and made application on behalf of the Bishop for a grant of \$5,000 from the Men's Thank Offering Fund for the establishment of the mission at Nenana, I learned that this picture helped to secure that grant." Hudson Stuck photograph album, in the collection of Alice A. Boulter.

Monday, August 1

Clearer today, some warmth, mosquitoes fierce. Before I was up a steamboat whistled and proved to be the J. P. Light from down river. It brought some mail but 'twas of no consequence. Worked in my garden all morning and put it in a fine condition. Simon was called to Holy Cross as his father is not expected to get well.

Sunday, August 7

Tuesday, rainy and cold, needed a fire to go to bed by—winter is coming! Wednesday, still cold, a bit clearer, an indoor day again. The little calf got into my garden over night and played sad havoc with my much cherished plants. Our weekly missionary meeting of much interest. Mr. Chapman spoke more of the Church's work in Africa.

Thursday, some sunshine. A pleasing day of pleasant duties and several visits around the neighborhood. Supper very late. About ten o'clock Mr. Chapman sighted a boat, the girls and I watched from the upstairs windows to see it approaching, the boys were "loose" out on the river bank. Mrs. Evans and Arthur were busy getting a letter ready. The boat seemed a floating palace, so beautifully illuminated as it glided past, but not a whistle, so to bed after eleven not knowing just which boat it was.

Friday dawned bright and much warmer. The Jeff Davis came in and brought a letter to Mr. Chapman and one to me from the Bishop confirming my government appointment at Nenana. Greatly relieved that my transfer is now assured and that I can positively answer Mr. Boulter's letter. The J. P. Light arrived, stopping at the post and bringing some second class mail. In the afternoon visited in the village—the tent life lends enchantment from across the river, but nearer 'tis oh! so awful. Many dear little children in the village but they are pitifully uncared for.

Saturday, a slight frost over night but the gardens were not damaged. George, the handsome young native widower, married Clara. A perfectly splendid day. After morning duties Wallace and I, hatless in the warm sunshine, walked down the beach and gathered a great bunch of grass-of-Parnassus.

Today, autumn-like indeed. A walk with the children after Sunday School was shortened as the dark rain clouds hung low.

Wednesday, August 10

Monday, a very slight frost with a deep breath of autumn in the air. The mosquito bite over my eye developing into an immense boil, very bad indeed. Olga, "Billy's mother's daughter" from the village, came to live with us. On Tuesday framed more bird pictures for Mr. Chapman. At five-thirty we all went up to the rectory, and Mr. Chapman and the children presented me with my going away gift, the precious Book of Friends—a sweet and most tender surprise, little messages of love and affection written by the children themselves. How lovely and how touching, and how sad my heart is at leaving them all. My boil frightful indeed but clearing up under treatment of soap and brown sugar.

Today, about four in the morning, Kate woke me saying she heard a boat whistling. I, half asleep and half awake said, "Oh, no, 'tis but the dogs." But sure enough, 'twas the Susie. How I did have to rush and dress! Time only for a quick "Goodbye" call to all the girls and a hug and a kiss for dear little Wallace. Mr. Chapman's parting words so choked me with emotion that I could not reply. Mrs. Evans not up to see me off. Did not go to lunch on the boat as my eye and face were entirely too awful. No one on board whom I knew, but even so the time did not lag. A pleasant day on deck and a most glorious sunset. The other passengers indulged in card playing and piano thumping but none of it interested me.

Government Teacher at Nenana, 1910-11

Alice's transfer to Nenana put her closer to Tanana and George's headquarters. Anvik was not within the new Upper Yukon District of which George had just been appointed superintendent, but Nenana was.

Sunday, August 14

Thursday morning early we passed Kaltag, meeting the Koyukuk, and just before lunch met the Sarah crowded with people. After lunch and a deck promenade I napped, and during my slumbers we reached Nulato. Had a most pleasant surprise when Bishop Rowe came aboard for a few minutes and introduced me to several people who would be travelling with me to Fairbanks. Friday, another splendid day and enjoyed being on deck with my newly-made friends. About midnight some of them rapped on my door and awakened me to join them on deck, and at three we watched a spectacular sunrise.

An ideal day on Saturday, wonderful cloud effects. A little nap before we reached Tanana about one-fifteen. Mr. Boulter and Fred there to meet me. Spent the night at Mr. Black's hotel, a very comfortable bed.

Today, up at eleven, breakfast at the "Golden North" with Mr. Boulter. A visit with him to Mr. and Mrs. Robinson in their pretty little cottage, then a delightful walk out to the mission and the [Church of our Savior] where Mr. Boulter played the organ for me. Met Miss Langdon, the mission nurse, cordial and sweet, and she took supper with us. Then we three went to church in the canoe, what a pleasant time we did have! After service went again to Mrs. Robinson's for tea, met Mr. Rodman and a charming English girl. The pull home in the canoe against the fierce current was quite hard, George and I sat at the paddles and Miss Langdon at the stern paddle. 'Twas impossible to get past the fish wheel so we had to get out and call Fred to bring the boat home while we walked up.

Saturday, August 20

My kind nurse Miss Langdon fixed me a most comfortable room at the mission and let me sleep late on Monday as I seemed so tired. Rain most of the day but she and I went over to the church and unpacked two bales of missionary clothing. In the afternoon George E. came over and remained until quite late. Fred's mother passed away in the night. Rev. Peabody came over in the morning and delivered a little book from Mr. Rodman. Later, George came with his camera but I was resting. He returned about six, then he and I with Miss Langdon went in the rowboat to have dinner at the "Golden North." Both remarked that I looked quite fetching in my black silk waist.

Wednesday, rain all morning so the expected berry hunt was put off. George over about three. We visited the school and the teacher's cottage, then went to the church

where George played the organ again. The music proved to be the sweetest in the world, though I did not appreciate the true meaning of it all until that night as I dreamed in sleepless dreams—how sacredly sweet the dreams were. Met the English girl, Miss Wakefield, and visited George's cabin for more music, this time from his gramophone. On Thursday had a long, lovely time with Miss Langdon. A very high wind all morning but clear by evening. A visit to the beach cabin of Fred's mother to clear out some things. George E. over for a few minutes to tell us of the reservations he had made for me on the Louise—dear noble man that he is.

At four on Friday morning we heard the boat whistle and Miss Langdon and I were up and dressed by the time George arrived. We three had breakfast, then a long wait of about two hours as the Louise did not arrive until six. 'Twould not have seemed so long could George and I have talked about the many things we did so wish to say. As I boarded the boat everyone was very much interested in my snowshoes and potato blossoms.³² Today, everyone charming indeed, met them all. Had a pleasant day on deck, and a Miss Sandford and I spent some hours in the pilot house talking with the very interesting captain. He liked my new bow hair ribbon.

Saturday, August 27

Sunday morning we were called very early as it was thought that the Tanana was sighted, but it proved a false alarm and we did not meet her until 4 a.m. We reached Chena about ten and saw Mrs. Williams for a minute or so. When I transferred to the Tanana saw Mr. and Mrs. McQuarrie, Mrs. Rodman and Mrs. Love. Reached Fairbanks about six, Mr. Williams and Deaconess Knox there to meet me. 'Twas indeed refreshing to be at St. Matthew's again.

Pleasant and joyful days at Fairbanks. Met many friends, entertained by some. The dentist and doctor very busy with my bad tooth and my very sore throat. My tonsils out on Wednesday, the doctor pronouncing I should not talk for fifteen days—quite a punishment indeed, and most hard! Met the little soldier with the broken leg and tried not to talk while he spoke to me. Mrs. Ziph most cordial and attentive, a gift of a watermelon from her to remind me of the "Sunny South."

Friday, bright and clear. A delightful visit to Mrs. Whitley in the morning. Left Fairbanks on the six o'clock train for Chena with Mr. Williams. Beautiful weather today in Chena and a pleasant day of easy, quiet hours with Mrs. Williams and precious Jane at their home.

Wednesday, August 31

No church bells on Sunday as we all went into town to find out when the Herman would arrive with Judge Wickersham and Rev. Buisch, the new minister for Tanana. But it was not due until late at night so we decided not to wait up. At eleven Mr. Williams

32 Potato blossoms were occasionally worn as a hair decoration and were considered quite elegant.

went into town again, and the Herman finally arrived about one in the morning. The new minister and his wife and many passengers were asleep, but Judge Wickersham and others went on to Fairbanks on a special train while the Herman went down stream some miles to get a barge.

The Herman returned about ten on Monday morning, and we all went down to meet Mr. and Mrs. Buisch and found them charming. Mr. Williams then left on the boat for Fairbanks and I spent the rest of the day pleasantly with Mrs. Williams and the two children. I left Chena about ten o'clock Tuesday on the Tanana. Met many old friends whom I was with on the way coming up and enjoyed many new friends also. Rather a tiresome trip, however, but clear weather. Reached Nenana just about six, a cheery glad welcome from the children and dear Miss Farthing.

The boarding school for Alaska Native children at St. Mark's Mission, Tortella Hall, was quite new, having been built in 1907. In the school's first year of operation (1907-8), Miss Annie Cragg Farthing, with whom Alice had travelled from Seattle to Fairbanks in August 1907, served as a government teacher there, having been recommended for the position by Bishop Rowe. In a letter to Elmer Brown dated July 30, 1907, Rowe wrote: "Miss Farthing is highly qualified, has spent five years already on the Yukon as Missionary teacher, and I can heartily endorse her as well fitted for the position." At the end of that year, she resigned her government position and instead became the mission matron, serving, in effect, as the headmistress at the school.³³

Thursday, September 1

Unpacked school things the greater part of today. Justin and the older boys came in from the wood camp in good spirits and performed some of their native dances for me. A few of the villagers joined in. I found it all strange but most interesting. The Teddy H. arrived in the early afternoon bringing the workman and more lumber for the hospital.

Sunday, September 4

Friday, more arranging of the school in the morning. Just before noon the children and I started for a berry hunt, a long walk down the horse trail, and found buckets full of lovely blueberries and huckleberries. Visited Justin and the boys at their tent. The woods were a bit chilly and wet, and I had to warm and dry my feet by the camp fire. Had tea and a good rest, then started on our hunt again wearing Justin's big rubbers. Home

³³ Miss Farthing's resignation was no doubt tendered in compliance with Bishop Rowe's request of April 1908 to Elmer Brown. She was replaced by Miss Anna Truxton (about whom see George's letter of October, 16, 1909, to Harlan Updegraff). It seems doubtful that Miss Farthing had any serious interest in continuing as a government teacher. She was the sister of John Cragg Farthing, who, in 1909, became Bishop of Montreal, and her loyalties were clearly to the Episcopal Church.



Tortella Hall, the boarding school for Alaska Native children at St. Mark's Mission, in Nenana. "On the right side of the building," Alice remembered, "downstairs, were the bedrooms of Miss Farthing and myself. Dining room, kitchens, and laundry occupied the rest of the ground floor; upstairs were the boys' and girls' dormitories. The wide veranda that almost encircled the house was a pleasant place to sit in summer, and here the girls and I took our sewing and mending." Constructed in 1907, the school continued to operate until the mid-1950s. Hudson Stuck photograph album, in the collection of Alice A. Boulter.



The potato field at Tortella Hall in summertime. Collection of Alice A. Boulter.

about five. Work on the hospital begun today. I conducted the Friday evening service in the schoolhouse, quite a splendid attendance.

Saturday, my first washing, assisted by Mary from the village. We got along wonderfully well. Nothing definite accomplished but I learned to know the children better. A rainy Sabbath morning with some sunshine in the afternoon. Did not go to Sunday School as my throat was quite sore, but stayed at home with two sick children. Evening service conducted by Paul Williams, many natives with us.

Sunday, September 11

My first day at school, got along nicely but was so tired after classes. Played with the children and read to them after tea. Tuesday, beautiful sunshine and a better day at school. An ideal day on Wednesday, really warm and lovely, but my strength so low. Had just assembled for afternoon school session when a steamboat whistle stirred us. 'Twas the Schwatka, and I allowed the children to go down as a new child was expected. Lucy from Fort Yukon arrived, a shy little girl, to join our household. Some very delightful letters received, and a dear one from George.

Thursday, such a day! I had to punish Charlie for his unruly behavior in school. It upset the entire morning and I was unfit to hold classes in the afternoon. Lay down and rested, and afterwards took the smaller children for a walk. Much better day at school on Friday, but oh! how fearfully I did look and feel. A busy day, the Schwatka passed going down-river. Saturday took a walk with the children in the afternoon, went across the river deep in the woods. One of the boys came over in a canoe and I had a chance to learn to ride in one all by myself. Got along surprisingly well.

Attended morning service today, but my thoughts were with loved ones while the not-understood native language was being used by Paul Williams. After Sunday School Justin handed me a dear, dear letter from George. Mr. Chrysler and Mr. Van Dyke to tea.

Sunday, September 18

More splendid weather on Monday. A good day at school, but I am so tired, so weary and worn. Tuesday, still ideal weather. Came home from a very good but fearfully tiresome school day and ironed until I almost dropped. Wednesday, an easier day. Very rainy, so no walk. Gas pipes laid in the house. More rain on Thursday, work on the hospital had to be discontinued. No evening service as Paul was busy with the fish.

Friday, clearer and colder. Our first program in school, Miss Farthing in to hear the children recite their lessons. In the afternoon after sewing I went into the kitchen to get some things ready for tea as the sheriff was expected. He failed to come so we enjoyed the treats ourselves. Miss Langdon telegraphed from Fairbanks that four children would be arriving on the Tanana as we had heard. At evening prayers a boat whistled so Miss Farthing shortened the service and the children and I went down to the post. A jolly walk, but a great disappointment as the boat proved to be the Julia B. and not the



The students at St. Mark's. In the middle at the back is Annie Farthing, with her customary black bow in her hair. Hudson Stuck photograph album, in the collection of Alice A. Boulter.

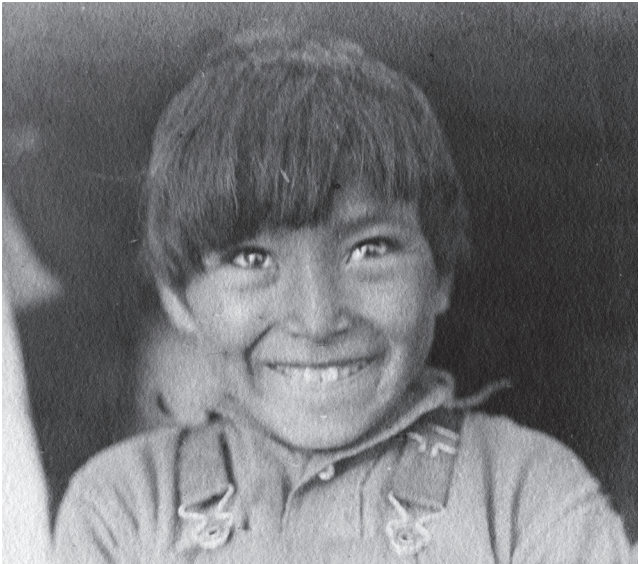


“The arboraceous Justin,” as Hudson Stuck called him. Justin was one of the older boys, who, Alice remembered, “loved all nature and especially trees”: “Here you see him posing as a trapeze artist fifteen feet above the ground, with Tortella Bluff across the little Nenana River as a backdrop. This grove of silver birch trees was immediately in front of the mission at Nenana.” Hudson Stuck photograph album, in the collection of Alice A. Boulter.

Tanana as we had hoped. A gentleman passenger, however, presented the children with some shoes and other clothing. A beautiful moon rose as we walked home.

Saturday, the first snow of the season fell in the morning, very slight but with occasional large flakes off and on. Rain between times. In the early afternoon excitement high as a steamboat was sighted and we thought it must be the Tanana at last. Another disappointment, the J. P. Light passed without stopping. Had an interesting time preparing supper, after which I made a huge ginger cake for Sunday.

Today, a freeze-over last night but a bright Sunday. After breakfast the Tanana finally arrived, and Miss Farthing and the children went down to meet the boat and the new children from Fairbanks—Dan, Marie, George and Abraham. I remained on the beach and soon had some joyous letters to read but none from dear George.



Abraham, one of four children who arrived from Fairbanks at St. Mark's Mission in mid-September 1910, aboard the *Tanana*. Hudson Stuck photograph album, in the collection of Alice A. Boulter.

Sunday, September 25

Last Monday, rather a good day in school, weather cold and clear. After tea I was negligee, getting ready to read, when the children brought in more mail for me, a loving note from George and a beautiful brooch. A bright encouraging letter from Mama and a box of candy from Miss Langdon in Fairbanks. Went to bed with a glad heart. Tuesday, clear but cold with a heavy frost—a glorious morning for my birthday, and at dinner I told Miss Farthing. For tea I attempted cornstarch pudding for the children but it wouldn't cook as I had mixed it wrong. Thus supper was late, but we had birthday cake and candy afterwards and played games. Paul Williams returned from Fairbanks in a small boat with Chena Sam.



Nenana, seen from the Tortella bluffs. The bluffs rose on the other side of the Nenana River from the settlement at St. Mark's Mission. Hudson Stuck photograph album, in the collection of Alice A. Boulter.



A game of "Drop the Handkerchief," at St. Mark's Mission on a long summer evening. "Men and women would come from the Native village," Alice recalled, "to join in the games with the children in the schoolyard." Hudson Stuck photograph album, in the collection of Alice A. Boulter.

A busy day on Wednesday with the household of dear children. Did not go to Paul's Indian service as I was so tired. Another beautiful, cold day Thursday, but poor me, still tired, so tired. While at evening prayers I fainted, the room was too hot. Friday, a perfectly glorious day but I felt tired and weary again. At school entertained the village people with recitations and refreshments. By Saturday, cold and drizzly. After dinner the children and I went down to Duke's store in the big new flatboat, then a walk down the pretty Nenana River. Just as we were leaving to return home the Jeff Davis came in port and the boys, six strong, had to pull most vigorously at the oars as we passed around the boat.

Today, many of the larger boys at Sunday School. In the morning I stayed home and cooked the dinner and baked a cake. Afterwards the children and I went across the river in the new boat to climb the high Tortella bluff. We had a hard time getting up the rocky slope, but from the top we had a magnificent view of the distant snow-capped mountains and all the surrounding countryside, and coming down the bluff what fun we did have, a run, jump and tumble all the way. Just at bedtime when most of the girls had gone to bed, we heard a steamboat coming, and the big boys and two of the older girls and I ran down to the post. It proved to be two boats, the Monarch and the Evelyne—so magical they looked coming down, lights all aglow and their great searchlights extending far down the dark river. No passengers came ashore and no mail, so the girls and I headed homeward. The boys thought little Lot had vanished, and Miss Farthing and Justin came down to help them search, but he was found safe, so all turned out well.

Friday, September 30

Monday, a clear cold day, and oh! so tired at school. Before evening prayers Luke and Sam were whipped by Miss Farthing in the presence of all the children for smoking. 'Twas indeed a sad, impressive scene. Tuesday, a heavy frost over night but a fine day. The Tanana passed going down river. Wednesday, another heavy frost. Rather a tiresome day at school amid the happiness of the work. A wonderfully beautiful Thursday morning with sunshine all day. Little walks with the tiny tots into the woods after school.

Today, had our classes under the trees seated on the wood pile. The children enjoyed it immensely but the weather was too cool to be as pleasant as I had hoped for. After school the manager of the telegraph line came in feeling sick and needing rest and quiet. Miss Farthing put him to bed in her own room. Just before tea the Schwatka came in, and after all our work was finished the children and I ran down to get the mail. A sweet letter from Mama, but missed the expected one from dearest George. When all the children were tucked in, Miss Farthing and I became a little chatty and I finally told her about George E. and of our plans to be married. And how glad I was after the telling of it! Schwatka stopped a long while at Duke's putting off freight, then went down again to Tanana for mail and passengers. Mr. Van Dyke left. To bed after eleven and deep sweet thoughts kept me awake for so long.



Children posing for a group photograph at recess time. Alice placed great emphasis on the importance of outdoor recreation. Recess was, she recalled, “a time of fun and vigorous exercise, even in midwinter. These playing-together hours were an opportunity to know each child better: traits of character are so purely revealed in sports which otherwise might remain dormant.” The two bigger boys standing at the back were visitors from the village—who, Alice said, “simply had to ‘get in the picture.’” Hudson Stuck photograph album, in the collection of Alice A. Boulter.



Annie Farthing, Archdeacon Hudson Stuck (second from the left in the back row), and the Reverend Charles Betticher (fourth from the left in the back row), with some of the children of the St. Mark’s Mission school. “The girls are neatly attired in dark blue cotton dresses sent by one of the women’s organizations in the States,” Alice commented. “Their moccasins were made by the girls themselves, of moose skin.” Hudson Stuck photograph album, in the collection of Alice A. Boulter.

Saturday, October 1

Very, very heavy frost last night. 'Twas difficult to do the washing today as the water was either too cold or too hot. In the afternoon the little folks and I had a long delightful walk along the river's edge and found much thin ice along the shore. The older boys went to find ice in the ponds, but what little they did find was not sufficiently thick to skate upon. Cake making and recitations by the children after tea.

Saturday, October 8

Last Sunday, very cold. The Tanana passed on her last up-river trip of the season, bringing Theresa and Lizzie. Lizzie will attend school here. A lovely letter received from Mrs. Ziph in Fairbanks and Miss Langdon's bale of clothing. After Sunday School went across the river with a boat full of children on a gum hunt and found some ice on the ponds. While getting into our boat to return home some small boat passed us and saluted us with her whistle. The children greatly pleased. After evening chocolate, little Skookum sat beside me reading his picture storybook.

Monday, a perfect gale of wind all day. A charming day in school, not in the least tired. Tuesday, still raw and cold. Sam and Daisy captured a young eagle from the fish rack in a net and brought it to school. We had quite a science lesson amid much excitement. The bird was then taken to the house and kept until after school when we all gathered outdoors to see it fly. But fly it would not, much to the delight of the children, so it was put for the night in the Indian cabin behind the garden. The Koyukuk passed on her last up-river trip of the year, Theresa leaving on the boat. A little snow over night.

Wednesday, quite cold, but an easy day at school. A pleasant little social time with Miss Farthing while the children were at service. Miss Farthing not feeling very well. Thursday, rather cloudy late in the afternoon, the wind very high. The Schwatka came about two-thirty, the children and I went down to the landing after school, a dreadful wind blowing. The boat brought some mail and I stopped at the schoolhouse to read mine. A lovely letter from dearest George. As the Schwatka left I went out to wave and the captain blew the whistle three times. Miss Farthing read her letters and then passed them on to me. The letter from Archdeacon Stuck was indeed an inspiration.

Friday, much ice passing down river, glorious sunshine all day but very cold. In the afternoon Miss Farthing came to hear the children's recitations which were so much improved. My popcorn popping later pleased the children immensely. Schwatka passed going down river much to our surprise. I might have had some letters off. Justin returned. Today, the Nenana a little frozen, much ice passing down, the big boys skating near the bank. In the afternoon the tots and I went down to the slough, the ice there was sufficiently thick to skate upon but the frozen leaves on the surface make it too rough. Successful cake baking before supper.

Saturday, October 15

Sunday, blustering in the early morning and by noon the wind was fierce indeed. After Sunday School the children and I with Miss Farthing went visiting. We called at every home in the village and I was pleasantly surprised to see the neatness of the cabins. Received a telegram from Mr. Betticher enquiring about my government appointment at Nenana.

Monday, Justin started classes. The two Sams left for Chena. The Nenana quite heavy with ice, the children and I down to the beach in the afternoon to see it. The big boys and some of the village people joined in a spirited dance for us. Enjoyed it immensely. Tuesday, slight snow over night. The Tanana ice moves slowly. A very trying day in school. Was just well enough to take a little walk with the children around the mission. Somewhat warmer on Wednesday. A dreadful day at school, more trouble with Charlie and his rude remarks and horrid temper. I had to punish him again, even though I was oh! so weak.

Thursday, a heavy frost over night. Distressing reports of a white man, Tom Alexander, selling whiskey to some of the village natives. Miss Farthing went over to see about it all. Friday, another trying day in school, Charlie again. I had to send for Miss Farthing to punish him. Mr. Chrysler and Miss Farthing in later to hear the children's recitations, and with a few exceptions they all did miserably. A visitor came after the children left, a somewhat interesting woodcutter. Came home simply worn out, nervous beyond all expression. Had to go to bed and drink my hot chocolate under the covers.

Today, more heavy frost over night, the Tanana still running ice. After dinner made a few visits in the village with the girls, then a long walk to the slough and found some ice there but 'twas covered with snow. Dear Mike and Lot each had a dreadful thrashing from Miss Farthing for disobeying her orders not to skate on the thin Nenana ice. Much to my relief they were whipped while I was away, and then sent up to bed.

Saturday, October 22

Somewhat warmer last Sunday. Miss Farthing held services as Paul Williams did not return. Susie J. and I attended to dinner. After dinner the boys arrayed themselves in soldier costumes and they continued in their marching until time to come indoors. We had evening services in the dining room, Justin assisting with the native language, and for some thirty minutes or more the natives sang hymns gathered around the table. Started to bed early, Miss Farthing sitting on the side of my bed quietly talking to me, when a knock at the door interrupted us. 'Twas Mr. Williams, he had come from Chena in response to Miss Farthing's wire about Tom Alexander. He brought Julia and her sister with him. I got up and dressed and the older boys and I prepared supper for them. Afterwards Mr. Williams with the boys went over to the village to get Alexander.

A day of excitement on Monday. Mr. Williams played the organ a little before breakfast—how welcome his music was! The older boys, each with a pack, left early for



Three children, identified by Hudson Stuck as “Mary, Mike, and Timothy” aboard his launch, the *Pelican*, on their way to Nenana. Unfortunately, he did not include surnames, but the names Mike Nicolai and Timothy Dickman appear in Alice’s list of the children at Tortella Hall, as do the names Mary Justin and Mary Were. The *Pelican*, a 32-foot, 4-ton gasoline launch, was built in 1908 to Stuck’s specifications, with funds donated by members of the church, and then shipped from New York by rail to Seattle, by steamer to Skagway, by rail to Whitehorse, and finally down the Yukon River. Hudson Stuck photograph album, in the collection of Alice A. Boulter.



Mike, one of the children whom Hudson Stuck brought to St. Mark’s Mission on the *Pelican*. Hudson Stuck photograph album, in the collection of Alice A. Boulter.

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Minto to bring Enoch back. Mr. Williams with Bell, Old Bell, Noah and Dick left for Chena taking Alexander as a prisoner with them. About noon Mr. Williams was back for more information from Miss Farthing and started off again about three. At bedtime he unexpectedly returned again saying that his prisoner had escaped after a fierce chase.

Tuesday morning very early Alexander returned to the village and went to Bell's tent and gave himself up to Mr. Williams. About ten o'clock Mr. Williams started off again with the prisoner and two witnesses. Another quite calm day in school with the big boys gone—I did so miss them. A beautiful afternoon, the little children and I had a delightful but short walk about the mission. The boys returned from Minto about four o'clock Wednesday morning but we did not know it until breakfast time. They were quite tired—and no Enoch! Paul Williams back also. Supper early, but no service as Paul thought that too many people were away. Was going to bed early when some Tanana men dropped in, and a pleasant time and conversation was ours for a while. Wrote a little line to dearest George and one to Miss Langdon.

Thursday, dear sister Caroline's birthday today. I hope with all my heart that she and [her husband] Jim and all my loved ones are happy and well [in New Orleans]. Heavy frost over night, lovely sunshine all day. Enoch returned at one o'clock, all alone. Friday, ice still running in the Tanana.

At noon Miss Farthing and Justin went out onto the ice in the slough and pronounced it safe for skating. After school the little folks and I had a pleasant walk on the ice and great fun in a potato [sack] race. I laughed more heartily than I had for a long time.

Today, quite a heavy snow over night. This morning most of the larger girls went rabbit hunting with the village women, returning somewhat early with a good catch. Paul got some rabbits and Johnnie got a porcupine—such a horrid thing it was. In the afternoon the other children and I had a splendid time skating, the ice fairly smooth, the air bracing.

Friday, October 28

Sunday, snowy and cold. While waiting for Sunday School some of the girls and I walked down to Duke's to take some letters and to enquire about the mail. But no word as to when the first overland mail of the season would come. How long it seems since we have received any! Monday through Thursday, marvelous days and nights. In the afternoons after school the entire family out on the ice and enjoyed excellent skating. Today, the world about us a sparkling fairyland, all the trees and bushes heavily frosted. Another good skate, but this time alone as the children were busy indoors.

Monday, October 31

Saturday, another divinely beautiful day. No washing thanks to Miss Farthing's good management. Worked on school reports in the morning. After dinner all the children

and I went out again for a skate, the ice simply grand. Justin soon brought the dogs and sled and we all had a fine ride until the sled went down through the ice. Such a fright, but fortunately the water was not deep so 'twas but a scare. A fire drill after tea, the children took it as great fun.

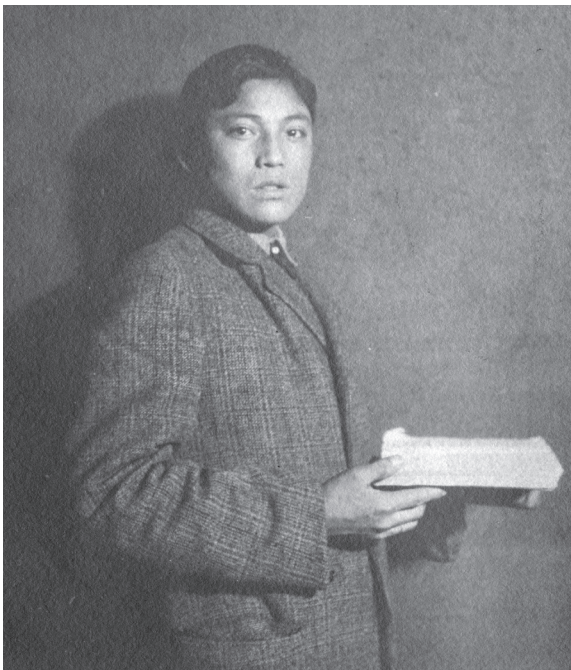
Sunday, before morning service the children and I went out onto the ice, and without a second's warning down I went, and bumped my head fearfully. I was almost unconscious, and got home as best I could with the help of one or two children and lay down until dinner. An early Sunday School, then, as I felt myself again, more skating and dog-sled riding. Such a splendid afternoon! While Miss Farthing was at service with the children, the furnace in the house began rumbling and grumbling to an alarming degree. I was quite frightened and went over calmly to speak to Miss Farthing when all the boys came running. They did something to the pipes and the flue, and then all was well. After school Luke and some of the children went out in search of a tree on which we could tie apples for our Halloween party. Had such fun finding the right tree. Our party with sports and games great fun. Three soldiers with us.



Some of the older boys at the St. Mark's Mission school. On the left is "Skookum," who, Alice recalled, was in charge of feeding and caring for the mission dogs and "was very fond of beautifully beaded mittens and reindeer hide boots." Third from the left is Justin, and on the extreme right is Titus, who, Alice said, "made exquisite bows and arrows and birch-bark canoes." The boy in the white sweater is Walter Harper, who later accompanied Hudson Stuck on his ascent of Mount Denali (Mount McKinley). Sadly, in October 1918, Walter and his bride of only six weeks were among the passengers on the steamer Princess Sophia when it ran aground on a reef in the Lynn Canal, near Juneau, and sank, with no survivors. Hudson Stuck photograph album, in the collection of Alice A. Boulter.



“The original Lot (Fort Yukon, 1909).” Alice remembered that when Hudson Stuck found Lot, in 1909 near Fort Yukon, he was “living here and there with different white men of dubious character, who had taught him a variety of ‘civilized’ vices.” He knew nothing of his parents and had never been to school. Hudson Stuck photograph album, in the collection of Alice A. Boulter.



“The studios Lot (Nenana, 1911).” Hudson Stuck used “before” and “after” photographs like these as part of his fund-raising tours Outside. Hudson Stuck photograph album, in the collection of Alice A. Boulter.

Monday, November 7

Wednesday, Justin and Noah left for moose hunting. Two of the telegraph men with us for tea, quite fine fellows. A soldier spent the entire morning with us in school, greatly interested in the children and our classes. Thursday, very cold but crystal clear. Johnnie and Lot left early for Fairbanks. A long delightful skate after school. Before bed the evening star radiant in the blue eastern sky.

Friday, a superb day indeed, entirely windless, sunshine bright, very cold. More enjoyable skating after a successful day in school. Three soldiers joined us for service, two of the three who came on Monday for our Halloween party and a new one who wanted to borrow our forceps for another soldier with a toothache. Saturday about ten o'clock most of the village people started on a rabbit hunt and the older children and I joined them. Much fun and excitement. Rabbits very numerous in the woods and the natives came back about two-thirty with a great catch. Laura, Luke and I came back in advance of the others, Luke with three fat rabbits over his shoulder. Justin and Noah returned saying that they had killed three moose which were cached in the woods. After tea the three soldiers called to return the forceps which they had borrowed. Mr. Carey, who had the toothache, is a charmingly handsome fellow. The three of them remained until after ten.

Sunday, a brisk day, bitterly cold but with bright sunshine. Sunday School held early so we could have the afternoon on the ice, the skating simply fine. Nig fell into the open part of the river, the boys amid much excitement rescued the dear dog. Justin and Noah and all the men left early to get the cached moose meat. Laura and Belle left with some women to go part way up the river.

Today, Laura and Belle returned and reported the insult they had received from a soldier. In the evening the same three soldiers came to service, Mr. Carey—the little Virginian, Mr. Victor and Mr. Hoag. The service was unusually short, no villagers as they were all out hunting. Afterwards Miss Farthing took the three soldiers into her room and gave them a severe talking to about the insult to Laura and Belle. The three men lingered until almost ten. I was so weary.

Saturday, November 12

The cold weather continued on Tuesday. The soldier who had insulted the two girls came in the afternoon to see Miss Farthing and to ask forgiveness. The other men had reported to him all that Miss Farthing had decided on, and that her letter to his commanding officer would not be sent if he apologized. Two more soldiers came to visit. While Miss Farthing held her evening service I tried to entertain them, but on and on they lingered and oh! how weary I did get. Luke, Justin and the rest of the men returned with the moose meat.

On Wednesday afternoon we moved over to the hospital for our meals, the dining room floor receiving its first coat of stain. The children happily excited over the change. Thursday, just a cold, busy day, with pleasures arising from duties cheerfully performed.

Friday after supper the children were sitting around on the hospital floor singing when the three usual soldiers appeared for evening service. This time they lingered only until a reasonable hour.

Today, bitterly cold. After breakfast Johnnie went down to Duke's for the mail. Miss Farthing received a few letters and I had a little note from Miss Emberley. Johnnie reported the disgusting conduct of a soldier named Wilson at Duke's, and all day drunken soldiers were about. Just before dinner one came to the hospital to get warm—so he said, but when he saw that Miss Farthing knew he was drunk he left at once. Just before dinner Susie Jacobs and I took a delightful walk of about a mile up the river. Then, while cooking supper with the children all about me, Mr. Wilson in all his intoxication appeared at the kitchen door. I was shocked, surprised and frightened all at the same time. I managed, however, to say a few words to him to let him know that I could not excuse his condition. Most fortunately, Miss Farthing appeared just then and quickly removed him.

With this entry, Alice's journal comes to an end. Thus she made no mention of Miss Farthing's death eighteen days later, on November 30. Some years later, however, she wrote an account of the events, one that illustrates the human need for explanations, regardless of the dark assumptions on which they rest:

On the Anvik lived a Canadian half-breed nicknamed Tom Savage, so called because of his violent temper and drunken behavior. Tom was much in love with a beautiful girl, Elizabeth, and wanted to marry her. But Miss Farthing repeatedly told Tom: "Not until you stop drinking can your marriage take place." Tom would reply: "I will not stop drinking, and I will marry Elizabeth."

Because of an unexpected emergency, the nurse at Nenana, Miss Bolster, had been called to Fairbanks, and Miss Farthing and I were left alone at Nenana. One bitter night, the temperature being about 45 degrees below freezing, when Miss Farthing and I had been up later than usual, we heard steps on the porch and then a harsh voice: "I am here, Miss Farthing. I have come to kill you." It was Tom Savage. Dauntless, Miss Farthing motioned to me to be still, and in a firm, steady voice replied, "Yes, Tom, I am coming." Slipping on a heavy robe, she stepped out onto the porch, and taking Tom by the arm she said, "Why, Tom, you are cold; come in and get warm." Even at such a moment she could be gracious. Tom's loaded gun was propped near the door.

Miss Farthing led Tom over to the dining room furnace which was kept burning all night in winter. The children were all asleep, but I called two of the older girls to bring down some extra blankets and we made Tom a comfortable pallet near the register. He was quite intoxicated so he was soon soundly asleep. All night Miss Farthing sat beside him. In the morning the sheriff was notified, and after a hearty breakfast Tom was taken away to be locked up for a while. Miss Farthing refused to press any criminal charges, saying: "I will never let it be said that I am afraid of any native. He won't come again."

About two weeks later there was considerable sickness among the children, colds with fever. Little Matilda had a severe attack of quinsy [septic tonsillitis] and was brought by Miss Farthing to sleep in one corner of the spacious dining room. For two days and nights she sat beside the sick girl, just now and then taking a cat-nap. I suggested that the school be closed so that I could help with the nursing and give her a respite, but she said she would rather not interfere with the regular routine. “And I won’t have you sleepy in the schoolroom,” she said. The second night of Matilda’s illness, Miss Farthing called to me saying that she needed some fresh air. I could see that she was ill, and quickly called two of the older boys to assist me in taking her to the open door. At the moment of reaching it she fell unconscious into my arms. We carried her to my bed as her own was occupied by a sick child. I administered first aid but was unable to revive her. Then I telegraphed to Archdeacon Stuck who, fortunately, was in Fairbanks about eighty miles away.

Archdeacon started immediately for Nenana in a blinding snowstorm with a fast dog team, with Dr. Loomis and a nurse, Miss Langdon. But despite all their efforts Miss Farthing died before their arrival without regaining consciousness. Little Matilda, too, died in my arms only a few hours later. For more than twenty-four hours I had been alone with the boys and girls and a village of panic-stricken Indians. A profound stillness lay over the entire mission, and my own heart seemed to be breaking, even when I realized that it was no moment for weakness. Archdeacon was not prepared for the worst but had expected to find Miss Farthing revived, and her death was a deep and terrible blow to him. An autopsy revealed a blood clot on her brain caused by shock, overwork and stress.

Her expressed wish was to be buried where she had worked. So she was laid to rest, little Matilda beside her, high up on Tortella Bluff across the river, overlooking the mission and within sight on a clear day of Mt. Denali upon which she loved to look. A collection of over \$2000 was given by the people of Alaska, and the great Celtic cross of concrete which marks her grave was sent by her brothers, one of whom was the Bishop of Montreal.

Alice was the only one present at the time of Miss Farthing’s death to record her memories (although, unfortunately, the date of her account is unknown). In *The Alaskan Missions of the Episcopal Church* (1920), Hudson Stuck—who arrived only after Miss Farthing had died—also described the scene.³⁴ The similarities are striking, although Alice’s account contains details that are missing in Stuck’s, and the tone of the two accounts is quite different. It seems likely, though, that Stuck based his description on conversations with Alice sometime after Miss Farthing’s death.

Alice continued to teach at Nenana until the end of the school term on May 31, 1911, when she retired to be married. Her report for the school year 1910–11 is preserved in the National Archives, although it is missing a page.

34 See Hudson Stuck, *The Alaskan Missions of the Episcopal Church*, 131–33.

Alice A. Green to H. C. Sinclair, Supply Agent, Bureau of Education

Nenana, May 29, 1911

During the school term 40 children have been enrolled; 30 of this number were mission children, the remaining 10 from the village. Only one child of the latter number was regular in attendance as her family is permanently located here. The others, mostly young boys, were off hunting and trapping the greater part of the time while in camp. More than three-fourths of the school term the Indians are away from Nenana, so without the mission children a school at this place could hardly be sustained during the months of the school term. The mission children are mostly from the families living here so, after all, the village is well represented. The average monthly attendance has been 28.

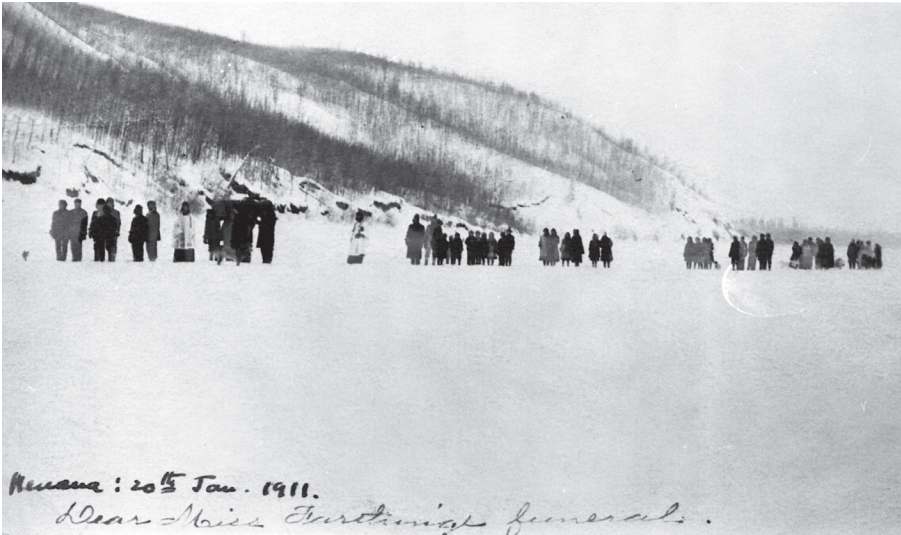
The school work has been so full of deep pleasure and genuine satisfaction. The children are wonderfully bright and are most eager to learn. I am with them all hours of each and every day, living in the same big house with them. We mutually share each other's pleasures and little sorrows, so I have every opportunity to see deeply into their natures and to watch their growth and development from day to day. There is only one boy who is as far advanced in arithmetic as fractions, while some eight or ten others are just beginning, thoroughly understanding all that has gone before. The remaining children are in the four elements of arithmetic. As a rule the children read fluently, but it is only persistent work and study which enables them to understand "what the black words say."

Their talent for drawing is remarkable and they have a wonderful ear for music. Thorough elementary work in the three R's, and music and drawing, seems sufficient scientific education for them, and such training will certainly fit them for a life of true usefulness. Furthermore, such education appears necessary, for the day is fast approaching when the Indians' lives will entirely depend upon dealings with the white man—socially and financially. Industrial education is their greatest need—yes, it is a crying need. The younger men and women who are just married and starting out in life need it, and the older Indians need it as well. The mission provides industrial education of the right sort for its children. As the government school is now planned and conducted at Nenana, there is no possibility for industrial training for any of the village Indians.

After five hours of actual school work the children return to the mission to take up the industrial side of their education. The girls have regular classes in sewing, they do the greater part of the cooking and the bread making for our immense family, and they attend to all the housekeeping. The boys keep up the wood and water supply, attend to the gardens, build fences, care for the livestock, cure fish and receive instruction in carpentry from a capable man in the mission service.



Annie Cragg Farthing with Matilda, whom she adopted, and Mark. According to Alice, the Reverend Charles Betticher liked to see the black bow in Miss Farthing's white hair, "and so, although she professed not to like it herself, she nevertheless would put it there each morning saying, 'And this is for Mr. Betticher.'" Hudson Stuck photograph album, in the collection of Alice A. Boulter.



Annie Farthing's funeral, January 20, 1911, Nenana. Miss Farthing was buried on the Tortella bluff, which rises in the background. In the winter, it was possible to walk to the bluff from the mission grounds across the frozen Nenana River. Collection of Alice A. Boulter.

Would that the government could provide a suitable house where the village women—some of whom are mere girls after all—could have the benefit of such thorough domestic training as is given the girls in the mission. By all means the village men and boys need the instruction the mission boys are constantly receiving. Work, systematic work, and plenty of it would do much to revolutionize the Indian world. The mission children carry so much influence into the homes. Once a week they are permitted to visit their parents in the village and they often assist in the household duties. [page missing]

The general health of the Indians this year has been fairly good. Their summer life in tents seems preferable to their cabins as it surely is more hygienic, and the open light of day seems to chase away the immorality which at times during the winter is dreadfully rank. All garbage is thrown into the river which is a dumping place for all refuse, and then this water is used for drinking purposes. The infant mortality is distressing. Though but three babies have died this winter, some six or eight infants just now are barely struggling to live. The babes are born in filth and ignorance and so it is hard for many children to live longer than a few months. There have been eight deaths this year among the older people, though only four died while the Indians were camped here. Tuberculosis or syphilis in some form are seen in almost every Indian—man, woman and child. I am safe in saying there is scarcely a whole one among them.

The registered nurse at the mission, Miss Mary Agnes Bolster, visits the village regularly and administers to the physical needs of the people. They have confidence in the white man's remedies, in fact most of them are too fond of medicine and the promiscuous use of drugs is not encouraged. The medicine man himself comes for aid as he sees his weird charms more often fail than cure or prevent. Miss Bolster has to be ever watchful as to the correct use of her prescriptions, as some of the very old Indians who are buried deep in superstitions will interfere with the treatment or course of medicine which has been carefully prescribed. The Indians, one and all, become impatient if the remedy does not cure immediately, and in a fit of despondence want to increase the doses of medicine. "Plenty make well quick" is their idea of a rapid recovery. Then, too, they often resort to their barbarous customs of cutting and bleeding. A doctor with them regularly would be a blessing to their race.

The Indians, a few families excepted, were comfortably fixed all this past year. The hunting has been exceptionally good, the moose were most plentiful. However, the hunting has not been done in the vicinity of Nenana but some twenty miles north of here and round about Wood River. The Indians kill the moose without the least discrimination and, until the law is enforced to protect the animal, the great killing will continue and it will not be long before the moose becomes extinct. When this happens the Indian will greatly suffer, particularly during the winter. Quite a bit of other hunting is done; the lynx, beaver,



"Beginning our wonderful month-and-a-half, 1,100 mile wedding journey down the frozen Yukon," Alice recalled. "Forty-plus below. Jim, the Indian guide, is in front with his team, tent, stove, axes, candles, and dog food. I am bundled up in the other sled with the 'grub box' in my possession, with delicious frozen food, my dear husband at the handle bars. Many friends on bank by the mission, bidding us 'God speed, good luck.'" Collection of Alice A. Boulter.

porcupine, bear, caribou, muskrat, wolverine, otter, squirrel and rabbit are all found around Nenana. The post trader pays a fair price for the skins and meat, but the Indian does not receive near all that is due him as the foodstuffs given in trade are usually of an inferior grade. Many of the younger men work on the river steamers, while the trader gives employment at times to the older men at wood-cutting. The timber is in great quantities and this industry could furnish a livelihood to those who would but work.

At all events, the native families could live quite nicely on their returns from the hunt and other work if so much of their earnings was not spent foolishly. They indulge in tawdry jewelry and utterly useless things such as large mirrors, chafing dishes, suitcases and the like, and before long they are begging for flour and sugar. The fishing alone could be a lively industry such as would keep the families comfortably. The waters are abundant and the Indians could well put up enough fish, not only for their use but in sufficient quantities to supply

the great demand for dried fish during the winter. As it is, they put up scarcely enough for their own use. They are lazy and indolent. What they do cure is, for the large part, miserably done.

Something should be done, I think, to protect the Indians from the low, dishonest white men. The poor primitive people are very weak, the oldest is as childish as the youngest, they are all “but as a little child, they know not how to go.”³⁵ They are so prone to accept the bad in all things, the bad seems a greater magnet than the good. The worthless white man, everywhere in evidence, does much to undo the good which is imparted to the Indians by the few who are striving to uplift them. Whiskey is the Indians’ ruination, and they seem to be able to get liquor without the least difficulty. Several times this year some few Nenana Indians were debased shockingly and their conduct was frightful, all due to whiskey which was gotten from white men.

The Indians yield to temptation without much persuasion, particularly when the temptation is presented by one whom the Indian considers his superior—the white man. They are not able to discriminate between the good and the bad in the whites and are so easily caught in the snare which is laid for them. And what is the consequence? Their standard of morals is lowered, and the Indian, instead of improving, is going back, back until he reaches the level of the type of white man who is in a far more degraded state than the Indian in his primitive life.

But there is a hope for the Indian here in Alaska. In the children lies the future of the race. The children will always be well cared for as long as the mission exists. The natives are anxious to put their children in the boarding school as soon as ever they are old enough, and today the mission is overcrowded. The question is—how to help the entire village, young and old? First of all the right sort of teachers should be placed in the government schools, one or several, who would remain not merely for the brief space of a few school months. The instruction should be mostly industrial. Suitable buildings should be provided where the Indians, old and young, could receive this needed instruction. There should be some large room for a recreation hall where the Indians, one and all, could spend the long dark, cold hours of each winter’s day. They should be taught to make good use of what is at hand: the proper curing of fish, the cultivation of gardens and the running of a sawmill. All this, and much more perhaps, could surely, if not easily, be brought about if the government worker or workers with all the necessary material would remain at least an entire year with these people.

Compulsion in all matters great and small is necessary in dealing with the Indian. Leniency cannot be used in the least. Some government official, if not continually but frequently in their midst, would work wonders in their behavior and living in general. These poor people need someone who is strong and true,

³⁵ Alice alludes here to 1 Kings 3:7: “And now, O Lord my God, thou hast made thy servant king instead of David my father: and I am but a little child: I know not how to go out or come in.”

to whom they can go at all times feeling they are not to be robbed nor cheated nor misled in any way. And to get at the root of the existing evils amongst them is to let such a one or ones step right in the midst of these people, take a strong hold and go right ahead. The Indian will soon realize what a friend or friends he has. Through industrial education the physical conditions of the Indians would improve, and in time the race would be lifted to an atmosphere of Goodness and Purity, to a land of Brotherly Love.

The assumptions and attitudes on display in Alice's report were, of course, commonplace at the time. Native peoples were ignorant children, easily misguided, who needed to be saved from themselves (and from abuse at the hands of morally standard whites), and it was the duty of civilized peoples to redeem them. Especially in the depth of its self-assurance, the moral presumption offends us today. What is worthy of reflection, though, is the obvious sincerity of conviction. A sometimes tragic space exists between intentions and outcomes, and perhaps it is only by continually questioning what seems to us self-evident that we can hope to align the two.

On August 11, 1911, The Alaskan Churchman reported:

Married, on Monday, July 3rd, at Christ Church Mission, Anvik, George Edward Boulter and Alice Agnes Green, by the Reverend John W. Chapman. Both Mr. and Mrs. Boulter have been actively connected with the Alaskan Mission: Mr. Boulter at Eagle, and Mrs. Boulter at Anvik and Nenana. For some years Mr. Boulter has been one of the superintendents of government schools in Alaska. Mr. and Mrs. Boulter will take up their residence at Tanana, and they carry with them the hearty good wishes of all their former associates and friends.

The little church at Anvik where Alice and George were married was still holding services as late as 1998, more than one hundred years after it was built. During that century, much has been learned, and perhaps not enough laid to rest.

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