

Booming the Klondike *Down Under*: The British Columbian Connection

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'Billinger is going to lecture on the Klondike.'
'Fudge! He has never been there.'
'Well, neither have the people who will hear him lecture'¹

In August 1896, gold was discovered in the Yukon on Bonanza Creek, a tributary of the Klondike River, in turn a tributary of the Yukon River. Because of winter isolation, the news of the discovery in the remote northwest of Canada was not widely known to the outside world until mid-July 1897. That was when two Alaskan coastal steamers, *Excelsior* and *Portland*, crowded with prospectors, arrived, separately, in San Francisco and Seattle. A ton of gold was landed in Seattle from the *Portland*, or so it was claimed by Seattle newspapermen in the telegraph copy they hurriedly despatched to east coast newspapers.²

Word of the Klondike discovery quickly spread around the world through cable news services, with the first reports of a 'rich find of gold at Klondike' appearing in Australasian newspapers within days of the arrival of the two ships.³ Over the following weeks additional telegraph news was received via the Singapore/Darwin marine cable, augmented with printed copy from west coast newspapers arriving on the monthly mail boats.

A growing body of information, and considerable misinformation, about the Klondike fuelled daily conversation. From Otago to Kalgoorlie, the talk was of Klondike and its coming rush. *Gold* was a word all understood. But, it is doubtful if there was a single person then living in either Australia or New Zealand who had ever heard of *Klondike* before seeing it in print in their local newspaper.

Only a few adventurous souls made it to the Klondike in 1897 before the northern winter once again isolated the place, locking it away until the spring thaw of 1898. Most, if not all, Australians and New Zealanders who took part in the 1897 rush were already on the North American west coast, and were thus able to respond to news of the discovery. Among them was Frank 'Paddy' Slavin, a well-known Australian heavyweight boxer touring America, about whom more will be heard later in this paper.

The main rush, the *Stampede* as it was soon called, came in the spring of 1898. At least 700 out of an estimated 30,000 people on the field in 1898 – roughly one out of every forty – came from Australia or New Zealand.⁴ This is a significant involvement, given their small populations and remoteness from the Yukon. One might say their presence on the Klondike was a measure of Aussie and Kiwi determination and resourcefulness – or, perhaps, gullibility.

It is difficult though to dismiss them merely as a gullible lot. In contrast to other nationalities represented on the field, they were mostly experienced gold miners. Many were second or third generation miners with family connections going back to the first gold rushes in Australia and New Zealand.⁵ Some were responsible for significant discoveries in Australasia – Gilles McPherson, David McGregor, Charles Lloyd and Billy Nicholl, to name just four.

The Klondike proved to be small, fully staked and hostage to unfair mining laws and a rapacious and even corrupt administration. The anticipated quartz reefs – the motherlodes – were not there to be found. The Klondike was only an alluvial, or placer, field, very likely a consequence of glaciation in recent geological history. Experienced prospectors do not journey across the world to work only an alluvial field, not least one already overcrowded. Disappointed, most of the Australians and New Zealanders left the Klondike before the winter of 1898-99 set in.

How could they have been led into humping their swags to this remote corner of Canada?

They asked the same question of themselves. A common answer was that offered by an Australian miner by the name of Walderson on his return home in late 1898.⁶ Although his claim that it was ‘miraculous he had escaped from death on the goldfields’ might have been a touch melodramatic, his declaration that the ‘fabulous richness’ of the Klondike was ‘all moonshine’ was an assessment shared by many. Walderson put his finger on the source of the moonshine: ‘The shipping and transportation companies and the trading rings were booming the place’. The same observation was offered to New Zealanders by one of their own, ‘an old West Coast Digger’, via a private letter to Premier Richard Seddon, widely printed in the newspapers.⁷ Quite simply, the hard-headed, experienced miners from *Down Under* had been misled, thoroughly so and in their hundreds.

How could this have happened? This paper will offer an explanation, one that suggests a British Columbian twist on the generally accepted thesis on the booming of the Klondike Rush.

British Columbia’s golden opportunity

The Klondike Rush was boomed by those who were likely to benefit most from the transporting and outfitting of tens of thousands of goldfield hopefuls. Seattle merchants, aided by their newspaper colleagues and abetted by Seattle-connected rail and shipping companies, are commonly put at the centre of the beat up, with their chief marks being their own countrymen.⁸ Seattle did very well out of outfitting prospective Klondikers, as did the railway and shipping companies who brought them to Seattle and sent them on their way to Skagway or Dyea, at the head of the *Klondike Trail*.

However, it is not to Seattle that we should look to find the principal boomer of the Klondike in Australasia. That dubious honour belongs to British Columbia (B.C.), chiefly in the form of Vancouver and Victoria merchants conspiring with Australasian shipping interests and assisted by agents sent to boom the Klondike.

The discovery of gold in the Klondike was a significant event for the Canadian province. It afforded not only a commercial opportunity, but also brought an existential threat to British Columbia’s future. Isolated from its fellow provinces by the Rocky Mountains and the huge expanse of the Canadian prairies, B.C. was in dire need of the economic stimulus the rush might provide. The province faced an uncertain future given the economic and political challenge offered by the growing importance of the northwest coast of the United States. Seattle, a railhead seaport only a short distance from the international border, was rapidly emerging as a major economic centre, potentially a second San Francisco. All of this was understood, anxiously so, by the merchants of Victoria, the provincial capital on Vancouver Island, and of Vancouver, the port and railhead for the Canadian Pacific Railway, only completed in 1885.

Just prior to the Klondike discovery news, the Yukon had already been identified as important to the future economic prosperity of the province by the British Columbia Board of Trade, a merchants’ organisation.⁹ In the Board’s report, the

American domination of trade into the Yukon, Canadian territory, was singled out as a major problem, facilitated by ready American access to its interior through the Yukon River, the mouth of which was in Alaska.¹⁰ The situation was exacerbated by the continuing failure to determine the international boundary between B.C. and Alaska along the American occupied coastal strip, which provided the main alternative way into the Yukon.¹¹ The Board was gearing up for a commercial push into the Yukon when the news came of American ships landing Canadian gold in American ports. There was the possibility the gold discovery could precipitate a complete American takeover of the Yukon, not just economically but even territorially.

Seattle, more so than San Francisco, quickly responded to the commercial opportunities offered by the Klondike, effectively promoting itself as the place to come to buy your outfit and to embark on a steamer heading north. Practically all Americans did indeed go via Seattle or, to a lesser extent, via San Francisco. As most of those who reached the Klondike were Americans, Seattle enjoyed an economic windfall and its potential threat to B.C. grew even more.

Where did this leave the B.C. merchants, especially those of Vancouver and Victoria? Canadian and British *Stampeders* who travelled to the Pacific coast by the Canadian Pacific Railway mostly outfitted in the two cities and then embarked from their ports for the *Klondike Trail* jumping off points further up the coast. But, with its greater flood of Americans, the cash registers rang far louder in Seattle than they did in Vancouver and Victoria.

British Columbia's merchants, however, had two potential sources of customers where they had the edge over Seattle – Australia and New Zealand. Although it is not easily assessed, British Columbia very likely benefited from shared British cultural values and Canada's political connections with Australia and New Zealand. Imperial sentiment aside, the B.C. merchants also had two practical advantages over their American west coast rivals in cornering this market.

The first advantage was there were only two scheduled passenger liner services, both Australasian owned, for west coast North America – the Union Steam Ship Company sailed for San Francisco and the Canadian-Australian Royal Mail Line for Vancouver and Victoria, with both offering monthly sailings.¹² No scheduled liner sailed for Seattle. Thus, no Australian or New Zealander was delivered directly into the hands of the Seattle merchants, and relatively few were landed in San Francisco. As will be explained later, a clever arrangement was effected to divert San Francisco bound passengers to British Columbia.

As well as the scheduled services, two unscheduled sailings, the *Cape Otway* and the *Paroo*, were offered by the Australasian United Steam Navigation Company (A.U.S.N.) specifically for Klondike-bound passengers, departing in March and April respectively. The British Columbian argument won support here as well, even though the intention was to disembark passengers at the Alaskan gateways to the Klondike. However, as stated in the advertisements, the voyages would include a Vancouver stopover for outfitting purposes, with no mention of Seattle or San Francisco.¹³ In the end, ostensibly for insurance reasons, the two ships sailed only as far as Vancouver and Victoria. This was a significant win for these cities, as by this writer's assessment at least a quarter of all Australians and New Zealanders who reached the Klondike very likely travelled on the *Cape Otway*, which collected passengers in Fremantle, Melbourne, Sydney and Auckland. Other unscheduled sailings by other firms were advertised, some for Alaskan ports, but none eventuated.¹⁴

The second advantage had to do with customs duty. Any *Stamper* who purchased supplies in the United States, at Seattle for example, would have to pay

customs duty, as much as 35 per cent, once they reached the border on the Chilkoot or White passes, the Canadian entry points for the *Klondike Trail*.¹⁵ Goods purchased in Canada, in Vancouver or Victoria for example, would not be subject to this Canadian imposed duty, provided they arrived on the border as bonded goods accompanied with the requisite paperwork.

The Canadian authorities required all entering the Yukon from Alaska to bring in one year's supply of food. Along with other necessary supplies, an individual's load could easily comprise a ton of goods – including everything from crates of beans to prospecting equipment and changes of socks and underwear. Outfitting for the Klondike was a matter of serious expenditure – and profit.

Targeting the Market

Separate marketing campaigns were launched by the two leading provincial merchant organisations, the Victoria-based British Columbia Board of Trade and the Vancouver Board of Trade.¹⁶ Their purpose was, unabashedly, to boom the Klondike goldfields and, more importantly, to guide the flow of people heading there through British Columbia's outfitters – specifically those in Victoria or Vancouver. The timeframe was tight. The work needed to be completed before the Canadian spring of 1898, when the rush would be well underway.

Figure 1: *Klondike Ho! shipping advertisement.*

CANADIAN-AUSTRALIAN ROYAL MAIL LINE.
SPECIAL NOTICE.
SHORTEST AND QUICKEST ROUTE TO GOLDFIELDS.
AQRANGI, leaving Sydney JANUARY 2
MIOWERA, leaving Sydney FEBRUARY 2
WARRIMOO, leaving Sydney MARCH 26.
The goldfields are situated in the north-west territory of the dominion of Canada, and are governed by Canadian laws.
Passengers by this route, outfitting at Victoria, B.C., avoid all Customs duties.
Intending passengers will be booked by priority of application, accommodation being limited.
Berths can now be secured.
For further particulars apply,

KLONDYKE GOLDFIELDS.
KLONDYKE GOLDFIELDS.
The new and unrivalled passenger steamer
CAPE OTWAY (4,000 tons)
Will
LEAVE FREMANTLE
On 12th FEBRUARY
For **JUNEAU CITY** and **DYEA**,
Via Albany, Adelaide, Melbourne, Sydney, Auckland, Suva, Honolulu, and Vancouver.
Intending passengers must apply early for berths if they wish to avoid disappointment.
For full particulars apply at the
A.U.S.N. CO'S OFFICES, ST. GEORGE'S-TERRACE, PERTH,
Or, **MOUATT-STREET, FREMANTLE.**
D. HAMILTON,
Manager for Western Australia.

Source: *The West Australian* (Perth) 29 January 1898.

The Vancouver Board of Trade, on 18 August 1897, was the first to establish a committee for the specific purpose of advertising the city as a 'outfitting point'.¹⁷ C\$8,164.70 was collected from Board members, which was mainly spent on newspaper advertising, including in Australian newspapers. It is instructive that the Board singled out Australia, in company with Britain and the United States, as affording a likely opportunity for promoting Vancouver. It was a selective advertising campaign that ran for a short time only, December and January, with ads under the aegis of the Board appearing in several major Australian metropolitan and goldfield papers.¹⁸ The ads

promoted Vancouver as ‘the best place on the Pacific Coast in which to outfit for the Goldfields’. This claim was backed with advice on the advantages offered by the onward shipping available from Vancouver and a warning about the customs duty payable on non-Canadian goods. An advisory service was offered, with an invitation to write to the Board in Vancouver, or to contact L. Garbutt, ‘Agent in Australasia for Vancouver Board of Trade’¹⁹ at 99 Queen Street in Melbourne. Garbutt, who was provided with printed material to offer enquirers, ran a typewriting business, the equivalent of today’s secretarial service.²⁰ No advertisements appear to have been placed in New Zealand newspapers.²¹

The Victoria-based British Columbia Board of Trade’s promotional work was carried out by a ‘citizens’ committee’, the ‘Klondike Advertising Committee’, whose secretary, P. Elsworth, also served as the Board’s secretary.²² The work of the Committee, including the raising of funds, started in September 1897. To cover the costs of their promotional campaign, including Australasia, C\$11,747.90 was raised, with most of the funds coming from some 163 subscribers, ranging from small Victoria retail businesses with ten dollar pledges through to major manufacturing firms, including Bovril Ltd (\$100) and, with a brand-name well known still in Canada, Aylmer Canning Ltd (\$50).

A much broader approach was taken to that of the Vancouver merchants. Rather than buying newspaper advertisements, information packages of pamphlets and maps were despatched before year’s end to chambers of commerce and municipal governments in both Australia and New Zealand, with a request they be made available free of charge to local interested prospectors and passed on to local newspapers.²³ In both places, newspapers, including local and regional press, were directly targeted with ‘circulars’, the equivalent of today’s media releases, in some cases distributed by cable.²⁴ In their material, the Victoria merchants made the same points as their Vancouver colleagues about customs duty and the Klondike being on Canadian territory, but in a more generous spirit referred to ‘British Columbia coast cities’ and not just their own city.

The shipping companies through their agents and newspaper advertisements provided another promotional platform for British Columbia. Printed material promoting British Columbia offering the best outfitting stop were despatched by both Boards to Australasian shipping companies and their local agents, who in turn provided it to prospective passengers. The collusion of merchants and shipping can be seen in the wording of newspaper advertisements. A typical ad, for example one placed in January in the *West Australian* by the Fremantle and Albany agents for Canadian-Australian Royal Mail Line ships, promised the ‘shortest and quickest route to goldfields’, with the reminder that the goldfields were in Canada, governed by Canadian laws, and that ‘passengers by this route, outfitting at Victoria, B.C., avoid all Customs duties’.²⁵ The widespread appearance of Canadian-Australian Royal Mail Line ads with this near identical reference to avoiding duty suggests the same advertising copy, informed by the B.C. Board of Trade, was being distributed in an organised way from head office. With their repeated publication, shipping advertisements were themselves effective promotions of both the Klondike and British Columbia as its gateway.

Influencing the Decision to *Ho for Klondike!*

The logistical arrangements for funnelling *Stampeders* through the emporiums of Vancouver and Victoria were relatively easy to establish and to promote. The information blitz of the two Boards very quickly built a good case for this being the sensible way to travel, duly endorsed by the shipping companies. As well, San

San Francisco and Seattle were not offering any serious competition for the Australasian market, possibly a response to the high-profile presence of their British Columbian competitors.

The real challenge though was to entice prospectors into making the decision to embark on the long journey to the Klondike. This challenge was made more demanding because of an information vacuum. There was hardly anyone, possibly no one, then living in Australasia who had first-hand knowledge of the Klondike Goldfield, or who had even lived or prospected anywhere in the Yukon.

Figure 2A: Location map.

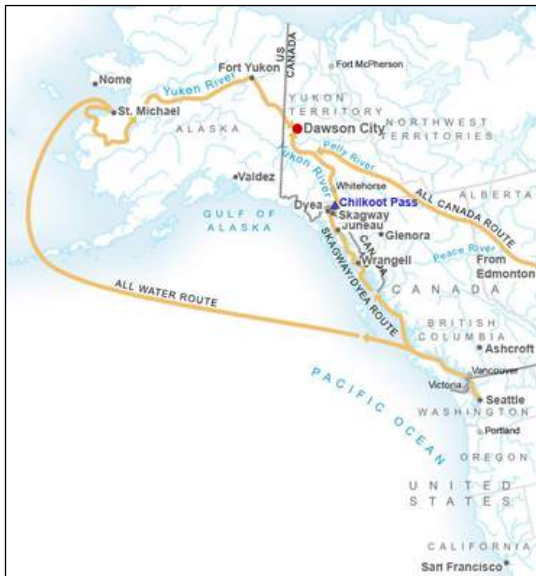
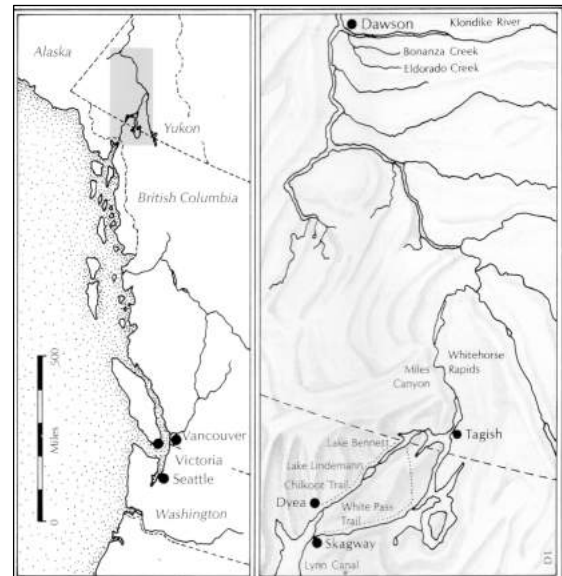


Figure 2B: Location map.



Source: 2A: 'Klondike Gold rush' entry, *Wikipedia*. Source: 2B: Pierre Berton, *The Klondike Quest: a photographic Essay 1897-1899*, The Boston Mills Press: Erin, Ontario, Canada, 1997, p. 6.

It was not that there was a lack of news about the Klondike arriving on the monthly mail boats. The newspapers printed, with little discrimination, the Klondike stories appearing in the American and Canadian newspapers, together with despatches by their own 'special correspondents'. As well, there were self-serving pronouncements from Canadian officials extolling the wealth of the Klondike, along with reports from fellow countrymen then on the west coast, if far from the Klondike, who relayed what they were being told. The information being offered through this multitude of sources was often contradictory on key issues and lacking in authority, but Klondike booming sounded loudly. Today, we would label many of these accounts as *fake news*.

Nonetheless, the newspapers overflowed with a rush of Klondike copy. The telegraph network and the newspaper practice of exchanging copy ensured that every fragment of news, every morsel of rumour was circulated among the hundreds of New Zealand and Australian newspapers. Verified facts and unbiased truth, however, flowed less freely. What was the truth about the Klondike? The only truth was that no one really knew.

We should remind ourselves here of how miners made good use of their *bush telegraph* to spread reports among themselves about developments on goldfields. Pub encounters and campfire yarns, letters from mates passed on for others to read, all served as the social media of the late 19th century. Sharing knowledge was essential to both spreading and assessing information about new goldfields. Much of this exchange was verbal and is lost to the historian today. But not completely, as the best tips were

picked up by the local newspaper and passed on to other papers through the exchange network.

However, the *bush telegraph*, as reflected in the newspapers, was very quiet. There was the occasional private letter, perhaps months old, written by a knowledgeable Australasian who was on the Alaska coast, perhaps even on the way to the field.²⁶ But the trusted word of a fellow digger, one who had set foot on the Klondike, offering a first-hand professional assessment on the worth of this distant field was, with rare exception, missing in the months following the discovery.²⁷ It was during that time the decision had to be made as to whether to *Ho for Klondike!* or to stay put. It was common knowledge that the big rush would begin with the 1898 spring break up of the ice on the Yukon River. This was likely to happen sometime in late May. Therefore, to be in the rush, you should be on your way to Canada no later than April.

Sending in the Agents

The Victoria and Vancouver merchants seemingly understood the need for trusted voices on home ground promoting both the Klondike and British Columbia as its gateway. In the case of Victoria, the Klondike Advertising Committee's accounts show C\$1,950 was paid for the employment of agents in Great Britain, the USA and Australia.²⁸ What was required were men who could be presented to Australasian miners as being of their own kind returning home in late 1897 after spending time on the Klondike. Victoria and Vancouver separately recruited their own agents. To be successful, the agents would need to be convincing and to work quickly and efficiently. A review of the B.C. agents and their activities shows mixed outcomes.

Victoria's Agents: Three agents were recruited by the B.C. Board of Trade to promote Victoria: Edwin Davis, Homer Galloway and Charles McLean. Their recruiting likely took place in Victoria, where the trio boarded the *Warrimoo* departing on November 22 for its return voyage to New Zealand and Australia. They carried with them 1,000 copies of a special edition of Victoria's *Daily Colonist*, together with a supply of maps and pamphlets and an extensive collection of lantern slides.

The arrival of the *Warrimoo* in Wellington on 15 December 1897 provided the reporter from the *Evening Post*, who met the ship, with a scoop, reflected in his story's headline: 'Men Who Have Been to Klondyke'.²⁹

According to the *Evening Post*, the three were indeed the long-awaited diggers returning home after a visit to the 'Klondyke goldfields'. The lengthy interview, provided chiefly by Edwin Davis, covered all the key issues currently in need of expert advice. Their journey to Dawson City from Victoria, 'after outfitting there', was described as being 'of a fairly enjoyable character'. Two months were spent on the Klondike, 'where every opportunity was seized to visit the [various creek] goldfields'. They 'emphatically' contradicted the negative reports of lawlessness on the Klondike, any shortage of food supplies and fears of unemployment. Most importantly, they expressed themselves as 'perfectly satisfied that the Klondyke is immensely rich in the precious metal', and to underscore that opinion, announced their 'intention to return to the district in the summer'.

All the boxes were ticked. This was exactly the information long sought by potential Klondikers – the advice of their own kind who had been to the Klondike. Further, according to the *Evening Post* interview, to underscore their credibility, they were authorised by the 'Canadian Board of Trade³⁰ and the Mayor of Victoria' to give all particulars regarding the Klondike to anyone wishing to go to there. But, no one, Davis stressed, should think of going there unless he has £150 in his pockets.

An abridged cable version of the interview, focussing on the key areas of concern, was published within days by newspapers throughout New Zealand and Australia.³¹ Although the original *Evening Post* article did not specifically claim the three were actually ‘miners’, the cable version of the story allowed them that important credibility qualification. There were some who had their doubts about the positive claims of these ‘three cocksure miners’, to cite the editor of the *Zeehan Herald*. He even suspected they had never been near Dawson City, ‘but have been laying low in wait’ for a gullible reporter.³² Overall, their story was not only accepted, but uncritically so.

With their coming heralded by the New Zealand cable item and the colony’s press awaiting their arrival at dockside for more interviews, the trio reached Sydney on 20 December.³³ They quickly got down to work. On 31 December at the Opera House on King and York streets, the ‘Returned Klondikers’ presented an ‘illustrative Descriptive Lecture’ featuring – courtesy of the B.C. Board of Trade - 100 limelight views of the ‘trails, the mines, Dawson City &c.’. The lecture, noted the newspaper advertisement, was ‘authenticated by the Board of Trade, Victoria, B.C.’ and offered ‘the personal experiences of men who have been over the trails, climbed the mountains, shot the canyons, fought the mosquitos, and saw the diggings’.³⁴ The illustrated lecture, with tickets sold at 1s and 2s, earned a positive review in next day’s *Sydney Morning Herald*, including taking note of Edwin Davis’s advice to prospective Klondikers to make all their purchases in Victoria.³⁵

The good start made by the three ‘Returned Klondikers’ very quickly faltered. They became involved, perhaps not unwillingly, in a short-lived scam engineered by a well-known Sydney confidence man, ‘Pumice-Stone’ Walter Norton.³⁶ With their names prominent in the advertising as the ‘Three Men from the Yukon Goldfield’, the trio were linked with a dodgy company, *The Yukon Goldfields Corporation*, operating out of the *Queensland Offices* at 58 Bridge Street in Sydney.³⁷ With the claim of official endorsement by the B.C. Board of Trade, the company offered to personally conduct clients to the Klondike goldfields and provide twelve months’ provisions, all for a fixed fee. An exposé by the *Truth* newspaper revealed it was a confidence trick working off the public recognition of the three agents having been to the Klondike. The three ‘Returned Klondikers’ quickly did a runner on their rented office, which perhaps explains their absence in February from mention in the newspapers and for a time from effective promotional work on behalf of the B.C. Board of Trade.³⁸

The three reappeared in public in March, but were now working independently. While considering their separate activities, we can also discuss their backgrounds.

Charles McLean headed for Western Australia. His destination assists in our identifying him through a newspaper interview as an early Coolgardie prospector, co-discoverer of the *Golden Zone* mine.³⁹ McLean had left the area in 1895 following the sale of his share in the mine.⁴⁰ He was the only one of the three for whom there is any evidence of being either Australian or having any experience in gold mining. His main contribution may have been to provide the practical knowledge of gold mining needed by the other two. McLean was the least active of the three, seemingly offering just one press interview, but which was carried verbatim by several newspapers. There was promise of a lecture in Perth, which may not have eventuated. While his single interview offered practical information and confirmed the richness of the field, he made no mention of the advantages of travelling to the Klondike via Victoria, or Vancouver.

Homer Galloway remained in Sydney, working from the ‘Klondike Information Bureau’ at 27 Jamieson Street, where information was being ‘readily offered’ in person or by post. Galloway was an unemployed 29-year-old American journalist.⁴¹ He had

been the editor of the *Newton Record*, a weekly newspaper in Jasper, Iowa. Sometime in 1897, he quit both his job and Iowa, possibly owing to the breakdown of his marriage. There is no evidence he had any mining experience or had previously spent time in Australia, but his circumstances allowed for a short visit to the Klondike, as claimed.

In April, Galloway mailed en masse 'letters to the editor' to newspapers across Australia, mainly to those in New South Wales.⁴² All carried the same text, extolling the riches of the Klondike and reviewing the merits of different routes to the Klondike and recommending over all others the inland *Stikine Trail*⁴³ via Victoria as the most advantageous. Galloway noted that he was commissioned by the B.C. Board of Trade to give information and to circulate official maps and guides, 'free of any charge whatever at my office, or ... by post for 2d to defray costs'. The letter concluded with, 'Inquiries cheerfully and freely answered'.

While inquiries may have been cheerfully answered, one might question how 'freely', as well as how effectively these newspaper letters advanced Victoria's interests. In truth, their purpose was to advance Galloway's interests. Galloway, with 'Pumice-Stone' Walter Norton, had re-established their questionable forwarding agency within weeks of it being exposed as a scam. Simultaneous with his 'letters to the editor' mail out, Galloway placed newspaper advertisements headed, 'New Route to the Klondike'. Although not named, the wording suggests the 'New Route' was the *Stikine Trail*. Galloway presented himself in the ads as the 'Australasian Agent of the Goldminers Forwarding and Investment Co. Ltd. of Victoria, B.C.', with no mention of his connection with the Board.⁴⁴ Readers were invited to call in person or by post at the Jamieson Street office for information 'at no charges whatever' – very likely being offered the same brochures provided by the B.C. Board of Trade. How the scam worked in practice is not clear, but it was publicly revealed as such by the *Truth* in early May and appears subsequently to have collapsed.⁴⁵

Around the same time, Galloway also found himself in difficulties over a bizarre charge of petty theft (of two pillows and a ring, valued at 10s), which also involved a falling out with his collaborator and house-mate, Norton.⁴⁶ Galloway soon left for Honolulu, where he enlisted in the U.S. Navy, in time for the Spanish-American War, serving until 1901. His subsequent life (died 1933) was spent quietly, mostly in Oregon as a small-town newspaper editor and, re-married, a family man. In Australia, however, the American had been a total rogue, willingly subverting the needs of the B.C. Board of Trade to his own ends.

Before he left Australia, Galloway had even tried, if unsuccessfully, to set himself up as the Australian agent for San Francisco's 'Alaska Trade Committee', offering to promote that city as the 'natural outfitting place on the Coast'.⁴⁷ The responding dismissive comment in the press, that 'the fact remains that the Victoria or Vancouver route is the best and cheapest', illustrates the success that had been achieved in the promotion of those two ports.

Edwin Davis would prove to be the most effective and loyal of the three agents engaged by the Board. His background though is the most difficult to uncover. Circumstantial evidence suggests he had a prior connection with British Columbia, but his personal details remain shrouded.⁴⁸ Following the *Yukon Goldfields Corporation* debacle in Sydney, Davis reappears in Melbourne managing his own 'Klondike Information Bureau' at 407 Collins Street.⁴⁹ In the last weeks of March he embarked on a whirlwind tour of mining centres, including Broken Hill⁵⁰ and Moonta⁵¹, finishing up in Adelaide.⁵² Working through newspaper interviews, as well as public and private meetings, Davis offered information that was assessed by the press as well informed

and practical. His advice, as given through a Moonta journalist, included the warning for 'all weak-kneed miners to stay away; ... for only the bravest and strongest will stand a chance of coming back with a competence'.⁵³ He was clear and constant in recommending Victoria as the best place to leave from for the Klondike goldfields. 'As all roads are said to lead to Rome, so do all routes lead from Victoria to the Klondyke', where, he claimed, outfits were 30 per cent cheaper than anywhere else.⁵⁴ He cautioned that no one should start on the journey without at least £100 in their pocket.⁵⁵

There was though, as Davis had discovered, a challenge in getting prospectors to spend that £100 in Victoria. Davis observed that miners would arrange their banking orders for the same city as on their passenger ticket, which meant that where they landed is where they can access their money and very likely where they will spend it. This was a particular disadvantage if San Francisco was the destination – as they would very likely never carry on to Victoria to buy their outfit. To overcome this, he claimed to have arranged with the Union Steam Ship Company for their San Francisco bound passengers to be offered a through fare to Victoria for the same cost, thus encouraging them to continue on to Victoria, a logical thing for them to do as it was all that much closer to their end destination.⁵⁶ From mid-January, the wording in the company's advertisements targeting Klondike-destined customers, previously only referring to going 'via San Francisco', now added 'and Victoria or Vancouver'.⁵⁷ Including Vancouver in the advertisements was likely unavoidable, as that destination invariably eclipsed Victoria as the recommended disembarkation port in shipping advertisements.

On April 23, Edwin Davis departed for Victoria on the *Aorangi*, shepherding a party of 20 prospectors, each with an average of £200 in their wallets. A scheduled stop in Wellington allowed for a farewell booming of the Klondike there, courtesy of the ever-helpful reporter from the *Evening Post* and that paper's cable service.⁵⁸ It was here Davis commented for the first time on the 'women and girls' who had interviewed him about going to the Klondike. He believed 'quite a number' would 'try their luck' in the coming summer. The shipboard *Evening Post* interviews, provided on arrival and departure, appear to be the total effort made by any of the Victoria agents specifically to attract New Zealanders.

It should be said of Edwin Davis that in his work for the B.C. Board of Trade he at times displayed an awareness about the possible consequences of his promotional efforts, as seen in his advice that only the 'bravest and strongest' should go. In a postscript to his interview with the *Evening Post*, published after his departure, Davis even went as far as to advise not going to the Klondike, as all the country had been taken up, 'and there is not much use, therefore, in a newcomer going up that far now'.⁵⁹ He advised instead trying the unproven ground between Dawson and the Yukon headwaters. This was not the official line, which never faltered in promoting the rich goldfields of the Klondike as the destination. Davis's frank advice suggests, at least by April, the reality of the situation at Klondike was known, but not made known.

Edwin Davis was much lauded on his 'return home', with his 'tour through the Australian colonies' credited with successful 'advertising of Victoria as an outfitting point'.⁶⁰ No mention was made of his two colleagues. 'Hundreds of interviews were given' and 'all the leading cities and mining centres in the Australian colonies ... and New Zealand were visited', or so it was reported by Davis, assisted by a bundle of press clippings. No matter this outright hyperbole, the Board of Trade was apparently satisfied with Davis's work. Within weeks of his arrival, Davis was established as the proprietor of Stevens Hotel, a popular 'tourists' retreat'.⁶¹

Vancouver's Agent

The Vancouver Board of Trade's approach was one of simplicity compared with the at times muddled efforts of the B.C. Board. They engaged but one man to fill the role of the returned miner, who, in turn, focussed his efforts on one action, namely sending out letters. In January 1898, he mailed, in bulk, a 'letter to the editor', to newspapers of all classes across Australia and New Zealand.⁶² Searches on *Trove* and *Papers Past* suggest that close to a quarter of the newspapers represented in those digitised collections published the letter.

Written as a private letter supposedly offering advice altruistically as a public service, it is what today would be called an advertorial. The writer, identified as 'A. Ross', began by establishing his expertise to offer advice, by being an Australasian mining man of eighteen years' standing and a member of the Australian Miners' Association, who had just returned from the Chilcoot (Chilkoot) Pass. He did not claim to have been to the Klondike. Ross continued, 'I desire to point out to fellow-workers the following facts', the first of which was an assurance, that 'The reported finds in the Yukon Basin are correct'. He then reviewed the various options available for getting to the Klondike. He raised the custom duty issue in his recommendation, which, not surprisingly, was to go via Vancouver. He purposely singled out Victoria as one of the ports to avoid. The letter concluded by assuring the reader the information offered was learnt 'on the spot' and by speaking to (William) Ogilvie and (Clifford) Sifton, two senior Canadian officials closely associated with the Klondike and then much in the news. Finally, the reader was directed to J.S. Larke, the Canadian agent in Australasia, who 'will bear me out in the above'. That the letter was sent from Larke's Sydney office would have added to its credibility.⁶³ Perhaps to underscore the letter's seemingly public service intent, no mention was made of the Vancouver Board of Trade. Unlike the B.C. Board agents, Ross did not give lectures, provide any press interviews or offer to respond personally to enquiries. No matter, the letter's widespread and timely appearance, with its authoritative and straight talking advice, undoubtedly worked to Vancouver's advantage.

A similar, but more detailed, letter was also sent in late January to at least one workers' organisation, the Trades and Labor Council in Adelaide.⁶⁴ (It seems likely other bodies received letters, but to date none has been found.) In the Adelaide letter, a direct connection was made by Ross with the Vancouver Board of Trade, including providing the address of their agent in Melbourne, L.A. Garbutt, for further information.

That letter also gave the true identity of 'A. Ross', the 'Australasian mining man of eighteen years' standing'. He was, in fact, 49-year-old Ross Rumball, more mining speculator than practicing 'mining man', with a long and controversial Australia-wide reputation.⁶⁵ Born in Canada and resident in Australia since 1877, Rumball made a brief trip back to Canada in early 1897, when he very likely did travel to the Chilkoot Pass and speak with Canadian officials, as claimed. He returned to Australia in December on the same ship as the three Victoria agents, with Larke also a fellow passenger. The relationship between Larke and Rumball is not clear, particularly as to why Larke, a Canadian official, countenanced Rumball's undermining Victoria as a destination. Rumball's reason for returning to Australia for a brief visit, and initially using a pseudonym presumably so as not to attract attention to his presence, was likely connected to his domestic situation. Ross Rumball had returned in secret to fetch his mistress, in whose company he left for Canada in early February, deserting forever his South Australian wife and young family. Of the four agents, Rumball was the only one to go to the Klondike in 1898, but perhaps not solely for prospecting gold.

Some timely help

British Columbia's merchants benefited from not having any authoritative opposition in Australasia contradicting their booming of the Klondike. Even more fortunate for them was the arrival of a positive report in early 1898 linked to the prospecting success of an Australian celebrity on the Klondike, Frank Patrick Slavin, known to all as Paddy Slavin.

Frank Slavin, champion heavyweight boxer, was an Australian celebrity.⁶⁶ He was also an ex-gold miner, having in his youth followed rushes in New South Wales and Queensland. Thus, Slavin combined a trusted public persona with gold mining credibility. Slavin was on the U.S. west coast when news broke of the gold discovery. He immediately joined the rush and before the end of August was on his way down the Yukon River in a collapsible canvas boat. His Klondike odyssey, fed largely by rumour, was closely followed by the newspapers back home. His tragic death on the *Trail* was reported in late September, followed by his miraculous resurrection in November's papers, accompanied with the pronouncement attributed to him that the Klondike goldfield was 'the richest ever known'.⁶⁷ In February, Slavin was reported to have found the Klondike's mother lode, a quartz reef thought to extend for many miles, 'richly sprinkled with free gold'.⁶⁸ Up to this time, only alluvial gold had been reported; reef gold meant a goldfield worthy of attention. The report filled a timely need of the *bush telegraph* - primed by the British Columbian agents, notably Davis and Rumball - for an authoritative Australian update on the worth of the field.

The newspaper story proved to be false, or at least misleading. In a letter written on 27 February, but not published in newspapers until late April, Slavin wrote they had found some 'fine-looking quartz locations ... believed by some to be the mother lode'.⁶⁹ But, Slavin personally was cautious about claiming too much until the find had been opened up. Indeed, it proved not to be a reef, let alone the mother lode. Slavin's words of caution came too late. By late April nearly all intending to reach the Klondike in time for the rush of 1898 had already left. Not for the first time in gold rush history, news of a discovery proved false.

Guilty as charged

Walderson's claim that the Klondike had been boomed by 'trading rings' and 'shipping and transportation companies' is essentially correct. What he overlooked was to connect the booming with British Columbia. British Columbian merchants, through the province's two premier boards of trade ('trading rings'), had immediately recognised the commercial opportunities of the Klondike Rush. Their response included identifying Australasia as a potential source of custom for their outfitters. As has been discussed, the two boards quickly, and separately, mounted diverse campaigns aimed at promoting the Klondike, with little concern for truthfulness, and ensuring the rush passed through Vancouver or Victoria. Effective use was made of the communication resources of the time, especially the network of Australasian newspapers. British Columbia had two advantages over their American rivals - the Canadian custom duty to be imposed on American purchased goods and the existing passenger shipping arrangements. These advantages were fully exploited. Every opportunity was taken to make the public aware of the custom duty and the shipping advantage was extended to further eclipse Seattle and San Francisco. While the attempt to fill the Klondike information void with their own 'returned miners' fell short in some respects, Davis and Rumball provided useful service to their respective boards. Taken together, the promotional activities of the two Boards of Trade combined with the willing support of the three Australasian shipping companies offers a compelling argument for a significant British Columbian

involvement in the booming of the Klondike *Down Under*. And, successfully so, as the anecdotal evidence from the hundreds of personal accounts collected by this writer indicates that most Australasian *Stampede*s did outfit in Vancouver or Victoria, with relatively few choosing Seattle or San Francisco.

Epilogue

In early June 1898, David Scholz, an Australasian miner who had actually mined on the Klondike, arrived in Auckland, en route for his home in Melbourne.⁷⁰ Scholz had been prospecting in Alaska and the Yukon since 1894. He had been on the Klondike in 1896, was there for the rush of 1897 and took his leave as the 1898 rush got underway. Scholz had done well with his Bonanza Creek claim, taking 600oz before he sold out and left for home.

What did Scholz advise? In a sentence, ‘I would advise any miner who thought of trying his luck at Klondike to stop where he is if he is earning bread and butter’. It was a rich field, he said, but it was small and already well staked. ‘I would not recommend any miner going to the field now’. There is some irony in that Scholz’s voyage home was on the return sailing of the *Cape Otway*.

David Scholz was very likely the first genuine Klondike miner to have returned home. It is not surprising that his frank assessment was soon appearing in newspapers throughout Australia and New Zealand. Alas, it was advice given too late for those who had already outfitted in Victoria or Vancouver and were now scaling the Chilkoot Pass, building boats on the shores of Lake Bennett and heading down the Yukon River. Disappointment awaited them.

Endnotes

¹ ‘Fun and Fancy’, *Star* (Canterbury, NZ), 26 February 1898.

² Pierre Berton, *Klondike The Last Great Gold Rush 1896-98*, Anchor Canada, 1972, pp. 93-101. Refer to Berton for background history of the Klondike Gold Rush.

³ A survey of digitised newspapers available on the *Papers Past* (N.Z.) and *Trove* (Australia) websites shows the news had been made known throughout Australasia before the end of July. For example, ‘Latest Cable News’, *Barrier Miner* (Broken Hill), 20 July 1897, was among the earliest reports in a mining town.

⁴ The estimate of 700 is based on the author’s identification of individuals found through an extensive search of Australian, New Zealand and Yukon newspapers in print and on-line, together with those individuals listed providing Australian or New Zealand addresses identified in Yukon River boat registration ledgers (Canada. Northwest Mounted Police Records (R.G.18, D1-D4). MF#29, Microfilm Reel 011, vols 5-11, Yukon Archives, Whitehorse, Canada). Other sources include published books and unpublished manuscripts and records held by the Whitehorse Public Library, the Dawson City Museum and the Yukon Archives (Whitehorse).

⁵ An assessment based on biographical backgrounds researched by the author.

⁶ ‘Returned from Klondike’, *Singleton Argus*, 3 December 1898.

⁷ For example, ‘Southern Telegrams’, *Auckland Star*, 17 October 1898.

⁸ P. Berton, *Klondike*, 1972, pp. 114-115, et passim.

⁹ Founded in 1863 as the Victoria Chamber of Commerce, the organisation was incorporated in 1878 as the British Columbia Board of Trade. However, its identity and activities were mainly focused on Victoria on Vancouver Island.

¹⁰ British Columbia Board of Trade, *Report of the Committee appointed by the B.C. Board of Trade to enquire into the resources and trading prospects of the Yukon*, Victoria, 1896.

¹¹ In the event, the main access to the Klondike in 1898 came via this coastal strip, through Skagway, further strengthening de-facto American control. The boundary was determined by treaty in 1903, in America’s favour.

¹² Klondike advertisements were appearing by December 1897. For example, for Canadian-Australian Line (including a reference to custom duty): ‘Gold! Gold!! Gold!!! Klondyke’, *West Coast Times* (Hokitika), 18 December 1897; and for Union Steam Ship Company, ‘Gold Fields Klondyke and Yukon via San Francisco’, *The Sydney Morning Herald*, 6 December 1897.

¹³ For example, *Paroo* advertisement, *Evening Star* (Otago), 31 March 1898. ‘... sufficient time will be given in Vancouver to obtain outfits’; and, *Cape Otway* advertisement, *The Age* (Melbourne), 13 January 1898. ‘Klondike Gold Fields (via Vancouver)’.

¹⁴ See shipping advertisements: ‘Klondyke Goldfields’ (*Klondyke*, for St Michaels, Alaska), *The Sydney Morning Herald*, 31 March 1898; and, ‘Klondyke Gold Fields’ (*Bothwell Castle* for Juneau), *The Argus* (Melbourne), 25 December 1897.

¹⁵ The duty charged varied greatly: tea 10% by cost, flour 60¢ per barrel, shovels 35% by cost, dogs (for transport not eating) 20% by cost. From a list of sixty items provided in the *Twelfth Annual Report of the Vancouver Board of Trade 1898-99*, Vancouver, 1899, pp. 135-136.

¹⁶ The Vancouver Board of Trade was established in 1887, at a time when the city was emerging as a railway terminus and port city of immense potential. Although no archive records have been located, the Board’s *Annual Report* for the years 1896-97, 1897-98, 1898-99 and 1899-1900 have been consulted. The Board continues today as the Greater Vancouver Board of Trade. See *Greater Vancouver Board of Trade*, Wikipedia; and, <https://boardoftrade.com>.

¹⁷ *Report of the Vancouver Board of Trade for Year 1897-98*, Vancouver, 1898, pp. 12-13; and, *Twelfth Annual Report of the Vancouver Board of Trade 1898-1899*, Vancouver, 1899, p. 14.

¹⁸ For example, see advertisements headed ‘The Klondyke Placer Gold Diggings are in Canada’, *The Brisbane Courier*, 25 December 1897; *The Argus* (Melbourne), 25 December 1897; and, *Western Argus* (Kalgoorlie), 13 January 1898.

¹⁹ Advertisement, “The Klondike”, *The Argus* (Melbourne), 1 January 1898. (This advert specifically identified Garbutt as their ‘agent’).

²⁰ Entries in *Sands & McDougall Melbourne Directory*, Melbourne, from 1893.

²¹ A search (September 2017) of the New Zealand digital newspaper collection, *Papers Past*, could not find any advertisements.

²² Incomplete records for the British Columbia Board of Trade’s Klondike promotion are to be found in the *Victoria Chamber of Commerce fonds (1863-1988)*, City of Victoria Archives and Records Division; and, G/K69/K69 *Klondike Advertising Committee (1899)* and G/V66/661.1 *Subscription list to advertise Victoria ... 1897*, British Columbia Provincial Archives, Victoria. See also *Nineteenth Annual Report of the British Columbia Board of Trade*, Victoria, October 1898.

²³ To cite just a few examples, the chambers of commerce in Adelaide, Townsville and Cairns all reported receiving the information package. ‘The Klondyke Goldfields. A letter from British Columbia’, *Adelaide Advertiser*, 22 November 1897; ‘The Klondyke Rush’, *The North Queensland Register* (Townsville), 1 December 1897; and, ‘Klondyke Goldfield’, *Morning Post* (Cairns), 6 January 1898.

²⁴ For example, ‘The Klondyke Goldfields’, *Fielding Star*, 26 November 1897; ‘Latest’, *Cromwell Argus*, 21 December 1897; and, ‘Klondyke Goldfield’, *Morning Post* (Cairns), 6 January 1898, reported receiving a circular from the B.C. Board of Trade, the details of which were printed in the papers. The *Argus* offered to make the map sent available for inspection at their offices. For example, ‘Circular from British Columbia Board of Trade’, *Wanganui Chronicle*, 20 November 1897 was a cable news version (‘Per Press Association, Wellington, 19 November’).

²⁵ ‘Klondike and Yukon Goldfields’, *The West Australian* (Perth), 29 January 1898.

²⁶ ‘Valuable Gold Discovery’, *Mount Benger Mail* (Roxburgh), 30 July 1897 provides letters from John Cormack, dated 24 May and 7 June, then on the *Klondike Trail*; and, *Western Mail* (Perth), 31 December 1897 provides a letter dated 31 October from Fred Shepherd then holed up for the winter in Juneau’s Central Hotel.

²⁷ One of the rare exceptions is the letter from Frank Slavin, dated 27 February, published as ‘A Letter from Frank P. Slavin’, *Kalgoorlie Western Argus*, 28 April 1898.

²⁸ G/K69/K69 *Klondike Advertising Committee (1899)*, British Columbia Provincial Archives, Victoria. No information has been found for the Vancouver Board of Trade.

²⁹ ‘Men who have been to Klondyke. Their reports as to the Field’, *Evening Post* (Wellington), 15 December 1897.

³⁰ The frequency of the B.C. Board of Trade being referred to in the press as ‘Canadian’ suggests an intentional misleading, perhaps to enhance the standing of the Board’s representatives.

³¹ To cite examples from the most distant reaches of both countries: ‘Returned Klondykers’, *Oamaru Mail*, 16 December 1897; and, ‘Statement by Returning Miners’, *The West Australian* (Perth), 16 December 1897.

- ³² 'Klondyke Goldfield', *Zeehan Herald*, 25 December 1897.
- ³³ For example, 'Visitors from the Field Some Interesting Opinions', *The Sydney Morning Herald*, 21 December 1897; and, 'The Klondike Goldfields Visitors from the Field', *Bathurst Free Press and Mining Journal*, 22 December 1897; and, 'The Klondyke Goldfields Accounts Given by a Returned Australian', *Singleton Argus*, 1 January 1898.
- ³⁴ 'Klondike! Klondike! Klondike!', *The Sydney Morning Herald*, 29 December 1897.
- ³⁵ 'Klondyke Goldfields', *The Sydney Morning Herald*, 1 January 1898.
- ³⁶ "'Kronk Klondikers" and "Yukondikeries"', *Truth* (Sydney), 23 January 1898.
- ³⁷ Classified advertisement, 'Yukon Goldfields Corporation', *The Sydney Morning Herald*, 6 January 1898.
- ³⁸ 'Late Advertisements', *The Australian Star* (Sydney), 12 February 1898. 'To Edwin Davis, Charles Lean [sic] and Homer A. Galloway, addresses unknown – Take notice that unless the property now at 58 Queensland Offices, Sydney, be removed within 3 days, same will be sold to defray expenses'.
- ³⁹ 'A Visitor from Klondike', *Coolgardie Miner*, 5 March 1898; 'A Visitor from Klondyke', *Kalgoorlie Miner*, 7 March 1898; and, 'A Visitor from Klondyke', *Western Argus* (Perth), 17 March 1898.
- ⁴⁰ 'Mining News', *The Daily News* (Perth), 31 October 1895. Additional biographical information held by author; key details available on-line at 'C. McLean', *ancestry.com.au*, public tree posted by 'KlondikeDiggers'.
- ⁴¹ Biographical information held by author; key details available on-line at 'Homer A. Galloway', *ancestry.com.au*, public tree posted by 'KlondikeDiggers'.
- ⁴² For example, 'Letter to the Editor', *Liverpool Herald*, 9 April 1898.
- ⁴³ The inland *Stikine Trail*, beginning at the mouth of the Stikine River in northern B.C., accessed the Klondike without entering Alaska, but was virtually impassable. The trail, and other equally impassable inland trails, enjoyed some support in British Columbia because they bypassed Alaska. But, other than Galloway's venture, the Boards did little to promote them in Australasia. See P. Berton, *Klondike*, 1972, pp. 207-215.
- ⁴⁴ For example, advertisement, 'New Route to the Klondike', *Sunday Times* (Sydney), 3 April 1898.
- ⁴⁵ "'Pumice-Stone" Norton', *Truth* (Sydney), 8 May 1898.
- ⁴⁶ 'Court Report', *The Sydney Morning Herald*, 28 April 1898; and, 'A Strange Case. A Witness Locked in a Room', *Evening News* (Sydney), 28 April 1898.
- ⁴⁷ For example, 'The Route to Klondike', *Sunday Times* (Sydney), 31 July 1898.
- ⁴⁸ Biographical information held by author; key details available on-line at 'Edwin Davis', *ancestry.com.au*, public tree posted by 'Klondike Diggers'.
- ⁴⁹ Classified advertisement in 'Mining Notices', *The Age* (Melbourne), 16 March 1898. In the Q&A column of the *Adelaide Advertiser*, 8 April 1898, the editor advised Anna S.R. of Streaky Bay to contact 'Mr Edwin Davies [sic], of Collins-Street, Melbourne' for advice on costs and routes for the Klondike.
- ⁵⁰ 'People', *Barrier Miner* (Broken Hill), 19 March 1898. ('Mr Edwin Davis, recently from Klondyke, arrived in Broken Hill this morning. He will remain in town for a few days'.); and, 'Klondyke', *Barrier Miner*, 23 March 1898.
- ⁵¹ 'The Klondyke', *Yorke's Peninsula Advertiser*, 25 March 1898.
- ⁵² 'The Klondyke A British Columbian Emissary', *The Advertiser* (Adelaide), 23 March 1898.
- ⁵³ 'The Klondyke', *Yorke's Peninsula Advertiser* (Moonta), 25 March 1898.
- ⁵⁴ 'The Klondyke A British Columbian Emissary', *The Chronicle* (Adelaide), 26 March 1898.
- ⁵⁵ 'The Rush to Klondyke', *The Advertiser* (Adelaide), 29 March 1898.
- ⁵⁶ 'Advertising Victoria', *The Daily Colonist* (Victoria, B.C.), 21 May 1898; and, 'The Route to Klondyke', *Sunday Times* (Sydney), 31 July 1898.
- ⁵⁷ Classified advertisement, 'Goldfields', *The Sydney Morning Herald*, 13 January 1898.
- ⁵⁸ 'Off to Klondyke', *Evening Post* (Wellington), 27 April 1898; with cable copy, for example, in *New Zealand Herald* (Auckland), 28 April 1898; and, *Otago Witness*, 5 May 1898.
- ⁵⁹ 'More about Klondyke', *Evening Post* (Wellington), 30 April 1898.
- ⁶⁰ 'Advertising Victoria', *The Daily Colonist* (Victoria, B.C.), 21 May 1898.
- ⁶¹ Classified advertisement, 'Stevens Hotel', *The Daily Colonist* (Victoria, B.C.), 1 July 1898.
- ⁶² For example, 'Letters to the Editor', in New Zealand: *Otago Daily Times*, 17 January 1898, *Hastings Standard*, 19 January 1898, *West Coast Times* (Hokitika), 19 January 1898; *Auckland Star*, 19 January 1898; and, in Australia: *The Argus* (Melbourne), 6 January, 1898; *The West Australian* (Perth), 13 January 1898; *The Mercury* (Hobart), 11 January 1898.
- ⁶³ 'Letter to Editor', written by Ross Rumball (aka A. Ross), *West Coast Times* (Hokitika), 19 January 1898.

⁶⁴ The letter was reprinted as 'Klondyke', *Weekly Herald* (Adelaide), 29 January 1898 and, *Southern Argus* (Port Elliot), 3 February 1898.

⁶⁵ Biographical information held by author; key details available on-line at 'Ross Rumball', *ancestry.com.au*, public tree posted by 'KlondikeDiggers'.

⁶⁶ Biographical information held by author; key details available on-line at 'Frank Patrick Slavin', *ancestry.com.au*, public tree posted by 'KlondikeDiggers'.

⁶⁷ For example, 'Cable Messages. A Klondike Victim, Tragic Death of Frank Slavin', *The Age* (Melbourne), 2 September 1897; and, 'Frank Slavin Alive', *The Telegraph* (Brisbane), 26 November 1897.

⁶⁸ 'Mining and Finance', *Coolgardie Miner*, 18 February 1898.

⁶⁹ 'A Letter from Frank P. Slavin', *Kalgoorlie Western Argus*, 28 April 1898.

⁷⁰ 'Back from Klondike. Opinions of a Returned Colonial', *New Zealand Herald*, 9 June 1898. (This is the first interview of Scholz, done on board *Cape Otway*, then at Auckland Wharf). See also, 'Back from Klondike. An Australian's Experience', *The Age* (Melbourne), 16 June 1898.