

THE WEIGHT OF GOLD

Nine Voices from the Klondike

The Klondike, Yukon Territory, Canada

1895-1901

Gold is a wonderful thing!

Whoever possesses it is lord of all he wants.

— Christopher Columbus, letter to the Spanish monarchs, 1503

AUTHOR'S NOTE

The voices in this book are fictional. The events they describe are not. Between 1896 and 1899, the discovery of gold on Bonanza Creek in the remote Klondike region of Canada's Yukon Territory triggered one of the last great stampedes in human history. An estimated one hundred thousand people set out for the goldfields. Fewer than forty thousand arrived. Of those, only a handful found what they were looking for.

The nine diarists collected here never existed, but they are built from the real timber of the period: from newspaper accounts, supply manifests, government records, and the memoirs of those who survived. Their routes are real. Their prices are real. The weather that froze their ink was real. Where a real historical figure is mentioned — George Carmack, Skookum Jim Mason, Superintendent Sam Steele, Jack London — the facts attributed to them are drawn from the historical record as faithfully as the diary format allows.

I have given several of these characters mother tongues other than English, and where they lapse into their own languages, I have left those words untranslated. A diary is a private document. It does not explain itself to strangers. The reader is invited to sit with the unfamiliar, as every stamper was forced to do the moment they stepped off the boat at Dyea.

One note on geography: the Chilkoot Trail ran thirty-three miles from the coastal town of Dyea, Alaska, over the Chilkoot Pass at the Canadian border, and down to Lake Bennett in British Columbia. It was the most direct route to the goldfields, but not the only one. The White Pass trail from nearby Skagway was longer and more forgiving of pack animals, though it earned the name Dead Horse Trail for reasons

the reader may imagine. Both routes converged at Lake Bennett, where stampedeers built boats and waited for the ice to break before floating roughly five hundred miles down the Yukon River to Dawson City. The Canadian government, determined to avoid the starvation that had plagued earlier rushes, required every person entering the Yukon to carry a year's worth of supplies — approximately one ton of goods per person. This single regulation shaped the entire experience of the stampede more than any other factor. It meant that crossing the Chilkoot Pass was not a single heroic climb but a weeks-long relay of loads, back and forth, through some of the most punishing terrain on earth.

PUBLISHER'S NOTE

Pocket Memoirs grew out of a personal project to learn about the Battle of Chosin Reservoir — and the realisation that this is a good and easy way to learn about historical events. The content is both human-and AI-made; we strive to give you the best of both worlds. All characters are fictional, the events are not. We cross-check everything for accuracy, but if you spot any issues, do not hesitate to reach out via contact (at) pocketmemoirs (dot) com.

Please note: the historical realities depicted in these books are not always appropriate for minors. All content on this site should be considered unsuitable for younger readers. Parents and guardians are advised to read or listen to the material themselves before sharing it with children.

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JEAN-BAPTISTE MOREAU

Trapper and woodsman, Fortymile district, Yukon Territory

*I came to this country for the silence. It was the silence that left
first.*

12 OCTOBER 1895

The river is low and slow, the way I like it. Pulled six beaver from the upper line and a marten that had been dead a day too long. The fur was still good enough. Dried everything by the stove and sat outside until the stars came. No wind. No sound but the river.

Fortymile is quiet this autumn. A few prospectors working the sandbars as always, getting enough colour to keep themselves in flour and tobacco. Robert Henderson passed through last week, talking about Indian Creek and some new ground he had found. Henderson is always talking about new ground. C'est son genre. I wished him well and went back to my traps.

The country is large enough for all of us, the prospectors and the trappers and the Han people who were here long before either. I cannot imagine what would change that.

23 AUGUST 1896

News from Bonanza Creek. George Carmack has filed a discovery claim and the word is spreading fast through every camp on the river. Men are

pulling up stakes at Fortymile and heading for the Klondike fork. I saw four boats pass my cabin yesterday, loaded heavy and riding low.

I know Carmack. He has been in this country some years, married to a Tagish woman, living more or less as the Tagish live. People call him Lying George because he talks big, but Skookum Jim, his brother-in-law — that man I trust. Jim knows this land better than any white prospector I have met. If Jim says there is gold, alors, there is gold.

I have no interest in staking a claim. I came here to trap, and trapping is what I do. But the noise on the river is something I have not heard before. It has the sound of a thing that will not stop easily.

9 NOVEMBER 1896

Eldorado Creek. That is the name on everyone's lips now. They say it is even richer than Bonanza. Men are pulling nuggets from the ground the size of their thumbs. I do not know if this is true. In this country, stories grow fat over winter.

But the staking is real. Every creek within twenty miles of the discovery has been claimed, and men are already fighting over boundaries. The Mounties have sent more men down from their post. I saw a sergeant I did not recognise marking claim posts with a surveyor's chain.

Dawson — what they are calling the new camp at the mouth of the Klondike — is already a town of tents and rough cabins. It did not exist three months ago. *Maintenant c'est une ville*. I went there to trade furs last week and barely recognised the riverbank.

3 MARCH 1897

Spring is coming early and the river will break soon. More men arriving every week, some from as far as Circle City in Alaska, abandoning claims there on the strength of rumour alone. The trails are busy with dogsleds and men on snowshoes hauling what they can.

I sold my entire winter's catch to a trader in Dawson for twice what it was worth last year. He did not blink at the price. He will sell those furs for three times what he paid me, to some miner who wants a warm hat. Everything costs more now. Flour is two dollars a pound. Candles are a dollar each. I have started keeping more of my own food — dried fish, moose jerky, berries I put up in autumn. The old ways are cheaper. The Han people at Moosehide are uneasy. They have been pushed downstream already once to make room for the new town. Their fish camps are being trampled. *Personne ne leur demande rien.*

21 JULY 1897

Mon Dieu.

A steamboat arrived from downriver with news that has changed everything. Apparently two ships reached the ports on the coast — Seattle and San Francisco — carrying gold from the Klondike. Gold that could be seen and weighed. The newspapers have gone mad. They are calling it a ton of gold.

The captain of the steamer says that the whole world has heard. That thousands, maybe tens of thousands, are already preparing to come north. He says the docks in Seattle are mobbed with people buying supplies, that ships are being chartered by the dozen.

I stood on the riverbank listening to this and felt something I have not felt in twenty years of living in this country. I felt afraid. Not of men or cold or bears. Afraid of what is coming. Because I know this land, and I know it cannot hold what they will bring to it.

14 OCTOBER 1897

They are arriving. Not the great flood — that will come in spring when the passes are crossable — but the first of them. Men who left immediately when the ships docked, who paid any price for passage and moved fast. Rich men, mostly, or desperate ones.

Dawson has doubled in size since summer. There are saloons now, proper ones with wooden floors and mirrors behind the bar. Dance halls. A man playing a piano that was hauled over the mountains on a sled. I bought a whiskey there last week and it cost me three dollars. I drank it slowly.

The Mounties are keeping order, mostly. Superintendent Constantine is firm but fair. But even he looks uneasy when he surveys the town. He knows what is coming, the same as I do.

The silence is gone. I can hear Dawson from my cabin now, three miles upriver. Music and hammering and the bark of dogs. Ça ne s'arrête jamais.

2 JANUARY 1898

Forty below last night. The river is locked solid and the darkness sits on everything like a weight. Some of the newcomers have never seen cold like this. You can see it in their faces — the shock of realising that cold is not a discomfort but a thing that can kill you in an hour if you stop moving.

I found a man half a mile from my cabin yesterday, sitting against a spruce tree with his eyes open and his hands bare. Dead. Frozen solid. He had been there perhaps two days. I brought a Mountie and we carried him back to town wrapped in a blanket.

They are stacking the dead like cordwood behind the police post, waiting for the ground to thaw enough to bury them. The permafrost does not care about the gold rush. It does not soften for anyone.

8 APRIL 1898

Word has reached us of a terrible thing on the Chilkoot Trail. An avalanche on the third of April — Palm Sunday — has buried dozens of men between Sheep Camp and the Scales. They are saying sixty dead,

perhaps more. The Tlingit packers had refused to climb that morning. They knew the snow was wrong. The stampededers climbed anyway.

I cannot say I am surprised. I have seen those mountains in spring. The snow builds and builds and then it moves, and there is nothing a man can do but not be in its path. But these men did not know that. They came from cities where snow is a nuisance, not a killer.

And still they come. I am told that within hours of the avalanche, the line of men going up the pass had reformed. As if nothing had happened. As if the mountain had not just spoken. *Il n'y a pas de leçon que l'or ne puisse effacer.*

1 JUNE 1898

The ice broke on Bennett Lake at the end of May and now the river is full of boats. Thousands of them. Rafts and skiffs and canoes and things that have no name, built by men who have never held a saw before. They come around the bend in a ragged fleet, day after day, loaded with supplies and hope and not much else.

Dawson is unrecognisable. The population must be twenty thousand, perhaps more. There is a telegraph office now, and a newspaper — the Klondike Nugget — and churches of three denominations. Lumber is forty dollars per thousand feet. A single egg costs a dollar. A can of condensed milk is three dollars. I eat what I catch and what I dry and I consider myself fortunate.

The creeks are staked for miles in every direction. Latecomers are finding nothing. You can see it in their faces — the slow understanding that they have hauled a ton of supplies over the mountains for nothing.

17 AUGUST 1898

Dawson in summer is a city of mud and noise and typhoid. The water is bad. The sanitation is worse. Men are falling sick by the hundreds, and the cemetery on the hill is growing faster than the town.

But the saloons are full every night. Gold dust pays for everything. Men who struck it rich buy champagne at thirty dollars a bottle and throw nuggets at the dance hall girls. Men who found nothing drink the cheapest whiskey and stare at the wall. The distance between the two is measured in a few feet of creek bed.

Superintendent Steele has restored order where there might have been chaos. The Mounties patrol day and night, and Dawson is safer than many cities in the south. But safety is not happiness, and I see more broken men here than I have ever seen in one place.

I am tired of this. *Je veux le silence.*

3 NOVEMBER 1898

Typhoid in the town. The river is poisoned. Even the silence is sick.

28 JANUARY 1899

Another dark winter. The population has thinned. Some have gone home. Others are waiting for spring to try their luck one more time.

I trapped a wolverine last week — the first in two years on this line. Perhaps the animals are coming back as the noise fades. Perhaps not.

10 JULY 1899

They are leaving. The news from Nome has emptied the saloons and filled the river with boats going downstream instead of up. Gold in the beach sand, they say. You can scoop it with a shovel. The same story, the same fever, the same blind rush.

I watched a hundred men board a steamer yesterday, their packs lighter than when they arrived, their faces harder. Some had been here less than a year. Some had not even unpacked their mining equipment. They came, they saw that the gold was already claimed, and now they are chasing the next rumour.

Dawson is quieter this week than it has been in two years. I can almost hear the river again.

5 SEPTEMBER 1900

Autumn, and the country is settling back into something I recognise. The population of Dawson is perhaps five thousand now, and falling. The individual miners are mostly gone, replaced by companies with heavy equipment and hired men. The creeks are still producing gold, but the romance — if there ever was any — is finished.

I rebuilt my smokehouse last week and put up a good store of salmon. The Han people at Moosehide are doing the same, as they have always done, as they did long before any of this. Sarah — the woman I have been trading with at Moosehide for three years now — brought me a pair of moose-hide mittens in exchange for a haunch of caribou. It was a fair trade. *C'est comme ça que ça devrait être.*

The silence is coming back. Not the same silence — the land remembers what was done to it — but a silence all the same. I will take it.

20 JUNE 1901

Five years since the discovery and the creeks are quieter than they have been since before Carmack pulled that first nugget from Bonanza. The big companies are here to stay — they are building dredges now, monstrous machines that chew up the creek beds and spit out gravel — but the stampede is done.

I think about the men I saw come through here. The ones who arrived with bright eyes and left with nothing. The ones who arrived with nothing and found gold beyond imagining. The ones who did not leave at all. They are all part of this land now, the same as the stumps and the tailings and the abandoned sluice boxes rusting in the creeks.

The river flows. The seasons turn. The land does what it has always done. It endures.

La terre se souvient de tout.

Jean-Baptiste Moreau remained in the Yukon for the rest of his life. He never filed a mining claim. As the stampede receded and Dawson City contracted from a boomtown of thirty thousand to a quiet settlement, a fraction of its former size, Moreau returned to trapping along the tributaries of the Klondike River, working the same lines he had run before the discovery on Bonanza Creek. He was known to the remaining residents of Dawson as a reliable supplier of furs and an occasional source of fresh moose meat during the long winters. In 1903, he married a Han woman named Sarah, and they built a cabin on the Fortymile River, near the site of the old trading post. He operated a small freight service between Dawson and the outlying creeks during the summer months, using a flat-bottomed boat he had built himself. Moreau was among those who testified to a Canadian government surveyor in 1907 about the changes the gold rush had wrought upon the land and its original inhabitants. He reportedly spoke for nearly two hours, in a mixture of English and French, about the destruction of fish camps, the fouling of creeks, and the displacement of the Han and Tagish peoples. He died in 1934, aged seventy-eight, and was buried beside his wife in the small cemetery at Moosehide, the Han village downstream from Dawson City.

SAMUEL CARMACK

Farmer, San Joaquin Valley, California — younger brother of George
Washington Carmack

*My brother always did have a talent for finding things that
changed everything and telling no one until it was too late.*

14 SEPTEMBER 1896

A letter from George, postmarked from someplace called Fortymile. He says he has made a gold discovery on a creek in the Yukon. Says it is the richest ground he has ever seen. Says I should come.

I have heard this before. George has been chasing gold and adventure since he was seventeen years old. He went to Alaska, married a Tagish woman — Kate, her name is — and has been living up there like an Indian, or so Mother says. Every year or two a letter arrives promising that the big strike is just around the corner.

But this letter is different. There is a steadiness to it that I have not seen in George's writing before. No wild claims, no exclamation marks. Just a plain description of what he found and how much he thinks the ground is worth. That sobriety worries me more than his usual excitement.

3 FEBRUARY 1897

Another letter from George. He says the claim is producing. He says men are pulling gold from the creeks around his discovery in quantities

that make the California rush look like pocket change. He has named the creek Bonanza.

I read the letter twice, then went out and looked at my fields. Forty acres of valley farmland, a good well, a sound barn. The peach trees are three years from full bearing. It is not a fortune, but it is mine, and it is real. George says I should sell everything and come north. He says the window is closing, that word will get out eventually and the whole world will come running.

I put the letter in the bureau drawer with the others and went to check on the irrigation ditch.

18 JULY 1897

God help us all.

The Portland docked in Seattle yesterday carrying miners from the Klondike with more gold than I have ever heard of in one place. The newspapers are calling it a ton of gold. George's name is in the papers. George Washington Carmack, discoverer of the Klondike. My brother.

The whole country has gone mad. The general store in Stockton has sold out of picks and shovels. Men are mortgaging their homes. The mayor of Seattle has resigned his office to go north. I am not making this up.

I sat on my porch this evening and listened to the crickets and thought about George up there in that frozen country, rich beyond anything our father could have imagined. And I thought about his letter telling me to come. And I thought about my peach trees.

Damn it, George.

22 SEPTEMBER 1897

I am going. I leased the farm to Henderson — he will keep the trees watered and I will be back inside a year, one way or another. Martha

thinks I am a fool. She may be right. But George is my brother and his name is in every newspaper in the country and I have to see it for myself. Bought my ticket on a steamer out of San Francisco. Passage to Skagway, Alaska. Three hundred dollars for a berth that would shame a prison cell. The ship is called the City of Topeka and she does not inspire confidence.

I am taking the White Pass route rather than the Chilkoot. George's last letter said the White Pass is longer but you can use horses. I know horses. I do not know mountains.

8 NOVEMBER 1897

Skagway. I will say this plainly: I have never seen a place like this and hope never to see one again. It is a town that did not exist six months ago and now holds ten thousand people, all of them trying to get somewhere else. Mud streets, canvas buildings, confidence men on every corner. A man named Soapy Smith appears to run most of the criminal enterprise here and does so more or less openly.

I hired two horses and a packer and we start up the White Pass tomorrow. The trail is said to be passable but difficult. Men who have come back down say the horses suffer terribly. I do not like hearing that.

I keep thinking of my barn in Stockton, clean and dry, with the hay stacked properly and the tools hung on their pegs. I wonder if Henderson is keeping it that way.

29 NOVEMBER 1897

I will not write in detail about the White Pass. I cannot. One of my horses died on the third day — stepped wrong on a rock ledge and broke her foreleg. I had to shoot her. The other horse I sold to a man at the summit for half what she was worth because I could not bear to watch her suffer another mile of that trail.

They call it the Dead Horse Trail and the name is earned. I counted more than fifty carcasses in a single mile. Horses, mules, oxen — broken and abandoned, some still alive, lying in the mud with their legs folded under them. The smell in places is beyond describing.

I am carrying my outfit on my own back now, making relays. It will take weeks. I think about George sitting on his rich claim and I have thoughts that are not brotherly.

22 DECEMBER 1897

Christmas in a week. I dream of the peach trees.

17 APRIL 1898

Word reached our camp at Lake Bennett that an avalanche has killed dozens of men on the Chilkoot Trail. Palm Sunday. They say sixty or more are dead, buried under the snow.

I am grateful — and I feel guilty for being grateful — that I chose the White Pass. The Chilkoot is steeper but shorter, and most stampeder chose it. Those men were only a few miles away from where I stand now, on a different trail over the same mountains. The difference between their fate and mine was a sentence in my brother's letter.

We are building boats here at Bennett. I know nothing about boats. But I know wood, and I know tools, and the man camped next to me is a shipwright from Nova Scotia who is teaching me how to frame a hull. We will be ready when the ice goes out.

2 JUNE 1898

The ice broke on the twenty-ninth of May and we launched with perhaps seven thousand others. The sight of it was something I will never forget — a fleet of boats stretching to the horizon, every kind of vessel imaginable, all heading north on the current.

The Yukon River is enormous and fast. Our boat is sound — the Nova Scotian knew his business — but I have seen others swamp or break apart in the rapids at Miles Canyon. The Mounties have posted regulations requiring boats to be inspected before running the rapids. Some men are portaging around them instead. It adds days.

I should reach Dawson within the week. I have not seen George in seven years.

11 JUNE 1898

I found George.

He was standing outside a hotel on Front Street in Dawson City, wearing a suit of clothes that must have cost more than my farm produces in a year. Clean-shaven, well-fed, with a gold watch chain across his vest. He looked at me for a full five seconds before he recognised me, and then he laughed and grabbed me by the shoulders and said, 'Sammy, you damned fool, what took you so long?'

We drank whiskey in the hotel bar — three dollars a glass — and he told me everything. The discovery on Bonanza Creek. The staking. The gold pouring out of the ground. He is rich, properly rich, and he knows it and is not sure what to do with it.

He asked about the farm and about Martha and about Mother. I told him what I could. He nodded and looked away and we drank some more.

George is my brother and I love him. But sitting across from him in that saloon, I realised that the Klondike has taken him somewhere I cannot follow.

19 AUGUST 1898

I have been working a claim on Hunker Creek for six weeks now. It produces, but modestly. Enough to keep me in supplies and nothing

more. George offered to stake me to a better claim but I refused. I did not come here to live on my brother's charity.

The work is hard — harder than farming, and farming is hard enough. You dig through permafrost, thawing the ground with fires, shovelling the muck into sluice boxes, washing it for colour. Some days you find a few dollars' worth. Some days you find nothing. The men on Eldorado Creek, a mile over the ridge, are pulling out thousands of dollars a day. The distance between fortune and failure in this country is measured in yards.

George visits when he can. He brings whiskey and news. He says he is thinking of going south — to Vancouver, maybe, or Seattle. He says he has enough.

15 MARCH 1899

Winter is ending and I have made my decision. I am going home. My claim has produced just over two thousand dollars in gold, which is enough to cover my expenses and leave me with perhaps four hundred dollars profit. That is less than the farm would have earned in the same period.

George has already left for the south. He said goodbye last month, shook my hand, and told me I was the only honest man in the Klondike. I think he meant it as a compliment.

I miss the farm. I miss the peach trees. I miss Martha, who writes letters that are equal parts love and exasperation. I have seen the Klondike and I have seen what gold does to a country and to the men who chase it. I would not have missed it for anything. I will not stay a day longer than I must.

7 JUNE 1900

Home.

The peach trees are bearing. Henderson kept the farm in decent order — not the way I would have done it, but close enough. Martha has forgiven me, mostly. The fields need work and the irrigation ditch needs clearing and there is a fence down on the south pasture. Ordinary problems. I am grateful for every one of them.

I received a letter from George last week. He is in Vancouver. He has bought a house. He says the city suits him.

I planted a new row of peach trees this morning. They will take three years to bear fruit. I can wait.

Samuel Carmack returned to California in the autumn of 1899, having spent just over a year in the Klondike. He had worked a modest claim on Hunker Creek that produced enough gold to cover his expenses and little more. He resumed farming in the San Joaquin Valley and never returned to the north. His relationship with his brother George grew distant in the years that followed. George Carmack became wealthy from his Klondike claims and subsequent investments. The two brothers exchanged letters infrequently after 1900. Samuel's letters, donated to the Bancroft Library at the University of California by his granddaughter in 1971, reveal a man who was proud of his brother's achievement but uncomfortable with the fame and disruption it had caused. He wrote to a friend in 1903 that the Klondike had taught him the difference between finding something and keeping it. Samuel Carmack died in 1938 at his farm outside Stockton, California. He was sixty-nine years old. His obituary in the Stockton Record mentioned his brother George but devoted most of its space to Samuel's decades of service on the local irrigation board.

SØREN HALVORSEN

Fisherman from Tromsø, Norway

*The sea teaches you patience. The mountain teaches you that
patience is not always enough.*

3 AUGUST 1897

A story in the Tromsø newspaper today about gold in Canada. Enormous quantities, they say — a region called the Klondike, in the far north of the American continent. Men arriving in Seattle with sacks of gold dust so heavy they could barely carry them off the ship.

I read the article twice while drinking my coffee in the harbour. The other fishermen laughed about it. Arne said any man who leaves a good boat and a full net to dig in the dirt is a fool.

But I have been fishing these waters since I was fourteen years old. I know every rock and current between here and the Lofoten. I know what the next thirty years of my life look like if I stay, and it looks exactly like the last ten. Herring in winter, cod in spring, a small house, a small life.

Det er ikke nok.

12 SEPTEMBER 1897

I sold the boat. Arne thinks I have lost my mind. My mother cried. My father shook my hand and said nothing, which is his way.

I have passage on a cargo ship to Hull, England, and from there I will find a steamer to New York, and from New York to Seattle. The route is long and expensive but it is the only one I could arrange from Tromsø. I am bringing my fishing knife, my compass, and the wool sweater my mother knitted last winter. Everything else I will buy in Seattle, where they say you can outfit yourself for the Klondike from a single street of shops.

I feel something I have not felt since I was a boy hauling my first net. Farvel, Tromsø.

18 NOVEMBER 1897

Seattle. This city is drunk on gold. Every shopkeeper, every hotel clerk, every man on the street is either going to the Klondike, selling supplies to those who are going, or lying about having already been. The outfitting stores stretch for blocks and they are emptying as fast as they can fill their shelves.

I have purchased my supplies according to the Canadian government's requirements: a year's worth of food and equipment, approximately one thousand kilograms in total. Flour, bacon, beans, sugar, tea, dried fruit, a stove, a tent, tools. The list is specific and the Mounties at the border will check every item.

The cost has consumed nearly everything I had from selling the boat. I have thirty-seven dollars remaining.

The men in the outfitting stores come from everywhere. I have heard English, German, Swedish, Italian, and languages I cannot identify. Vi er alle gale her.

9 FEBRUARY 1898

Dyea. The beginning of the Chilkoot Trail. I stand at the base of the mountains and look up and I think: I have sailed through storms in the

Norwegian Sea that would kill most of these men, but I have never seen anything like this.

The trail is a line of humanity stretching from the shore into the clouds. Men, women, horses, dogs — all moving upward under impossible loads. The noise is constant: shouting, cursing, the crack of whips, the groaning of sleds on ice.

I began my first relay today. Eighty pounds on my back, five miles to a cache point, then back empty for the next load. I will need to make this trip perhaps forty times to move everything.

The cold is not a problem — I am Norwegian, and this cold is not so different from January in Tromsø. But the weight is something else. My shoulders are raw already. Skuldrene mine brenner.

14 MARCH 1898

The Golden Staircase. That is what they call the final ascent to the summit of the Chilkoot Pass — fifteen hundred steps carved into the ice and snow, rising almost vertically for the last half mile. The line of men stretches from bottom to top without a gap, each bent under his load, each moving one step at a time. If you step out of line to rest, you may wait hours to get back in.

I made three trips today. Three times up, three times down. My legs have stopped aching, which means either I am getting stronger or my body has stopped complaining. I think it is the second.

From the summit you can see Lake Bennett below, frozen and white. That is where we build the boats. I know boats. That part, at least, I understand.

The Tlingit packers move past us on the trail as if the mountain is flat. They carry twice what we carry and move twice as fast. I have nothing but respect for them.

3 APRIL 1898

The mountain killed today.

I was at my cache, two miles below the Scales, when the sound came — a roar like the sea in a gale but deeper, coming from above. The snow on the slopes above the trail had broken loose and come down on the line of climbers between Sheep Camp and the summit.

I ran uphill with others to help dig. We dug with our hands, with shovels, with anything. Some men were pulled out alive. Most were not. I helped carry three bodies down to Sheep Camp and then I could not carry any more.

The Tlingit packers had refused to climb this morning. They knew. *De visste det.*

Tonight the trail is quiet. Tomorrow they say the line will reform and the climbing will resume. I believe it. I have seen what gold does to men. It makes them walk past the dead.

7 APRIL 1898

Sixty dead. The line reformed. *Gud hjelpe oss.*

19 MAY 1898

Lake Bennett. I am building a boat and I am, for the first time since leaving Tromsø, doing something I know how to do.

The scene here defies description. Thousands of men camped on the lakeshore, all building boats from whatever timber they can find. The forests around the lake have been stripped bare for miles. Most of these men have never built anything more complicated than a bookshelf and the results are terrifying. I have seen boats that would not survive a pond in Tromsø.

I partnered with a Canadian carpenter named MacLeod and together we are building a proper flat-bottomed boat, eighteen feet long, with

a keel and ribs and a canvas cover for the supplies. She will float. I guarantee it.

We launch when the ice breaks. They say any day now.

31 MAY 1898

The ice broke yesterday and we are on the water. Seven thousand boats, they say. I looked back from the middle of the lake and saw a fleet that would make any fisherman in Norway weep with disbelief. Every kind of vessel — skiffs, canoes, rafts lashed together from logs, one boat I swear was made from a wagon bed.

Our boat handles well. MacLeod steers while I manage the sail, which is a blanket rigged to a spruce pole. It works better than it should.

The current will carry us five hundred miles north to Dawson City. I am finally moving downhill.

18 JULY 1898

Dawson City. I have arrived and I will say what every man here already knows: the good claims are taken. All of them. Every creek within fifty miles of the original discovery has been staked, and most of the ground is either being worked by the men who staked it or held by speculators who will sell it for a price I cannot pay.

I spent my first week here walking the creeks and asking questions. The answers were all the same. Too late.

I have taken work for wages, shovelling gravel into sluice boxes on a claim owned by an American from Portland. He pays ten dollars a day, which is good money but not what I came here for.

Dawson itself is astonishing — a city of thirty thousand people in the middle of a wilderness, with saloons and hotels and a newspaper. But underneath the excitement there is a current of disappointment that runs as deep as the river.

2 OCTOBER 1898

Working still. The days are getting shorter and the cold is coming. I have saved five hundred dollars from my wages and I have found a small piece of ground on a bench claim above Hunker Creek that no one else wants. The gold, if there is any, will be deep. But I have nothing else to do this winter and the ground is mine to dig.

I miss the sea. I miss the sound of water that is not frozen. I miss the horizon being a line, not a wall of mountains.

But I will not leave until I have given this a proper effort. A fisherman does not pull up his nets after the first empty haul. *Tålmodighet*.

12 APRIL 1899

Spring. The claim has produced just enough to make leaving feel like a decision rather than a defeat. Twelve hundred dollars in dust, weighed and recorded at the government office. It is not a fortune. It is not nothing.

I have booked passage on a steamer downriver to St. Michael, and from there a ship to Seattle, and from Seattle across the Atlantic to Norway. The route home is as long as the route here, but this time I am going toward something rather than away from it.

I think of Tromsø. The harbour. The fishing boats rocking at anchor. The mountains above the town, green in summer, white in winter. My mother's kitchen. *Hjemme*.

I will buy a new boat. A better boat. And I will fish, which is what I was born to do.

28 AUGUST 1899

Tromsø.

I walked up from the harbour this morning and my mother was hanging laundry in the yard and she dropped the sheet she was holding and

put her hands over her mouth and stood there looking at me as if I were a ghost.

The town is the same. The harbour is the same. The mountains above the fjord are the same. I am not the same.

I have told them some of it. The trail, the pass, the river, the city made of gold and mud. But there are things I cannot put into words — the sound of the avalanche, the faces of the men who found nothing, the weight of a pack on the Golden Staircase. These things belong to the Klondike. They do not translate.

I will buy a boat next week. Arne says he knows of one for sale. Jeg er hjemme.

Søren Halvorsen returned to Tromsø in August 1899 carrying approximately twelve hundred dollars in gold dust, a sum that represented roughly two years of income from his previous life as a fisherman. He used the money to buy a larger fishing vessel, the Nordstjerne, and expanded his operations into the cod fisheries off the Lofoten Islands. He married a schoolteacher named Ingrid Larsen in 1901, and they had four children. Halvorsen rarely spoke of the Klondike to anyone outside his family, though he kept his stamping pan and a small vial of Yukon gold dust on a shelf in his study until his death. His eldest son, Erik, later reported that his father spoke of the experience only when pressed, and always with the same concluding remark: that the hardest part was not the mountain or the cold but the look on the faces of the men who reached Dawson and found nothing left to claim. Halvorsen was active in the Tromsø fishing cooperative and served on the town council from 1912 to 1920. He died in 1941, aged seventy-two, during the German occupation of Norway. His obituary in the Tromsø newspaper Nordlys made no mention of the Klondike, listing him simply as a fisherman, a councillor, and a good man.

MARGARET SINCLAIR

Businesswoman from Edinburgh, Scotland

They told me the north was no place for a woman. I found it was no place for most men, either, but they went anyway.

2 AUGUST 1897

The newspapers here in Edinburgh are full of a gold discovery in Canada. The Klondike, they are calling it. Ships arriving in Seattle with fortunes in gold dust. Men leaving their jobs, their families, their senses.

I read the accounts with professional interest. Not the gold — I have no illusions about my ability to swing a pickaxe in frozen ground — but the details between the lines. Thirty thousand people heading to a wilderness where there is no lodging, no laundry, no cooked meals. Every one of those people will need to eat and sleep and have their clothes washed.

I have run a boarding house in Edinburgh for nine years. I know what it costs to feed a man and what he will pay for a clean bed and a hot meal. The arithmetic of the Klondike is not complicated. Where there are miners, there is money, and it does not all go into the ground.

15 OCTOBER 1897

I have sold the boarding house. Mrs. Macpherson next door thinks I have taken leave of my wits. She may not be wrong.

I am sailing for New York next week, and from there to Seattle. I have two hundred and fourteen dollars saved, which is everything I have in the world. It is enough for passage and supplies, with perhaps twenty dollars remaining for emergencies.

I packed my trunk today: practical clothes, my mother's recipe book, a set of good kitchen knives, and the account ledger I have kept since I opened the boarding house in 1888. The ledger is more valuable than anything else I own. It contains nine years of proof that I know how to feed people at a profit.

Father would say I am daft. Mother would say I am brave. They are both dead, so I will have to decide for myself. I decide I am practical.

12 DECEMBER 1897

Seattle is a city entirely dedicated to separating stampeders from their money, and it is very good at its job. Every shop, hotel, and street vendor is selling Klondike supplies at prices that would make an Edinburgh merchant blush.

I have purchased my outfit carefully, comparing prices and refusing to be rushed. The shopkeepers do not know what to make of a woman buying a year's supplies for the Yukon. One asked if I was purchasing for my husband. I told him I was purchasing for my business. He charged me the same price but looked uncomfortable doing it.

I have also purchased two hundred pounds of extra flour, fifty pounds of sugar, and a bolt of canvas. These are not for my personal supplies. They are inventory. I will sell them in Dawson at whatever the market will bear, and the market, I am told, will bear a great deal.

16 FEBRUARY 1898

Dyea. I am standing at the foot of the Chilkoot Trail with a ton of supplies and no illusions about what lies ahead. The mountain is enormous. The line of climbers stretches upward until it vanishes into cloud.

The sound is constant — boots on ice, sled runners, men cursing in every language.

I hired two Tlingit packers this morning. They are a mother and daughter, strong and quick, and they looked at my supplies with the practiced eye of professionals. The price is high but I will pay it gladly. These women know this mountain. I do not.

A man at the trailhead told me I should turn back, that the Chilkoot is no place for a woman. I asked him how many women he had seen on the trail. He said none. I said then perhaps it was time.

21 MARCH 1898

The Golden Staircase. I will describe it once and then I will not speak of it again. It is fifteen hundred steps carved into ice, rising at an angle that would be called a wall in any other context. You carry your load — fifty, sixty, eighty pounds — and you climb, one step at a time, in a line of men and women that does not stop. If you step out, you wait hours to step back in. The wind cuts through every layer of clothing. Your fingers go numb, then your feet, then your face.

I made four trips today. I will make four more tomorrow. And the day after that. And the day after that. Until everything I own is on the other side of this mountain.

My hands are cracked and bleeding. I wrap them in strips of canvas and keep climbing. I did not come six thousand miles to stop here.

5 APRIL 1898

My hands have stopped shaking. We go on.

22 MAY 1898

Lake Bennett. I am here, everything is here, and I am alive. That is sufficient for the moment.

The lake is an astonishing sight: thousands of tents along the shore, thousands of men building boats, the forests stripped back for miles where trees have been felled for timber. The sound of sawing and hammering never stops.

I have hired a carpenter — a Finn named Mäkinen who has been building boats since he was a boy — to construct a boat large enough for my supplies and myself. He is charging me forty dollars and I am paying it because his boats float and most of the others do not.

While I wait, I have set up a small operation selling bread from a tent. Flour, water, baking soda, and a makeshift oven built from stones. A loaf of bread sells for a dollar fifty. I am baking thirty loaves a day. The arithmetic continues to work in my favour.

14 JUNE 1898

Dawson City. I walked through the streets for an hour this morning, taking notes. The town is chaos — mud streets, log buildings going up on every corner, saloons doing business at nine in the morning, men sleeping in the open because there is no room indoors.

I found a lot on Second Avenue, between a hardware store and a barbershop. The owner wants three hundred dollars for a six-month lease. I bargained him down to two hundred. The building on it is barely standing, but it has four walls and a roof and a stove, which is more than most people here have.

I will open in two weeks. Beds, meals, and laundry. Simple, clean, and dear. The men who have struck it rich will pay any price for a real meal and a bed with sheets. The men who have not will pay what they can. I intend to serve both, at different prices.

29 AUGUST 1898

The boarding house is full every night. Twelve beds, three meals a day, laundry service twice a week. I charge two dollars a night for a bed, a dollar for dinner, fifty cents for breakfast. Laundry is extra.

I have hired a Han woman named Annie to help with the cooking and a boy of sixteen to haul water and chop wood. They are reliable and I pay them fairly, which makes me unusual in this town.

The work is hard but it is work I understand. The men who board with me are miners, mostly — some successful, some not. They eat what I put in front of them and they are grateful for it. One man, a German, told me last night that my stew was the first proper meal he had eaten in eight months. I charged him the same as everyone else. Sentiment is not currency.

19 NOVEMBER 1898

Winter. The cold is beyond anything Edinburgh ever produced. Forty below and the river is frozen and the darkness is nearly total by three in the afternoon. I keep the stove burning day and night and the wood bill is ruinous.

Three of my boarders have scurvy. Their gums are bleeding and their joints are swollen and they are weak as kittens. I have been dosing them with spruce needle tea, which the Han people use for this purpose and which seems to help. I also managed to buy three tins of preserved lime juice from a trader at an outrageous price.

I wrote to Mrs. Macpherson in Edinburgh last week. I told her the business is doing well and that I have not been eaten by bears. I did not tell her about the cold, or the scurvy, or the man who died in his sleep in bed number seven last Tuesday. Some things do not belong in letters.

3 FEBRUARY 1899

A woman came to my door this morning — young, perhaps twenty, thin as a rail, with frostbite on both cheeks. She said she had come over the Chilkoot with her husband and he had died of pneumonia in December and she had no money and nowhere to go.

I gave her a bed and a meal and told her she could stay if she was willing to work. She nodded and has not stopped working since. Her name is Clara and she is from Minnesota and she does not say much.

There are women in Dawson, more than people think. Some came with husbands. Some came alone. Some work in the dance halls. Some, like me, run businesses. None of us are here by accident. You do not cross the Chilkoot Pass by accident.

I have started keeping a separate ledger for the women I help. It is not charity. It is an investment.

18 JULY 1899

Half the town is packing for Nome. The news of beach gold in Alaska has swept through Dawson like a fever and men are abandoning claims, selling equipment, and booking passage on anything that floats.

I am staying. The boarding house is profitable, the town still needs beds and meals, and I am not fool enough to chase the next stampede. One mountain crossing is quite enough for one lifetime.

Clara is staying too. She is running the laundry now, and doing it well.

I have raised her wages twice. Good help is worth keeping.

I think of Edinburgh sometimes. The grey stone and the rain and the sound of church bells on Sunday morning. I will go back eventually. But not yet. There is money to be made here, and I am making it.

11 MAY 1900

Dawson is quieter now, and I find I prefer it. The population has dropped to perhaps five thousand and the madness has drained away, leaving

behind something that almost resembles a normal town. There are proper streets, proper buildings, even a library.

My boarding house turns a steady profit. I have saved over six thousand dollars — more money than I could have earned in fifteen years in Edinburgh. When I leave, I will buy a property at home. Something with a view of the water, perhaps.

I received a letter from Mäkinen, the Finnish carpenter who built my boat at Lake Bennett. He is in Helsinki now, building houses. He says he thinks of the Klondike sometimes and cannot quite believe it happened. I know the feeling.

I will stay one more year, I think. One more year, and then home.

Margaret Sinclair operated her boarding house in Dawson City until 1904, when she sold the business for a considerable profit and returned to Scotland. She had arrived in the Klondike with savings of approximately two hundred dollars and left with over eight thousand, earned not from mining but from feeding, housing, and laundering for the men who did. In Edinburgh, she used her capital to purchase a small hotel on Leith Walk, which she ran successfully for the next twenty years. She never married, though she maintained a correspondence with several people she had met in the Klondike, including a Finnish carpenter who had helped build her boarding house and a North-West Mounted Police constable who had once arrested a man for stealing her firewood. In 1911, she gave a lecture to the Edinburgh Geographical Society titled 'Commerce in the Klondike: A Practical Account,' which was noted in the society's proceedings as 'unusually vivid and refreshingly free of sentimentality.' She retired in 1926 and spent her final years in a cottage in Portobello, within sight of the Firth of Forth. She died in 1937, aged seventy-four. Her personal effects included a small leather pouch containing three Klondike gold nuggets, which she had kept on her mantelpiece for thirty years.

CHEN WEI

Laborer from Taishan, Guangdong Province, China, via San Francisco

*My father said: gold is the colour of the sun, but it warms
nothing.*

9 AUGUST 1897

The news is everywhere in San Francisco. Gold in the Klondike. The white men are going mad with it. They crowd the docks and the supply stores and they talk of nothing else.

I have been working at the laundry on Dupont Street for two years. The pay is small. The work does not end. I send money home to my family in Taishan every month and there is never enough.

Lao Zhang, who works at the docks, says some Chinese are going north. He says there is work — not claims, because the white men will not let Chinese men stake claims, but wage work. Shovelling, hauling, washing gravel. Ten dollars a day, he says. More than I make in a week.

I think of my mother and my sisters. Shí měiyuán yītiān. I think of what that money could do.

17 OCTOBER 1897

I have decided. Four of us are going together: myself, Lao Zhang, and two brothers from Kaiping named Liu. We have pooled our savings to buy passage and supplies. It is nearly everything we have.

The ship leaves next week for Skagway, Alaska. From there we take the White Pass trail over the mountains. The Canadian border is at the summit and we must each carry a year's supplies or they will turn us back. There is also the head tax. The Canadian government charges every Chinese person fifty dollars to enter the country. Fifty dollars that no white man has to pay. We have set this money aside. It is a bitter thing to pay for the privilege of being allowed to work.

Wǒ bù huì wàngjì zhè bǐ zhàng.

14 JANUARY 1898

Skagway. The White Pass trail begins here and it is as terrible as they warned us. The trail is narrow and icy and littered with the bodies of horses and mules that have fallen and been left to die. The smell is indescribable.

We carry our loads in relays, eighty pounds at a time, back and forth over the same ground. The white stampeders do the same, though some have hired packers. No one offers to help us. Some shout at us. One man spat at Lao Zhang and called him a name I will not write.

We say nothing. We keep our heads down and we carry our loads. This is what we have always done.

The cold is severe but not as bad as the wind, which cuts through clothing as if it were paper. The Liu brothers have built a windbreak from canvas and we sleep behind it, all four together for warmth.

8 MARCH 1898

The summit. We crossed today. The Canadian Mounties checked our supplies, counted our provisions, and collected the head tax. Fifty dollars from each of us. The officer was polite but did not look at our faces. From here we descend to Lake Bennett and build a boat. None of us has built a boat before but Lao Zhang worked on the docks in San Francisco and knows something of how they are put together.

I looked back at the pass from the summit. The line of men stretched down the mountain as far as I could see, each one bent under a load, each one climbing toward the same dream. From this height they all looked the same. Dōu yīyàng.

10 JUNE 1898

Dawson City. We arrived yesterday after three weeks on the river. The city is enormous — more people than I expected, more noise, more mud. Every inch of the waterfront is crowded with boats and tents and people unloading supplies.

The Liu brothers and I found work within a day. A mining company on Bonanza Creek needs men to shovel gravel into sluice boxes. The pay is eight dollars a day, not the ten that Lao Zhang promised, but it is still more than I have ever earned.

Lao Zhang has gone to work in a laundry. He says the mining work is too hard for his back. I think he is right, but I am younger and my back is still strong.

There is a small Chinese community here, perhaps fifty or sixty people. They have set up a section of town near the river where we look after one another. It is not home but it is something.

28 JULY 1898

The work is harder than anything I have done. We dig through permafrost — ground frozen solid — by building fires to thaw it, then shovelling the thawed muck into wooden sluice boxes where water washes the gold free. It is backbreaking, repetitive, and done in heat and mosquitoes that would drive a man mad.

The white miners on neighbouring claims watch us with suspicion. They do not want us here. They say we are taking their gold, though we are paid wages, not shares. The gold goes to the claim owner, a man from Portland who visits once a month and counts his money.

I have saved nearly two hundred dollars. I keep it in a pouch inside my shirt. Every night I calculate what my family could buy with this money. Gòu le ma? Not yet.

3 SEPTEMBER 1898

One of the Liu brothers — the younger one, Liu Jun — has left. He could not take the work any longer. His hands were raw and his spirit was broken. He is trying to get passage back to San Francisco. I do not blame him.

The older brother, Liu Hong, stays. He is quieter now. We all are.

The days are getting shorter and I can feel the cold coming. The other Chinese workers tell me the winter here is a thing beyond imagining. Sixty below, they say. The river freezes solid. The sun barely rises. And there is no fresh food — nothing green, nothing alive.

I must save more money before winter traps me here. If I can make it to spring with my savings intact, I will have enough to go home and never work in a foreign country again.

19 NOVEMBER 1898

The cold has come and it is everything they said. Forty below last night and it will get worse. The work on the claims has stopped for the season and I have no income. I am living on my supplies — rice, beans, dried fish — and trying to make them last.

My gums are bleeding. My joints ache. Lao Zhang says it is the cold, but an older man in the Chinese quarter says it is scurvy — a sickness from not eating fresh food. He says I need vegetables or fruit but there are none to be had. A single tin of preserved peaches costs five dollars. I cannot afford it.

I am writing a letter to my mother. I tell her I am well. Wǒ shuōle huǎng.

4 JANUARY 1899

Bù néng xiě. Tài ruò le.

9 FEBRUARY 1899

I know what is happening to me. My teeth are loose. My legs will not hold me. The bleeding from my gums does not stop.

Lao Zhang brought me spruce needle tea this morning. He says the native people drink it for the scurvy. It is bitter and I drank every drop. I do not know if it will help. It is late for help.

I have been writing to my family. Not the letter I will send — that letter says I am well and coming home in spring — but the true letter, the one that says what this place is and what it has cost me. I do not know if I will send the true letter. Perhaps it is better that they remember me as I was when I left.

The jade pendant my mother gave me when I sailed from Taishan is cold against my chest. I hold it and I think of home. The fields. The river. The sound of my sisters' voices in the morning.

Māmā, duìbùqǐ.

Chen Wei died on the fourteenth of February 1899 in a canvas tent on the outskirts of Dawson City. The cause of death was scurvy, complicated by malnutrition and exposure. He was twenty-six years old. His body was one of thirty-seven buried that spring in the pauper's section of the Dawson City cemetery, in graves that were dug only when the permafrost thawed enough to accept a shovel. No marker was placed on his grave. The letter he had been composing to his family in Taishan was found among his effects by a North-West Mounted Police constable who recorded the death in the daily log as 'one Chinese male, name unknown, no claim registered.' The constable forwarded Chen Wei's few possessions — a jade pendant, a diary written partly in Chinese and partly in English, and eleven dollars in gold dust — to the Chinese Benevolent Association in Victoria,

British Columbia, which attempted to locate his family. Whether the letter and effects ever reached Taishan is not recorded. Chen Wei was one of an estimated several hundred Chinese labourers who participated in the Klondike Gold Rush, most of whom worked for wages rather than staking their own claims. They faced systematic discrimination, including a head tax imposed by the Canadian government and widespread hostility from white miners. Their contributions to the construction of Dawson City — as launderers, cooks, builders, and labourers — were substantial and largely unacknowledged.

ELIAS VARGA

Former shopkeeper from Cleveland, Ohio — born in Miskolc, Hungary

*I have been a fool in two languages and on two continents. The
Klondike made it three.*

19 JULY 1897

The shop is finished. Not closed — finished. The bank took what was left after the creditors, which was nothing, and the landlord changed the locks while I was arguing with the bank. Three years of work, gone. Cleveland is a fine city if you are not Hungarian, not broke, and not standing on a sidewalk with your entire inventory in two suitcases.

And now the newspapers are screaming about gold in some place called the Klondike. A ton of gold. Ships full of rich men. Fortune for the taking.

I know better than to believe newspapers. I have known better since I was twelve years old in Miskolc, reading about how America was paved with gold. America is paved with mud, like everywhere else. But I have nothing — no shop, no savings, no prospects — and a man with nothing is a man with nothing to lose.

Isten segíts.

4 SEPTEMBER 1897

On a train to Seattle. Third class, which means a wooden bench and the company of forty other men, all of whom are going to the Klondike, all of whom are certain they will be rich by summer.

I have listened to their plans. One man is bringing a mechanical gold separator he invented himself. Another has a scheme to sell umbrellas to the miners. A third is certain that his experience as a dentist will make him wealthy because, he says, miners always have bad teeth.

They may all be right. They are probably all wrong. The only thing I am certain of is that the ticket cost me twenty-two dollars, which is most of what I had, and that the seats on this train were designed by someone who hates the human spine.

Nem vagyok optimista.

16 NOVEMBER 1897

Seattle. I have never seen a city work so hard to separate men from money. Every corner has an outfitter, every outfitter has a sign promising 'Complete Klondike Supplies,' and every price is designed to make you weep.

I spent three days comparing prices, because I am Hungarian and I am poor, and these two facts have made me an expert in the science of getting the most for the least. I bought my supplies from four different shops, argued over every item, and saved approximately forty dollars, which the other stampedeers consider impressive and I consider insufficient.

The Canadian government requires each man to bring a ton of supplies. A ton. I weighed mine on a dock scale. One thousand and twelve pounds. I looked at it and thought: I have to carry this over a mountain.

Ki az az ember, aki ezt kitalálta?

22 JANUARY 1898

Dyea. The foot of the Chilkoot Trail. I have now seen it and I can confirm that the illustrations in the newspapers are not exaggerated. If anything, they are optimistic.

The trail is a single-file line of men climbing into clouds, each carrying more than any reasonable person should carry, moving at the speed of exhaustion. The sound is grunting and cursing and the crack of ice under boots. There is no dignity in it.

I started my first relay today. Seventy pounds on my back, three miles to the first cache point. My legs informed me halfway up that they had not agreed to this arrangement. I informed them that they had no choice.

A man from Ohio — a baker from Cincinnati — collapsed on the trail ahead of me and had to be carried down. I helped carry him. He weighed less than my pack.

28 FEBRUARY 1898

Three weeks of hauling and I have moved approximately one third of my supplies to the cache below the summit. At this rate I will be done sometime in April, by which time I expect to be either dead or so tired that the difference is academic.

The Golden Staircase — that is what they call the final climb — is fifteen hundred steps of ice, and at the top of each step you do not find gold. You find another step. It is a metaphor for something, but I am too exhausted to work out what.

I have made a friend, of sorts. A Norwegian named Halvorsen who is climbing the same section as me. He does not talk much, which I consider his finest quality. We share a fire in the evenings and eat our beans in companionable silence.

Az élet egy vicc, de nincs poén.

15 MAY 1898

Lake Bennett. I am alive and all my supplies are on this side of the mountains and I consider this the single greatest accomplishment of my life, surpassing my emigration from Hungary, the opening of my shop, and the time I convinced a Cleveland banker to lend money to a Hungarian.

I am building a boat. I use the term loosely. It is a raft with pretensions — logs lashed together with rope, a canvas cover for the supplies, and a rudder made from a plank that I am not confident will survive contact with the river.

The men around me are building similar contraptions. A few, blessed with skill or luck, have built proper boats. The rest of us are building floating apologies. We will launch them anyway because the alternative is to have carried a ton of supplies over a mountain for nothing, and that is a thought too terrible to entertain.

19 JUNE 1898

Dawson City. I am here. The raft survived the river, which surprised no one more than me, and I pulled ashore at the waterfront yesterday afternoon to find a city that makes Cleveland look organised.

Mud. That is the first thing. Mud so deep you lose your boots in it. Then the noise — hammering, shouting, piano music, dogs barking, all of it continuous, all of it at full volume. Then the smell, which I will not describe except to say that thirty thousand people and inadequate sanitation produce predictable results.

I walked the creeks today. Every claim for miles is staked. Every one. I asked at the government office about available ground and the clerk laughed, which I did not appreciate.

I have come six thousand miles and carried a ton of supplies over a mountain to find that I am too late. This does not surprise me. *Az én szerencsém.*

14 AUGUST 1898

I am working for wages. Three dollars a day hauling lumber for a man building a hotel on Front Street. The man is from San Francisco and he has never built anything in his life, but he has money, which in the Klondike makes you an architect.

The hotel will be terrible. The walls are crooked, the floor is uneven, and the roof will leak before the first snow. But it will have a sign that says 'HOTEL' and men will pay two dollars a night to sleep in it because the alternative is sleeping in the mud.

I eat beans three times a day. Eggs cost a dollar each. A dollar. For an egg. In Cleveland I sold eggs for twelve cents a dozen. I try not to think about this because it makes me want to scream, and screaming is bad for business when your business is hauling lumber.

Dawson City is proof that God has a sense of humour and it is not a kind one.

27 OCTOBER 1898

Snow again. Beans again. A fool's life in a fool's country.

7 DECEMBER 1898

Winter. Forty-two below last night. I know this because the man in the next cabin has a thermometer and has taken to announcing the temperature each morning with the enthusiasm of a man who has lost his mind.

I am spending more time in the saloons than I should. The whiskey is bad and expensive but the saloons are warm and there is nothing else to do. The darkness lasts twenty hours a day. The cold is not a temperature — it is a presence, a thing that sits on the town and waits for you to make a mistake.

I have saved four hundred dollars. If I had any sense I would take this money and go home. But going home means admitting that the Klondike

dike was a mistake, and I am not yet ready to admit that, even though it obviously was.

Bolond vagyok, de legalább következetesen.

3 MAY 1899

I am leaving. Not for Nome — I am not fool enough to chase another gold rush — but home. Back to Cleveland, back to Buckeye Road, back to the Hungarian neighbourhood where a man can buy a decent meal and no one charges a dollar for an egg.

I have six hundred and forty dollars, which is less than I spent getting here. By any rational calculation, the Klondike has been a financial disaster. I could have stayed in Cleveland, found a job, and saved more money with less suffering.

But I climbed the Chilkoot Pass. I built a raft and floated five hundred miles down the Yukon River. I survived a winter at forty below. I have stories that will last the rest of my life.

Whether the stories are worth six hundred and forty dollars is a question I will answer when I am old and sitting in a chair and have nothing better to do than calculate.

20 OCTOBER 1899

Cleveland. I walked down Buckeye Road this morning and the butcher recognised me and said, 'Varga, you're back. Did you find gold?' I said no. He said, 'Then you're the only honest man who went.'

I rented a storefront two blocks from my old shop. It needs work — new shelves, a coat of paint, a sign. But it has a stove and a counter and a door that locks, and these are things I did not have on the Chilkoot Pass.

I will open a dry goods shop. Again. Because this is what I do. I open shops in Cleveland. The Klondike was an interruption, not a destination.

Erzsébet from the church brought me a plate of töltött káposzta this evening. It was the best meal I have eaten in two years. I may have wept slightly. I will deny this if asked.

15 SEPTEMBER 1901

The shop is doing well. Not richly, but well. The neighbourhood needs what I sell and I sell it at fair prices and the customers come back, which is all you can ask.

A man came in yesterday wearing a Klondike pin on his lapel — the kind they sell as souvenirs in Seattle. He asked if I had been. I said yes. He asked if I had found gold. I said I had found six hundred and forty dollars' worth of education.

He did not understand. Neither, most days, do I. But the shop is warm and the shelves are full and Erzsébet has agreed to have dinner with me on Sunday, and these are facts that do not require understanding.

They require only gratitude, which is a thing I am still learning.

Hazaértem.

Elias Varga returned to Cleveland in the autumn of 1899, having made no fortune in the Klondike but having survived the experience intact, which he later described as his single greatest achievement. He reopened a dry goods store on Buckeye Road in the Hungarian neighbourhood and ran it without interruption for the next thirty-one years. He married a woman named Erzsébet Tóth in 1902, and they had three children, all of whom were told the Klondike story in exhaustive detail whether they wished to hear it or not. Varga became a fixture of Cleveland's Hungarian community, serving on the board of the local mutual aid society and writing occasional columns for the Szabadság, a Hungarian-language newspaper, in which he dispensed advice with the same sardonic pragmatism that characterised his diary entries. He was known for telling anyone who would listen that the two worst decisions of his life were going to the Klondi-

ke and coming back from it, and that he would not change either one. He closed his shop in 1930 when the Depression made keeping it open impossible, and spent his remaining years tending a small garden behind his house. He died in 1942, aged seventy-nine, and was buried in the Hungarian section of Woodland Cemetery. His headstone, chosen by his wife, reads simply: 'He went and he came back.'

PROFESSOR FRIEDRICH MÜLLER

Geography teacher, Friedrich-Wilhelms-Gymnasium, Berlin, Germany

I have spent my career teaching boys about places I have never been. The Klondike is the place that made me wonder if that was enough.

22 JULY 1897

An extraordinary article in the Berliner Tageblatt this morning. Gold has been discovered in enormous quantities in a region of north-western Canada called the Klondike, and ships have arrived in the American cities of Seattle and San Francisco carrying miners with fortunes in gold dust. The amounts described are staggering — hundreds of thousands of dollars per individual in some cases.

I showed the article to my students during our third-period geography lesson. They were captivated, as boys always are by stories of adventure and wealth. I located the Klondike on the wall map — latitude sixty-four degrees north, deep in the Yukon Territory — and we discussed the implications of a gold rush in such a remote and inhospitable region.

I confess I am captivated myself. The geography is fascinating: a subarctic river system, permafrost, mountain passes, a journey of thousands of miles from the nearest major port. Bemerkenswert.

18 SEPTEMBER 1897

I have begun collecting newspaper clippings about the Klondike. The coverage is extensive, even here in Berlin. The *Vossische Zeitung* published a long piece yesterday about the routes to the goldfields — the Chilkoot Pass and the White Pass from the Alaskan coast, the river journey down the Yukon to Dawson City.

I have marked these routes on my classroom map with coloured pins. The boys find this tremendously exciting. Young Kessler asked if I planned to go myself. I told him that I am fifty years old, that my knees ache in cold weather, and that Frau Müller would not approve. He looked disappointed.

The truth is more complicated. I have spent thirty years teaching about places I have read about in books. The Klondike is the first event of this scale that I am following in real time, through daily newspapers, as it unfolds. It is intoxicating.

Helene says I am becoming obsessed. *Sie hat vielleicht recht.*

11 JANUARY 1898

The winter reports from the Klondike are grim. The newspapers describe tens of thousands of people attempting to cross the mountain passes in sub-arctic conditions, carrying a year's worth of supplies on their backs. The Canadian government requires each person to bring approximately one thousand kilograms of provisions — a regulation designed to prevent starvation but which turns the mountain crossing into an ordeal of weeks or months.

I calculated the logistics with my advanced students as a mathematics exercise. If a man can carry thirty kilograms per trip and must move one thousand kilograms over a thirty-three-kilometre trail, he must make approximately thirty-three round trips, covering over two thousand kilometres of trail in total. The boys were appalled. I was appalled.

The human capacity for endurance in pursuit of wealth never ceases to astonish me.

9 APRIL 1898

Terrible news. An avalanche on the Chilkoot Trail on the third of April — Palm Sunday — has killed at least sixty people. The reports are still fragmentary but the details that have reached Berlin are horrifying: a wall of snow descending on a line of climbers, burying them in seconds. Bodies are still being recovered.

The Tlingit people — the indigenous inhabitants of the coastal region — reportedly refused to climb that day because they recognised the danger signs. The stampeders ignored them and climbed anyway.

I stood before my class this morning and read the article aloud. The room was silent. These are the same boys who cheered when I first told them about the gold rush. Adventure looks different when it has a body count.

Ich habe den Artikel dreimal gelesen. It does not improve with repetition.

6 JUNE 1898

A letter from a former student, Wilhelm Brandt, who emigrated to Canada three years ago and is now working as a clerk in Vancouver. He writes that the city is overrun with stampeders buying supplies and booking passage north. He says the docks are chaos and the prices are extraordinary.

He also writes — and this is the detail I find most remarkable — that many of the stampeders he has met have no idea where the Klondike actually is. They know it is 'north' and they know it has gold. Beyond that, their geographical knowledge is nil. They are walking into a wilderness they cannot locate on a map.

I showed the letter to my colleague Herr Doktor Schreiber, who teaches history. He said it reminded him of the Children's Crusade. I said the comparison was apt but unfair to the children, who at least knew where Jerusalem was.

22 AUGUST 1898

The summer newspapers are full of Dawson City. The population has swelled to thirty thousand or more, making it briefly the largest city in western Canada. The descriptions are extraordinary: a city of tents and log cabins built on permafrost, with saloons and dance halls and a newspaper, surrounded by wilderness in every direction.

Eggs cost a dollar apiece. A copy of a Seattle newspaper rents for two dollars and fifty cents per reading. Champagne sells for thirty dollars a bottle.

I shared these prices with my students and asked them to calculate what a teacher's salary would buy in Dawson City. The answer — approximately one week's worth of food — produced considerable amusement. I was less amused.

Helene asked me at dinner if I would like to visit the Klondike. I said I would like to see it very much. She said, 'Friedrich, you would not survive a week.' She is probably right. *Wahrscheinlich*.

14 NOVEMBER 1898

I gave a lecture this evening to the Berlin Geographical Society on the Klondike Gold Rush. Forty-three people attended, which is respectable for a Thursday. I spoke for ninety minutes, with maps and illustrations from newspapers, covering the geography, the routes, the economics, and the human dimensions of the stampede.

The questions afterward were excellent. Herr Professor Richthofen asked about the long-term environmental impact of placer mining on the sub-arctic ecosystem. Frau Doktor Hausmann asked about the indigenous

peoples and their displacement. A young officer in the back row asked how much gold was coming out, which I suppose is the question that started all of this.

I answered as best I could. The truth is that I am following this event with an intensity that surprises even me. It is the greatest mass migration of my lifetime, and I am watching it from a lecture hall in Berlin. Es ist faszinierend und frustrierend zugleich.

3 MARCH 1899

The news from the Klondike is slowing. The great stampede appears to be ending. Most of the profitable ground has been claimed, the latecomers have found nothing, and the first reports of a new gold discovery at Nome, Alaska, are already drawing men away from Dawson.

I find this somehow melancholy. For two years the Klondike has been the most exciting geographical event in the world, and now it is fading into routine. The individual miners are being replaced by mining companies with heavy equipment. The romance — if that is the right word for suffering and greed — is over.

I updated my classroom map today, removing some of the pins and adding new ones for Nome. The boys protested. They wanted the Klondike pins to stay. I left them.

29 JULY 1899

Nome. The same story, the same madness, a different location. Gold in the beach sand, they say. Thousands leaving the Klondike for Alaska.

I read about it with the weariness of a man who has watched this pattern before. The discovery, the frenzy, the stampede, the disappointment. It is a cycle as predictable as the seasons and as resistant to reason.

A boy in my class — young Hartmann — asked me today why men keep chasing gold when history shows that most of them fail. I told him it was the finest question anyone had asked me all year, and that

if he could answer it, he would understand more about human nature than most philosophers.

He thought about it and said, 'Because each man thinks he will be the exception.'

Der Junge wird einmal etwas Besonderes.

18 DECEMBER 1899

The century is ending and I find myself in a reflective mood. I have spent the past two and a half years following the Klondike Gold Rush from my study in Berlin, through newspapers, letters, and lectures. I have never been closer to the Yukon than a map on my wall.

And yet I feel I know the place. I know the weight of a pack on the Golden Staircase. I know the sound of the ice breaking on Lake Bennett. I know the price of eggs in Dawson City and the depth of the permafrost and the names of the creeks where fortunes were made and lost.

I know these things the way a geographer knows them — from a distance, through text, with precision and without experience. It is a strange kind of knowledge. Complete and hollow at the same time.

5 MARCH 1900

The Klondike Gold Rush is over, or as over as these things ever are. The newspapers have moved on. My students ask about it less frequently. The pins on my classroom map are fading.

I received a final letter from Wilhelm Brandt in Vancouver. He says the city has returned to normal, that the stampede is remembered as a kind of collective fever dream, and that he is glad he never went. He asks if I am glad I never went.

I wrote back and told him that I was glad, and that I was not glad, and that both of these things were true at the same time. I do not think he will understand this. I am not sure I understand it myself.

12 SEPTEMBER 1901

I began the new school year today with a lesson on the Klondike. Not the gold, but the geography — the permafrost, the river systems, the mountain passes, the way that landscape shapes human behaviour in ways that neither wealth nor willpower can overcome.

The new boys listened with wide eyes. One asked if people really carried a ton of supplies over a mountain. I said they did. Another asked if I had been there. I said I had not.

'Then how do you know it's true?' he asked.

I pointed to the map on the wall. I pointed to my notebook of clippings, three hundred articles thick. I pointed to the letters, and the lecture notes, and the pins marking the trails.

'Because I paid attention,' I said. And then I began the lesson.

Das ist meine Art zu reisen.

Friedrich Müller never visited the Klondike, nor any part of North America. He continued teaching geography at the Friedrich-Wilhelms-Gymnasium in Berlin until his retirement in 1912, by which time he had compiled what his colleagues regarded as the most comprehensive personal archive of Klondike Gold Rush documentation in Germany. The archive included over three hundred newspaper clippings, two dozen maps, several letters from former students who had emigrated to Canada, and a detailed chronological notebook that he maintained from 1897 to 1901. He donated the collection to the Berlin Geographical Society in 1913, where it remained in their library until it was destroyed during the bombing of Berlin in 1943. Müller himself had died in 1919, during the influenza pandemic that followed the Great War, at the age of seventy-two. His widow, Helene, later told a colleague that Friedrich had spoken of the Klondike more than any other subject in his final years, and that he kept a map of the Yukon Territory on the wall of his study until the day he died. She said he never regretted not going, but that he never stopped imagining what it would have been like if he had. His obituary in the Berliner Tageblatt

mentioned his long teaching career but made no reference to the Klondike. His students, however, remembered him primarily for one thing: the way his eyes would light up when he unrolled the map of the Yukon and began to speak of gold.

ARCHIBALD PEMBERTON

Former insurance clerk, Basingstoke, England

*I went to the Klondike because I was bored, which, in retrospect,
was like curing a headache with a guillotine.*

4 AUGUST 1897

I have made a decision that future historians will either celebrate as the moment a great adventure began, or cite as evidence that the English middle class should not be allowed to read newspapers unsupervised.

I am going to the Klondike.

The decision was made this morning over breakfast at Mrs. Cuthbert's boarding house in Basingstoke, while reading an account in *The Times* of gold discoveries in Canada. The article described men arriving in Seattle with suitcases full of gold dust and the immediate departure of thousands of fortune-seekers for the frozen north.

I looked at my toast. I looked at the article. I looked at the insurance office across the street, where I have spent the past six years calculating the likelihood of unlikely things happening to other people. I put down my toast.

I am twenty-seven years old, I have no wife, no children, no debts, and no particular attachment to the concept of actuarial tables. If not now, when?

19 OCTOBER 1897

The Atlantic crossing was unpleasant. I will not dwell on it except to say that I now understand why insurance premiums for maritime travel are what they are. From New York I took a train to Seattle, which took six days and introduced me to the American concept of 'distance,' which is to say that everything in this country is implausibly far from everything else.

Seattle is magnificent chaos. The entire city appears to be in the business of sending people to the Klondike, and business is booming. I have purchased my supplies — a year's worth of food, tools, and clothing, totalling approximately one ton — and I have booked passage on a steamer to Dyea, Alaska.

The man at the outfitting shop asked me if I had any experience with mining, mountaineering, or wilderness survival. I said no. He asked if I had any experience with cold weather. I said I was from Hampshire.

He sold me an extra blanket.

27 JANUARY 1898

I have arrived at Dyea, Alaska, which is a town in the same way that a pile of boards and canvas near a beach is a town. The Chilkoot Trail begins here, rising from sea level to a pass at three thousand five hundred feet in approximately thirty-three miles. I know this because I have read about it extensively. Reading about it and seeing it are, I can now confirm, entirely different experiences.

The mountain is there. My supplies are here. Between the two lies a trail that appears to have been designed by someone who believes that suffering builds character. I have no shortage of character already, but the mountain does not seem interested in my opinion.

I begin hauling tomorrow. Eighty pounds per load, forty loads to move everything. I have done the arithmetic. The arithmetic is upsetting.

3 MARCH 1898

I have been hauling supplies up the Chilkoot Trail for five weeks and I have discovered a great truth that no one in Basingstoke will ever understand: carrying a hundred pounds up a frozen mountain is not an adventure. It is an argument between your body and your ambition, conducted in a language consisting entirely of pain.

The Golden Staircase — the final ascent — is a thing I shall describe to my grandchildren, if I live to have any. Fifteen hundred steps of ice, carved by the boots of the thousands who have gone before, rising nearly vertically into the clouds. You join the line. You climb. You do not stop, because if you step out of line, you will wait hours to get back in. The man in front of you is six inches from your face. The man behind you is six inches from yours. You are all going up. No one is smiling.

I have developed a theory that the Chilkoot Pass is, in fact, a civil service examination administered by the Canadian government, and that the gold is merely the pension.

6 APRIL 1898

The avalanche on Palm Sunday has changed everything. Sixty or more people are dead, buried under snow between Sheep Camp and the Scales. I was at Bennett Lake when it happened, having crossed the summit four days earlier. If I had been slower — if I had taken one more day — I might have been on that trail.

I helped with the rescue effort. I will not describe what we found. Some things should not be written down. They should simply be carried, quietly, for the rest of one's life.

The trail has reopened. The line of climbers has reformed, as if the mountain had not just killed sixty people. I do not understand this. I do not understand how men can walk past the place where others died and continue climbing as though the mountain has made its point and will not make it again.

But they do. We do. Because the gold is on the other side and we have come too far to stop.

15 MAY 1898

I am building a boat at Lake Bennett. I use the word 'building' with the same generosity that one might use the word 'singing' to describe the sound a cat makes at three in the morning.

My boat is twelve feet long, flat-bottomed, and constructed from green spruce planks that are already warping in ways that suggest the wood has its own plans for the voyage. The caulking is a mixture of spruce pitch and hope. The sail is a bedsheet. I have named her the Basingstoke Belle, which is optimistic on every level.

The shipwright from Nova Scotia camped next to me looked at my boat, looked at me, looked at my boat again, and said, 'She'll float.' Then he paused and added, 'Probably.' This is the most encouraging thing anyone has said to me in months.

8 JUNE 1898

The Basingstoke Belle is on the Yukon River and she is floating, which I mention not as a boast but as a statement of genuine surprise. The current is fast, the river is wide, and the scenery is the most beautiful I have ever seen — mountains and forests and sky stretching in every direction without a single insurance office to spoil the view.

I nearly died at Miles Canyon, where the river narrows and the rapids are violent enough to flip a proper boat, let alone a floating apology made of green spruce. The Belle shipped water, spun twice, and emerged on the other side intact, which I attribute to divine intervention or blind luck, the two being difficult to distinguish at speed.

I am perhaps three weeks from Dawson City. The river will carry me there, if the river is willing. I have stopped making plans. Plans, in the Klondike, are suggestions you make to a landscape that is not listening.

2 JULY 1898

Dawson City. I have arrived. I have walked the creeks. I have spoken to the claim office. The news is what every latecomer eventually hears: there is no ground left. Every creek, every bench, every hillside within practical distance of Dawson has been staked, and the men who staked it are either rich or pretending to be.

I am neither. I have my supplies, my health (mostly), and a boat that I could sell for perhaps fifteen dollars if I found a buyer with extremely low standards.

Dawson itself is extraordinary — a city of thirty thousand souls where eggs cost a dollar and a bath costs two and the saloons never close because the sun never sets. I had a bath. It was the most expensive and most satisfying experience of my life.

I will find work. I will save what I can. I will not panic. Panicking is for people who have not already survived the Chilkoot Pass on a diet of beans and optimism.

18 SEPTEMBER 1898

I have acquired a claim. I hesitate to use the word 'acquired' because it implies a transaction of some dignity, whereas what actually happened is that I traded my boat, a sack of flour, and four cans of peaches for a piece of ground on a hillside bench above Gold Bottom Creek that the previous owner described as 'promising,' which in mining terminology means 'I have given up on it.'

I have been digging for three weeks. I have found mud. Significant quantities of mud. Also rocks, roots, and one bewildered ground squirrel. Gold, so far, has not made an appearance, which is odd because gold is supposedly everywhere in the Klondike. Everywhere, it seems, except the specific patch of frozen hillside that I now own.

I am beginning to suspect that gold, much like happiness, is something that exists primarily in the accounts of people who are trying to sell you something.

14 DECEMBER 1898

It is cold.

11 APRIL 1899

Spring is coming and I have reached a decision that I should have reached six months ago, except that six months ago I was frozen solid and could not reach for anything, including decisions.

I am going home. My claim has produced gold to the value of forty-three dollars, which works out to approximately one dollar and fifty cents per week of labour. I could have earned more by staying in Basingstoke and calculating insurance premiums, which is a sentence I never thought I would write and which fills me with a very particular kind of despair.

But I am alive. I have all my fingers, most of my toes, and a left ear that will never be the same but is still attached. I have seen the Northern Lights from the top of the Chilkoot Pass. I have floated five hundred miles down a river that existed before any human being set foot in this country. I have eaten beans prepared in eleven different ways, seven of which should be illegal.

I regret nothing. Except possibly the ear.

3 JULY 1899

On a steamer heading south. The river is gentle and the weather is warm and I am leaving the Klondike behind, which is something I thought I would do with relief but am actually doing with a feeling I can only describe as bewildered affection.

I met a man on the steamer who is heading to Nome, where gold has been found on the beach. He asked if I was interested. I said I would rather eat my own boots, and I say this as a man who has seriously considered eating his own boots.

He laughed and called me a quitter. I said I preferred the term 'survivor,' which has fewer syllables and better outcomes.

22 NOVEMBER 1899

England. It rains here. I had forgotten about rain. In the Klondike, water comes in only two forms: ice and mosquitoes. Rain is a luxury, a gentle, temperate, civilised form of precipitation that does not try to kill you.

I took the train from Southampton to London and have found lodgings in Bloomsbury. I will not return to Basingstoke. The insurance office will have to find another clerk, preferably one with less experience of mountain passes and more tolerance for actuarial tables.

I have applied for a position at Lloyd's of London. My letter of application mentioned my Klondike experience. I suspect they will think me mad. I suspect they will also be intrigued, because Lloyd's insures ships and expeditions and ventures in remote places, and I have a perspective on remote ventures that cannot be obtained from a textbook.

I unpacked my trunk this evening. At the bottom, underneath everything, I found a small nugget of gold — barely the size of a pea — that must have lodged in the lining during my time at Gold Bottom Creek. Forty-three dollars of claim work, and the only gold I brought home was an accident.

I put it on the mantelpiece. It looks rather well there.

Archibald Pemberton returned to England in November 1899 with forty-three dollars, a severe frostbite scar on his left ear, and what he described as an 'encyclopaedic knowledge of the many ways a man can fail to find gold.' He did not return to Basingstoke or to the insurance trade. Instead, he settled in London and took a position as a clerk at Lloyd's of London, where his Klondike experience — particularly his detailed understanding of the ways in which remote ventures could go catastrophically wrong — proved unexpectedly useful in the underwriting department. He married a woman named Dorothy Ainsworth in 1903, a librarian whom he met at a public lecture on Arctic exploration. They had two children. Pemberton was known among his colleagues for his dry wit and his refusal to be impressed by any tale of hardship, on the grounds that he had carried a hundred-pound sack of flour up fifteen hundred ice steps and nothing since had seemed particularly difficult. He served in the Territorial Army during the Great War in an administrative capacity, his Klondike-damaged ear having been judged unfit for active service. He retired from Lloyd's in 1932 and spent his final years in a cottage in Kent, where he tended a vegetable garden with an intensity that his wife attributed to the memory of scurvy. He died in 1944, aged seventy-four, during a German V-1 attack on nearby Sevenoaks. The garden survived.

DMITRI VOLKOV

Sailor from Vladivostok, Russia

The sea gives you everything or takes everything. I went to the mountains thinking they would be different.

7 SEPTEMBER 1897

American sailors in the harbour at Vladivostok are talking about gold. They say a river of gold has been found in Canada, in a place called Klondike. They say men are becoming rich overnight. They say the ships in Seattle and San Francisco cannot carry all the people who want to go. I have been a sailor for twelve years. I have seen every port from Vladivostok to Yokohama to San Francisco. I have nothing to show for it except strong arms, a bad knee, and a knowledge of knots that impresses no one on land.

The American sailors say it is possible to cross from Alaska to the gold-fields. That the journey is hard but not impossible. They say it with the confidence of men who have no intention of going themselves. Zoloto. Gold. The word sounds the same in every language.

2 NOVEMBER 1897

I have crossed the Pacific. Not as a passenger — I worked my passage on a cargo ship bound for Juneau, Alaska, hauling freight and standing

watches. The captain was American and did not care where I was from as long as I could work. I can always work.

Juneau is a small town but it is full of men heading north. I will join them. From here I travel to Dyea, at the foot of the Chilkoot Pass, and then over the mountains to the goldfields.

I have very little money — fifty-three dollars, plus the supplies I purchased in Juneau with the last of my earnings. It is not enough for a year's outfit, but I will work my way across the pass, hiring myself out as a packer to men who have more supplies than strength. Eto ya umeyu. I know how to carry.

18 JANUARY 1898

Dyea. The foot of the mountain. I have been here three days, carrying loads for other men at fifteen cents a pound. The work is good — it pays, and it moves me closer to the summit with each trip.

The cold is not what bothers me. I grew up in Vladivostok, where the harbour freezes solid in winter and the wind from Siberia cuts like a knife. This cold is familiar. What is not familiar is the mountain — the steepness of it, the weight of the snow, the way the trail narrows to a single track and you must climb in line like ants.

I have met men here from every country I can name and some I cannot. Americans, Canadians, Norwegians, Germans, even a man from Australia who looks as baffled by the snow as a fish would look on a mountaintop. We are all going the same direction.

Vverkh. Up.

21 FEBRUARY 1898

I have my own outfit now — purchased from a man who gave up at Sheep Camp and sold everything for a fraction of what it cost him. His hands were frostbitten and his eyes had the look of a man who has seen something he does not wish to see again.

I am making my relays. Eighty pounds per trip, three trips a day when the weather allows. The work is not so different from hauling cargo on a ship — the same repetition, the same ache in the shoulders, the same need to keep moving regardless of what your body tells you.

The Golden Staircase is ahead. Fifteen hundred steps of ice rising to the summit. I have seen it from below and it looks like something from a dream — a column of men climbing into the sky, one step at a time, disappearing into the clouds.

Ya gotov.

11 MARCH 1898

I climbed the Golden Staircase today for the first time with a full load. Eighty-five pounds on my back, fifteen hundred steps, and at the top the wind hit me like a fist and I could not see ten metres in any direction. But I was at the summit. Canadian territory. The Mounties checked my supplies and noted my name in their book. 'Volkov, Dmitri. Russian. Sailor.' That is what I am now: a line in a Canadian police ledger.

I made two more trips today. My legs are finished. My back is a single long complaint. But each trip means less weight to carry tomorrow, and tomorrow the weather may be worse. In the north, you work when you can.

I shared a fire tonight with a Hungarian named Varga and a Norwegian named Halvorsen. We ate beans and said very little. Khoroshiye lyudi.

22 MARCH 1898

Making good progress. Two thirds of my supplies are cached on the Canadian side now. Perhaps ten more days of hauling and I will be done. Then Lake Bennett, and a boat, and the river.

I have been thinking about what I will do in Dawson. I know nothing of mining. But I know work, and I know cold, and I know how to fix things that are broken. In Dawson there will be things that need fixing.

I met a Tlingit packer on the trail today — a man named George, though I suspect that is not his real name. He carries twice what I carry and moves as if the mountain is level ground. I asked him how long he has been doing this. He said his people have been crossing this pass for longer than anyone can remember. The gold rush is new. The trail is old.

Ya khochu eto zapomnit'.

26 MARCH 1898

The weather has changed. Warm winds from the south, which feels like a gift after months of cold but which the experienced men say is dangerous. Warm wind on heavy snow means avalanche.

The Tlingit packers have slowed down. George told me they are watching the snow on the slopes above the trail. He said the snow is 'sitting wrong' — his words — and that his people will not climb when it sits like this.

I look at the slopes and I see snow. I do not see what George sees. I am a sailor, not a mountaineer. The sea I understand — the way it moves, the way it breathes, the way it warns you before it kills you. The mountain, I am learning, gives different warnings.

Sneg tyazhyolyy.

30 MARCH 1898

Three more loads to carry and I am done. Three more trips up the staircase and I can leave this mountain behind.

But the weather will not cooperate. The warm winds continue. Snow fell heavily last night and this morning the trail is buried deeper than before. The Tlingit packers are not climbing. Some stampedes are not climbing either, those who have been here long enough to learn caution.

Others are climbing regardless. The line has thinned but it has not stopped. Men with three months of hauling behind them will not wait for weather. I understand this. I feel it myself — the need to finish, to get it done, to be past this place.

Tomorrow, maybe. If the snow settles. If the wind drops.

2 APRIL 1898

Sneg ne prekrashchayetsya.

3 APRIL 1898 — MORNING

The snow has stopped. The sky is grey but the wind has dropped and the trail is passable. I have three loads left. Three loads, perhaps nine hours of climbing, and I am finished with this mountain forever.

George the Tlingit packer is not climbing today. I asked him why. He looked at the slopes above the trail and shook his head. 'Too much snow,' he said. 'It will come down.'

I looked at the slopes. I saw snow, the same snow that has been there for weeks. I saw the line of climbers already forming, men shouldering their packs, stamping their feet against the cold. I saw the staircase stretching upward into the clouds.

Three loads. Nine hours. Then I am done.

Ya idu.

Dmitri Volkov died on the morning of April 3, 1898, in the Palm Sunday avalanche on the Chilkoot Trail. He was thirty-one years old. His body was recovered four days later by a rescue party digging through compacted snow between the Scales and Sheep Camp. He was identified by a Russian Orthodox cross around his neck and a leather journal in his breast pocket, the pages soaked but partially legible. His effects were forwarded by the North-West Mounted Police to the Russian consulate in San Francisco,

which attempted to contact his family in Vladivostok. A letter eventually reached his mother, Irina Volkova, in the autumn of 1898, informing her of her son's death. She is reported to have said only that she had warned him not to go to the mountains. Volkov was one of at least sixty-three people killed in the avalanche, which struck at approximately eleven o'clock in the morning after days of warm winds had destabilised the heavy snow-pack on the slopes above the trail. The Tlingit packers had refused to climb that morning, recognising the danger. Most of the stampeders, including Volkov, had no experience with mountain avalanche conditions and disregarded the warnings. Volkov was buried in the temporary cemetery at Dyea, Alaska. The cemetery was later abandoned as the town itself was abandoned, and the graves were eventually reclaimed by the forest. No permanent marker exists.

- August 16, 1896: George Carmack, Skookum Jim Mason, and Dawson Charlie discover gold on Bonanza Creek, a tributary of the Klondike River in Canada's Yukon Territory.
- September–October 1896: Word spreads through the existing prospecting camps along the Yukon. Hundreds of claims are staked on Bonanza and Eldorado Creeks within weeks.
- July 15, 1897: The steamship Excelsior arrives in San Francisco carrying Klondike miners and approximately half a ton of gold. Two days later the Portland docks in Seattle with another ton. Headlines ignite a worldwide frenzy.
- August–December 1897: An estimated 100,000 people begin making their way north. Most depart from Seattle or San Francisco by steamship to the Alaskan ports of Dyea and Skagway.
- Winter 1897–1898: Tens of thousands of stampeder relay their mandatory one ton of supplies over the Chilkoot Pass and White Pass, a process that takes most people between thirty and ninety days of continuous hauling.
- April 3, 1898: The Palm Sunday avalanche on the Chilkoot Trail between Sheep Camp and the Scales kills at least sixty-three people. Tlingit packers and experienced mountaineers had warned of unstable snow conditions for days. Within hours of the disaster, the line of climbers reforms.
- May 29, 1898: The ice breaks on Lake Bennett and an improvised fleet of roughly seven thousand boats launches down the Yukon River toward Dawson City, five hundred miles to the north.

- Summer 1898: Dawson City's population peaks at an estimated 30,000 to 40,000, briefly making it the largest city in Canada west of Winnipeg. Eggs sell for a dollar apiece. A copy of a Seattle newspaper rents for two dollars and fifty cents a reading.
- July 1898: A typhoid epidemic breaks out in Dawson City due to contaminated water and poor sanitation, killing scores and sickening hundreds through the summer.
- Autumn 1898: The North-West Mounted Police under Superintendent Sam Steele establish firm order in Dawson City, collecting customs duties, mediating claim disputes, and preventing the large-scale lawlessness that had characterized earlier American gold rushes.
- Winter 1898–1899: Scurvy, malnutrition, and extreme cold claim lives throughout the Klondike. Most of the profitable claims have long since been staked, and thousands of latecomers find nothing.
- Summer 1899: News of gold discoveries at Nome, Alaska triggers a new stampede. Thousands abandon the Klondike, and Dawson City's population drops sharply.
- 1899–1901: Individual prospecting gives way to industrial mining operations. The Klondike continues to produce gold, but the era of the lone stamper is over. Dawson City settles into a quieter existence as a northern administrative center.
- By the time the rush ended, the Klondike goldfields had yielded an estimated \$300 million in gold at turn-of-the-century prices. The human cost — measured in lives lost to avalanche, drowning, scurvy, exposure, and despair — has never been precisely calculated.