YOU NEED TO TELL THAT TRUE ALBERT JOHNSON STORY LIKE WE KNOW IT: TELLING THE ALBERT JOHNSON, THE MAD TRAPPER OF RAT RIVER NARRATIVES

A Thesis Submitted to the Committee on Graduate Studies
in Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements for the Degree of Master of Arts
in the Faculty of Arts and Science

Trent University

Peterborough, Ontario, Canada

Anthropology M.A. Program

June 2005

Your file Votre référence
ISBN: 0-494-04852-2
Our file Notre référence
ISBN: 0-494-04852-2

ABSTRACT

You Need To Tell That True Albert Johnson Story Like We Know It:
Telling the Albert Johnson, the Mad Trapper of Rat River Narratives

Leslie Joan McCartney

A man who said his name was Albert Johnson was pursued through Gwich'in territory in the Yukon and Northwest Territories by the RCMP in 1932. The chase dramatically ended when he was shot to death. The drama of the chase and the mystery of his identity led him to become known to some as the "Mad Trapper of Rat River." This tale is documented in RCMP records, and has been repeated and embellished in many popular novels, newspaper stories, movies, songs and radio plays. Many Gwich'in people were either directly or indirectly involved in the original "hunt" for Albert Johnson (as they have always called him). Seventy years later Gwich'in Elders insisted to me that they knew the "real story" of what had happened, but that story had never been told. To the Gwich'in the story is about their cultural traditions, their connection to the land, and the impingement of government laws upon their lives in the early decades of the 20th century. To the RCMP it is one of maintaining peace, power and control in the Canadian north. In the popular versions the story can be read to perpetuate myths of the North, stereotypes of "Indians," what it takes to be a "real man," the differences between Canadian and American national ideologies, and what ideas about "frontier" and "survival" symbolize in these contexts. I examine these three versions of the Albert Johnson/Mad Trapper narrative, highlighting the differences among them as a vehicle to reflect on the nature of stories and storytelling. I conclude with a commentary on the Gwich'in Elders' concern that "their story" has never been heard.

Keywords: Gwich'in, Albert Johnson, Mad Trapper, RCMP, North

Preface

One late fall afternoon in 1999, my son Shane, then in Grade 8, came into the kitchen while I was preparing supper. Downheartedly he said that he had a book report due. In his hand he carried the small book he had chosen from his school library to satisfy, in his eyes, this monumental task. Although a voracious reader as long as the topic suited his interests, writing was an excruciatingly painful task for Shane. I asked him to tell me what the book was about. He explained:

> It's really good. It's about this guy who floated down a river up north on a raft. He had lots of money, bought some things at a store, bought a canoe and was going to go to the Rat River to build a cabin. He missed the Rat and ended up on the Husky and so he went back. He had to go up a set of hard portages to get into the Rat River. Some way up the Rat River a way he built his cabin. He started springing other people's traps and so the police went to talk to him. He wouldn't answer the door so the police had to go to Aklavik and when they came back, this guy, who they called Albert Johnson, shot one of the policemen through the door. I'm just at the part where the police are trying to catch him.

I had never heard of this story, the events of which took place in 1931 and 1932, but the place names I found familiar. I had visited Tsiigehtchic, a small community near these places in the Northwest Territories during the summer of 1999, in preparation for the summer of 2000 when I would return to the community and begin a research project for the community, and fieldwork for my Masters degree.

"Gee, I wonder if Pierre knows that story," I mused aloud. Pierre was a Gwich'in Elder I had met in Tsiigehtchic. By my calculations, he would have been about ten or eleven years old at the time this story occurred. I had spent many hours with Pierre listening to his stories.

I called Pierre. After learning what the weather was like in Tsiigehtchic, where the caribou were on their annual migration route, how many had been shot and by whom,

who was in town, who had left town and the reason for their departure, and about the health of most of the community's elder residents, I said to Pierre, "My son is reading a book called *The Mad Trapper of Rat River* by Dick North. The book says the police chased this man around your area. I wondered if you knew that story."

"Oh yes," he exclaimed. "I got that story. 1932. We were camped at Campbell Creek that winter. I got that story from Joe Bernard. I know that story real good. That book is wrong. I know the real story." I asked Pierre if he would tell Shane the "real" story. He agreed and for almost an hour Shane listened intently on the phone only speaking occasionally with an astonished "wow", or "really!" After the story was finished Shane thanked Pierre, as did I, with the promise that we would send him some snuff tobacco.

I asked Shane how Pierre's version of the story was and how it differed from the book he was reading. Shane replied, "It was good. His story was a little different than the book but not that much different." I fleetingly pondered this remark. Pierre had insisted he knew the "real" story and that the book was wrong. What did Pierre mean by the "real" story? What was different between the story he knew and the one that had been written?

Acknowledgements

I thank my son, Shane, and my Shitsee, Pierre Benoit, for bring this topic to my attention: Shane for bring home Dick North's book and talking to his mom about it; and to Pierre for encouraging me to "tell that Albert Johnson story to the those people down south because they don't know that story like we know that story." I thank them both for their serendipitous conversations with me about Albert Johnson and their encouragement over the ensuing years.

My heartfelt thanks to my supervisor, Julia Harrison, who has encouraged and challenged me to accomplish more than I thought possible. Her infinite patience with me is to be commended. Since my undergraduate days she has been an inspiration to me and I thank her for making a mature student's education so enriching. To my other committee members, Anne Meneley, John Jennings and Robert Wishart, I extend my thanks for their helpful comments and assistance to improve this thesis. Thanks also to the Research and Graduate Studies Department at Trent University for their patience with what must be their longest enrolled graduate student.

This work would not have been possible without the opportunities made available to me through the Gwich'in Social and Cultural Institute. I sincerely thank Ingrid Kritsch for making the opportunity to work with the GSCI in the Gwich'in Elders Biographies Research Project possible. Many thanks also to my other GSCI colleagues William George Firth, Bertha Francis, Betty-Vittrekwa Firth, Mavis Clark, Alestine Andre, Lisa Andre and Melanie Fafard for all the support over the years.

I wish to thank the Gwich'in communities and those individuals who also work with the Gwich'in, who opened their homes and hearts to me. I would especially like to thank Terry Sawyer for her patient teachings, support, encouragement, friendship and hours of tireless work. I would also like to thank, in alphabetical order:
Hyacinthe Andre, Tony and Caroline Andre, Annie Benoit, Rowena Edwards, Lydia Elias, John "Doodles" Firth, Mary Firth, Chief James Firth, Chief Charlie Furlong, Sarah Ann Gardlund, Walter Gardlund, Gwich'in Tribal Council (especially President Fred Carmichael, Grey Cayen and Tom Williams), Doris Itzi, Peter and Mary Kay, Mary Kendi, Catherine Mitchell, Eunice Mitchell, Winston and Martha Moses, Joan Nazon, Richard Nerysoo, Chief Peter Ross, Alfred and Catherine Semple, Sarah Simon, Betty Ann Vittrekwa-Firth, Chief Abe Wilson and Ruth Wright.

This thesis is an accumulation of assistance from many, many people who took the time to talk to me about this project, help me with research and put me in contact with key people. In alphabetical order, I wish to thank:
Herb Carol, Chelsea, Ed and Hannah Churchyard, Gary Dixon, Margaret Evans (RCMP Archives in Ottawa), Carmen Harry (Curator, RCMP Museum, Regina), Major Earl Frank Hersey, Retired, Pat and Diane King, King's Cross Community Development Trust (both James Goodwin and Angela Nairne), Colum McCready, the late Senior Corporal Robert G. McDowell, Retired, National Archives of Canada Staff, National Library of Canada Staff, Lyle and Sue Nelson, Dick North, Northwest Territories Archives Staff, Adrian Schuman (CBC Recording Archivist), Glen Wright (RCMP

Archivist at National Archives of Canada), Yukon Archives Staff and Mrs. Edward Zealley.

To my girlfriends who were always there and encouraged me in life's darkest days to keep going to complete this work: June Faulkner, Trish Giles, Brandi Gillett-Woods, Louise Hornagold, Valerie McGriskin, Carol McKenzie, Helen Porter, Sylvia Taylor, Trish Veltman; Dorothy Watson, Brigette Wellershausen and Pat Winfield.

This work would not have been possible without the financial support I received from Symons Trust Fund for Canadian Studies through Trent University, Northern Scientific Training Program through Trent University, P.E.O. Sisterhood (especially Mary-Lou McCartney), the Ontario Graduate Scholarship Program, Bagnani Graduate Award at Trent University and Al McKay and Janice O'Neill at the Kawartha Credit Union.

Thanks also to Heather Avery for her meticulous proof-reading, editing and suggestions.

And finally, the two Davids, who are like metaphors of a book. Dave who was with me at the beginning chapters of this journey, quizzing me on Foucault and teaching me aspects of Canadian history in a canoe in Ontario, encouraging me to keep going with love and support and who so selflessly let go so I could achieve my goals. And to David, representative of the final chapters in this journey, on another continent, who gave me the space I so needed, encouraged me to keep going, challenged my thinking and was so thoughtful, helpful and supportive throughout. I could not have achieved this without both your love and support. Thank you.

If I have missed anyone, I apologize for the error.

TABLE OF CONTENTS **Page**

LIST OF FIGURES

LIST OF TABLES

Chapter 1

One Story, Multiple Versions

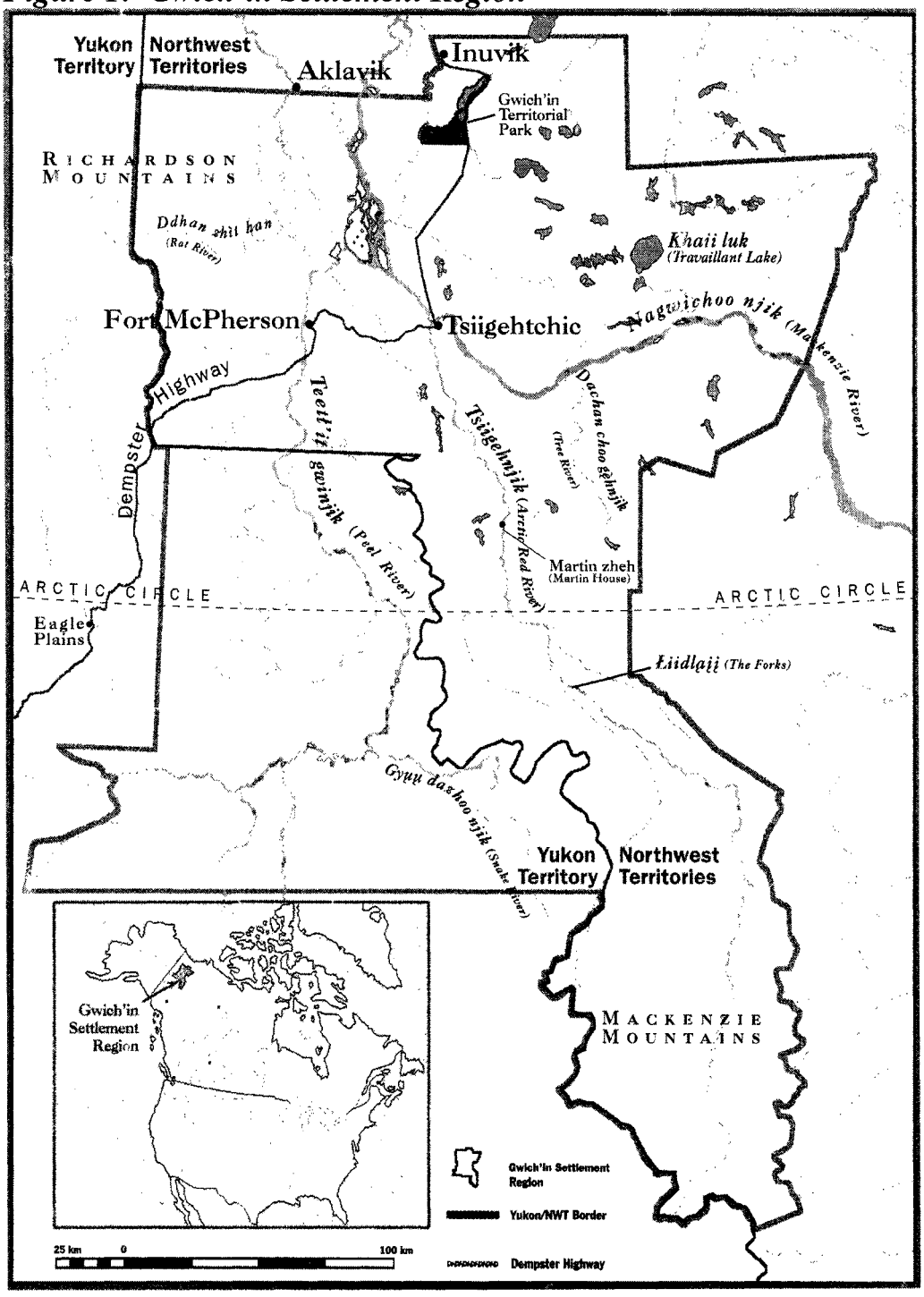
A Change of Direction

I had no intention of writing my Masters thesis about Albert Johnson. The Gwich'in Social and Cultural Institute (GSCI) had hired me to be the lead researcher in the Gwich'in Elders' Biographies Research Project (GEBRP). During the summer of 2000 I was to interview and write biographies of prominent Gwich'in Elders.[i] My thesis was to be based on that fieldwork, focusing on the politics and ethical concerns of an outsider, a white anthropology graduate student writing Aboriginal biography.

Save for the Inuit, the Gwich'in are the most northerly Aboriginal people in North America. The traditional Gwich'in lands extend from the Mackenzie Valley of the Northwest Territories, through the Yukon and into the interior of Alaska. Originally Athapaskan speakers who now speak predominantly English,[ii] the Gwich'in, who live at the northerly limit of the boreal forest in the Northwest Territories, number approximately 2,400 (Northwest Territories Education, Culture and Employment 2001:11).[iii]

Anthropologically, the Gwich'in are considered to be part of the Dene (Abel 1993:xiv).[iv] In 1992, the Canadian Federal Government and Gwich'in signed a Comprehensive Land Claim Agreement and the Gwich'in Settlement Region, as shown in Figure 1, was formed.[v] During the summer of my original fieldwork I travelled to three of four Gwich'in Communities in the Gwich'in Settlement Region: Aklavik, Inuvik and Fort McPherson. I lived in a fourth community, Tsiigehtchic.

Figure 1: Gwich'in Settlement Region



Source: Gwich'in Social and Cultural Institute (1996:16)

I came upon the story of Albert Johnson, also known as the Mad Trapper of Rat River, in a rather serendipitous fashion and thus was aware of the story prior to my field work. During my field work the Johnson story surfaced at the oddest times. For instance, it surfaced in life story interviews as a marker of time and place. Many interviewees referred to "that Albert Johnson year"; "that time they were hunting Johnson, February, 1932"; or "that year we stay at (a place name) when we heard about Johnson." I came to realize that this event was analogous to questions I had heard many times in southern Canada: "Do you remember where you were and what you were doing on November 22, 1963, or more recently, on September 11th, 2001?" But the Johnson story also surfaced in everyday conversation such as the time an Elder, while clutching my arm for stability as we made our way down the muddy road in Aklavik, told me how her Auntie, girlfriend of Constable Millen, the police officer who was shot and killed by Johnson, died of a broken heart just a few months after his untimely death.

The Albert Johnson story in the Gwich'in communities was very well known and almost everyone insisted that "that Albert Johnson book and movie are not true." They insisted that "they knew the true story." During the time of my fieldwork I noted these incidents in my copious field notes but did not reflect upon them. His story, after all, was not the focus of my research.

The Albert Johnson Story

It was not until I returned home to Ontario in the fall of 2000 and started reviewing my field notes that I began to think seriously about the Johnson story. Everyone I had met who had insisted that the written stories were not true proceeded to tell me bits of the story as they knew it. One Gwich'in Elder in fact had encouraged me to write about the Johnson story because, as he said, "people down south don't know that

story like we know that story." Before seriously proceeding with this I needed to know how the stories between "up north and down south" differed. What had been written about Johnson? In my preliminary search I realized that February 17th, 2002 would mark the 70th anniversary of an event that has been the source of local community discussion, police investigative searches, many popular books, articles, songs, poems, movies and legends. On this day in 1932, the final act was played out in a drama that the press at the time dubbed "The Arctic Circle War" (Shaw 1986:50). The last scene of this drama was marked by a final shoot out on the Eagle River in Canada's Yukon, where a man named Albert Johnson was shot and killed by a police posse after being chased for 53 days in Canada's Northwest Territories and Yukon. Except for the some of the highly fictionalized stories and films, the facts in all the stories, including the Gwich'in versions, were fairly consistent. They are as follows:

A stranger arrived in Fort McPherson in the summer of 1931. He hardly spoke with people, bought a canoe and made his way to the Rat River where he built himself a cabin. On New Year's Eve the Royal Canadian Mounted Police at the Arctic Red River detachment received complaints from some Aboriginal men that a man by the name of Albert Johnson had been springing their traps. One RCMP Constable and a Gwich'in Special Constable were dispatched from the Arctic Red River post to investigate. They arrived at his cabin and received no response to their knocks and requests for whoever was inside to open the door. They then decided to journey to the RCMP office in Aklavik to obtain a search warrant. Two RCMP officers and two Gwich'in Special Constables then returned to the cabin with the warrant. When one RCMP officer knocked on the cabin door and asked the man inside to open the door, a bullet was fired through the closed door. This bullet wounded the RCMP officer in the chest. The other

RCMP officer and two Gwich'in Constables returned to Aklavik as quickly as they could with their wounded comrade. Once word of this incident was received back in Aklavik, a police posse comprised of RCMP officers, Royal Canadian Corps of Signals, Gwich'in Special Constables and local trappers was organized to find Albert Johnson. The fugitive eluded police for a total of 53 days, killing one policeman along the way. On February 17, 1932 the police posse caught up with the man they believed to be Albert Johnson on the Yukon's Eagle River. Before being killed himself, Johnson shot and wounded another man from the posse. Johnson was buried in Aklavik. His real identity has never been established.[viii]

Preliminary Questions

What did the Gwich'in feel was missing from this story? What did they feel was the true story? When they told me their version of the story the facts of the story were not much different from those I have noted above. I did realize however that the Gwich'in mentioned the Special Constables and other Gwich'in people involved in the story more in their narratives. At first I believed the differences in narratives stemmed from how the Gwich'in people involved in the chase for Johnson were hardly, if at all, mentioned in the RCMP version and in the popular narratives. But in reflecting on this, I wondered if the reasons for the differences went much deeper than that. Were the various versions different because they had been constructed from differing points of views or different cultural backgrounds? Two incidents cemented this idea. The first occurred when I began my fieldwork in Tsiigehtchic in 2000. A Gwich'in Elder approached me with an angry stance. With her finger pointing at me, she displayed her obvious displeasure at both my arrival in her community and the fact that I was yet another non-Aboriginal anthropologist who was to write about "her people." She wanted

to know why I didn't just stay at home and write about my own people. Was I just going to be another one of those outsiders who came into their community, collected their stories, wrote them up and then sold them for a profit? She told me in no uncertain terms that I had better not record their words, and then proceed to tell them what they meant. They knew what their words meant and they didn't need some non-Aboriginal outsider telling them anything different. I assured her I was not making a cent from this work, it was part of my schooling. I tried to assure her that the stories I would be writing were for the Gwich'in community. I would respect the stories as told to me and I would not "take" the stories out of the community. But her comment about writing about my own people was one I could not counter and I wrestled uncomfortably with her words for some time.[ix]

The second incident occurred in the late fall of 2000 when I returned home. While explaining in my home to a friend over tea that I was thinking about writing about Albert Johnson, he exclaimed that he knew that story because he had seen the movie. When I told him the Gwich'in version he assured me that no, that wasn't the real story; he knew the story because he had seen the movie. He then proceeded to tell me the "real" story as he knew it, based on the movie *Death Hunt* (Hunt 1981).

These two incidents were pivotal in my desire to write a thesis about the Johnson stories that would not just be about the Gwich'in versions as I had learned them, but one that would reflect and investigate just as much of my own culture. I found Myerhoff and Ruby's discussion of reflexivity very useful in this process:

> [Reflexivity] as we use it, describes the capacity of any system of signification to turn back upon itself, to make itself its own object by referring to itself, subject and object fuse ... [with this tool] we may achieve a greater originality and responsibility than before, a deeper understanding at once of ourselves and our subjects. (1982:1-35)

As I came to appreciate the stories on a deeper level through my reflexive process, I realized that this thesis could only be written if I incorporated my own cultural background stories of Johnson with those of the Gwich'in. I came to realize that I was looking at a story that had been constructed and told at least four ways. Consequently, at its root, this thesis looks at stories. Livo and Rietz state that:

> a story is a structural abstraction built into human memory, a way of thinking, a primary organizer of information and ideas, the soul of a culture, and the mythic and metaphoric consciousness of a people ... [it is a way] in which we can know, remember, and understand ... [it] is a universal mirror that shows us the "truth" about ourselves – who and why we are. (1986:2, 4)

Stories, That's All We Are

Stories, or what some refer to as the oral tradition, have two parts: the actual content or material of the story; and the process or act of telling (and listening) to the story (Cruikshank 1991:141; Livo and Rietz 1986:5). Although the same story may differ in content, stories have universal characteristics: they are the oldest way in which individuals and groups communicate their perceptions of the world; they link the past with the present; they link place and human history; they are passed from generation to generation; and they have embedded within them traces of daily life, struggles of survival, cultural norms and contemporary issues (Beardy and Coutts 1996:xiii; Cruikshank 1998:18, 26).

In process or act of telling (and listening), people are brought together for a shared purpose. The process is a form of cultural communication where memories can be preserved and where confirmation of culture's history and "truth" or way of knowing can be reaffirmed (Livo and Rietz 1986:8, 15, 16). The process of handing down stories involves interaction between the storyteller and listener that is ongoing, lively and a way

to understand the present as well as the past (Cruikshank 1991:141). Thomas King sums up both the content and process of stories nicely by saying, "the truth about stories is that's all we are" (King 2003:2). For me this statement embodies how both the content and social construction or process of a story is what we are. I realized as my work progressed that for the Gwich'in, the "real story" for them was not so much the content, which varied only minimally from that of the RCMP and some popular media versions, but the process or social construction of their story. It became evident that the Gwich'in version of the Johnson story was not really so much about the actual events and police hunt, but was more a story about their relationship to land and kin and how government policy was affecting their daily lives. It was these important aspects of Gwich'in culture and history taking place during the time of Johnson, i.e., 1920s and 1930s, that was their "real story."

In discussing stories, Atwood notes that "each country or culture has a single unifying and informing symbol at its core" (1972:31). Being an image, idea, word or phrase, the symbol acts as a belief, holding the country's culture together with the goal of everyone cooperating together to reach a common end. Atwood argues that for America the symbol is "the frontier." For Canada, it is survival and the ability to stay alive (1972:31, 32). I would argue that for the Gwich'in, it is the land, not seen as a frontier or something to conquer, but instead as a "cultural landscape," that is, a landscape emphasizing the interaction between humans and nature over time (Ingerson 2002), that is their cultural symbol.

Framed within the cultural symbolic theme, a story's purpose can be to pass on information, amuse and entertain. Usually buried within each story are teachings or cultural truths. Even though stories may be universal, as Bohannon (1971) and

Cruikshank (1998) point out, their meaning or interpretation is not. In order for stories to be understood, the audience needs to be familiar with, and possess a shared knowledge or understanding of, the cultural and historical context in which the events of the story occurred. Thus, the task of seeing the specific cultural themes in the versions of the Albert Johnson story within the cultural and historical context in which they were constructed became an integral component of my thesis.

I have categorized the Albert Johnson stories into five main groups: those told by the Gwich'in; the RCMP version as told by the historical record written by the Royal Canadian Mounted Police (RCMP) and Royal Canadian Corps of Signals; those that abound in the North American popular discourse; and the small body of analytical academic literature that exists about the Johnson stories. The fifth version is the version that Albert Johnson himself could have told. Because of his untimely death, this version will always remain unknown and therefore this thesis will focus primarily on the first three categories and speak briefly to the fourth later in this chapter.

Multiple Lenses, Filters and Positions

Through the process of analyzing the stories, I realized that the anthropologist was analogous to the photographer, that is, both view the world through a series of lenses. For the anthropologist, the lens is a cultural one. Peacock (1986) uses the metaphor of the lens and light to describe the anthropological world view. He describes the harsh light as the observed realism, that is, the search for the elemental, and the soft focus as the holistic vision that includes "the world as well as the perceived while embracing those shared understandings known as culture" (Peacock 1986:114). More recently, Pamphilon (1999) has expanded the metaphor of the lens and created a zoom lens model in her research of life histories. Sociocultural collective dimensions are seen

through a macro-zoom lens, whereas the micro-zoom lens focuses on oral dimensions and in the middle, the meso-zoom lens focuses on the process of storytelling where themes are fleshed out.

I found these ideas useful for my analysis but they did not go far enough. Two dimensions were missing. The first is that in photography it is not just the lens that changes what one views but also what filter is placed over that lens. The purpose of filters is to screen the light that is allowed to pass through to the lens and by so doing the colours produced are modified in some way and the depth-of-field is more controlled. This modification can not only create special effects, enhance subjects, and add highlights but it can also enhance certain subjects or aspects of the picture.[x] Added to this is the notion that if with a camera in your hand, you stand in three different places and take a photo of the same subject, you will have three different angles and "ways of seeing" the subject. The result is three viewpoints or historical angles from which to tell the story. It is for this reason I decided to tell the story of Albert Johnson not just from one standpoint, but from three. This approach of multiple tellings of one story by the same author is not new to anthropology. Margery Wolf (1992) for example told the same story three different textual ways: through fiction; through fieldnotes and interviews; and finally in the author's academic voice alone.

The idea of the anthropological lens became a useful model for me to view the various versions of the Albert Johnson stories. Instead of using just one lens, I wanted to use the macro, meso and micro lens over which multiple filters had been placed. I wanted to understand the stories of Albert Johnson through what Peacock (1986) would term a harsh light and a soft focus but also through various colour lens sizes and filters from culturally subjective positions. The harsh light reflects what I experienced, saw and

heard not only during my fieldwork, but in my personal life experience during my decade of being employed as a legal secretary/conveyancer, and my meetings with RCMP officials after my fieldwork in the Gwich'in area. The soft focus is the review and evaluation of all the stories of Albert Johnson within the holistic historical and cultural context from which they emerged (Peacock 1986:114).

Questions Raised

The questions that therefore frame this thesis include: what elements make each version of the story unique to each group? What themes embedded within the stories make it distinctively Gwich'in, RCMP, or popular discourse? In what cultural and historical context was each of the versions created? What were the social, political and economic realities experienced by each group as the Johnson events unfolded and how did this influence the group's version of the story? Why do the Gwich'in Elders feel that their version of the story has never been told?

At this point I wish to make it clear that in this thesis I am in no way trying to determine or understand the motivations behind Johnson's behaviour, nor understand his psychological makeup, or make any judgements as to whether he was "mad" or not. The small amount of academic literature that does exist on Johnson, save for Jennings (1985), addresses these issues. Bailey (1985), Messent (1993), Morra (1996) and Yardley (1994) discuss the story of Johnson from the disciplines of literature and psychology and as such are not useful in my analysis. I will however refer to Jennings (1985) and his comments regarding the representation of history in the Johnson stories and films later in this thesis.

It is also not my intention to carry on the seventy year old obsession of tracking down the true identity of the man known as Albert Johnson. Other authors, such as Dick North, can best do this.

My interest lies in the cultural construction as well as the historical time and space in which the stories were told and retold by the Gwich'in, in the RCMP versions and in popular narratives. I present here *my interpretation* of what makes each of the versions distinctive to its own source. For ease of organization, I have created two charts, placed and discussed in Chapter Five, which outline the differences between the Gwich'in, RCMP and popular narratives. The first chart shows the literal differences; the second how the narratives differ symbolically.

Theoretical Framework

Anthropologists now fully recognize that history is central to the anthropological project (Cohn 1980; Ortner 1994; Sahlins 1994); and history is clearly central to this thesis. Reflecting on the background of the events that occurred some 70 years ago, I realized history could have two meanings: what actually happened in the past, and how that past has been represented (Tonkin 1992:2; Tosh 1999:viii). Layered on top of this lies the different ways the past has been represented: in the European tradition of the written text and in the Aboriginal oral tradition. Cruikshank (1991) notes how the European scientific tradition and Aboriginal oral tradition present very different models for thinking about the world and speak from different perspectives.[xi] In this thesis, each of the three stories of Johnson, i.e., Gwich'in, RCMP and popular media, has been represented differently: the Gwich'in by oral narratives, the RCMP and popular media in written text and films.

Thompson's (2000:1) statement that "all history depends ultimately upon its social purpose" is at the core of my work. Each of the versions of the story have been interpreted differently by each group, as each group is situated within a particular time and place, and within their culturally based interpretations (Freeman 1993:29; Rushforth

1992:484; Tonkin 1992:3). Within each act of interpretation, each group reinforces their cultural values (Bulhof 1980:63, 68; Tonkin 1992:3). I also considered the sources of history, that is, what had been recorded in documents versus the oral history I was hearing from the Gwich'in.[xii] Oral history, as Tonkin (1992) and Cruikshank (1991) point out, is a profoundly social process; the historical and social perspective are not two but merged into one. To understand the Gwich'in stories of Johnson as "history-as-lived" and how this is connected and can be compared to the Johnson stories as "history-as recorded," it is necessary to look at the Gwich'in Elders who tell the story as people living and developing in times of change (Tonkin 1992:12). It must be recognized that when the Gwich'in Elders tell this story, they are speaking about their lives as lived in the 1920s and 1930s. I also thought about how most of the written records reflected the view of those in authority and, as a consequence, became the leading voice in the story (Thompson 2000:6, 7, 34). Foucault posed that knowledge is dissociable from powerful regimes and that knowledge is acquired for social control (Best and Kellner 1991:50). The Gwich'in version is one example of how an oral Aboriginal account has become marginalized by more powerful knowledge systems (Cruikshank 1998:xiii). What has not been realized to date is that the Gwich'in do have a story about Johnson and that their story is symbolic of how they interpret the manner in which they were living at the time the events were occurring. The Gwich'in story of Johnson is not so much different in fact or in the chain of events from those found in the RCMP and popular versions; instead what they perceive as the "true" story as they know it is the process of telling the story, the importance of the land, and relationships that are integral to their story. Thus, the Gwich'in experience of the story is different from other versions because of their distinctive way of knowing (Goulet 1998). It is the different ways of knowing that will

be examined in the final chapter as I discuss why the Gwich'in version of the Johnson story has not been heard in the past except by their own community.

The Voices Behind the Stories

The Gwich'in[xiii]

According to their narratives, the Gwich'in believe they have lived on their lands since the world was created. The preamble of the Comprehensive Land Claim Agreement made between Her Majesty the Queen in Right of Canada and the Gwich'in as represented by The Gwich'in Tribal Council reflects this:[xiv]

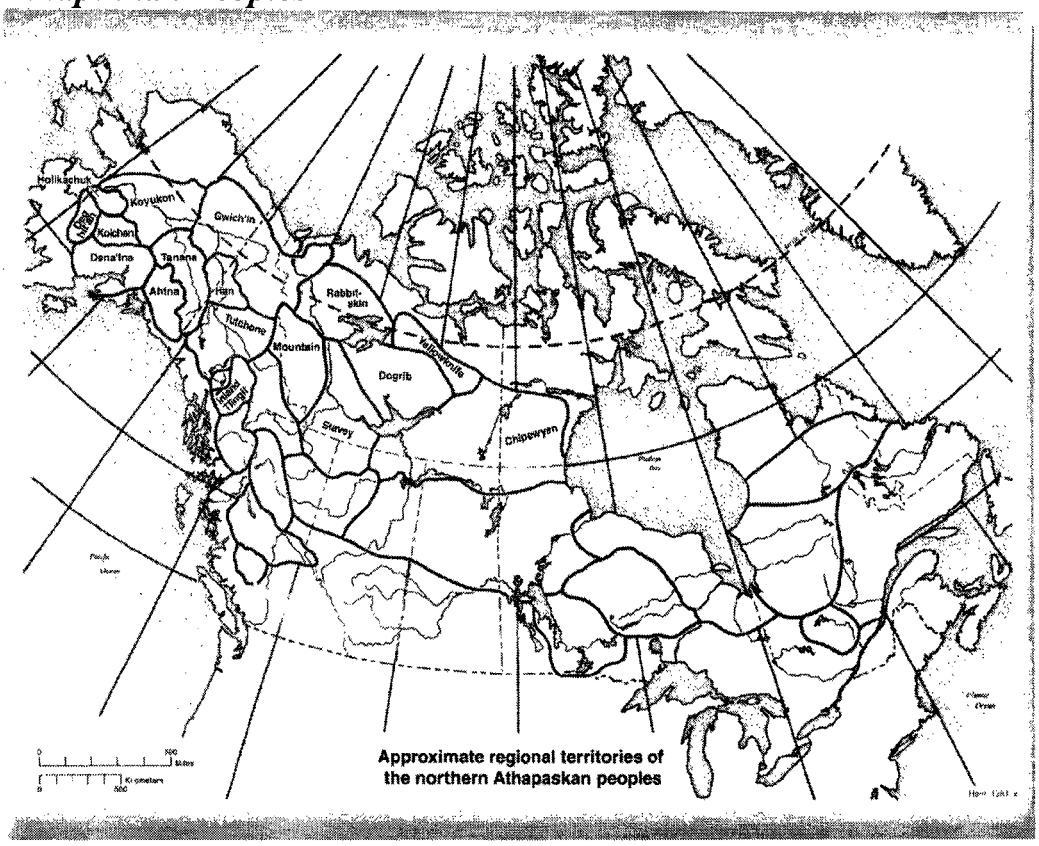
> Whereas the Gwich'in[xv] and their descendants have traditionally used and occupied lands in the Northwest Territories and in the Yukon from time immemorial (Government of Canada 1991:3).[xvi]

Various authors (Hall 1969; Heine et al 2001:47-52; Krech 1979b; McKennan 1965; Osgood 1936; Raboff 1999; Slobodin 1962) have described the Gwich'in as being composed of either eight, nine or ten regional groups or bands, stretching from western Alaska to the north-west side of the Mackenzie River in northern Canada. Figure 2 illustrates where the Gwich'in are located in relation to other Athapaskan peoples. Figure 3 shows how each Gwich'in band inhabited a particular river basin area (Krech 1979b:109). Each band, although sharing a common language, has its own dialect. The various band names reflect the landscape on which they lived. For example, Gwichyah Gwich'in literally means big flat area (gwichyah) people (gwich'in) (Gwich'in Social and Cultural Institute 1999:43). This name is given to the people who live in the Arctic Red River/Mackenzie River where the land is flat. Over the years various Gwich'in groups have joined other groups as a result of famine, conflict with the Inuit, or population loss due to diseases brought by traders and missionaries (Hall 1969; Heine et al 2001:50, 51; Krech 1979b; Raboff 1999). My fieldwork took place in the areas

traditionally inhabited by the Teetł'it Gwich'in and Gwichya Gwich'in (areas 8 and 9 as shown in Figure 3). In this thesis, when using the term Gwich'in, I am actually referring to the people who reside in these two areas.

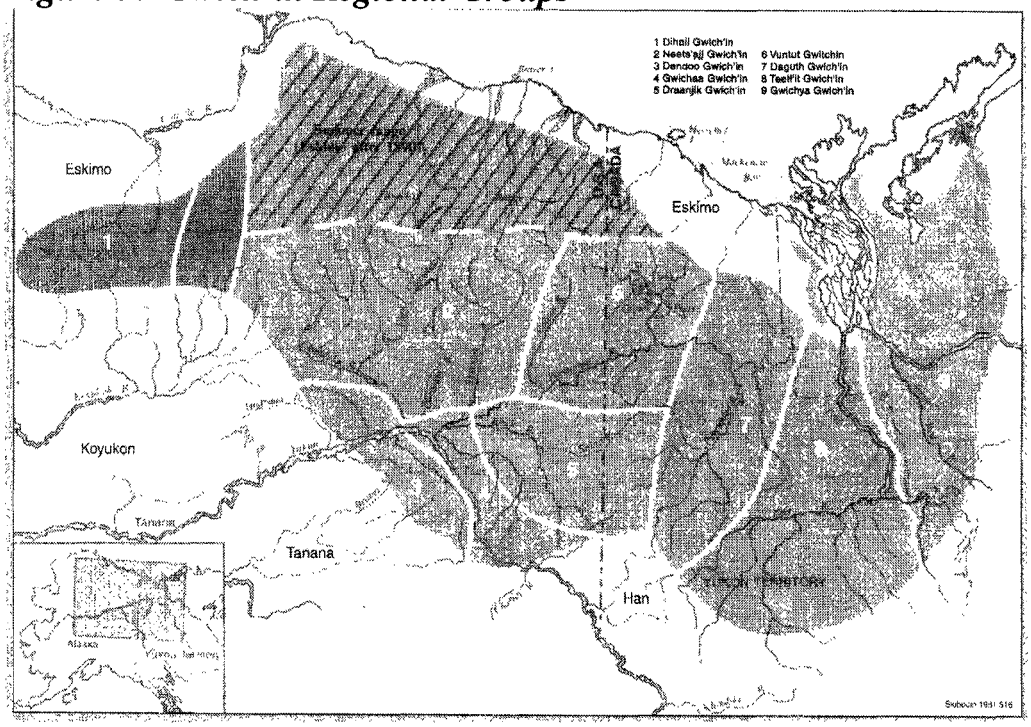
Land is a central element in the lives of the Gwich'in people who historically moved seasonally within large river drainage basins throughout the area (Slobodin 1962:7). Traditional Gwich'in life seasonally revolved around hunting caribou and moose in winter and fishing in summer (Krech 1976:215; Krech 1979a:105; Slobodin 1962:10).

Figure 2: Approximate Regional Territories of the Northern Athapaskan Peoples



Source: Originally in Helm 1981:ix as shown in Heine, Andre, Kritsch and Cardinal (2001:44)

Figure 3: Gwich'in Regional Groups



Source: Originally in Slobodin 1981a:516, as shown in Heine et al (2001:49).

The Gwich'in began their indirect contact with Russian traders circa 1786. Their relationship with Euro-Canadians began with direct contact being made with Alexander Mackenzie in 1789. Detailed accounts of contact have been written by Krech (1976; 1978a; 1978b; 1979a; 1983). The Gwich'in became indirectly involved with trade with the North West Company in Fort Good Hope beginning about 1810 and by 1840, many Gwich'in were heavily involved with trade with the Hudson's Bay Company (Heine et al 2001: 179, 180; Krech 1979a:103, 106). Thus, the Gwich'in have participated in trapping as a means of economic income and trade for almost two hundred years.[xvii] "Civilizing" forces by way of Catholic and Anglican missionaries arrived in the area

circa 1858 (Boon 1965:38, 39; Fumoleau 1973:142, 144; Heine el al 2001:197; Mishler 1990:121, Sax and Linklater 1990:14). The RCMP officially arrived in the area in 1903 when the post at Fort McPherson was established. In Chapter Two I elaborate more fully on the impact these groups had on the Gwich'in.

Today, the Gwich'in within the Gwich'in Settlement reside year-round primarily within the four communities of Aklavik, Fort McPherson, Inuvik and Tsiigethchic. Hunting and fishing activities are practised by only a few of the Gwich'in community members. A few still trap animals such as lynx, fox, rabbit, beaver and muskrat. A few others set up fish camps in the summer where they fish and make dry fish. In winter a few men still hunt for caribou and moose. A very limited number of Gwich'in people actually live on the land or in the bush year round.

The stories the Elders told me focused on their travel across this landscape when they were younger and actively involved in the fur trade and a life of seasonal rounds. Many Elders told me how the land held an overwhelming beauty year after year. It gave them strength because the land itself, especially the mountains, has such strength. For the Gwich'in, the land exudes peacefulness, joy and a calming sense of spirituality.

Through the medium of anthropological literature, a written voice of the Gwich'in exists. Written accounts of Gwich'in history, primarily from the 18th century, have been recorded by anthropologists Krech (1976; 1978a; 1978b; 1979a; 1980; 1983), Osgood (1936), Slobodin (1960, 1962, 1964, 1981a, 1981b, 1994a, 1994b) and Stewart (1979).[xviii]

Anthropological literature on the Gwich'in in the form of ethnographies however is limited. Osgood (1936) was the first anthropologist to work with the Gwich'in in the Yukon, Alaska and Peel River in 1932. McKennan (1965) conducted field work in 1933

among the Chandalar Kutchin in Alaska, and Richard Slobodin (1962) worked in the Peel River area in 1938-39 and 1946-47. All of these anthropologists wrote ethnographies in the style typical of their day. Osgood focuses on traditional material culture, social organization, customs and religion; Slobodin describes traditional aspects of the culture such as hunting and trapping, social organization and the history of the group from pre-contact to the Klondike Gold Rush; and McKennan details material culture, social relations and mythology. They sought to document in the varied Gwich'in areas "traditional" Gwich'in culture. As such, it is not surprising that no mention of Albert Johnson surfaces in any of the older anthropological literature even though all did fieldwork in the area around the same time as the Johnson story was unfolding. The only exception to this is an article written by Slobodin in 1994 where he briefly mentions Johnson.[xix] What I have found most surprising in my search of this literature is that aside from a few brief mentions relating to landscape place names,[xx] there is nothing about Albert Johnson even in the contemporary literature about the Gwich'in despite people bringing up the subject of Johnson in many conversations.

The work of contemporary anthropologists such as Goulet (1998) focuses on a different "way of knowing" rather than on specific historical events. As well, contemporary anthropological discussions emphasize issues of power, race, gender and how some stories are told at the expense of others. Indeed all of these dimensions can be found within the Johnson story.

Using multiple Gwich'in voices, I have constructed the Gwich'in story of Johnson, from their various points of view, in Appendix I. I draw upon the narratives found in this Appendix in Chapter Two, pulling and analyzing from it key points that illustrate symbolically what the Gwich'in believe is the "real" story of Johnson.

The RCMP Voice

The RCMP narrative is the one told by the Royal Canadian Mounted Police and the Royal Canadian Corps of Signals as recorded in the historical documents and archival files. Also included are publications by RCMP historians and former officers. As well, I have included my interviews with the two surviving members of the Johnson search team. Major Earl Hersey (Retired) of the Royal Canadian Corps of Signals served as the radio operator in the search party for Johnson and he was the shooting victim of Johnson on the Eagle River. I also interviewed Retired Senior Corporal Robert McDowell, who has since passed away. Mr. McDowell was the officer who initially attended Johnson's cabin with Constable King. It was Constable King who was subsequently shot and wounded in the chest by Johnson. It was McDowell, and the two Gwich'in Special Constables, who got King back to Aklavik for medical treatment. Again, using multiple voices, I have summarized the RCMP narrative in Appendix II.

Popular Voices

After much contemplation I decided that this category would be a catch-all for almost everything written about Johnson, most commonly known in many of the stories as the Mad Trapper, a name not used in the RCMP or Gwich'in versions. To say there are many interpretations of the Johnson story in the popular media is an understatement. These popular narratives range from those closely resembling the Gwich'in and RCMP versions in fact and retelling of events to being totally fictitious. These narratives could be split into many other classifications but I decided to group them together because they all have one thing in common, that is, they share to a greater or lesser degree similar symbolic elements that are different from those found in the RCMP and Gwich'in versions. It is these symbolic elements, which I detail in Chapter Four, that bind all these

stories together into one body of work. Within this group I have included novels, short stories, songs, poems, web-sites, movies, and radio and film scripts that have been written about the Mad Trapper. Most, if not all, of these have been written by either Canadian or American authors. A summary of the story as told in the popular media, as well as extensive references, can be found in Appendix III.

Methodology

For the months of July and August 2000, I lived with two of my children in the first small house one would see driving up the road from the ferry to the Charter Community of Tsiigehtchic.[xxi] This vantage point allowed not only for a spectacular view of the Mackenzie River but was advantageous because anyone coming into or leaving town had to pass by our door. We also visited for periods of several days Inuvik, Aklavik and Fort McPherson (see Figure 1 on page two for locations of these communities).

I returned to Tsiigehtchic by myself in the summer of 2001 to complete and extend upon the work I had started in 2000 on the Gwich'in Elders' Biographies Research Project. My fieldwork for this thesis however was conducted the summer of 2000.

During the summers of 2000 and 2001, while in all four communities, I interviewed selected Elders for the Gwich'in Elders' Biographies Research Project (GEBRP).[xxii] In the summer of 2000 I also began to gather information for my initial thesis topic on the complexity of writing such biographies. In the summer of 2000, for the GEBRP, I interviewed Elders: four women and three men who ranged in age from 79 to 99 years. The first hour of our audio-taped conversations were spent recording family genealogy for another GSCI project. It was primarily through these conversations

that I came to understand the local kin connections. After the kin relations were discussed, we moved on to life history stories. Each interview was conducted over a series of several days with interviews ranging from three to five hours in length. Some interviews were conducted in Gwich'in and Terry Sawyer, a Gwich'in Elder, acted as interpreter. Any stories I was told about Albert Johnson were told to me in English, so, as one Elder to me, I could "get it right."

Much of my data about the Johnson story and about the Gwich'in culture in general was gathered during informal conversations while living, visiting and participating in the daily life of the four Gwich'in communities. As my fieldwork progressed, stories of Johnson surfaced during my repeatedly informal conversations. I remember walking with a group of Gwich'in women in Aklavik late one night. "Have you seen where the Residential School used to be?" they asked. They had all attended this school as young girls. "You must see it," one woman insisted. We strolled along the road to the now empty space as they told stories about the wonderful times they had, what they had learned, how much fun they had had, and why they had to leave without completing their education – a sorrow for many of them. Similarly, they then asked me if I had seen Albert Johnson's grave. "You must see it," another woman insisted. We sauntered along the muddy road, swarmed by mosquitoes under the midnight sun, to the grave site while they told me stories about Johnson and those involved with the hunt.

I made many, what I thought at the time to be incidental, observations of references to Johnson in the summer of 2000. The Mad Trapper Rendezvous band played every night for a week in Aklavik at the Bi-Annual Gwich'in Gathering. A Mad Trapper Queen sash was draped over a doorway in a house I visited. Tourist information I saw told the story and tried to lure people to Fort McPherson to see a reconstruction of

his cabin. I heard people speak about the fun they have during Mad Trapper Days held around Easter every year in Aklavik. Mad Trapper hockey jerseys hung in the arena and in The Mad Trapper Bar in Inuvik, which seemed to be the busiest and seemingly most popular spot in Inuvik. One evening in this establishment I purchased a Mad Trapper T-shirt after observing the pictures which decorated the dark walls. Most if not all the pictures were unnamed and showed dog teams, the plane Second World War pilot ace Wop May flew when he was following the trail of Albert Johnson, canoes and Johnson's cabin after it was dynamited by the RCMP in 1932. All of these photos, I later discovered, appeared in Dick North's 1972 book, *The Mad Trapper of Rat River.*

My fieldwork has in many ways carried on over the years and gone beyond the physical community and actual time I spent in the north. I have spent endless hours on the telephone with community members, dispensing advice when it was requested or receiving advice when asked. We shared grief at a community member's passing, spoke of various crises and laughed at comical incidents. Most of these conversations were initiated by various community members so "I would know what was goin' on."

Searching for the RCMP and popular versions of the story required exhaustive research for information about Albert Johnson in written texts, film, folk songs and poetry (some of which are shown in Appendix III). I conducted research in the CBC Recording Archives, the National Archives of Canada, RCMP Archives in Ottawa and the Territorial Archives in Whitehorse and Yellowknife. I explored the Internet and antique shops to find books about Albert Johnson. I also visited the RCMP Museum in Regina where the Mad Trapper artefacts are on display (August 31st, 2001). I have corresponded with and met Dick North in Whitehorse on July 13, 2001, the author of three of the most well researched books about Albert Johnson (North 1969, 1972, 1989).

I corresponded with and later interviewed Major Earl Hersey (Retired), former Royal Canadian Signals Corp radio operator and the man who Albert Johnson wounded in the encounter on the Eagle River. I interviewed and visited with Retired Senior Corporal Robert McDowell, the RCMP officer who, along with Joe Bernard and Lazarus Sittichinli, brought Constable King into Aklavik after Johnson shot and wounded King in the chest at his cabin on the Rat River. At the time of my interviews (with Major Hersey in 2000 and Mr. McDowell in 2002), these men were the only two men left who were involved in the chase for Albert Johnson.

There are countless fictional versions of the Albert Johnson story. I am still amazed when I find yet another version of the story in the most unlikely places or meet another person who knows of the story as if it happened yesterday. The versions of the story, especially in the popular discourse, are overwhelming and countless. They range in date from when the events took place, such as the first hit Canadian country song by Canadian country singer/composer, Wilf Carter's "The Capture of Albert Johnson," released in either 1932 or 1933[xxiii], to publications in the year of the event, such as Godsell (1932), to recently when yet another article appeared in a magazine (Up Here 2002:13) and a further book about the Mad Trapper was published in 2004 (Katz 2004). As of September 2004, typing the key words "mad trapper Albert Johnson" into the Internet search engine www.yahoo.ca produces a list of 3,440 hits.

As a postscript to my fieldwork experience, in February 2002 I was offered and accepted the position of Executive Director of the Gwich'in Social and Cultural Institute. I held that position for two years. While living in Tsiigehtchic during that time, although not officially doing fieldwork on my thesis, I was still amazed when "that Albert Johnson story" arose in conversations with local people as well as tourists and businessmen

visiting the area. My work as Executive Director gave me an opportunity to better understand the Gwich'in way of seeing the world, as well as how historical events were perceived from their perspective.

The Issue of Voice

In my work with the Gwich'in I have struggled with issues of representation of voice.[xxiv] In Appendices I, II and III, I present three versions of the Johnson story. The Appendices present the stories about Albert Johnson as told to me personally and in the documents I found. In the Gwich'in version, I have not altered their way of speaking, grammar or tone. I have written the story in the way it was told to me. The grammar may seem awkward to non-Gwich'in but I believe leaving their words as recorded is part of the story and offers, for the first time in writing, something which approximates the Gwich'in versions of the story. Terry Sawyer, a Gwich'in Elder who acted as interpreter in the GEBRP, and numerous other Gwich'in Elders, told me how in their own language, stories were visually alive, hilariously funny, and highly descriptive. When translated into English the same stories were not so funny, but rather became dull, lacking the polish to make them shine. Cruikshank (1999) notes that complex Athapaskan verb forms are flattened out in English. The result is a translation that lacks a Gwich'in flavour. To further edit the stories told to me for grammatical correctness in order to render them in a more polished English would diminish the flavour and voice of the person telling the story. I wanted the stories to have the storyteller's personality, allowing the audience to hear their words and tone.[xxv]

I am not alone in this way of thinking. Other authors of Aboriginal oral history have discussed the need to write the text as spoken. Brian Maracle in his discussion of editing interview transcripts states that he retains as much of the:

> speaker's grammar, vocabulary, accent and pacing as possible. I can't think of a better way to get the reader to share our same, pain, anger, joy and celebration. (1993:2)

Likewise, the Innu Nation (1995:1) states that when editing transcripts they use direct quotes in order to remain as true as possible to the voices of the participants: "the way we tell our stories [is the way we] define our lives."

As for the style of writing used herein, the RCMP version in Appendix II is written in a somewhat more formal style. The telling of the story allows the reader to hear the way the story is told in the RCMP documents and records. In the popular versions I retain words such as "Indian" because this is the language of the genre. Not using words as such would alter the flavour of these narratives.

[i] Throughout this thesis I adhere to the convention of the capitalization of the word Elders. This is the convention used by the Gwich'in Social and Cultural Institute (Heine, Andre, Kritsch and Cardinal 2001). Other authors of Aboriginal voice also adhere to the same convention (See Kulchyski, McCaskill and Newhouse 1999 as an example in academia). My understanding of why Elders is capitalized is that it is a sign of title and respect. This textual format indicates that they are not just a person of a certain age but they are someone who is knowledgeable, well educated in their culture and respected for their wisdom. The Gwich'in Social and Cultural Institute had the following poster hanging in their office. I have no idea what the Live Oak Project is. I asked my colleagues at the GSCI if they knew but they did not. The Internet did not reveal any clues either. Despite not knowing its source, its text embodies what their communities believed an Elder was.

> Definition of an Elder.
>
> An Elder is a person who is still growing, still a leader, still with potential and whose life continues to have within it promise for, and connection to the future. An Elder is still in pursuit of happiness, joy and pleasure, and her or his birthright to these remains intact. Moreover, an Elder is a person who deserves respect and honour and whose work it is to synthesize wisdom from long life experience and formulate this into a legacy for future generations. The Live Oak Project.

[ii] The Gwich'in language is the most endangered of the NWT Dene languages. The 1996 Canada Census cites that less than 2% of Gwich'in regularly speak their mother tongue in the home (Northwest Territories Education, Culture and Employment 2001:11).

[iii] Many Gwich'in people still live in the Yukon and Alaska.

[iv] The term Dene simply means people and it refers to various groups of Northern Athapaskan speaking Aboriginal people. The term is used by the descendants of the original people who inhabited the Boreal forest area of the Mackenzie River Valley (Asch 1979:339). These people include the Gwich'in, Sahtu-Dene, Hare, Dogrib, Slavey, Chipewyan, Mountain people and Cree of Hay River and Fort Smith. The Dene are considered a large cultural group who share a similar environment and culture yet are distinguished by separate groups that are associated with their traditional hunting grounds or river basins. Recently the CBC reported that Elders of another Dene group, the Deh Cho in the Northwest Territories, recommended that a "Dene" should be defined as one who speaks a Dene language (http://north.cbc.ca/regionalnews/chaches/dene-eldersws-10272004.html). Today the term Dene is also applied in a political sense. The Dene Nation was formed in 1975. The purpose of this group was to lobby the Canadian government for the right that the Dene be recognized as a people and permission to survive as a nation within Canada. The Gwich'in have had an uneasy alliance with the Dene Nation over the years and removed themselves from it in 1990 in order to secure their own Land Claim Agreement (see Abel 1993:xiv, xv, 252-256; Heine et al 2001:233, 234). During my term as Executive Director of the GSCI, the Gwich'in had realigned themselves and become part of the Dene Nation again.

[v] The Comprehensive Land Claim Agreement Between Her Majesty the Queen in Right of Canada and The Gwich'in As Represented by the Gwich'in Tribal Council was initialled in Ottawa on July 13th, 1991 by the Chief Negotiators of the Gwich'in and the Government of Canada. This document signified their intent to ratify the agreement. The formal Agreement was signed on April 22, 1992 in Fort McPherson (Government of Canada 1991:2; Heine et al. 2001:234).

[viii] Author Dick North has spent many years trying to establish the identity of Johnson. He identified Johnson in his 1972 publication as Arthur Nelson. After several more years of investigation, in his 1989 publication, North recants this claim and makes the case that Johnson was really Johnny Johnson, an American whose Scandinavian parents immigrated to North Dakota. Short of Johnson's body being exhumed to compare his fingerprints with those of criminal Johnny Johnson who spent time in Folsom Prison, North's theory cannot be proven.

[ix] For me, this woman's comments encapsulated arguments posed by post-modernist writers wherein discussion and debates surround not only the crisis of representation but intellectual property ownership. See Asad (1973); Asad, Fernandez, Herzfeld, Lass, Roberts, Schneider and Verdery (1997); Behar (1995); Clifford (1988); Clifford and Marcus (1986) Grimshaw and Hart (1995); Hoppe (1993); Jordan (1991); Layton (1997); Lee and Ackerman (1994); Marcus and Fischer (1986); Rapport (1997); Said (1979); Ulin (1991) and Watson (1991).

[x] Thus various filters give an array of results: Sepia filters create brown warm tones rendering photos that look like early photography plates; centre spot filters focus on a clear centre while the outer edges of the photo are softened by warm diffusion, and enhancing filters enhance red, orange and brown tones (http://cyberdenis.topcities.com/filters.htm). One photo taken of the same subject with various filters can result in the same picture but each has their own unique characteristics with some aspects highlighted in one suppressed in the next.

[xi] To give an example of this, Cruikshank (1991) notes that a written scientific report may refer to the land in terms of grid numbers whereas the Aboriginal oral tradition will discuss the land by means of a story or narrative that flows like a trail or stream. This narrative will contain more than one message and encompass a lifetime of experience.

[xii] I am using the definition of oral history as cited by Thompson (2000:vi) i.e., "tape recorded history information drawn from the speaker's personal knowledge; the use or interpretation of this as an academic subject."

[xiii] Gwich'in literally means "one who dwells there." Since signing the Comprehensive Land Claim Agreement in 1992, the name Gwich'in has been re-adopted by this Athapaskan speaking Aboriginal group who share a common language and cultural traditions, although there are regional differences between the various regional groups. In the past, they have been referred to in the historical record as the Loucheux or Kutchin.

[xiv] This Agreement, initialled as to intent to ratify on July 13th, 1991, and formally signed on April 22, 1992, effectively replaced Treaty 11, the last Treaty made between the Government of Canada and the Aboriginal people of the western and north-western part of Canada in 1921.

[xv] The Comprehensive Land Claim Agreement defines "Gwichin" as:

> a person who:
> (a) is a descendant of the Gwich'in (also referred to as Loucheux); and
> (b) resided in, or used and occupied, or is a descendant of a person who resided in, or used and occupied the settlement area on or before December 31, 1921 (Government of Canada 1991:4).

These clauses therefore make it possible for anyone of mixed ancestry, i.e., Metis, to be considered as Gwich'in, provided they meet the criteria as stipulated above. In this thesis therefore, Gwich'in incorporates both Metis and Gwich'in as they are considered one by the preceding document.

[xvi] Although this clause echoes the oral tradition, it fails to mention that many Gwich'in also traditionally lived and continue to live in the interior of Alaska.

[xvii] The Gwich'in have been participating in trapping and trading since the early 1800s. With the merger of The Hudson's Bay Company and North West Company in 1821, household goods and alcohol was in demand. Men began to trap small animals, something traditionally done by women, in order to participate in the trade. Trapping however was participated in only when convenient. See Abel (1993:83-87) for further discussion.

[xviii] Heine, Andre, Kritsch and Cardinal (2001) have published a history of the Gwichya Gwich'in as told by the Elders of Tsiigehtchic. Along with reference material from archival and published sources, this book contains the Gwichya Gwich'in oral history of legends, place names, life and travelling on the land and the impact of the Church, RCMP and Treaty 11 on the people.

[xix] Slobodin bases his article (1994a) on a paper he wrote in 1970 on reincarnation beliefs of the Kutchin on observations he made between 1938 and 1968. He states in 1933 a Gwich'in women was born in Aklavik who believes she is the reincarnate of Albert Johnson. I was never told any similar stories and when I asked a few Elders about it they were puzzled and said they had no knowledge of it. Slobodin footnotes that he believes the Johnson story has not garnered a place in local lore because he defied authority and killed government men. Up until 1970 Slobodin believed he was not a symbol of resistance but he was admired for his ability to survive severe conditions.

[xx] Such as Millen Creek for example (Greer 1999:58).

[xxi] Tsiigehtchic is considered a Charter Community under the Charter Communities Act of the Northwest Territories. Charter Communities are formed under Section 3 of the Act to provide good government, to provide services, develop and maintain a safe municipality. Councils of Charter Communities have the right to enact By-Laws in the municipality. (http://www.justice.gov.nt.ca/PDF/ACTS/Charter_Comm.pdf)

[xxii] The Gwich'in Elders' Biographies Research Project was one project the Gwich'in Social and Cultural Institute had identified to complete in an effort to achieve their mandate "to document, preserve and

promote the practice of Gwich'in culture, language, traditional knowledge and values" (Gwich'in Social and Cultural Institute 1996:i).

[xxiii] Wilf Carter was born Wilfred Arthur Charles in Nova Scotia in 1904. He started singing at an early age. In the 1920s he went to Alberta, worked as a lumberjack, became a cowboy and worked as part of the entertainment team for the Canadian Pacific Railways trail rides through the Rockies. During this time he heard many stories and began to write country songs. He won a contest singing his own composition 'The Capture of Albert Johnson' and RCA signed him on. The song became the first hit record by a Canadian country performer in 1932 and 1933. Carter moved to New York in 1935, became known as 'Montana Slim' and had a successful career as a country singer.
(http://www.thecanadianencyclopedia.com/index.cfm?PgNm=TCE&Params=U1ARTU0000623
http://www.canoe.ca/JamMusicPopEncycloPagesC/carter_wilf.html)

[xxiv] The issues and complexities of placing Aboriginal oral text into written form has been addressed by Blaeser (1999), Chamberlin (1999), Cruikshank (1999), Dauenhauer and Dauenhauer (1999) and Murray and Rice (1999).

[xxv] This position is in opposition to the policy of the Gwich'in Social and Cultural Institute who, taking the same position posed by the editor of the Journal *Arctic* states, "the basic principle is that out of respect of the people quoted, we don't want the quotations to sound awkward and ungrammatical" (Kritsch, personal communication).

Chapter 2

The Gwich'in Version

> Our grandmothers lived a very rich life, a good life. They did not look at it as a hard life. They would travel and before you reach the mountains, there were pine trees, beautiful trees, big trees and they set up their camp right amongst those trees so when the wind came up, they only heard the rustling of the wind. The wind was not a problem to them because they were well sheltered. As the spring approaches and snow began to melt they began to trek their way back on the trail that they had come on. The land was so beautiful. It made life a lot easier. During their travels through the land they sometimes set up camp and from there they hunt and if they were lucky, someone kill a moose or a caribou. Then they gave this caribou or moose to someone. They cooked the meat in many different ways and fed the people. Then shared the rest of the meat with the people. That was the way our people lived. Our people live very rich lives in those years. The stories are rich. – Mary Kendi, Gwich'in Elder (n.d.)

A Distinctly Gwich'in Story

I discovered that Gwich'in stories are not individual stories; they are instead just one thread in a complex series of narratives that when woven together make a fabric that tells about Gwich'in life. More importantly, each narrative must be heard with an understanding of the background lived realities the Gwich'in experienced in order to make sense of each particular story.

At the core of all Gwich'in stories is the land, and their stories about Albert Johnson are no exception. Embedded within Gwich'in stories are insights into how they lived. Likewise, embedded in the Gwich'in stories of Albert Johnson are stories about the Gwich'in people, as individuals and as a collective, and their way of life both in 1932 and today. The distinctively Gwich'in elements found within the story include: the fundamental important relationship to the land; the land as related to social organization; the relationship of self to the collective society; the movement of people across the

landscape; the social relationships between the characters in the story and tellers of the story; the marking of time by the seasons and land; the importance of food, hunting, wellness and rest; respect for animals; the kinship connections between the storyteller and the characters in the story; the place names on the land; and the culturally valued characterizations about what constitutes a good woman or man. A further element, one that will be discussed in the final chapter, is the distinctive way in which a story is told and how it is to be heard.

Reading the Johnson Story as a Gwich'in Story

> We listen by people telling story, travelling amongst themselves ...We stayed at Campbell Creek and that Paul Niditchie and all his family went to Sheditchy Lake and then from there, when they run out of grocery ... well, that time, at Big Rock, about more than 10 miles there, there's a trader there ... that's where they get the story [about Albert Johnson] and when they pass us they tell us that story [about Johnson] too ... Boy, big year that year! That was lots of news! Big story that time boy! All around Aklavik, McPherson, Red River and even down south. – Pierre Benoit

At the heart of all Gwich'in stories is the land and as such, it is necessary to begin my discussion about the Gwich'in narrative of Johnson with the land. As with Kendi's statement which opened this chapter and Benoit's statement above, Gwich'in narratives detail their intimate connection and knowledge of the land, their movements over it and their understanding of how it provides for them not only materially but spiritually. Parallel themes are found in many North American Aboriginal stories. Cruikshank (1990:56; Cruikshank, Sidney, Smith and Ned 1990), who worked with three Tlingit Elders in the southern Yukon, noted their accounts not only included personal reminiscences, but mythological stories about the transformations in the world, songs, and lists of place names that served as mnemonic aids, tying their personal history intrinsically to the land. Basso, in documenting land and place names of the Western

Apache, found that place names were an integral part of the concept of self. He points out that:

> oral narratives have the power to establish enduring bonds between individuals and features of the natural landscape and that as a direct consequence of such bonds, persons who have acted improperly will be moved to reflect critically on their misconduct and resolve to improve it. (1984:22, 23)

This phenomenon has been reported by other researchers in various parts of the world. Rosaldo reports that the stories of the Ilongots in the Philippines are full of place names that carry a myriad of meaningful associations (1980a:92, 96; 1980b:47, 48). He found that as the Ilongot walked along paths and told stories about place names, what was really being told was stories of past events such as individual deaths, arrests, hunting or where food was found. Instead of using a calendar, such as a particular year to speak about events, the Ilongot mapped their history upon the landscape. Thus, a landscape feature for the Ilongot was an association or memory trigger for several events or stories related to that place over time. Schieffelin (1976) discusses how for the Kaluli people of Papua New Guinea, every stream, garden site and place in the forest was fundamentally important to understanding their experience. Place names on the landscape were bound with a sense of self and for each person, their relationships and shared activities was reflected in their land. In the Canadian north, Andrews and Zoe (1997) report similar findings with the Dene Dogrib. Kritsch and Andre (1997:131) point out that the Gwich'in also relate place names in their stories and legends. For all these groups, these place names on the physical landscape serve as mnemonic devices or pegs upon which the oral narratives are hung (Cruikshank 1990:54).

Central to the Albert Johnson stories the Gwich'in tell are where they and other members of the band were located on the land when they heard or tell the story, during and after the events occurred. For Sarah Peters, who was tending her sick husband at the time:

> Those who were staying near us all moved to the mountains. In the meantime, early in the fall, before freeze-up Albert Johnson had moved up the Rat River to trap.[ii]

The placement of individuals and groups on the land serves as a mental map and designates to those who know the land exactly where family and friends were in relation to where the events were taking place. This location on the landscape also anchors the Gwich'in people to their source of survival. As Annie Benoit describes:

> Oh, good many times we travel in cold winter I tell you. Over the mountain, no tree, no willow, we go over. Six miles over. That's where they were working with Albert Johnson … even that, we have to go 'cause lots of caribou over there. It's bare ground, bare hill. No nothing. We go over. We took this trail this, but not this way. We all travelling, my father, mother, brother Charles – all of us. Big family going over. And then after that we put up a tent. We march up the snow with snowshoe, press it, press it, press it, down. And then we take our snowshoe off and just put snow out. We put all the branches around the wall in there. We tie stick together like this and put the tent pole like this. We tie it both side, outside. And then we bank it with snow. And somebody make fire already. They warm up the place and bring all this stuff in, put the caribou on the branches. As soon as stove starting getting warm up everything frozen is just thaw out and everything get warm up. Right away they bring that fresh meat, they put caribou skin, they spread it, spread all that caribou skin and we put our fresh meat. We cook something. First thing we fry meat. Oh, we eat good! We just eat anything eat of caribou. Boy! We eat good! Healthy. We never made, never take no medicine, no nothing. Nothing. No one get sick then.

Places on the land identify what people ate: fish at Travaillant Lake; sheep and for Annie Benoit and her family, caribou in the Richardson Mountains. Given the realities of starvation that have occurred in the history of the Gwich'in people (Andre and McCartney n.d; Heine 2001:251, 276, 277; Krech 1978a; Krech 1978b; Krech 1980) this seeming preoccupation with food in stories is not surprising. To the Gwich'in, death

by starvation is one of the worst things that could happen to a person. Annie Benoit said of Albert Johnson, "He was just starving. He never eat for long time ... they suffer him" (meaning that the search party chased Johnson so much that he starved). This statement has meanings embedded within it that go to the core of Gwich'in culture: travelling on the land, finding and securing one's food for survival.

Hunting for food involves an intimate relationship to the land and animals. Hunters must show the utmost respect for a slain animal for it is understood to have given itself to the hunter.[iii] Once killed, animals were butchered ensuring that not a drop of blood touched the hunter's clothing. The meat was wrapped and cared for when travelling. Utmost care and respect was also shown during its preparation and cooking.

Lydia Elias related to me what her husband, Peter Alexie,[iv] had told her about the chase for Johnson:

> They surrounded him by a river. My husband said they were, these people, it was like they were hunting caribou or moose.

To the Gwich'in Johnson was tracked just like an animal; his footprints were followed, his movements listened for. But when he was finally shot, to the Gwich'in, he was not treated respectfully as a caribou or moose would have been. Lazarus Sittichinili, a Gwich'in Special Constable at the time, was part of the police party. He describes how it felt to touch the blood of a dead man:

> We get down in the snow, and the Old Crow police he took Johnson's legs and I took his body, and we turn him over. He shot up pretty bad, and after I lift him up my hand is bloody. Blood all over my hand from Johnson's body – by gosh, that was a funny feeling. (Zealley 1979:4)

Lazarus, as a Gwich'in man raised as a skilful hunter of animals, was taught to show respect for an animal's body in death by never allowing its blood to touch his body. But his hands in the Johnson scenario were bloodied by a dead man. One Elder told me

that Sittichinili quit the RCMP shortly after the Johnson affair and refused to speak of the matter for many years.[v] For the Gwich'in to kill another man was an unimaginable act. Similarly, Special Constable John Moses' son Winston told me about his father's experience. His father was present in the final shoot out with Johnson:

> My dad, John Moses, was Special Constable on and off for long time in Old Crow. My dad never talk about it. My father fired the final shot that killed Johnson. He then throw his gun away. So it's there yet. You got to have metal detector to find it I guess ... My dad never talk about it. They feel uneasy about something you know, they killed a man.

Winston's father threw his gun away right after Johnson was killed because he perceived it to have been polluted by the murder. How could he possibly provide for his family by giving them meat procured with a weapon that had killed a man?

Who's That?: The Importance of Being Known

> There was this one person went to see his net and half way there was someone. Seemed like someone was staying on the beach, not even tent was there just the mosquito bar. When he arrived back to town he told the people and he told the Chief what he saw. So the Chief went up there to see who it was. He began talking to him but this white man didn't say a word. He didn't speak. They came back and report what they saw so Abraham Francis and somebody else went up there. When they arrive at his camp they try to talk to him and ask him who he was and what was he doing but he would not answer ... While that my mother said, "Is that guy okay?" We ask her what is wrong? He was not a friendly person so people were talking about him why he was like that.

When Lydia Elias told me this story about Johnson I realized that Johnson had committed a large breach of Gwich'in social etiquette. For a person to arrive in a Gwich'in community and not speak to anyone is a socially unacceptable practice. There are several reasons why it is important to make yourself known to the Gwich'in and many of the reasons are just as valid today as they were in 1931.

In 1931 the Gwich'in would have wanted to know who you were as a means of identification as I will discuss shortly, but just as important where you were going to be

for reasons of survival and safety. Johnson drifted into the Gwich'in area when the country was experiencing a Depression. He wasn't the only man to drift north at this time. Many came trying to make a living prospecting or trading (Fumoleau 1973:226). Many of these men did not have the skills required to live in the northern bush. Many Elders told me of how when this influx of white trappers began, several Gwich'in families helped these men. They showed them how to travel on the land safely, where they could set up trap lines, how to survive the cold winter and the insects of summer. The Gwich'in had helped many that had travelled into their lands and have oral stories dating back to the time Mackenzie first came by of how they assisted him and his crew. Others have written accounts describing how they helped the Gwich'in and the Gwich'in assisted them. Graham (1935), for example, describes the adventures of gold prospector George Mitchell who spent the winter of 1889-90 on the Wind River. Many of Mitchell's party were suffering from scurvy and some had died. Suddenly a party of Gwich'in men arrived with seven loads of fresh caribou meat. It was a gift for Mitchell because he had cured the ailing wife of one of the Gwich'in men months before. Mitchell acknowledged that had it not been for their assistance and delivery of meat, they probably all would have died (Graham 1935: 105, 106, 164-176).

Many of the Gwich'in women told me of how they had sewn warm clothing for newly arrived men and RCMP stationed officers so they could survive the winter. As I discuss later, several of the men who arrived in the north integrated themselves within the community by marrying local women; many stayed only for a short period of time and left the area. Despite the shortness of their stays, many Gwich'in stories mention how the Gwich'in assisted these newcomers and taught them how to live successfully on the land. Retired RCMP Senior Corporal Robert McDowell also told me that on several

occasions, the Gwich'in people, when coming into town, would tell the RCMP about the condition of various white trappers in the area and whether they needed help.[vi] This collective way of knowing someone was vital for the newcomer's survival and for those who stayed, their continual survival.

Additionally, small communities thrive on news, and everyone feels involved if they know the daily goings on, as to who is in the community and why. Today if a person is from a distant place, it is important to know who she/he was and why she/he has come to the Gwich'in territory. There are still many instances today where people come to the Gwich'in area and get lost in the maze of rivers in the delta or on the land. Not only is there a concern to know who you are for curiosity's sake and news within the community, there are also underlying concerns of safety. If people know who you are and where you are going, they can report you missing or engage search parties when you fail to return at a predetermined time. But there are underlying important issues regarding the construction of visitors' identity.

To not give details as to who you were or tell where you came from was a violation of local norms as this information allows people to situate one in the social and cultural landscape. The Gwich'in, although autonomous as individuals, are always positioned in a larger kinship web. Everyone knows who your mother, father and grandparents are. These kin connections connect people with the land and to areas where families lived, hunted and travelled. Although individuals may travel away from their family unit and territories, they continue to be identified with a larger Gwich'in kin group. As I noted during my fieldwork, this point is still as important today as it would have been in 1931.

When I arrived in Gwich'in communities, I was asked repeatedly by Elders to explain who my mother, father, grandparents and siblings were. People wanted to know where they were born, where they lived and what they did for a living. It is not that anyone in the Gwich'in community would have known my parents or kin who live over 6,000 km away, but my genealogy gave me an identity. It gave them information to locate where I had lived my life prior to my arrival in their community. Such information confirmed that I was part of a wider kin network. They wanted to know what I did and why I was in their community. Invitations to tea, an early indication of limited acceptance into the community, came after community members learned that I was a cultural anthropology graduate student doing my fieldwork and working with the GSCI on the Gwich'in Elders' Biographies Research Project. Many Elders told me during these times of sharing tea, how important it was for me to tell people if I was going out on the land for a walk or if I wanted to go canoeing. That way, I was told, someone would know to come and look for me if I did not return when expected. I was also urged to go out with someone who knew the land and that way I would not get lost and they would help me with bush skills. (Most Gwich'in did not realize that I possessed quite good bush skills already. They saw me as a white woman from down South and therefore assumed I would not know how to live on the land.)

The Changing Gwich'in World

> Old Nersyoo, William Nersyoo, and William Vittrekwa, Old Nersyoo, he went up and set trap and later on this Albert Johnson set trap around there too. He was snapping this guy, William Nerysoo trap, and throw them away. So William Nersyoo, he came back going to McPherson and then came over right here to Arctic Red River and he reported to the police. – Alfred Semple

In the Gwich'in narratives, Johnson sprung Old and William Nersyoo's and William Vittrekwa's traps and this is why they reported it to the police. There is no

hesitation or questioning in the Gwich'in narratives if Johnson did or did not commit this act. He did because the three men who reported it were saying this based on their personal experience and knowledge of the situation. To even question what they said would have been unconscionable: it was true because these men had seen and experienced it and thus had the right to tell the story. But to understand why this act led these Gwich'in men to go directly to the police with their complaint, Johnson's actions need to be framed within the events that were unfolding in the Gwich'in world and in particular after 1920.

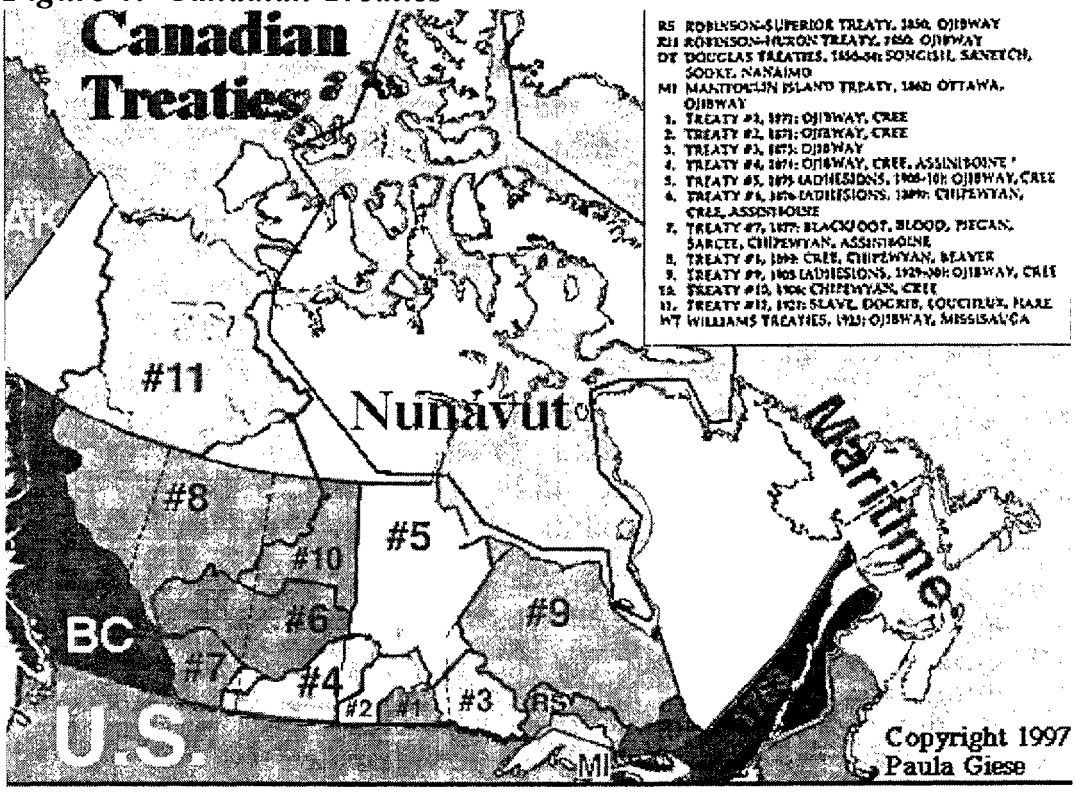
In Chapter One I mentioned that the Gwich'in had been involved with direct trade, especially with the Hudson's Bay Company, since 1840. The missionaries arrived circa 1858. The arrival of the Church had just as much impact on the Gwich'in as did the arrival of trading companies. Prior to 1920, the Catholic and Anglican missionaries made their impact on Gwich'in social organization and identity.[vii] Abel notes however that the Dene (Gwich'in included) accepted only some of the missionaries' teachings and in so doing, their world view was not entirely undermined (1993:143). After 1900, as discussed later, the Church had a role in urging the government to bring the Gwich'in under Treaty 11 and later to run the residential schools in the area. The RCMP, the government's other "civilizing" or imperialistic force, physically entered the area in 1903 setting up a post in Fort McPherson in response to sovereignty concerns of American whalers on Herschel Island (Morrison 1981:77).[viii] Prior to this post being set up, the RCMP used John Firth, the Hudson's Bay Company man in Fort McPherson, to act as their unofficial representative and keep an eye on the American whalers, beginning in 1894.

In the 1920s and 1930s, most Gwich'in families still lived the traditional lifestyle of seasonal rounds, hunting in the bush in winter and fishing in the summer. Many Gwich'in participated sporadically in the fur trade by trapping fur bearing animals such as martin, mink, fox and lynx. But this pattern was changing due to the income made from trapping muskrats in the spring in the previously uninhabited Mackenzie Delta. Campbell (1987:17) notes that by 1925, "ratting" was a large scale activity in the delta and proved to be a lucrative source of cash. The Gwich'in had begun to rely on cash in order to purchase store food, clothing, rifles, ammunition, boats and motors.[ix] These commodities improved local transportation but more importantly they facilitated for many a more sedentary lifestyle derived from steady employment in Aklavik. Communication via the Royal Canadian Corps of Signals station, set up in Aklavik in 1925, made contact with the outside world easier. Regular steamboats and more powerful motor boats in the area pushed back the limits of the frontiers and made the area more accessible to new trappers and mercantile competitors;[x] airplanes arrived in 1929 and with them, regular mail service (Campbell 1987:17; Innis 1970:349; Morrison 1985:176; Ray 1990:154). These enormous changes occurred in the Gwich'in area in a relatively short period of time. These material changes were accompanied by political changes.

The history of western Canada has been one of continual encroachment and claiming of Aboriginal lands by government for distribution to farms and ranches. Crown title to land was desired for access to furs, minerals and oil in the north. Once gold, oil, natural gas, tar, bitumen and pitch in large quantities were discovered in the Athabasca River Basin, the Canadian government moved quickly to take control of the

Dene land in what became the Northwest Territories. Treaty 8 was signed in 1899 encompassing the area as shown in Figure 4.[xi]

Figure 4: Canadian Treaties



Source: Government of Canada Department of Indian and Northern Affairs website

Federal government officials, such as Inspector H. A. Conroy, [xii] and the missionaries who lived and worked in the area north of Treaty 8, were concerned with the widespread disease and hardships the Native people were experiencing (Coates and Morrison 1986:9). The government resisted calls for action and lobbying from Aboriginal people, Conroy and the missionaries who were requesting that the land north of the Treaty 8 boundary be appended to the Treaty 8 area (Abel 1989:73; Coates and Morrison 1986:9, 10). The area north of Treaty 8 includes the Mackenzie Valley, the

home of the Gwich'in. Had they been appended to Treaty 8, they would have been entitled to receive modest treaty benefits.

As the land north of Treaty 8 lacked agricultural potential, the Canadian government did not seek the extinguishment of Aboriginal title. By not agreeing to append the area to Treaty 8 or negotiate a new Treaty, the government could resist funding education or health care and pass these responsibilities off to the Anglican and Catholic Churches.[xiii] But on August 25, 1920, when oil gushed from an Imperial Oil well at Norman Wells, the government realized the economic potential of the land. The signing of Treaty 11 (see Figure 4) became paramount to the Canadian government (Abel 1989:73, 82; Fumoleau 1973:141, 153).

The Gwich'in communities of Fort McPherson and Artic Red River (later renamed Tsiigehtchic) were amongst the communities the Commission travelled to within the Treaty 11 region in the summer of 1921. After repeatedly giving assurances that what the government was offering was to take good care of the Aboriginal people, and that "as long as the earth is still here there shall be no more restrictions placed on the Indians in regard to hunting, fishing, etc.," a Chief was hurriedly designated by government officials. As I learned during my fieldwork and as Fumoleau (1973:151) and Heine et al (2001:230) point out, prior to Treaty 11 there was no formal Gwich'in leadership or Chief. The perception held by the government officials of the day however, believed that men who spoke for the Gwich'in were chiefs. This was an error as prior to Treaty 11, decision making was made by the total membership with guidance given by those who were highly knowledgeable in certain areas, such as hunting, medicine or travelling. A new form of governing was however implemented for signing the Treaty, the Aboriginal people of the area, including the Gwich'in did:

> hereby cede, release, surrender and yield up to the Government of the Dominion of Canada, for His Majesty the King and His Successors forever, all their rights, titles, and privileges whatsoever to the lands included within the ... limits (Coates & Morrison 1986:31; Fumoleau 1973:166,169, 170).

Ratified by the Governor General of Canada on October 22, 1921, Treaty 11, a document that was really no more than "an ultimatum which was beyond negotiation," and one that was discussed with each community only for a brief few hours, came into effect (Coates and Morrison 1986:27; Fumoleau 1973:163, 201). It is significant to note that during 1920-21, the fur trade experienced a short lived market collapse (Ray 1990:128) which would send devastating ripples through areas dependent on fur as their main source of economic income. Assistance, as promised under the Treaty, would have been most welcome at this time. But it was not long before the Aboriginal people became aware that what had been verbally promised by the Commission had somehow not become part of the written document (Coates and Morrison 1986:31, 32; Fumoleau 1973:173,216, 217; Heine et al 2001:229). Written commitments also did not materialize. Federally operated schools never appeared; the Anglican and Catholic Churches continued to operate residential schools and deliver medical care (Fumoleau 1973:215; Milloy 1999:240).[xiv]

The Gwich'in had received assurance that their rights to hunt, fish and trap would be exempt from imposed game laws and they would be protected from encroaching white hunters in Treaty 11. Before the ink was dry, the Gwich'in found themselves not exempt, as promised, from various legislation which established rules for open and closed seasons for hunting various animals, dictated licence requirements and prohibited the use of poison.[xv] Many men I interviewed in the GEBRP related stories describing the consequences (both legal and regarding food shortages) they or their family members

suffered when they shot a moose out of season. In many of their stories they spoke of their anger and bewilderment at not being able to live and hunt as they always had because of the implementation and enforcement of these new laws, rules and regulations. Several Gwich'in Elders wondered expressed during the telling of their stories, if only bull moose could be hunted, what would be left to breed with the female moose? How could a man feed his family on just one bull moose per year? Many Gwich'in men defied these rules and were charged. I discovered in my archival search of the RCMP files, many charges were laid against Gwich'in men for violating these new laws. I was told, and Fumoleau (1973:226) points out, the enforcement of these laws against the Gwich'in, who depended on game for their existence, caused extreme hardship. This fuelled feelings of frustration and anger in the local population as 90% of the Aboriginal people relied on trapping as their primary means of income (Abel 1993:191; Fumoleau:1973, 217, 225; Morrison 1985:163).

As noted previously, southern Canada was experiencing the Depression. With the prospect of wealth in the north from oil, minerals, gold and trapping, many men drifted north. As many Elders' stories revealed, and as Fumoleau (1973:226) and Heine (2001:185) state, many of these newly arrived men set up trading posts. In doing so, they created a fur purchasing competition which effectively marginally raised the fur prices in the area.[xvi] In 1931 however the world wide depression saw fur prices at their lowest (Ray 1990:114, 119, 134, 135; Usher 1975:316) while at the same time, animal cycles were low.[xvii]

Several of the men who came north, like the Hudson's Bay Company traders who had arrived before them, married local Aboriginal women, adhered to the local customs and traditions, and were incorporated quickly into the community.[xviii] But not all white

trappers who entered the area became part of the community or took the advice of the Gwich'in. Many white trappers were transient, coming north with the intention to harvest furs, an idea rooted in the frontier agriculturalist/homesteader mentality (Brody 2000). Unlike the Aboriginal trappers, many white trappers set up as many as three hundred traps, used poison to kill the animals and left the area with large profits (Brody 1981:65; Heine et al 2001:185; Fumoleau 1973:238, 248).[xix]

Anger over the invasion of white trappers onto Gwich'in trap lines, trapping practices, and the continuous and ever increasing government restrictions during this time was a common theme in many of the stories of the Gwich'in Elders I interviewed in the GEBRP. Prior to trap line registration, which did not come into effect until 1949 in the Northwest Territories (Abel 1993:219), Gwich'in families decided each year where to trap. Families would trap alone or with a small group of other families. The areas utilized were flexible and frequently left fallow for several years for animal repopulation. Certain areas were known to be utilized by particular families over a period of years or generations. If an area was left fallow, other Gwich'in people would not trap on the lands. A trap line was a source of food and furs for trade or sale. For this reason, family trap lines and their traditional areas were respected and not infringed upon by others.

In 1931 many Gwich'in were still recovering from the massive influenza epidemic that swept the area in the summer of 1928, which decimated the population.[xx] Many who survived suffered for years afterwards from pneumonia, lung disease and tuberculosis (Fumoleau 1973:226). For those who made their living travelling on the land, their weakened condition had severe and immediate consequences. The number of traps set and the breadth of trap lines decreased and as a result, incomes and food supplies were reduced.

With the invasion of white trappers, complaints by Aboriginal men of trap line theft and others using their line areas were increasing (Fumoleau 1973:242; Steele 1935:373). The government's response was to set up game preserves open to Aboriginal people only. The Peel River Preserve was set up in 1923 and the RCMP detachment at Arctic Red River in 1926 to combat these problems (Coates and Morrison 1986:54, 55; Fumoleau 1973:247; Innis 1970:373; Ray 1990:114, 115). In 1931 these problems were being exacerbated by low fur prices due to the depression and low animal cycles.

It was onto this political and historical landscape that Albert Johnson arrived and caused concern for the three Aboriginal men whose traps, the Gwich'in men said, he had sprung. Johnson's actions were not just those of a single man; they were symbolic of the escalating series of problematic events that had been experienced by the Gwich'in for several years. He was yet another white man entering their lands, many of whom did not adhere to their customs or share their ways. The Gwich'in men believed Johnson was trapping on a trap line. Thus, in their view, he was trapping without penalty, breaching promises that had been made to them by the government and Church during the signing of Treaty 11, while they saw themselves becoming burdened with more hunting and trapping regulations. Gwich'in survival was being threatened with dropping fur prices, exacerbated by the residual effects of epidemics. Albert Johnson was an unknown non-Aboriginal man, whose Christian name did not link him to an immediate past or extended kin. Johnson was the embodiment of everything that was frustrating and impinging on Gwich'in survival. Johnson had appeared during this time of social, economic and political unrest and for the Gwich'in he had come to be emblematic of it.

Gwich'in Action

As stated previously, to the Gwich'in, Johnson had sprung their traps and as one Elder told me, they could not "just do nothin'" about it. The Gwich'in, along with several Dene peoples, employ avoidance tactics when faced with imminent social disruption and confrontation.[xxi] Third parties are called in to resolve a problem. By reporting the matter to the RCMP, the Gwich'in men knew that the police would handle the matter successfully just as similar incidents had been dealt with in the past.[xxii] It would be through their actions, not the Gwich'in direct involvement, that the Albert Johnson problem would be addressed and resolved. The Gwich'in involvement was limited to their assistance in knowing the land and providing for those involved. Special Constables Joe Bernard, John Moses and Lazarus Sittichinli in their roles as guides assisted with their knowledge of the land, as did community members such as Peter Alexie who advised the police of Johnson's location.[xxiii]

Many Gwich'in women tell of the vital role they played in the Johnson story:

> We get to Rat River. I remember when Albert Johnson passed there ... I remember when they were hunting for him, all the RCMP and all the Native boys that were there. They would all come in, the log house wasn't very big too. And they would sleep all over the floor in mom and dad's house ... after they passed through then they're gone for about a week and they're coming back to our place again – Doris Itsi (Itsi and Fafard 2003).

Itsi's parents, Sarah and James Simon, provided warmth and shelter for the police party. Although unsaid, the police party would have been given warm food and drink as part of their stay. In Gwich'in culture one is always offered food and drink upon visiting and I was told many times, that was the first thing you did when people came by your cabin. Their very survival depended on nourishment. Several of the Gwich'in women's stories about Johnson do mention food, such as Sarah Peters':

> It took a lot of grub and dog feed [for all the men in the hunt]. All this was done by airplane and planes always landed at our place because we were staying near a big river. When they landed I would haul the stuff up the bank and store it away for the police until they came back again to keep on their search for Albert Johnson. – Sarah Peters (Peters 1973 Committee for Original People's Entitlement L27-11).

The ability to cache food was vitally important for the police party. It enabled them to replenish provisions, primarily dry fish for the dogs, and dried moose or caribou meat for the men, while on the hunt for Johnson. In receiving such help on the trail, they did not lose precious time by returning to a village settlement. This assistance was one of the reasons for their success in finally locating Johnson. But these women's stories also reveal the importance of what constitutes a good Gwich'in woman. In many of the stories I recorded for the GEBRP, Gwich'in women told me of the qualities that made for a good Gwich'in woman/wife. They would then proudly tell me of how they embodied these qualities. They were the ones to provide many of the daily meals from their trapping of rabbits, or through their prepared drymeat and pemmican from the large animals such as caribou or moose their husbands had killed. Women were also responsible for picking and drying berries and they were primarily responsible for making enormous quantities of dry fish in the summer. Much of this food preparation was done as part of a partnership: a good man hunted large game and fished. A good husband (man) provided his family with lots of large game (caribou and moose). Women prepared and preserved the food from these hunts as well as provided rabbits and berries. In many of their stories, Gwich'in women stressed that it was their role to provide the food required for daily survival of the family. They would also stress they would always have fresh bannock made, and would feed visitors well who happened by. All food, killed and prepared by both men and women, was done with the utmost respect.

I was continuously reminded of how the blood never touched their hands or clothing and how everything was handled with the utmost of care.

Being a good seamstress was another skill a good Gwich'in woman possessed. Many Gwich'in women spoke glowingly of how at one time they created warm clothing for their husbands, family and many of the RCMP officers in the area. The survival of these family members, as well as themselves, depended on them providing well made warm and dry clothing.

But it was the Gwich'in knowledge of the land and the role it played in the tracking of the fugitive that cannot be understated even though the actual man hunt was orchestrated by the police. It was only with the assistance and key roles played by the Gwich'in women, as noted above, men such as Peter Alexie who told the police that Johnson had crossed into the Yukon, and the Special Gwich'in Constables that the RCMP were finally able to catch up to Johnson on the Eagle River where he met his demise.

Life After Johnson

For the Gwich'in, people travelling on the land could now rest because Johnson had been caught. On another level, for the Gwich'in as a whole, although new norms and rules resulted from this matter (as discussed in Chapter Three), they were not involved with the process nor policy making of these changes. For the Gwich'in, the Johnson matter was settled. The Gwich'in Special Constables involved, such as John Moses, Lazarus Sittichinli and Joe Bernard rarely spoke of the affair, even though they had been involved in killing a man. Daily life continued much in the manner it had before. The Gwich'in people adapted to yet more changes that were rapidly eroding their traditional lifestyle. Many of the concerns voiced during the Johnson story, such as

land rights and legislation, continued in the Gwich'in communities right up until the 1990s when their Land Claim Agreement was signed. The Johnson events faded into the background and remained only as a story to be told primarily in passing when discussing where one was on the landscape in the winters of 1931 and 1932, or by those community members who remembered hearing it from their family. The story as told by the RCMP however did not fade as quickly into the background. Their version of the story continued to be told and as the next chapter shows, the underpinnings of the RCMP story are very different from that of the Gwich'in.

[ii] The Gwich'in call Albert Johnson by his name. Rarely do they call him The Mad Trapper. I noticed that the only time they do refer to him as The Mad Trapper is when they are talking to someone from 'down south' because that's the name they perceive most people use. The Mad Trapper is used when they are talking to tourists or trying to lure them to, for example, the mock Johnson cabin in Fort McPherson.

[iii] See Nadasdy (2003:79-94) for a discussion about the concept of respect in relation to hunting animals by First Nations people in the Yukon. I use the word respect in the sense that Nadasdy (2003:93) describes when he states "to treat animals with 'respect' is to conduct one's relationship with them in accordance with the social standards that they, the animals deem appropriate ..."

[iv] Peter Alexie was the Gwich'in man who told the R.C.M.P. that Johnson had crossed the mountains.

[v] In the National Archives file on Special Constable Sittichiulis [sic] is a letter from A.E. Acland, Supt. Commanding "G" Division, confirming that Special Constable Sittichiulis [sic] was discharged at his own request on March 31st, 1932. Sittichinli appears to have served as a Special Constable from June 16th, 1930 (the date he was sworn in) until March 31st, 1932. (National Archives of Canada File No. Sp. 1011 – Royal Canadian Mounted Police, Lazarus Sittichiulis – Aklavik). It does not appear that he ever served as a Special Constable again.

[vi] McDowell once received a report from a Gwich'in family that 80 year old trapper George Lux had a severely infected eye. McDowell brought the man in for treatment. For a more detailed account of the story see Steele (1935:304-305).

[vii] One of the most significant changes was in assigning Christian names to the Gwich'in whose names, until then had meaning or story associated with it. Names were assigned through teknonymy (parents taking the name of their first born child), by a shaman or through alliances between same sex people (Gwich'in Enrolment Board 1998:30, 31). The name embodied the oral history of that person, their actions or associated group or personal characteristic. With the loss of the traditional naming process, and adoption of names assigned by missionaries, Hudson's Bay Company or R.C.M.P. came a loss of individual identity based on the above. Gone were the stories of how that person was named, family relations or travel on the land. Descent patterns were also changed. Descent was traditionally matrilineal as well as adoptive in and out of families based on ideas of adopting others with names similar. The Church demanded patrilineal descent.

[viii] See Dobrowolsky (1995) Morrison (1985, 1987) and Stone (1981) for further discussion on the creation of the Northern Patrols in the area.

[ix] Ray (1990:193) notes that after WWI, the outboard motor (the kicker), became standard equipment for trappers and hunters. In my interviews, Gwich'in Elder Pierre Benoit told me that his father was the first Gwich'in man to purchase a motor and boat in 1925. He paid for this with the cash he had earned by trapping.

[x] I was surprised to learn during my fieldwork that by this time many luxury items were being purchased by the Gwich'in through "the catalogue." T. Eaton Company catalogues were used to purchase such items as phonographs and records.

[xi] For a comprehensive history and a discussion of contemporary issues surrounding Treaty 8, see Mair (1999).

[xii] Henry Anthony Conroy was appointed Inspector for Treaty 8 in 1902 and Inspector for Treaty 11 in 1921.

[xiii] Morrison (1985:147) argues that prior to a Treaty being signed, the Department of Indian Affairs did little, if anything for the Aboriginal people inhabiting the northern Mackenzie River area. Instead, the government left their care to the police, missionaries and traders. Ray (1990:206) points out that the government also depended on missionaries and trading companies such as the Hudson's Bay Company to distribute its relief, a practice begun shortly after Confederation.

[xiv] Many Elders I met had never attended school. Other Elders told me stories of both their parents and their attendance at residential schools run by either the Catholic or Anglican Churches. Up until 1867 some Gwich'in children were sent to Fort Providence residential school. After this time the children were sent to Hay River or Fort Resolution. The Anglican Church moved their residential school from Shingle Point to Aklavik in 1925 and the Catholic Church opened a residential school in Aklavik in 1936 (Milloy 1999:239). See Chapter 11 in *A National Crime Milloy* (Milloy 1999) for a detailed description and analysis of the Federal Government's role in the education of northern Aboriginal peoples.

[xv] The most notable legislation to impinge on the Gwich'in was The Migratory Birds Convention Act of 1916 and its amendments, as well as the Northwest Territories Game Act of 1917. Usher (1975:311) argues that this act was passed due to pressures placed on the government by the Hudson's Bay Company who were calling for restrictions due to their competition with independent traders plus the pressures of missionaries who were witnessing disease and starvation. Further amendments were made in 1929 to protect game and again the Gwich'in found they were not exempt from these. The regulations established rules such as open and closed seasons for various animals, hunting licence requirements and prohibition of the use of poison (which many white trappers were using) and restrictions on the types of guns used. These Acts and Regulations were made binding on the Gwich'in despite the fact that Treaty 11 was to supersede them.

[xvi] Many men in the GEBRP related stories of travelling between trading posts to see who would pay them the highest price for their furs.

[xvii] Ray indicates that fur prices in 1932 were at their lowest in years. Fur production was also at its lowest. Prices as well as production for muskrat, beaver, marten and lynx, furs that the Gwich'in would have trapped for, were at all times low in 1930-32 (1990:114, 115, 122, 127, 128, 129). RCMP records indicate that the fur catch in the area was very poor in 1926, 1927, 1929-31. In 1930 the catch was so poor that many Aboriginal men were not trapping (RCMP reports dated February 1926, April 27, 1927, January 7, 1929, January 20, 1930, June 27, 1930 and April 9, 1931). In Inspector Eames' Report for 1932, he reports that there was more fur caught between November 1 to December 31 that year than in the previous year (Eames: 1933:112).

[xviii] See Van Kirk (1976; 1980) for a detailed analysis of the role Aboriginal women played in the fur trade and the types of relationships that were formed by their marriages to Hudson's Bay Company men. Several Gwich'in stories in the interviews completed for the GEBRP corroborated Van Kirk's findings. See Mitchell (Catherine) and McCartney n.d. as an example of one such story.

[xix] I have been unable to ascertain the average number of traps set by the Gwich'in during this time. Fumoleau (1973:248) cites a 1926 letter from Indian Agent T.W. Harris who stated "... Some of these men use as many as three hundred traps, and a large number of them kill far more fur than any of the Indians." This corroborates stories Elders told me about the huge number of traps the white trappers set compared to themselves.

[xx] Further information and stories about the 1928 influenza epidemic as experienced by the Gwich'in can be found in Abel 1993:197, 198, 208; Andre and McCartney n.d.; Benoit and McCartney n.d.; Fumoleau 1973:264-267; Heine et al 2001:262, 263; Mitchell (Eunice) and McCartney n.d.; Semple and McCartney n.d.; and Simon and McCartney n.d.

[xxi] Various theories have been postulated as to why this form of action is preferred. See Honigmann (1981:736, 737); Hallowell (1938); Slobodin (1960) and Helm (1961:87, 176), all quoted in Goulet (1998:109-141) for further discussion.

[xxii] Two white men, Lacombe and Frank Rivet, had just been found guilty for similar crimes (Eames 1932:111).

[xxiii] Special Constables were local Aboriginal men hired by the RCMP. Dobrowolsky (1995:86) states they were employed as dog drivers but expected to work at any additional duties assigned by a superior officer. Special Constables were valued because of their knowledge of the land and their survival skills. The RCMP Rules and Regulations booklet states Special Constables could be engaged to perform many duties which included cooks and scouts on Indian Reserves or for the purposes of "maintaining law and order on Indian Reserves" (1928:18). The importance of the role of Special Constable cannot be understated and yet these men, and their contributions to the safety of the RCMP, are hardly mentioned in the official files, academic or popular literature.

Chapter 3

The RCMP Version

> The story of Arctic conquest is a very important one, not only to Canada and the British Empire but to the world at large. Any story which deals with the gradual subjection of almost half a continent in the teeth of difficulties which our forefathers found practically insurmountable, obviously is of more than merely national interest. This is particularly true when the subjection is achieved by a single body of men who perform not only the duties of police, but for all administration; and when they do it peacefully, often at great risk and through great hardships, proving themselves not tyrants but big brothers to the civil population and the aborigines. – Harwood Steele (1935:9)

The Case of Albert Johnson

On the surface, the RCMP story of Johnson is similar to that of the Gwich'in in terms of the narrative of events and final outcome. At a detailed and symbolic level however, the RCMP story is very different from the Gwich'in. These differences are summarized on two charts in Chapter Five. I will however discuss many of these differences in this chapter.

The main difference between the RCMP and Gwich'in stories is that central to the RCMP story of Albert Johnson is the story of power and control. The key themes found in this narrative are the role of government policy, legal rules and regulations, the impact of new technologies, ideas of peace and sovereignty in the north, and the determination by policy and procedure of how the case was handled.

The RCMP narrative, as told in the written records and oral history of the Royal Canadian Mounted Police and Royal Canadian Corps of Signals,[i] is summarized in a series of vignettes in Appendix II. The police receive a complaint from some Aboriginal men that a man by the name of Albert Johnson is springing their traps. They go to Johnson's cabin to investigate the allegation. He will not open the door; they leave and

return with a search warrant. Johnson shoots a policeman through the closed door; he survives but it is rushed back to Aklavik by the other officers for medical treatment. A complete police chase then ensues full of drama in trying to capture Johnson. The fugitive eludes the police for over 50 days, killing a police officer along the way. Finally he is caught on the Eagle River in the Yukon where he is killed. He is buried after an autopsy and Coroner's inquest that exonerates all those involved in the police party. The files are closed after the estate is administered but, because Johnson's identity was never established, they are reopened from time to time when members of the public make claims that they know who he was.

The story I have reconstructed in Appendix Two through RCMP sources reads, with its language of legalese, as a procedural investigation and a resolved murder case. The story unfolds in a distanced matter-of-fact manner. The story is documented in the files in a methodically legalistic way with attention spent to following proper procedure, rules and regulations. The reports consist primarily of bare statements of the "facts" as recorded by the police. The files read, as Stallworthy (1934:25) points out in discussing the written reports of such incidents, tediously.

Johnson had been accused of tampering with another person's traps. The investigation of an alleged crime turned to into a bona fide criminal case as Johnson first wounded one police officer, went on to kill another officer and then to wound a member of the Royal Canadian Corps of Signals. Airplanes and radios, technologies never used before by the police in the north to hunt a man, were employed and played a vital role in successfully tracking down the criminal. In the end, Johnson failed to give himself up in the last confrontation with the law and was killed by the police posse.

A long police paper trail justifies why Albert Johnson was killed in the end. The reports filed by the officers King, Millen, McDowell and Inspector Eames meticulously note dates, times, the name and rank of staff personnel and details such as the number of miles officers travelled per day in carrying out their duties. The importance of rank and chain of command is very evident in the reports. In Millen's report he clarified he was acting on orders issued by the Officer Commanding Western Arctic Sub-District in his initial contact with Johnson. Throughout the chase, the police used "appropriate" channels to gain access to technologies that would assist in the search. The archive files contain copies of witnessed Affidavits of men involved in the chase, such as King, McDowell, Millen and Eames. Each man testifies to what he witnessed and what his involvement was in the case. As well, a post-mortem inquest[ii] was held to exonerate those involved in the shooting of Johnson. They were not "killers" as Johnson was understood to be; they were simply carrying out their duty. Because it was deemed that the men involved had no other choice in capturing Johnson except as they did, no member of the police party was found to be responsible for Johnson's demise.[iii]

All effects found on Johnson's body were listed and their disposal documented for the record.[iv] All copies of this documentation have been carefully preserved and can be found in various archives around the country (National Archives, Northwest Territories Archives, RCMP Archives in Ottawa). Similarly, all correspondence regarding the case was filed and noted and can be found in the RCMP archival holdings in Ottawa.[v] These files document that all procedures were followed and forms completed in accordance with RCMP guidelines.

Mounties as Examples of "Real Men"

> Millen's view of the job was clear. He knew that it was more difficult than simply killing a man. His job was to bring Johnson to justice. That was the way he was taught and he died fulfilling this unwritten law. These are the moments that make up a tradition, not in the lives of a few outstanding men but the moments of many moments of crisis, moments of decision, when a man shows who he is and what he believes. These are the moments that make up the legend, when the man of flesh and blood measures up to the ideal. In these moments, tradition and legend are one, fiction is welded to truth, belief is confirmed, and we understand what the legend symbolizes: faith that man can live up to his aspirations. What these aspirations are – the kind of man our society in its wishdreams wants to be – is revealed in the character of the force, in the acts and ideals that keep the legend alive. (Phillips 1954:35)

In many documents when descriptors are used to characterize the men who were involved in the Johnson case, embedded within them are ideas of what ideal RCMP officers in the north in 1932 should be. They were men who overcame blizzards and who kept going until they got their man. These men were seen to endure unparalleled hardships in their duty to maintain the peace.

Almost completely absent from the RCMP story is any record of the emotions of those involved in this dramatic event. The only exceptions can be found in reading Constables King's letter which begins "Gosh Frenchy it is a terrible affair" (Dobrowolsky 1995:133).[vii] In my interviews with Robert McDowell, he told me several times that when he returned to Aklavik with the wounded King, "Inspector Eames, he gave me a shot of brandy. I could do with it too! I was so tied up you know." In reading the reports filed by the men involved, there is no hint of emotion, just matter-of-fact reporting on events, just as most of their reports surrounding the carrying out of their multiple duties did.

Role of the RCMP in the North Circa 1932

In 1932 the duties of RCMP officers in the north extended beyond peace keepers and law enforcers. As federal government representatives they carried out a host of official as well as unofficial patrol duties (Beahen 1997:19). Officers carried out the administrative duties that civil servants would have in the south in the Department of Agriculture, Immigration and Colonization, Indian Affairs, Fisheries, Interior, Justice, Marine, National Defence, National Revenue, Pensions, Health, Post Office and Secretary of State. Officers were empowered not only to enforce Federal Statues including the Criminal Code but a host of Territorial Ordinances (Beahen 1997:19; Morrison 1985:55; Stallworthy 1934:17; Steele 1935:305, 307, 311, 344, 356, 356). Their administrative duties included issuing licences, collecting various governmental fees, registering births and deaths and collecting census data. They also served as adhoc doctors and when finding anyone suffering from poor mental or physical heath, routinely transported them back to a post, administered aid themselves or issued relief supplies (Stallworthy 1934:17).

RCMP officers were also responsible for visiting remote or inaccessible posts to make sure white trappers and prospectors were safe, not starving and in good mental health. In order to carry out this duty, they needed to be aware of the whereabouts of all those in the district. Albert Johnson's avoidance of social contact and his taciturn personality fostered attention and suspicion among Gwich'in and business people in Fort McPherson. Their concern prompted them to mention him to the RCMP. On July 21, 1931, Constable Millen therefore questioned the newly arrived man who indicated that his name was Albert Johnson. Millen advised him that if he intended to stay in the district he would need a licence. Licences not only allowed men to trap but gave the

RCMP an idea of where men would be on the land so they could check on them from time to time. Johnson indicated that he had not yet made up his mind as to what he intended to do but that he might go over to the Rat.[viii] Millen admitted that he made no further effort to see if Johnson stayed in the district but would follow up the next time he made a patrol to Fort McPherson. Inspector Eames reprimands Millen in a memo dated August 11th, 1931, where Eames underscores the importance of knowing the whereabouts of men coming into the area:

> I am surprised that you accepted Johnson's excuse for giving you no information as to who he is. If Mr. Johnson's intentions are good, he can scarcely object to the Police knowing all about him. I particularly desire that we have full information of home address and relatives of men coming in ... In case of accidents or anyone of them becoming lost, the information would be of use ... You are to keep track of Johnson ... if your suspicions are aroused you are to search his outfit as you are authorized to do under the terms of Section 24 of the Game Regulations ...If Johnson merely desires seclusion ... explain my wishes regarding information needed and encourage him ... to communicate with you ... state what his condition is and his whereabouts. This practice was commonly followed by all white men up the Mackenzie River after the death of Nicol and Beamen on the Gravel River.[ix] Johnson may be going to the Yukon; should that be his intention he should be asked to drop you a line acquainting you of his safe arrival. Long patrols can often be avoided by such co-operation. (RCMP Archives in Ottawa. File I: Mad Trapper Case Vol. III Yukon and NWT 1931/32)

Regular checks of men drifting into the area took on more urgency during the Depression years. As McCormack (1987) notes, the impact of the Depression in northern Canada has never fully been acknowledged. I recall musing when interviewing the Elders that nobody ever mentioned the Depression, nor either of the World Wars. It would be erroneous, however, to think that the Depression never affected the north.[x] It did, but in ways different than in the south.

Thompson (1985) and Cook (1991) detail how the stock market crash of 1929 affected Canada. Commodity prices dropped, unprecedented unemployment figures

were set in the west and droughts destroyed crops on the prairies. Line ups for food became common as individual incomes per capita plummeted, and with no hope of work, inadequate relief food allowances, and the west holding little promise of prosperity, men drifted north. These men joined the ranks of earlier migrants to the area when fur prices were high and profits could be made quickly (McCormack 1987:72; Struthers 1988:231). Many of these earlier trappers had left when fur prices plummeted in 1928, but others moved in with hopes that good incomes could be made trapping and mining.[xi] Robert McDowell told me during one of his interviews that while he was working in Aklavik, he encountered many men who had drifted north to trap and try their hand at panning for gold during the 1930s. Many were from the United States and some would not answer questions about their backgrounds. There was a general feeling that these men were running from the law. As they were quiet and did not bother anybody, they were largely left alone.

Only a few police and game wardens covered the vast area of the north. Men who came from the south to the north in the 1920s and 1930s would have known this. They would also have known that because of this, enforcement of game laws in the north was weak. The chances of being caught violating these laws was minimal (Ray 1990:117, 118). But many of the men who came north in the 1930s were unprepared and lacked the necessary survival skills and, as Inspector Eames stressed in his memo to Constable Millen, it was the RCMP's responsibility to keep tabs on these men and essentially protect these men from themselves.

Keeping Peace and Order

It was the role of RCMP to preserve the peace, prevent crime and offences under laws and ordinances and apprehend criminals.[xii] With regard to Aboriginal people,

Section 795(g) regarding Duties in Regard to Indians in the Rules and Regulations booklet reads:

> an immediate report is to be rendered for the information of the Government of any dissatisfaction or feeling among the Indians, which is liable to cause a breach of the peace or serious disturbance (1928:113).

Therefore when three Indian men complained to the police that Johnson had been springing their traps, Millen had to investigate the allegation.[xiii] Millen would have been aware of other incidents in the area.[xiv] In 1931 non-Aboriginal trappers illegally poaching in both the Northwest Territories and northern British Colombia had been arrested and convicted (Steele 1934:311). Inspector Eames notes in his Annual Report for 1932 that trapper Francis Rivet was charged with stealing a mink from Ernest Lacombe's trap line (1933:111). During Christmas of 1931, Rivet's trial was held in Aklavik which was reported to have caused unusual interest.[xv] Rivet was found guilty of three charges of theft and sentenced (Eames 1933:111).[xvi] When Millen received a similar complaint regarding interference with a trap line, he would have to take action to investigate.

Although a visit to Albert Johnson may have been routine, Millen would have been cognizant of the fact, based on previous incidents, that there was no telling what he would find.[xvii] In December 1931 the Arctic Red River RCMP detachment had two Constables: Constable Millen who was in charge, and Constable King. There was also a Special Constable, Joe Bernard, a local Gwich'in man. By sending Special Bernard with Constable King to investigate Johnson, Millen was following established procedures, as no RCMP officer was allowed to make a patrol without a local Aboriginal man acting as guide.[xviii]

When King and Bernard arrived at the cabin, Johnson refused to speak or open the door. This refusal prompted King and Bernard to return to Aklavik to obtain a search

warrant and further orders. In Aklavik, Inspector Eames, realizing the seriousness of this matter and potential for escalating trouble, ordered backup support for King and Bernard. Constable McDowell and Special Constable Lazarus Sittichinli were to accompany them. The party returned to the cabin and King requested again that Johnson open the door. A shot was fired, wounding King. Johnson's position of alleged illegal trapper now moved to that of attempted murder suspect.

Johnson's seemingly irrational action shifted the matter from a routine inquiry to a crisis situation on several fronts. As Steele reports:

> Johnson had committed a serious crime – with no justification whatever, had resisted and nearly killed a Mounted Policeman in the execution of his duty. He had challenged the whole Force; and Eames in particular ... (1935:320).

Likewise, members of the Delta communities, that is, Aklavik, Fort McPherson and Arctic Red River, as pointed out in Inspector Eames' report saw "the shooting of Constable A.W. King by Johnson at a cabin on the Rat River on December 31 [as causing] intense indignation amongst the white men in the Mackenzie Delta" (Eames 1933:111). The white trappers were justifiably outraged. They had a vested interest in Johnson's capture as he was also a threat to them and their livelihood. The incident also upset the Native community. As outlined previously in their narrative, several were frightened of encountering Johnson. For reasons as discussed in Chapter Two, relations between some white trappers and the Gwich'in were tenuous at best.

Upon word of the assault on King reaching Inspector Eames, fears that he was a criminal or "dangerous lunatic" arose (Eames 1933:5). His response was the immediate deployment of a patrol of RCMP officers, some white trappers who had volunteered to be part of the RCMP search party, and Special Constables to apprehend Johnson.[xix] A

critical situation escalated when the patrol arrived at the cabin and they were met with gunfire. Johnson remained inside the cabin, unharmed. Hersey describes how his skills were used:

> I used to play hardball, third base. I could have been a hardball, played pro ball. I was supposed to go, the spring that I joined [the Signal Corps], down to the St. Louis Browns. They later became the Dodgers. They sent a man up to [Camp] Borden to try to talk me into coming down. I was lucky, I was left handed and pretty good. (Interview with Leslie McCartney, June 23, 2001)

> So this is really why I was asked to participate. You see, Q.M. Sgt. R.F. Riddell made the bombs of dynamite; he was good at that type of thing . . . I was taken along originally to throw these on Johnson's roof or to knock down his cabin. (Quoted in Rebiere 1998a:24).

Hersey threw dynamite on Johnson's cabin and although the roof was damaged, it was not destroyed. Johnson remained unharmed, inside. The patrol retreated to Aklavik to replenish their supplies. As Robert McDowell told me, "After 15, 18 hours, we thought what the hell are we going to do now? Go home! Go home! What else was there to do? It was pitch dark!"

The patrol returned to the cabin two days later to discover that Johnson had fled. Some men begin to search for the elusive Johnson on foot, while others brought in supplies from Aklavik and from local Gwich'in people. Johnson's tracks were followed to a thicket and he was heard coughing. The police surrounded the thicket and when Johnson was heard to cock his gun, the patrol opened fire. The chase reached a pinnacle when Johnson fatally wounded Constable Millen. Johnson had now not only wounded one officer but had killed another. The intense indignation of the white trappers shifted to "deep resentment" with Millen's death (Eames1933:111).

As stated at the beginning of this chapter, a central purpose of the RCMP northern force was to assert the government's control and sovereignty over the area. Morrison (1985; 1987:64) discusses how the Canadian government had been slow to establish a presence in the north. It was not until sovereignty was questioned by the intrusion of Americans in the late 1890s with the Gold Rush in the Yukon that the RCMP made a presence in the Yukon. Although American whaling ships had been on Herschel Island since 1889 and remained so for at least fifteen years, the RCMP was not present in the western arctic until 1903 (Morrison 1987:64).[xx]

A Series of Firsts

When Johnson, a stranger, arrived, a man who, as noted in Appendix II, had indicated he was American, although with his slight accent he might have been any foreigner, he symbolically threatened peace and security in the area. This incident had many implications for the police force and the Canadian government. On the local front, if Johnson reached other trapping cabins, other lives could be in danger. On both the local and national front, the credibility of the RCMP was being tested. Nationally, the Johnson man hunt had made newspaper headlines across the country in such newspapers as The *Winnipeg Free Press*, *The Toronto Globe*, *The Edmonton Journal*, *The Montreal Gazette*, *The Calgary Albertan*, *The Ottawa Citizen*, *The Regina Daily Star* and *The St. John Telegraph Journal* (National Archives, RCMP Northern Administration Branch R.G. 85, Volume 12).[xxi]

In the hunt for Johnson, the technology of the airplane and radio were the first used in Canada to locate and attempt to apprehend a criminal, and hence played a central role in the Johnson man hunt.[xxii] The Royal Canadian Corps of Signals became involved, utilizing new radio transmission technology. A requisition for the assistance of an

airplane was made to Ottawa, to help with the man hunt. Questions were raised by both the RCMP and government officials in Ottawa concerning this large expense to hunt one man, when the country was in a Depression and the government was preaching frugality. But once convinced of the desperate nature of the situation, endorsement was given by then Minister of Justice, the Honourable Hugh Guthrie, to the RCMP to spend the funds and employ an airplane in the search (Anderson 1994:58).[xxiii] Decorated Canadian WWI air hero Wop May was requested by Inspector Eames to pilot the search plane.[xxiv] May knew the territory as he had been delivering mail by air to Aklavik for a couple of years, often flying in cold and adverse weather conditions. With May piloting the aircraft, Eames felt supplies could be carried and dropped to the search party in hours rather than days, eliminating the need for the search party to retreat and replenish their food supplies. May could also follow Johnson's trail by air.

The use of radio for transmission of the story had an impact on the larger Canadian society. For the first time daily details of a man hunt were being broadcast across the country. During my visit with Const. Robert McDowell, he introduced me to a younger friend who was also a former RCMP Officer. This man told me stories of when he was about seven years old growing up during the Depression, in the dust bowl on a dirt farm in Saskatchewan. After supper his family would gather around an old tube radio and sit there for at least an hour and half every night, listening to what was happening in the Arctic with Albert Johnson. It was a story of drama and excitement that took them away from the grinding poverty they were experiencing in the dusty and locust-infested prairies. He said that this inspired him to become an RCMP officer and work in the north, which is exactly what he did. Similarly, several Gwich'in Elders had also told me about listening to the Johnson story daily on the radio. Anderson (1994:63)

states that in western Canada, Johnson captured their imagination. The publicity fuelled speculation as to his identity and many came forth believing they knew who the fugitive was (Anderson 1994:63). The initial radio transmissions were made from Royal Canadian Corps of Signals radioman E. F. Hersey, who was part of the police party, to the Signal Corps Station in Aklavik. From there, communication reached RCMP headquarters in Edmonton and the outside world (Anderson 1994:47).[xxv]

The radio and airplane, as they were used in the Albert Johnson manhunt, pushed back the geographic borders of the northern landscape. The north was not as impenetrable and vast as once imagined. The case brought lasting changes both to the north and to the way the law was enforced in the region. Radio became part of routine investigations. The airplane brought a new form of police surveillance to maintain power and control. Abel cites historian Morris Zaslow who stated that "aviation was responsible for introducing the mining industry with its attendant effects into the Territories" (1993:205).

Other less obvious changes resulted from the Johnson affair. New medical technology was brought to Akavlik in the way of an X-ray machine (North 1972:45).[xxvi] This much needed technology would have been of immense assistance to Dr. J. A. Urquhart, who attended both King and Hersey, as he could not tell how many or where the bullets were lodged in the men because he did not have this equipment. Major Hersey told me that as he was recovering in the Aklavik hospital, he could not get comfortable as something was rubbing his back. Upon closer examination, the bullet Johnson had fired at him was lodged just under the skin in his back. It was subsequently removed. Had there been an X-ray machine, the bullet would have been found upon the preliminary examination.[xxvii] Other fundamental changes that resulted from this case

included the fact that routine patrols took on more heightened tensions. Officers were now very wary when they made routine patrols.[xxviii]

For the RCMP and the government, Constable Millen was memorialized as someone who died when serving his country. A cairn stands near the spot he was killed; the creek near the site was renamed Millen Creek; Millen Street can be found in downtown Inuvik; his name has been forever engraved on the Honour Role at the RCMP Museum and Training Academy in Regina.[xxix] Millen's death has further been memorialized in another location: in the small Edgar Millen Park found at the busy intersection of 115th Avenue and 86th Street in Edmonton. The park was named in his memory by the City of Edmonton and Royal Canadian Mounted Police Veterans Association in 1968. The Millen family headstone found in Beechmount Cemetery, also in Edmonton, simply states that he was an RCMP officer, killed on duty at Arctic Red River, NWT, January 30, 1932. Anyone who knows this case would recognize Millen's name and the date of his death, and would know that he was a victim of Albert Johnson.

The Johnson story is emblematic of a common phrase used in relation to the RCMP, that is, "Mounties always get their man." The case of Albert Johnson serves as an example of what can happen to those who choose to challenge the law of the land, threatening the peace and security of the country.

With the death of Johnson, the matter for the RCMP on hand was closed. For the Canadian government the case took longer to close.[xxx] There were further procedural matters to complete: payment for the airplane and various components of the man hunt were required; the disposition of the estate of a man with no known kin had to follow legal procedures, and when this was completed, the files could be closed. Over the years since the incident occurred, the RCMP[xxxi] files were however reopened from time to

time, when evidence or leads were received that could potentially identify who Albert Johnson truly was. All of these leads proved to be unsuccessful and the files were closed again. But despite the official files being closed in the case, the story of Johnson has continued to be told for over 70 years in popular media, as my next chapter demonstrates.

[i] The Royal Canadian Corps of Signals was a division of the Canadian Army (Department of National Defence). The Canadian government used this branch of the army to exert sovereignty and control as well as to quell the requests for necessary northern communication by the Hudson's Bay Company, police and Church. In response to this need, Major Steele and Col. Ford advocated for the erection of radio stations operated by The Royal Canadian Corps of Signals personnel in the NWT, for the Royal Canadian Air Force and as the beacon stations for commercial aircraft (Hersey: personal communication). Wireless stations, erected and manned by the Royal Canadian Corps of Signals sprang up, dotting the northern landscape, connecting the northern frontier with the south and outside world. The Aklavik station was erected in 1924 (Morrison 1985:174) or 1925 (Campbell 1987:17; Innis 1970:353) and manned by Royal Canadian Corps of Signals.

[ii] The archival documents refer to the process as an inquisition. This was a Coroner's Jury, held in Aklavik on February 18, 1932, with the sole purpose of determining the cause of the death of Johnson. It was determined that the man known as Albert Johnson died from bullets "fired by a police posse endeavouring to arrest the said Albert Johnson for the shooting of Constable King and Constable Millen" (National Archives of Canada, Albert Johnson File RG 85 V12).

[iii] See Dr. J.A. Urquhart, M.D. full ruling on the matter on page 14 in Inspector Eames' report of February 26, 1932 (RCMP Headquarters Archives in Ottawa, File III: Mad Trapper Case, Vol. III Yukon and NWT 1931/32).

[iv] Oddly enough, the only piece of evidence that seems to have disappeared from the files of the Albert Johnson case are the fingerprints. Robert McDowell told me that he was the person who took Johnson's fingerprints after his frozen body was brought back to Aklavik. McDowell said they were hard to take and he had to thaw the body first before good prints could be taken. The fact that these fingerprints are a key piece of evidence that has been lost will be discussed in Chapter Four.

[v]Johnson's identity was never confirmed. He left no papers indicating who he was. As it was unknown if he left a Last Will and Testament, his estate was placed in the hands of the Public Administrator for the District of Mackenzie. The file held at the National Archives in Ottawa contains documents and letters concerning the legal disposal of his estate, accounts for the legal fees incurred with this disposal and letters of concern regarding who or what governmental department was responsible for payment of same.

[vii] This letter was written by Constable King to his friend Constable "Frenchy" Chartrand who was stationed in Coppermine, NWT. King wrote the letter from the hospital in Aklavik on February 4th, 1932 (Dobrowolsky 1995:131-133).

[viii] See Appendix II for a copy of Millen's letter dated September 11, 1931. To the Officer Commanding Western Arctic Sub-District, R.C.M.Police, Aklavik, NWT. wherein he states that, "I asked him [Johnson] what he intended to do, and told him that if he intended staying in this district he would have to get a licence at either Arctic Red River or Aklavik" (RCMP Headquarters, Archives, Ottawa, File III: Mad Trapper Case Vol. III Yukon and NWT 1931/32).

[ix] Two trappers, Nicol and Beaman went missing in 1925. After one year of searching for them, they were found by the RCMP. It was apparent that they had died of scurvy (Steele 1935:261).

[x] In his memoirs about living in the Fort McPherson area in the 1920s and 1930s, trapper Paul Neiman (1980:106) states that the only thing he noticed in the north about the Depression was that fur prices dropped; muskrat skin prices went from $1.75 to .75 cents each; black fox from $1,000.00 to $60.00 or $70.00 each; martin only $30.00 and other fox about $60.00 (1980:117). He states that other furs went down in price too but this was the only noticeable evidence that a Depression was occurring outside the north.

[xi] McCormack (1987:73-75) points out that during the Depression in the north, there was a development boom in mining, including the new silver rich mine at Port Radium on Great Bear Lake. With mining development came improved transportation systems making it easier to access areas such as the Mackenzie District.

[xii] Defined duties as listed in Section 17(a) of The Royal Canadian Mounted Police Act, R.S., c. 91 state that duties must be performed relating to preserving the peace, preventing crime and offences under laws and ordinances together with the apprehension of criminals (Revised Statutes of Canada 1927, v. III:3060).

[xiii] Incidents of poaching or trapping on another's trap line had been escalating for years. The Peel River Preserve was set up in 1923 (Fumoleau 1973:246) to alleviate some of the tension between the Aboriginal

people and white trappers moving into the area. An RCMP post was set up at Arctic Red River in June 1926 for the sole purpose of demonstrating Canada's authority over the region and ensuring peace (Heine et al 2001:208, 209). Tensions were also felt at the same time with trapping methods used by non-Aboriginal trappers, such as the use of poison. See Abel (1993:188, 189) for discussion of this.

[xiv] According to the archival record, until 1932 there was very little crime in the area. Reported crimes included the illegal manufacture of intoxicants, natives killing moose out of season (April 27, 1927 report; August 31st, 1928 Annual Report; May 5, 1929 report), disputes between white trappers and traders and Indians over trap lines (March 4, 1930 report), and the investigation of two white men Myers and Mason trapping on the Peel River Preserve (Semi Annual report, December 31, 1929).

[xv] When I asked Pierre Benoit about this trial he recalled it and said it was a very big trail in Aklavik. It caused quite the sensation at the time in the communities.

[xvi] Rivet was sentenced to three months' imprisonment with hard labour, to be served at in Aklavik at the guardroom of the RCMP.

[xvii] Several accounts exist of how routine investigations turned out to be anything but routine. A year after trappers had been reported missing, they had been found dead from scurvy in their cabin (Steele 1934:261). In 1927 a presumably harmless reclusive trapper not only shot and killed a neighbour but threatened an RCMP Constable. After a three day standoff with police, the trapper was killed in a round of gunfire (Beahen 1997:17, 18). The Arctic Red River Detachment, in 1928 and 1930, had made patrols to men reported to be insane or lunatics (Wilson 1928; Wilson 1930).

[xviii] This procedure was adopted after the "Lost Patrol" incident of 1910-1911 where four RCMP officers, making the routine 475 mile patrol from Fort McPherson to Dawson City, did not take with them an Indian guide for the entire trip. Their guide for the trip was former RCMP officer Sam Carter who had made the route from Dawson to Fort McPherson but not from Fort McPherson to Dawson. The Patrol hired Esau George, an Aboriginal man, part way through the trip, when they had become lost and encountered several Aboriginal people camping on the land. George took them over the portage to the Peel River. Once there, they paid George for his services and set out alone. The officers became lost and died of starvation after 46 days on the trail; they had been travelling in circles for days and were only 70 miles away from Fort McPherson (North 1995). Their deaths had resulted from many factors: by not taking along an Indian guide for the entire trip, and because they did not know the land, they had missed key trails; they did not take with them adequate provisions or firearms for hunting when their food ran out; and they did not possess the knowledge to construct and snares or track animals in the bush to replace their food supplies. This tragic event led to the regulation that all future patrols were required to have an Indian guide. Not only did these men know the land and trails, but they also knew how to provide food by hunting and trapping for themselves and the officers along the trail. For a narrative of the Lost Patrol see North (1995). The story of the Lost Patrol also has Gwich'in versions, the topic for another thesis as their stories again differ in many ways from the written versions I have relied on for these notes.

[xix] Some of the white trappers included Karl Gardlund, originally from Sweden, who married Sarah Ann Firth, a Gwich'in woman from Fort McPherson, and Knut Lang, who later became elected to the Territorial Council of the Northwest Territories (North 1972:17).

[xx] As noted however in Chapter Two, the RCMP used John Firth, the Hudson's Bay Company man in Fort McPherson, beginning in 1894 to act as their unofficial representative and keep an eye on the American whalers.

[xxi] These examples give a scope of where this story could be read, if not heard, across Canada. There is also a possibility that it was carried into the United States as an article as I found a copy of a newspaper clipping from the *Chicago Herald and Examiner* dated Sunday, May 15, 1932 in an archive file (RCMP Headquarters Ottawa, File III: Mad Trapper Case Vol. III Yukon and NWT 1931/32).

[xxii] See Abel (1993:202-230) for discussion on the impact of the radio, airplanes and outboard motors on the Dene cultures in the north.

[xxiii] Anderson (1994:58) states that the cost of using an airplane was beyond the authorization limit of the field officer. Superintendent A.E. Acland contacted Commissioner J.H. MacBrien in Ottawa who contacted Minister of Justice Honorable Hugh Guthrie who reported to Parliament on behalf of the RCMP. Guthrie reviewed Inspector Eames' reports, assessed the desperate nature of the situation and gave approval for the airplane expenditure.

[xxiv] In WWI, at age 21 years, May played decoy for Roy Brown who, it is alleged, was then able to shoot

down the infamous German Baron van Richthofen, The Red Baron (Allan 1966:47, 48). May earned the prestigious McKee trophy for flying, in freezing conditions in which his fingers froze to the controls, delivering serum for an imminent diphtheria epidemic into Fort Vermilion (Allan 1966:84-90).

[xxv] Anderson (1994:62, 63) reports that days would pass without new details being transmitted from the north. Radio stations and newspapers then interviewed "experts" on northern conditions for thoughts on the case. Major Hersey told me that the newspapers were pestering the Hudson's Bay Company and Church, wanting continually to know what was happening. For several days the batteries would be frozen and the radio useless. When he could radio back news to Aklavik he would and from there it would go to Edmonton, as well as the Hudson's Bay Company in Aklavik who would transmit the news to the newspapers.

[xxvi] North (1972:45) states that with the publicity surrounding the case, it became noted that the hospital in Akalvik did not have an X-ray unit.

[xxvii] I believe that the X-ray machine was of immense use in the area after this when, according to what the Elders told me, the rates of tuberculosis escalated again.

[xxviii] As former RCMP officer Jim Bilton discusses in a 1973 interview with Raymond Stone, just after the Johnson affair he was called to investigate a cabin where a man had been reported as acting strangely. Upon knocking on the door, the man inside yelled that he would blow his head off if he opened the door. Realizing he could end up as Constable King had, Bilton relates how he eventually got the man to open the door and although he spent time looking down the barrel of the man's gun, Bilton eventually brought the man into the detachment peacefully. He however states that the Mad Trapper affair was foremost in his mind during this incident (Jim Bilton 1973 Interview National Archives of Canada #A1 2001-04-0009).

[xxix] The Wall of Honour is a monument on the grounds of the RCMP Training School and Museum in Regina. The monument has carved on it, The Honour Roll which was "erected in the memories of the men who gave their lives whilst in performance of the duty" and whose eternal flame burns for the memory of "those members who made the ultimate sacrifice as a police officer." The name of officers who died in the line of duty are carved in the stone. Millen's name is among them.

[xxx] On February 28, 1939, the monies found on Johnson were transferred to the Receiver General of Canada by the Public Administrator (RCMP Archives, file one, undated and unsigned note in file). On February 20th, 1940, The Minutes of a Meeting of the Committee of Privy Council indicate that the estate of the man known as Albert Johnson of Rat River, NWT, commonly known as the Mad Trapper, was placed in the hands of Mr. H. Milton Martin, Public Administrator for the District of Mackenzie in the NWT in accordance with the Ordinances of the NWT. After a search, it appeared that Johnson died with no next of kin and pursuant to the Order of the Stipendiary Magistrate of the 28th day of February, 1930, $1,748.40 being the assets of the estate was paid to the Receiver General of Canada. Further, artefacts from the case were to be deposited at the Royal Canadian Mounted Police museum at Regina, Saskatchewan (RCMP Archives, Vol. II).

[xxxi] See RCMP Archives Vol. III file for correspondence in 1972 for requests for Johnson's fingerprints which were destroyed when the case was closed; memos dated 1977 from RCMP to Mrs. Henry Thelma Raw of Alta. who believes Albert Johnson may have been Fred Barron from Oakesdale, Washington as well as some of Dick North's articles in search of Albert Johnson's true identity.

Chapter 4

The Popular Versions

> As the years go by, the legend grows, and it becomes difficult to separate fact from fiction. (North 1972:xvi)

Many Stories

Over the past seventy years, in both Canada and the United States, a wide array of novels, short stories, poetry, songs, movies, radio programmes, films, newspaper stories and websites have told the story of the Albert Johnson, also known as the Mad Trapper.[i ii iii] Johnson is most commonly referred to in these various narratives as The Mad Trapper and I will refer to him as such throughout most of this chapter. The above listed various media include versions of the Mad Trapper story that closely follow the "factual" RCMP accounts (Anderson 1986, 1994; North 1969, 1972, 1989; Shaw 1960); those in which it is difficult to separate fact from fiction (O'Hagan 1978; Wiebe 1973, 1974, 1978, 1980, 1989); and those that are largely fabricated (Keen n.d.; Kligman and McNamara 1972; Hunt 1981; York 1981).

Regardless of how varied these stories are, there are common themes that run through them, as I will discuss below, that make these stories distinctive from the Gwich'in or RCMP versions. I begin with a discussion of the subtle differences in the national ideologies of Canada and America which are at the foundation of the Mad Trapper stories. The key themes of the myth of the North[iv]; stereotypes of "Indians;" frontierism and survival; victim or hero; and stereotypes of "real men" are discussed as they are woven into popular media versions of the Mad Trapper story. I end with a discussion of the ongoing obsession with the mystery of Johnson's real identity as

discussed by Anderson (1986, 1994), North (1969, 1972, 1989) and Wiebe (1973, 1974, 1978, 1980, 1989).

Subtle Differences

In most of the popular tellings of the Mad Trapper there is a blending of Canadian and American ideologies. Fenwick (1989) compared the differences in the Canadian and American national culture and character. He argues that American culture values "egalitarian, individualist, entrepreneurial, laissez-faire, antistatist and universal achievement," whereas "Canadian culture tends toward traditional conservatism emphasizing law-abiding, statist, pluralistic, corporatist, mercantilist and ascriptive values" with greater government involvement in social and economic affairs (1989:36, 37). Examples of both national ideologies can be found in the Mad Trapper narratives. In many stories Johnson is depicted as an individual man who wants to be alone, living outside society, fighting for his right to be anonymous, dependant on no one but himself for survival and making a living any way he can. The RCMP, on the other hand, is the symbol of law, order and government control in keeping the peace and order in the area, and trying to apprehend a criminal who has broken the law. The stories depict the clash between the rights of an individual to live as he pleases, which mirror many stories of the American West, and the rights of the law abiding collective group to have amends made for an alleged crime (springing traps) and the actual crimes (murder and attempted murder of police officers, murder of another man).

Myths of the North

A menagerie of myths has been constructed and perpetuated through literature and film about what the "North" is and means, and how it is portrayed, and the tales of

the Mad Trapper are no exception. Grant (1989) discusses the many definitions of "North.". Geographically it encompasses the Yukon, Northwest Territories, Labrador, and the northern portions of British Columbia, the prairie provinces, Ontario and Quebec. North can be measured not just by geography but by climate, vegetation, population density, economic conditions, lack of urban life or agricultural settlements and it is therefore a shifting boundary moving increasingly further north on a map. "North" can also be a "state of mind, directly related to one's own experience" of the wilderness and the openness one experiences (Grant 1989:16). Westfall (1980) argues "North" can be a geographical place with similar environment and landforms; a place beyond urbanization; a vast frozen hostile wilderness. Others define it as a place of shifting boundaries (Atwood 1995:8) that keeps inching higher on the map as agriculture inches forward (Brody 1981, 2000);[v] a place free of history (Koroscil 1978:7); a place that is awe-inspiring, alluring but hostile to white men; or a place of mind, both physically and psychologically, an unknown space where one can survive only by relying on both one's body and wits, a place where one can get lost and go crazy (Atwood 1972:18; 1995:3, 19). It can also be a place of beauty, a place to escape, both physically and psychologically, from the negative aspects of urban life (Grant 1989:26, 27).[vi]

Most, if not all, the above ideas of "North" can be found in the Mad Trapper stories. In some of them, the north is portrayed as a place untouched by civilization with lines such as "There are still today mountains that are nameless, rivers that run God-knows-where, and valleys that are unpeopled … " (Keen n.d:6).[vii] In the film *Challenge*

to Be Free (Garnett 1976), the first lines describe "Trapper" (who is supposed to be Albert Johnson) as having:

> [an] uncanny intuition and incredible understanding of nature [which] lead him to where no man had gone before in eluding his pursuers ... No one knows how many decades of wind had blown across the trail of '98 when Trapper was first seen in the land ... His pot of gold was the quiet beauty, love of the land, blanketed all with nameless ... mountains and lost rivers.

Wiebe also uses the untouched landscape motif in one of his short stories about Johnson:

> Crossing the Richardson Mountains during the blizzard and when he reaches a river he thought it must be the Porcupine [River] because he seems at last to be inside something that is completely alone (Wiebe 1973:373).

To many southern Canadians, the term "North" congers up a montage of concepts creating a set of contradictory images of the land mass which occupies most of Canada. Atwood (1995:22) suggests that the imagery and the literary language that has been used to portray the North has been bound within the Nature-as-Metaphor paradigm, that is, the good-mother imagery of Wordsworth romanticized poetry, versus the bad-mother image as per Darwinian thinking.[viii]

The North in literature and film has only one season, winter. Winter embodies the nature-as-monster theme, as these stories highlight the dangers and fear of snow, ice and blizzards. It provides the literary vehicle to show how humans fight nature and how they either win or lose (Atwood 1972:60, 65). In all of the popular Mad Trapper stories, the extreme weather conditions endured by both Johnson and the police party are described in harrowing detail. Nature was clearly a monster. The prose used to describe the weather conditions reinforces ideas that the north is a frozen place where survival is tenuous at best. As Mullett writes in *Trailing the Fiend of Rat River,* "Winter came

down with a roar that year, with 45 below, blizzards and a fast freeze-up that gripped river and lake and creek with merciless intensity" (n.d.:17). Douthwaite describes the weather conditions in his book *The Royal Canada Mounted Police* as "The forty below blizzard was still raging as the party set out with those over laden sledges ... " (1939:236). In *The Yukon and Northwest Territories. The Traveller's Canada,* McCourt refers to the weather conditions under which Johnson travelled as "sixty degrees below zero ... He [Johnson] travelled with amazing speed, covering up to forty miles a day in weather that ranged from thirty to forty degrees below zero, camping cold in the brief daytime, travelling mostly at night and living off the land on a diet of ptarmigan and rabbit ... " (1969:107-109).

Rudy Wiebe uses Atwood's nature-as-monster metaphor in a different way in one of his many short stories about Johnson. Nature, in the form of the Eagle River, turns against Johnson; it is ultimately the factor in his demise.

> Instantly the man [Albert Johnson] knew it was the river that had betrayed him. He had outlegged their dogs and lost the plane time and again on glare-ice and in fog and brush and between the endless trails of caribou herds but the sluggish loops of this river doubling back on itself have betrayed him. But this river ... has out-doubled him. (Wiebe 1973:371).

On the Eagle River, the Mad Trapper becomes confused in judging where the RCMP are by the ricocheting echoes made along the river banks. Instead of running away from the Mounties he runs straight into their hands. The Mounties get their man (Phillips 1954:32; Wayling and Doherty 1935:7). They are the heroes of the story. The RCMP are the very symbols of law, order and power of the state to protect its citizens.

Grant (1989:15) suggests that North is both a symbol and an explanation for a Canadian national identity and ethos. The lone stubborn survival on a peopleless

landscape is part of the Canadian meta-narrative she argues and this image can be found in the Mad Trapper stories.[ix] The Mountie, the symbol of authority, a lone force against the landscape of the frozen tundra, mushing a dog team in pursuit of mad men through snow in a land complete with wild animals is reminiscent of the strength of one against the landscape (Atwood 1995:8; Gittings 1998:1).

Early 20th century adventure writers and poets of the North, such as Jack London, Robert Service and Duncan Campbell Scott, together with imagery of the north in Hollywood made films, used these meta-narratives and symbols in their portrayal of the region. In so doing, they had a major impact on how the general public perceives the North.[x] Norris (1992) points out these themes have been central to films made about the region since the first films were made in 1914 about Alaska and the Yukon. As late as the 1970s and 1980s the films about Johnson, *Challenge To Be Free* (Garnett 1976) and *Death Hunt* (Hunt 1981) portray the North in a similar manner. It was a brutally cold, ice bound landscape, inhabited only by savages, wild beasts, blizzards and a few brave Mounties keeping the peace.

In the films and stories about the Mad Trapper, the empty wilderness, severe, brutal cold and seemingly uninhabited land, extends as far as the eye can see. It is a place where a person can go and be divorced from other humans. The Mad Trapper, perhaps wanting to be away from civilization, or mad from isolation, lives by his wits and on his own resourcefulness. Howard O'Hagan illustrates this theme most eloquently when he writes: "Johnson's [was] one who lived beyond and independent of the community of his fellows" (1978:66).

But Johnson, the Mad Trapper, is not alone. The romanticized image of the north is interrupted by technology with the encroachment of southern life in the form of radio communication and aeroplane travel. These were both used to capture Johnson. As Jennings notes, the Johnson story "marked the end of Canada's last frontier – the end of the romantic era which abruptly evaporated as modern technology found the North" (1985:83). Once the transportation and communication technology was incorporated into the search for Johnson, the new methods became standard practice in the north. The use of radio and airplane technology in the region fundamentally changed life, as it opened up opportunities for more accessible travel in search of natural resources (Abel 1993:205).

Privacy in the wilderness was encroached upon by urbanization and technology creeping northward to conquer the wild landscape (Anderson 1994:7; Garnett 1976; Hunt 1981). The landscape was not empty; it was inhabited, albeit sparsely, with Aboriginal people, trappers, miners and the RCMP, all of whom were aware of each other's movements on the landscape. This paradox of massive empty spaces yet lack of privacy has been a feature of Canadian life (Frye 1971:221).[xi] It is also found within the ideals of frontierism and survival, two themes which will be discussed after I examine how the images of the Aboriginal people who, if they appear at all in these stories, are depicted in a manner that perpetuates long held stereotypes of them by non-Aboriginal people.

Images of Native Peoples

In this section, I sometimes refer to Aboriginal or Native people as Indians. I mean no disrespect in using the term 'Indian' and use it only because that is how they are referred to in the various popular cultural genres of this story.

A contradiction exists in the Johnson stories with regard to Aboriginal people: they are either absent or when they do appear, are incongruently represented. When they do appear, they are represented in ways that adhere to the traditional stereotypes of Indians found in the genre of Canadian adventure stories which blossomed in the later 19th century and early 20th century. In this genre, the Mountie symbolized law and order in the Canadian West and later the North. These adventure stories, in keeping with the writings of James Fenimore Cooper and Karl May, featured Indians, cowboys and pioneers as part of the adventurous landscape (Francis 1992:72-74; Gittings 1998:3, 4).

In some of the Johnson stories Aboriginal people are almost completely absent from the landscape, supporting the idea that the North is notable for the absence of human life. In others they appear only as shadowy figures on the margins of the story. They serve only as the impetus for the police hunt as it was Aboriginal men who reported Johnson springing their traps. Once they report Johnson's actions to the Mounties, they almost disappear from the narratives. In other stories, and especially in the films, Aboriginal people fall between the stereotypical poles of what an Indian is: noble or ignoble. At one end is wise "Old Tracks," the Indian guide in both a film and manuscript of *Challenge To Be Free* (Garnett, 1976; Keen n.d.). The land whispers messages to "Old Tracks" of where Johnson is so that he can lead the police to him. In one book, a shaman elder is reported to tell a posse formed in Old Crow not to go and find Johnson; "You no go look. One sleep and he die" (Katz 2004:108).

In contrast to this "good" stereotype is the ignoble view. Here, when the land is viewed as something alien, the Bad Indian is portrayed. He, and it is usually a he, is represented as bloodthirsty, filthy, thieving, dishonest, superstitious, warring, loathsome,

and sexually promiscuous person, who uses broken English which, Francis argues, makes him sound "brain-dead" (Atwood 1995:39; Berkhofer 1978:28; Francis 1992:8, 76). The best personification of these stereotypical characters can be found in Kligman and McNamara's radio play about the Mad Trapper where one of the first lines Constable Millen has is a conversation with Indian Charlie Rat in the local store:

Millen:	How're you doing, Charlie Rat?
Charlie:	(Indian) Hello, Redman. Look I buy big feather pillow for my woman. Gonna make lots of love tonight ... Make lotsa little Indians. Grow up and shoot all those Red Mounties.
Millen:	If you don't talk us to death first ... (1972:6)

From the radio script play I located, it would appear that this play was recorded in Winnipeg in 1972 and broadcast on "Canadian Broadcasting Corporation Tuesday Night" in both AM and FM Stereo on April 4th, 1972 and possibly on April 25, 26 and 27th, 1972. CBC is the national radio/television service and I have not been able to ascertain if the program was nationally or regionally broadcast, although judging by the title, CBC Tuesday Night, I would assume it was a national broadcast. It seems shocking to me that only thirty years ago it was airing material so laden with negative stereotypes of Aboriginal people.

In other stories is the Indian who either lies about knowing the trail, or is too hung-over to remember it, and misleads the police in the bush (Anderson 1986:19). In yet another account, the Indian guide's wife hacks her husband's leg off with a saw, although the audience is not told why but it is insinuated that it was perhaps infected (Kilgman and McNamara 1972). In the middle is the promiscuous fictional character of "Buffalo Woman" in the film *Death Hunt* (Hunt 1981). Ironically, she is the only woman in the stories. She is portrayed as an Indian whore who stays in the police

barracks and sleeps with each policeman at their whim or because of her desire to seduce them. All of these characters personify negative stereotypes of "Indians."

Numerous Hollywood films, and those about the Mad Trapper in particular, (Garnett 1976; Hunt 1981) have extended the literary Indian stereotypes into the visual medium. Mounties and Indians have appeared in films almost since their beginning. The first Mountie to appear in a movie was in 1909 and by the 1920s Hollywood picked up these wonderful adventure stories, rewriting Canadian history, but kept the ideas of what an Indian was from fiction and the popular art of the time. The stereotypes were reinforced on the screen.

Although not made into film during this time, radio broadcasts and popular fiction about Johnson incorporated and reinforced all of these stereotypes. Just as the Johnson story reinforced the power and control of the government through its agent the Mountie, it also perpetuated the stereotypical and fictional ideas of the frontier, wilderness, the North and the Indian. These fictions, however, have almost become "truth" in many of these stories. In Canada, perceptions of the Indian over time have changed as values changed, but previously constructed stereotypes, prejudices and myths are still prevalent today in the public media. The Johnson stories, which continue to be popular, perpetuate these notions of the "frontier" and the struggle to survive (Anderson 1994; Burt-Johns 1993; Ferrell 1998). These ideas, embedded in both American and Canadian ideologies, are also found in the Mad Trapper stories.

American Frontierism

Atwood (1972) argues that every country or culture has a symbol that serves to unify it. She poses that the symbol for America is "the frontier." This symbol lies at the heart of many of the popular versions of the Mad Trapper stories.

The concept of the "frontier" was first put forth in 1893 by Frederick Jackson Turner (Breen 1976:147; Cross 1970; Tucker 1980:2; Turner 1956). Turner's use of the term "frontier" is an elastic one (Turner 1956:2). Frontier-as-location is where the edges of thinly populated settlement areas touch the wilderness; frontier-as-a-process is symbolic of America's improvement and progress through land over a four hundred year period, from 1607 until 1890 (Cross 1970:1, 2; Webb 1956:87). Using an evolutionary model, Turner states that in the pioneers' expansion westward, fuelled by the prospect of new opportunities, they reverted to "savagery," relying on their own skills and coping with and then conquering the free wilderness land, a land that had no history. The land and conditions of frontier life changed the men into something they had not been before (Tucker 1980:3; Winks 1971:9; Turner 1956:17). These pioneers reconstructed their social character, re-established civilization by transforming the wilderness and became individualists and democrats: they became, in short, Americans (Cross 1970:2; Turner 1956:2, 3, 5; Webb 1956:93).

Tucker has expanded Turner's work. He poses that the term "frontier" means "between things mastered and other things not yet mastered ... frontier areas should include activity, innovation and hope" (1980:2, 3). Hence, the idea of the frontier embodies the ideas of continual expansion and movement, the taking or conquering of

new territory and the hope, although never fulfilled, of the promised land (Atwood 1972:31, 32; Cross 1970:5).

Cross notes some of the characteristics embodied by frontiersmen as posed by Turner: they were more inventive, more ambitious, "forced into total reliance upon [their] individual initiative, [developing] confidence in [their] own ability to solve any problem and became antipathetic to any form of control" (1970:2). Men were driven by the romance, adventure and the challenge of the unknown on the frontier (Tucker 1980:3, 4). Turner himself states:

> coarseness and strength combined with acuteness and inquisitiveness; that practical, inventive turn of mind, quick to find expedients; masterful grasp of material things, lacking the artistic but powerful to effect great ends; that restless nervous energy; that dominant individualism, working for good and for evil and withal that buoyancy and exuberance which comes from freedom, these are traits of the frontier (1956:17).

Between literature and Hollywood images of the Wild West, western heroes such Kit Carson, Jesse James, Billy the Kid, Wild Bill Hickok and Wyatt Earp have been portrayed to embody the essential frontier characteristics (Cross 1970:3; Tucker 1980:45, 46, 54). These men were rugged individualists, loners standing tall against the prairie sky. They were either good or evil, self-reliant, bold, wandering over the land and acquiring it by squatting, were armed and fought to defend themselves by shooting straight and fast (Breen 1976:148, 151; Tucker 1980:46, 52; Winks 1971:8).

Winks poses that along with the embedded ideas of good and bad, binary oppositions of east/west and simple/sophisticated can also be found in the idea of the frontier (1971:8). These binary oppositions are most evident in stories and films of the American "wild west." The same ideas of the frontier have been perpetuated in northern stories by pulp fiction authors and films, and the Mad Trapper story is no exception

(Norris 1992). Albert Johnson is the symbolic metaphor in many of the popular versions of the American frontiersman, embodying the characteristics and ethos of the frontier as discussed above. This American frontierism and wild west genre can certainly be found in the film *Death Hunt* (Hunt 1981) about Johnson. Some authors depict Johnson as a cowboy or outlaw, the most obvious being Ferrell, who describes Johnson thus: "with a pistol in each hand, firing simultaneously, he shot away the target, a stake driven into the ground" (1998:103). Even Wilf Carter's 1932/33 song is reminiscent of the frontier: "But the trapper with his six-gun; He laid a Mountie low."

American ideas of the frontier as a backdrop to the Johnson story appear in other tellings of the story such as those by O'Hagan (1978) and Rudy Wiebe (1972, 1973, 1974, 1978, 1980, 1989). Of the Johnson story, O'Hagan writes: "a ballad was born, still sung in western frontier camps, a ballad of a man, whatever his name, who no one knew, a hunted man who ... singlehanded[ly] held them [RCMP] off ..." For Wiebe, the frontier motif is illustrated in the following prose:

> ... reaching into his coat pocket to reload his Savage .30-.30, almost warm on the inside of his other bare hand ... he had exactly thirty-nine bullets left besides the one hidden under the rifle's butt plate. If they moved in any closer he also had the Winchester .22 with sixty-four bullets and closer still there would be the sawed-off shotgun ... (1973:371).

Both O'Hagan and Wiebe are Canadian writers who live in the Rocky mountain foothills, just north of the American border. Another author, who is American, admits that while several details in his story of the Mad Trapper are accurate, his book is an entirely fictional creation (York 1981:xii). York wrote his story after two years of running from the FBI. York was a Vietnam draft dodger who eventually made his way

to the northern Canadian city of Yellowknife. He remarks how he identified with the paranoia the Mad Trapper must have also experienced as a hunted man (York 1981:xi).

The fact that Johnson with one quick turn shot and sent a bullet through Hersey that left five entry wounds, is classic of the American frontier sharp shooter and this event plays in the stories. Hersey has told this story many times over the years:

> So I went down on one knee and shot as he was coming up the bank ... I figured it was 300 yards. It was measured afterwards as 270 yards. I'm a marksman from the army . . . When I saw his head, this is when I fired. Of course I hit, and down he came . . . I hit his pack three times and down he came. Then I saw him reach behind his pack to get his rifle. Well now, in the army, we practiced a lot. One of our targets was a man shooting over a parrot on his shoulder. I didn't want to kill Johnson (I have trouble killing flies). But anyway, I thought "Boy, I'll hit him in the shoulder." I was down on one knee and taking very careful aim to hit his shoulder. But he didn't aim at all . . . He reached behind and got the rifle and BANG! And he hit me dead-centre" (Rebiere 1998b:38, 39).

> I don't know whether you can see it or not. In there [bottom of left patella], out there [top of left patella], in here [elbow], out here [elbow] in there [chest] and it was just underneath the skin. The chap [Dick North] thinks that he was, he used to practice that quick shoot, that snap shooting. That's how, what he [Johnson] did when he hit me. Just bang. And then he fired three shots after that and missed me three times. The first shot at me was right dead centre and I went up and went backwards into the snow ... (Major Earl Hersey, Retired Interview with Leslie McCartney June 23, 2001).

Wiebe uses this incident in one of his stories of the Mad Trapper:

> Whatever this river is spiralling back into the Yukon hills, his rifle will not betray him ... His rifle speaks easily, wordlessly to the army radioman kneeling, sharpshooter position, left elbow propped on left knee. The sights glided together certain and deadly ... (1974:147).

Because of this incident, in some popular versions it is hypothesized that Johnson was an actual American western outlaw. In 1986, Wop May wrote that he thought Johnson was Coyote Bill, a trapper from Idaho and Washington who was a deadly shot (May 1986:80, 81). In the background of North's tellings of the Mad Trapper are some

of the ideas of the American frontier. I recall Mr. North telling me how he felt when he corresponded with and met Earl Hersey, one of the men in the police party involved in the final shoot out with Johnson who was wounded by a bullet from Johnson. "It's like talking to Wyatt Earp!,"[xii] he exclaimed. At that point I wondered if the fact that Mr. North had spent several winters in the American west (Idaho) had made him perceive the Mad Trapper as a type of American western frontier story. This theme is played out most in his last book where he believes Johnson, who lived in the American west for some time, had as his mentor Butch Cassidy and that Johnson wanted to "go straight in the northern wilderness, at the edge of the last frontier" (North 1989:115, 178).[xiii] Symbolically, Johnson is the American frontier ethos.

The Canadian "Frontier"?

Did Canada have the same frontier experience as America? Critiques of Turner's "Frontier Thesis" exist.[xiv] Hofstadter notes that in the American attempt at uniqueness, comparable social development of other countries was omitted from Turner's analysis (1970:25). Historians such as Donald Creighton (1970) pose that the idea of the frontier has very little relevance in Canada's history. Juxtaposed therefore in the Johnson narratives, which have embedded within them the above American frontier ideas, are those stories that have within them the Canadian experience, where attempted order was implemented on the shifting "frontier." Cross (1970) notes that the "frontier" of Lower Canada grew slowly for several reasons: the hesitation of members to leave family and if they did, the tendency of the Catholic Church to encourage group exodus. In Upper Canada, collective approaches to work were demonstrated (perhaps due to the Methodist

religion) and until transcontinental routes were opened to the west, Upper Canadians stayed circumscribed by the Canadian Shield.

In order to survive, individuals in Canada had to work collectively (Creighton 1970:42; Cross 1970:6) and this included working with government. In his "theory of metropolitanism," Creighton poses that in Canada, social organization, capital investment and culture radiated out from main centres on transcontinental transport systems (such as Montreal or Toronto) (1970:40-42). In Canada there was more an adaptation to nature than a conquest of it; the "frontier" was conceived as a physical or psychological barrier between the pioneers and their British roots or American neighbours (Frye 1970:168). Like a garrison, small isolated communities, had great respect for law and order which protected them from the huge and menacing wilderness that surrounded them (Frye 1970:171).[xv]

Large scale government intervention existed in Canada, unlike the United States, where government intervention was interpreted as resistance and resulted in the American Revolution (Creighton 1970:42; Webb 1970:94). The Canadian governments' intervention assisted in the construction of large scale transcontinental routes such as the Canadian Pacific Railway. When these modes of transportation were in place, Frye notes that:

> civilization in Canada ... advanced geometrically across the country, throwing down the long parallel of the railways, dividing up the farms into chessboards of square-mile sections and concession-line roads ... America moved from the back country to the wild west; Canada moved from a New France held down by British military occupation to a northwest patrolled by mounted police. (1970:170)

Along with Canada's frontier, or newly opened land, went the government's ability to maintain law and order. Modelled on the Irish Mounted Constabulary, the

North-West Mounted Police were formed by Sir John A. Macdonald's government in 1873. The main purpose of the creation of this force was to establish peace and security on the western frontier.[xvi] Their duties were to preserve peace, prevent crime, apprehend criminals and act as civil servants in the capacity of jailors, court orderlies, customs offices and escorts for lunatics and prisoners (Dobrowolsky 1995:12; Turner 1950:87, 91). The main tenet of the force, that is, asserting a Canadian presence and thereby establishing sovereignty, preserving peace, preventing crime and being used by the governments as civil servants, followed the force as the edge of the moving frontier was repeated over and over again from the time of the force's creation to 1903, when the RCMP finally established a post in Fort McPherson. A decade earlier however, when the frontier changed to the Yukon with the discovery of gold in 1896, the then Northwest Mounted Police (NWMP), the forerunner of the RCMP, were sent to the area by the Canadian government to establish posts thus creating a Canadian presence amongst the mostly American miners who, as Morrison (1985:13) argues, were carrying on the tradition of American self-government by creating laws and justice as they went along via "miner's meetings." Because Canadian law is based on British law, that is, authority rests with the Crown, not "the people," and because of the recent disputes over the Alaska/Yukon border combined with the traders' concerns about lawlessness, the NWMP again brought sovereignty, peace, law and order to the "frontier." Coupled with the American nationalists in the region the government used the NWMP presence to firmly establish the frontier as "Canadian" in an attempt to nix the American annexation of the Yukon to the United States northern territory (Richards 1998:21).

Atwood (1972:121) states that the Canadian wilderness is a place of exile, not a place of lawlessness and disorder. The RCMP had been in the Fort McPherson area for almost thirty years before Johnson arrived.[xvii] In Canada, lawless men and outlaws were thus curtailed to keep peace, order and sovereignty of the nation. In the American wild west, there was a more overt tension between the law and the freedom of the individual. The Mad Trapper story balances the tensions of both elements of these American and Canadian cultural symbols. Albert Johnson, the Mad Trapper, is symbolic of the American frontier ethos, the RCMP, symbolic of the Canadian "frontier," law and order. The story of the Mad Trapper is a perfect vehicle for these tensions to be played out and one reason, I would argue, why the story continues to hold such appeal for popular audiences.

Survival

Atwood (1972) argues that Canada's unifying symbol is the multi-faceted symbol of "survival" or a means of staying alive, hanging on. She states that for early settlers and explorers, survival was accomplished in the face of hostile climate, topography or things that hampered their efforts to clear the land. Later the term was extended to mean the survival of a disaster or crisis. By this Atwood means the stories of those who made it back from terrible experiences in the North, from snowstorms or sinking ships. The only triumph for the survivor is in fact their survival at all.

At the point of repeated struggles where nothing can be achieved except survival, some choose to simply give up (Atwood 1972:34). O'Hagan uses this motif in the last lines of his short story about Johnson:

> Like a figure in a Greek tragedy Albert Johnson was doomed and, like that classic figure, sundered by his fate from those about him, he is at last alone upon a stage,

> the shadows closing in upon him – a man against the world, and against himself, one who chose to die and yet, until his last breath, fought to live (1978:80).

As I suggest below, the Mad Trapper ironically survives by dying, that is, he is remembered because he died. The mystery as to his identity has in fact been kept alive.

Victim or Hero?

Atwood (1972:39) suggested that there is a superabundance of victims in Canadian literature and as such, Canadians see themselves as a collective victim with a preference for the negative.[xviii] She proceeds to outline four Canadian victim positions: denial that you are a victim; acknowledgement that you are a victim but it is not your fault because something bigger (fate, will of God, history or economics) has placed you in this position; acknowledgement that you are a victim but refusing to assume that this is an inevitable role; and finally, ceasing to engage in the role of victim.

Weather plays an important role in victimization. To Atwood, "Canadians are fond of a good disaster, especially if it has ice, snow or water in it" (1995:11, 12). In Canadian literature most frequently death comes by nature, by drowning or freezing, or from nature's indirect methods, such as being bushed, where a person is driven crazy by the isolation experienced in nature (Atwood 1972:54, 55).

The Johnson stories exemplify these themes. The events took place in the Northwest Territories and the Yukon, during the coldest winter months of January and February. Almost all of the stories repeatedly refer to the cold temperatures which vary anywhere from -30F (Anderson 1986:13) to -40F (Horwood and Butts 1984:229), to -45 F (Mullett nd.:17, Burt-Johns 1993:1953) and finally to -60F (McCourt 1969:107).

Although Johnson's demise came from being shot several times, several authors describe his body upon examination in an autopsy. He was dehydrated, portions of his

hands, legs and feet had been frozen. His weight had dropped to 145 pounds from his estimated earlier weight of 170 pounds (Anderson 1994:76; May 1986:76; McLean 1973:62).

Johnson was also labelled as being "bushed." The newspapers branded him as the "crazed trapper;" or "demented Rat Creek trapper," and the police wanted him "dead or alive" (Anderson 1994:35). Newspapers at the time across Canada included headlines such as that from the Calgary Albertan: "Gone Berserk." Some would debate whether Johnson was bushed, mad or insane (Douthwaite 1939:234). Inspector Eames, who was in charge of the hunt for Johnson, commented, "I note in the press reports that Johnson is referred to as the 'demented trapper.' On the contrary, he showed himself to be an extremely shrewd and resolute man, capable of quick thought and action. A tough and desperate character" (McLean 1973:62).

Atwood poses that heroes are loners and virtuous; they are champions of society who pursue a meaningful struggle against obstacles dear to a group or nation (1972:165). If the hero wins, it is a win for all. Heroes must have great virtues but also a tragic flaw, like indecisiveness or pride. If they die whilst pursuing the cause their death must be redemptive, that is, they must take some enemies down with them to make their fight victorious in some way (Atwood 1972:165).

American heroes die by violent means: murder, defiance of law, assassination. Canadian heroes die by accident, frequently at the will of nature. They freeze to death, drown or meet their demise in other ways at the hands of natural forces. Regardless, some heroes of both nations have courage and dignity when facing death, even though their death may not achieve anything (Atwood 1972:166, 167). In the Johnson story,

traits found in both American and Canadian heroes emerge, even if at times they are in conflict. On the American side, Johnson did indeed die by violent means in a shoot out with the police who were trying to apprehend him for his crimes. Johnson, however, was defiant to the end, refusing to give himself up and even in death, fighting to the end and when dead, taking with him the secret of his true identity. On the Canadian side, as noted previously, Johnson's extremities were frozen; he was both dehydrated and emaciated. Perhaps it was an accidental lapse of judgement that caused his death. His error in judgement on the hairpin curve of the Eagle River sent him headlong into the posse as opposed to away from them. This failure to reason led to his demise, yet he was defiant to the end.

North perhaps sums up this view best in the final lines of his 1989 book *Trackdown - The Search for the Identity of the Mad Trapper*, when he says:

> My final thoughts on the subject are that Johnson, though he exhibited some of the characteristics, was never a killer per se ... I see him as bull-headed man rejected by society, dogged by his own restlessness and sense of adventure, who sought to 'go straight' in the northern wilderness, at the edge of the last frontier. He failed, not because of recidivism, but because of events – perhaps beyond his control – at Rat River that bore in on him and pushed him off a psychological cliff from whence there was no return. Like Butch Cassidy, in his last redoubt, Johnson elected to shoot his inquisitors rather than talk to them, and that is where the string ran out (178).

Both the Mad Trapper and the RCMP are victims and heroes. The Mounties are victimized when one of their officers is killed and another wounded. In the end the Mounties overcome the hardships presented to them by nature, the distances needed to be travelled in the cold with the logistics of food and supplies, by employing an aeroplane. This ensures their capture of Johnson.

In many of the stories the Mad Trapper epitomizes what Atwood says is at the heart of Canadian stories: a "courageous struggle against overwhelming odds, followed by defeat at the hands of an impersonal giant" (1972:169). The Mad Trapper outwits the RCMP, a symbol of government control, peace law and order, in extreme conditions for over fifty days. He survives for a while using nature to his advantage, that is, his tracks are camouflaged by the caribou tracks upon which he travels, or walks on ice covered rivers, to cover his path. He survived the freezing temperatures it seems without fire and little food. In the end however, nature is ultimately hostile to him (Atwood 1972:49). Betraying him is the serpentine Eagle River whose topography echoes the police parties' sounds. Confused about which direction the sounds were coming from, the Mad Trapper moves directly into the police party instead of away from them. This indiscretion leads to him being killed. The Mad Trapper becomes the victim of the government.

In the film versions of the story, which are all American made, and in some fictional versions, Johnson actually escapes, one man beating the control those are trying to exert over him.[xix] In these versions, either the Mounties let him go because of their admiration for his skills and tenacity, or they shoot the wrong man. Johnson is definitely the hero. In conquering not only the land but authority he keeps his freedom intact. He becomes a symbol for all those who want freedom from authority and the constraints of society.

But Albert Johnson, the Mad Trapper, has survived as a legend. At the time of the Mad Trapper affair, as mentioned previously, the Depression was at its height. Johnson stood as an individual fighting back against government; he was an icon for those in desperate conditions. Both Anderson (1986:22) and Katz (2004:79) suggest that

with the Depression era audience, Johnson, secretly admired for his stand against the police, was garnering a large amount of public sympathy. Atwood argues (1972:34) that Canadian heroes survive, but just barely; they are rather born losers. The Mad Trapper can be seen in this light. He had been only barely alive prior to his final demise. Ultimately however Johnson won, as he took his identity to his grave and the mystery of what he was doing in the North. The Mounties may have got their man, but did they really? What they got was a man whose real identity has yet to be determined.

Johnson: A Real Man

Johnson, in many if not all of the popular versions of the story, embodies the stereotypical models that Brannon (1976) suggests are the core traits that make up "a real man."[xx] He demonstrates taciturn and silent behaviour, self-reliance, an air of confidence, stoicism, determination and indifference to opposition, and a mental and physical toughness (Brannon 1976:12). McCourt describes Johnson as:

> travelling with amazing speed, covering up to forty miles a day in weather that ranged from thirty to forty degrees below zero, camping cold in the brief daytime, travelling mostly by night, and living off the land on a diet of ptarmigan and rabbit as he travelled – all the time displaying the most extraordinary cunning in either hiding his tracks or leaving behind him a trail whose complexities at times slowed his pursuers to a standstill (1969:107-109).

Johnson is depicted as never worrying about death or losing his manly "cool" (Brannon 1976:25). Wiebe describes him as showing "superhuman feats of strength and endurance … the defiance of officialdom" (1978:221). But it is the fulfilment of Brannon's model of "a real man," the "Give 'm Hell" persona that confirms Johnson as the icon of what a real man is. He outwits the police, can be aggressive and violent when pushed, defends when attacked, and is adventurous and daring. In *Death Hunt* (Hunt

1981) and various novels, the traits of daring exploits and reckless adventure are accentuated and glamourized to further reinforce this ideal. Brannon (1976:33) argues that "to be seen as a real man ... there should be at least a hint of untamed, primitive force beneath a civilized exterior" and many of the Johnson films and stories portray Johnson in this light. For Wiebe (1978:233) Johnson is "a figure in Greek tragedy ... doomed and like that classic figure, sundered by his fate from those about him ... at last alone upon the stage ... a man against the world and against himself, one who chose to die and yet, until his last breath, fought to live."

Unsolved Mystery

True, Johnson is physically dead, but the mystery remains; who was he really? For seventy plus years popular attention has been focussed on trying to determine his real identity. Authors, most notably Dick North (1969, 1972, 1989) and Anderson (1986, 1994) in the area of more factual history, and Rudy Wiebe (1973, 1974, 1978, 1980, 1989) in the genre of blending fact and fiction, have spent many years trying to solve this mystery. Short of exhuming the body, using DNA analysis and fingerprint analysis (which assumes that the fingerprints could still be lifted and be traced from the frozen corpse), the identity of the man known as Johnson is still conjecture at best. North (1989) has made a convincing argument that Johnson was Johnny Johnson, a mid-west frontier style American man, whose mentor was probably Butch Cassidy (North 1989:115). Johnny Johnson was a horse thief, robber, a former inmate of Folsom Prison and possibly even a Chicago hitman at one time, although North thinks this unlikely (1989:178).

[i] A list of the relevant references is noted in the Preface to Appendix III.
[ii] I say Canadians and Americans because most, if not all of the popular media versions, have been created by these two nations. It does not appear from my research that any European publications or films have been made about the Mad Trapper.
[iii] It is difficult to estimate, in quantitative terms, just how much has been written about Johnson. From my research I would estimate at least 150 short stories, articles, novels, poems and other media versions have been produced to date. I would estimate the newspaper articles to be in the hundreds. My discussion in this paper is based on the authors and two films as noted in Appendix Three. Other sources indubitably exist but the ones I have used and cited capture the genres in which the Johnson story has been told.
[iv] I use the terms "North" and "the north" interchangeably. They are construed to mean the same thing.
[v] I would argue that in the Northwest Territories today, it is not agriculture that is inching northward but mining, especially the mining of diamonds. Fuelled by new discoveries, diamond mines are increasing being opened up in more remote northern places, accessible only by airplane where workers are flown to work for weekly shifts. Diavik Diamond Mine for example has a diamond mine 300 km by air north of Yellowknife, accessible in winter by ice road and in spring, summer and fall, by airplane only (www.diavik.ca/loc.htm).
[vi] Grant (1989) poses that the urban-inspired idealism was fuelled by American writers such as Ralph Waldo Emerson and Henry David Thoreau who wrote about the wilderness in terms of spiritualism and transcendentalism. It was a place, a counterbalance to urban life, idealised in romantic prose.
[vii] This manuscript by Keen is a draft of the film later to be entitled *Challenge To Be Free* (Garnett 1976). Much of the content of this draft manuscript is in fact in the film.
[viii] Atwood states that in the 19th Century raged a battled of the nature-as-mother metaphor (1995:22). The two poles of this argument were Darwinian bad-mother imagery versus Good-mother imagery as used by poets such as Wordsworth.
[ix] For further discussion of the wilderness, imagery and depiction of a peopleless landscape, see Bordo (1993, 1997).
[x] See Norris (1992) for a full discussion on popular images of north found in literature and film from the earliest films in the first decade of the 1900s up until 1992. This article also has an extensive list of Alaska-Yukon feature films. A discussion about how film and reality become mixed can be found in Chapter Five.
[xi] Frye notes that other writers, such as Susanna Moodie, have also reflected on the paradox of empty spaces but lack of privacy "with no defences against the prying or avaricious eye" (1971:221). One is never truly alone, there is always someone looking at you, knowing what you are doing.
[xii] Wyatt Berry Stapp Earp, sometimes also spelt Erp (1848-1929), was a fearless frontier lawman and Sheriff in the Wild West and is most notably known as being involved in the gunfight at the O.K. Corral. He then began a vendetta to avenge his brothers' deaths which occurred just after the O.K. Corral incident. In 1897 Wyatt operated a saloon in Nome Alaska during the Gold Rush
(http://encyclopedia.thefreedictionary.com/Wyatt%20Erp
http://www.desertusa.com/mag98/mar/papr/du_earp.html
[xiii] American outlaw Robert Leroy Parker, known as Butch Cassidy, was born in Utah in 1866. He was a cattle rustler and bank robber. Cassidy forged the Outlaw Trail that went from Canada through Montana and Utah to Mexico. He organized a group of outlaws called the "Wild Bunch."
(http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Butch_Cassidy)
[xiv] See Hofstadter (1970) who argues that Turner's "Frontier Thesis" was romantic; Turner's terms such as frontier, West, individualism, American character are vague; land was not free as Turner posed; and he omitted other structures such as the slave trade, federal government and American agricultural speculative and capitalistic slant.
[xv] See Atwood (1972:12, 1210) and Frye (1971:225, 226) for discussions of the idea of the garrisons being models in which towns were built with palisades protecting those inside from the outside. Frye (1971) states the small or isolated Canadian communities can have the garrison mentality when members feel they are surrounded with a physical or psychological frontier, i.e., separated from each other or their cultural

sources. Garrisons provide those inside with unquestionable moral and social values and one is a fighter for or deserter of the group.

[xvi] By 1870, traders from the Northern United States were seeping into Alberta and establishing trade with the Blackfoot who, in exchange for cheap whiskey and rifles, were handing over fur and experiencing an erosion of their culture. Located at the confluence of the Belly and St. Mary's Rivers was Fort Whoop-Up, a fort famous for its robberies and murders. The Cypress Hills Massacre occurred on May 19, 1873 in Saskatchewan when tensions erupted into murder between Montana's Fort Benton white wolf hunters and Canada's Assiniboine Indians over a theft of some horses. Several Aboriginal women and children were killed in the altercation and it thus became a "cause celebre." Innocent, defenceless Canadian Indians were being murdered by lawless American desperadoes. Bringing peace and order to this isolated part of the country to ensure Prime Minister Macdonald's desire to bring peaceful assimilation of the west, became the job of the Northwest Mounted Police which was secondary to its role in establishing Canadian Sovereignty in the area (Innis: 1970:369; Morrison 1985:4; RCMP Museum; Turner 1950:70-79).

[xvii] See discussion and footnotes in Chapter Two concerning the establishment of the RCMP post in Fort McPherson in 1903.

[xviii] Victims are not only humans. Animals are a literary device used to portray national psyche traits. Atwood (1972) discusses how many animal stories are in Canadian literature, especially those by Ernest Thompson Seton and Sir Charles G. D. Roberts, whose stories are told from the viewpoint of the animals. They are therefore stories about being killed and as such are invariably failure stories as the animal, the victim, dies. She contrasts this with animals used in British literature [Rudyard Kipling, Beatrix Potter] who were used to perpetuate the English social order. Animals appearing in American literature (Ernest Hemingway and Norman Mailer for example) were hunted, conquered by being killed by a successful hunter.

[xix] North (1989) sums up this literature in a chapter of his book entitled "The Wrong Man Theme" wherein he summarizes the years of rumours that the police shot the wrong man. Much of this is based on the fact that Johnson's identity was never established and that his body was so emaciated when killed, it was almost impossible to identify him. Added to this, the only RCMP that had actually spoken with Johnson face to face was Millen, who had been subsequently killed by Johnson.

[xx] Brannon (1976:3) began to look at what constituted the ideal male's sex role model in the United States. This was in response to publication by American women, researchers and writers such as Friedan (1963), Freeman (1971) and Bem and Bem (1971) of their research results of female sex role model characteristics. These studies led to conclusions about what women were and were not suited to.

Chapter 5

Concluding Comments and Reflections

> If the camera never lies, neither does it tell the whole truth.
> Daniel Francis (1992:41)

The camera never tells the whole truth, because, as I noted in Chapter 1, various lens sizes, filters, standpoints and angles tell different stories of the same event. This metaphor is analogous to the various versions of the Johnson stories.

Detail and Symbolic Differences

Differences between the Gwich'in, RCMP and popular media stories of Johnson, the Mad Trapper, can be divided into two groups as I have illustrated in Tables 1 and 2. Each version contains elements that make it distinctive. Table 1 identifies the differences in details between the three versions. I have addressed most of these earlier in the thesis. Table 2 addresses the differences on a symbolic level.

The Gwich'in stories of Johnson have very little to do with the actual events and police hunt but they contain symbolic elements that cannot be found in either the RCMP or popular media versions. Symbolically, the Johnson story is a vehicle for the Gwich'in to embed their other stories within. Their stories of Johnson are, at their core, stories about their intimate connection to the land, their home. For the Gwich'in the land is not a vast wilderness to be feared, conquered or taken. It is their home. Their history is told on this landscape by place names. The land embodies stories detailing kin relationships. These determine social organization and gender roles. The places on the land are meaningful because they embody the context of a person's past experience. Schieffelin's (1976:44) quote from a Kaluli informant, "When a man lives somewhere for a long time, his name is in the ground just like you put your name in that book," is just as applicable

to the way the Gwich'in incorporate their very self into the land as it is to the Kaluli. More importantly, the places on the land are significant to the Gwich'in because they are the place or context where social relationships are defined (Schieffelin 1976:45, 46). Also ebbing and flowing through the Gwich'in stories are larger stories detailing how the implementation of government polices and laws impacted on their everyday life during the 1920s and early 1930s. Further, their stories give insights into how their lifestyle, language and culture was being slowly dislocated before their eyes due to many of these polices, along with the new influx of white trappers and traders moving into the area during the Depression. Just as Gwich'in place names serve as mnemonic pegs on the landscapes, Albert Johnson is such a peg. For the Gwich'in, it is not so much the content of the Johnson story that is "real" but the process or the social construction of the story that is the "real story" of Albert Johnson.

In contrast, symbolically, the RCMP stories of Johnson are yet further examples of their ability to keep the peace and maintain control of the area through their ability to implement laws, rules and regulations. Their further purpose in the north was to ensure Canadian sovereignty. It was only through the RCMP that the Canadian government could have a presence in the north and enforce their laws, rules and regulations in the region. For the Canadian government, the area was rich with resources and with the signing of Treaty 11, they were ensured access to these resources.

Table 1. Details of the Stories: Three Versions

Issue	Gwich'in	RCMP	Popular
Method of Telling the Story	• Oral	• Written, in legal documents, police records, few police magazines/journals, mostly in legalese style	• Written, in novels, poems, short stories, newspapers, magazines, Internet • Viewed as films, plays • Heard as radio dramas, songs
Primary Characters in Story	• Gwich'in men (trappers) • Gwich'in women • Gwich'in as Special Constables	• RCMP officers (including Inspectors), by name • Wop May, pilot	• RCMP officers • Wop May, pilot • Trappers • Fictional characters in many versions • Limited mention of "Indians"
Who Tells The Story	• Story told by those privileged to tell it, i.e., Elder who was directly involved or whose kin was involved • Members of the Gwich'in community • Men and women	• Legal documents written by those involved • Reports written after events from original written documents • Articles by those interviewing surviving members or reviewing police files • Men	• Primarily Canadian and American fictional or investigative writers • Hollywood film makers • Journalists, authors • Men
Central Character	• Always referred to	• Almost always referred to	• More frequently referred

	Albert Johnson	as Albert Johnson in police records • Occasionally referred to as Mad Trapper in police journals/magazines	to as Mad Trapper than Albert Johnson • Also referred to by names of people theorized to be Johnson (eg., Arthur Nelson, Johnny Johnson)
Crime Committed	• Traps were sprung by Johnson	• Allegation of someone springing traps	• Allegation of someone springing traps
Unique Elements of the Story	• Not applicable	• First radio communication used in a manhunt • First time airplane was used in a manhunt	• First time manhunt followed live on the radio, broadcast over entire country • National and international media attention that the manhunt attracted
How Johnson/Mad Trapper Died	• Tracked and killed like an animal; disrespectful treatment of his body	• In a dramatic shootout	• Fugitive shoot out akin to the wild west western genre
Violations	• Breach of etiquette in telling who he was, not being friendly	• Did not obtain hunting licence • Did not open up door with warrant • Wounded one officer, killed another, wounded another man	• Psychological motives explored as to his motives • Theories on his past and identity to justify his actions
Land	• Land intimately known,	• Sovereignty over land for	• Land seen as frozen,

	a cultural landscape • No sense of individual ownership • Lived there since earth created • Family areas respected for hunting, fishing	resources, peace • Land broken into area, bounded by Treaty 11 • Preserves set up for use by Aboriginal people only • Boundaries on land through legislation	harsh empty, unknown, uninhabited landscape, romanticized as a frontier, survival at any cost paramount
Lifestyle	• Born and raised in area • Generations of family from area • Life lived as seasonal rounds on land • Believed they had a rich and fulfilling life • Still affected by long term complications of disease	• RCMP officers born and raised outside the north • Life in RCMP posts, for few years of service then moved • Believed Indians to be poor, impoverished, needed civilizing • Paternalistic attitude towards Indians	• Many writers, readers of text or viewers of film have never been or have little connection with the north, live in towns, cities, not on the land • Indians in many versions, if they appear at all, as uneducated, poor, needing civilizing if referred to at all, men portrayed as drunks women as whores

Table 2. What the Story Can be Said to Symbolize: Three Understandings

Issue	Gwich'in	RCMP	Popular
Key Symbolic Themes	• An intimate relationship with the land • The land as an instrument of social organization • The land as a cultural landscape • The land as a marker of the movement of people • The land as a marker of time • Appropriate hunting practice • The need to show respect for animals • How individual behaviour impacts on the larger social network • The centrality of kin relationships • What makes a good man or woman • The impacts of government policies and Treaty on the Gwich'in way of life • Dislocation of culture, language, traditional lifestyle through influx of outside forces	• Their role as peacekeepers • Desire to maintain control of area through implementation of laws, rules and regulations • Canadian sovereignty in the North • The important role of government policy in the social and political life in the North	• Expresses distinct American and Canadian national ideologies • The myth of North • Negative stereotypes of "Indians" • What a "real man" is • Ideas of Frontierism • What it takes to survive in the North • The "little man" as victimized by larger forces • Resisting these forces makes someone a hero

The popular stories of Johnson have embedded within them, symbolic elements not found in the previous two versions. These versions have at their core a blending of American and Canadian national ideologies. Myths of what the north is as well as stereotypes of what constitutes "Indians" and "real men" are reinforced in these versions. Notions of survival and fronterism, the idea of only one man against larger forces, are enhanced in these versions and in so doing, heroes emerge. The tension in this version is mainly between the American ideas of wilderness land for the taking, a land with no history where men can be free and independent, versus the Canadian experience of working collectively and a respect for law and order as symbolized by the RCMP presence.

In looking at the differences between the Gwich'in stories of Johnson and those of the RCMP and popular media, it is not difficult, especially on a detailed level, to see why the Gwich'in said they knew another version of the story. One historian (Jennings 1985) is angered by the dishonesty, lack of integrity and literary licence authors and filmmakers have taken with the story. To him, as to the Gwich'in, the "real story" of Johnson remains to be written and told.

Gwich'in Elders would describe to me, in length, the literal differences in the stories. Gwich'in Elder Pierre Benoit would be both angered, and amused at how the film *Death Hunt* misrepresented the story. In the film the airplane is shot down. Benoit would tell me over and over again how that was not correct; the airplane was never shot down and furthermore Johnson had never shot at the airplane as Charles Bronson, who plays Albert Johnson in the movie, did. Benoit would also reiterate how the books on Johnson (Anderson 1986; 1994; North 1969, 1972) had relied on Constable Sid May's accounts of the final moments of

Johnson's life to tell the story of the final shoot out. Benoit told me that Constable May arrived on the scene right at the end and so he didn't really know the story.[i] Benoit would tell me that Lazarus Sitticinilli knew that story because he had been there all along and that's the person who these authors should have asked.

On a detailed or content level, all the stories contain some minor elements that make them unique. But more importantly it is on the symbolic level that "people down south don't know that story of Albert Johnson like we [the Gwich'in] know that story." Their fundamental way of knowing of the story rests on this symbolic level, the social construction of the story, where the Gwich'in relationship to the land and each other is highlighted. This begs the question, why has the Gwich'in story of Johnson not become widely known or understood and why is it the Gwich'in Elders feel that the "real story" of Albert Johnson has not been told?

Joe Bernard Gave Me that Story, That's How I Got That Story

Benoit's comment, "Joe Bernard [my maternal uncle] gave me that story, that's how I got that story" is the stepping stone for one of the reasons that the story has not been widely heard. To hear the Gwich'in version of the Johnson story, one needs to hear it from a Gwich'in person – preferably from a Gwich'in Elder. Stories told by Elders are more respected, as they are deemed to be the carriers of cultural knowledge, acquired over their lifetime. Furthermore, the story is further respected if the story telling Elder was involved in the story, or if they were told the story by someone who was directly involved, preferably a relation. Nadasdy (2003:95) notes that Athapaskan people's knowledge is produced and validated when grounded in personal experience. Simply put, one can best know what has one has experienced.

Knowledge is validated when one is told a story by a respected Elder who experienced the event. Pierre Benoit always legitimated his knowledge of the Johnson story by prefacing it with details about who told him the story. He would say, "Joe Bernard [his maternal uncle] gave me that story, that's how I got that story." Although Benoit himself did not experience firsthand the Johnson affair, his uncle, Special Constable Joe Bernard, did. Bernard in turn told this to Benoit, who then in turn retold the story to several people, including me.

Stories, or what some would class as traditional knowledge, are however only meant for certain people to hear. The right to tell certain stories or sing songs can rest with a certain person and cannot be told or sung by others (Cruikshank 1998:36-38). On many occasions, I was told by Pierre Benoit after he told particular stories to me, that he had given me that story. It was a gift. He had the right to give it to me because of how he received the story, that is, he received it as a gift from a person who had experienced the story.

Until recently, most Gwich'in stories existed in an oral form, either as legends or like the stories Benoit and other Gwich'in Elders told me.[ii] When listening to a Gwich'in story it is assumed that the listener would know the scaffolding upon which the story is hung. As Cruikshank (1991) points out, when Elders tell a story, many assume that their listeners are familiar with the traditions and background the listeners need to know to understand the story. This scaffolding is constructed from the knowledge of the intricate kin relationships that are unspoken, but very much a part of the story. I have provided this scaffolding knowledge, which it would be assumed a Gwich'in listener would be familiar with on the Gwich'in cultural landscape, in the footnotes of Appendix I and in discussion

in Chapter Two. Gwich'in listeners, it would be assumed, would be familiar with the stories, legends and kin connections associated with many places on the physical landscape mentioned in the Johnson stories. Further scaffolding to the Johnson story are the political and economic conditions that were present within and without the Gwich'in world, when the Johnson events were taking place. Furthermore, the Gwich'in story of Johnson is only one of many such stories, such as hunting stories or stories of travels on the land, where the political, economic conditions and implementation of new legislation are in the background, but are central elements in the story.

Oral or written storytelling is shaped by cultural rules and accepted conventions (Livo and Rietz 1986:8, 9). Gwich'in stories, as Gwich'in Elder John Ttssietla pointed out, wander everywhere like the caribou (Sax and Linklater 1990:35). When Benoit first told me he was going to tell me "that Albert Johnson story" I instead heard what I thought was the story of where he and his extended family were camping and hunting in the winter of 1931/32, what they had hunted, how many moose and caribou they had killed and how they were eating that winter. Through his story, as with other Gwich'in Elders telling the Johnson story, one learns about the land, the procurement of food, kin ties and what it takes to survive. These aspects are integral to the Albert Johnson story for the Gwich'in.

Stories among the Gwich'in take time to tell. One must be a patient listener. The telling is not to be rushed. The audience must be willing to take a metaphorical journey over the land. For those not familiar with this type of narrative style with its seemingly endless drifting and wanderings, the subtleties of the stories are often

lost. For a southern Canadian familiar with the instant gratification of popular media, such storytelling can indeed be frustrating.

There is also the issue of language which is part of the social process of how stories are told. Many Elders told me that many words, terms and concepts simply could not be translated into English. Clyne (1973) notes how the speaker and language used cannot be separated from the social setting. The language used not only reflects the structure of a society but the attitudes of the speaker to the world around them. Gwich'in stories told in the Gwich'in language reflect better the embedded social construction of relationships to land and kin which lie at the core of stories. Such tellings embed the Gwich'in way of knowing a story. Rudnyckjyj (1976:121) points out groups in Canada retain their material and social culture although they may lose their mother tongue and adopt English. I would argue that the for the Gwich'in Elders, although they may tell their stories in English, at the core of the stories is still their cultural or Gwich'in way of knowing a story. Thus, when the Elders tell the Albert Johnson story they situate it in the framework of their personal lives and community in the 1920s and 1930s. For the Gwich'in Elders, this is the "real story" of Albert Johnson.

Silencing the Gwich'in Story

Gwich'in life had been dramatically influenced by state powers since the signing of Treaty 11 in 1921. Other powerful forces entered their lives much earlier however. Fur traders, the Hudson's Bay Company, missionaries and the RCMP had been present in the Gwich'in area since the mid 1800s. Each had their own reason for being the area: fur traders and the Hudson' Bay Company to capitalize on the rich natural resources of the area; missionaries to carry out the duties of

Christianizing the population and later working as teachers and medical personnel given to them by the Federal government, and the RCMP to ensure peace and sovereignty in the north. After 1921, government controls on every aspect of Gwich'in life came sharper into focus. To many, this is when their real history began. The government's thirst for natural resources led to the signing of Treaty 11 designed to extinguish Aboriginal title or interest in the lands, thus allowing the government unrestricted access to the natural resources that it held.

Layered on top of these governmental structures were imaginings, negative stereotypes and the misrepresentations of all Aboriginal people as I discussed in Chapter Three. Their homeland was frequently imagined as devoid of human presence. The landscape was not understood by newcomers to the region as a cultural landscape embedded with place names, traditional trails, and sacred sites, and peppered with stories which were tied to kin and their social organization.

Additionally the Gwich'in stories were only oral and thus not valued as highly by those only familiar with written texts. The power of the written word has effectively displaced the power of the spoken word in many parts of the world (see Cruikshank 1991; Thompson 2000)[iii]. Much of the written records about the Gwich'in people are those kept by government agents (such as the RCMP and missionaires) and fur traders. Many records left are largely administrative in detail. As noted in Chapter One, early anthropological writing was typical of the day. The central task was to document what was perceived to be "traditional" Gwich'in culture. Very few, if any stories, legends, folktales or historical events from the Gwich'in point of view were textually recorded. As other anthropologists have noted, "it is not that they were silent ... it is simply that they went unrecorded ... As

a result most of our knowledge comes from the reports of those [who chronicled them]" (Venkateswar 1999:87). Anthropologists working with the Gwich'in did not include the story of Johnson into their ethnographies as I previously discussed in Chapter One.

Interestingly, although the Gwich'in are almost absent from the RCMP story and popular versions, they did work collectively with the RCMP to ensure Johnson's capture. This collectively of work, as I noted earlier, is very much a Canadian theme yet it seems, in all but the Gwich'in stories, to be overshadowed by more American themes. I wonder just how many stories in Canada's history there are where Aboriginal people worked collectively with the RCMP yet their contributions have never been acknowledged. It is ironic that the Johnson story has never been seen as a Gwich'in story yet they were centrally involved in the story and have retold it amongst themselves in the years following the event. But the sense of the "real story" remains largely unknown to the wider public.

I Know That Story – I've Seen the Movie

I have repeatedly reflected on the insistence a friend made to me, that he knew the story of Albert Johnson because he had seen the movie *Death Hunt*. This statement comes from the acceptance of the veracity and power of the popular media, in this case popular movies.

Foucault acknowledged the linkage between power, truth and knowledge with technologies of domination (Best and Kellner 1991:69). As we live in a culture that is dominated by visual images, I have found Norris' statement that "a place becomes real only when perceived on the silver screen" very true (Norris 1992:53). He echoes in this statement Baudrillard's notion that virtual replaces the

real. The real becomes the "hyperreal" in media such as films. Baudrillard asserted that it was through such representations that we determine our reality, not the events themselves (Hegarty 2004:56, 60). Nolley (1997) also discusses how, in particular, documentary films are deemed to present the real; how images are representational of a variety of forces and largely invisible to the audience. I would argue, that for people like my friend, whose only knowledge of the Johnson story was based solely on films and radio plays, they believe they have seen and/or heard the "real story." The fact that such representations are embedded with historical inaccuracies or are even completely fictional, is not something many viewers reflect on, especially if this is their only knowledge of the story.

For those reading the story there are other concerns with knowing the "real story." For those who have read the more factual books by Anderson (1986, 1994) and North (1969, 1972, 1989), they would believe they have read the "real story." For those reading the fictionalized versions such as Kelley (1972), Wiebe (1980) and York (1981), it is easy to realize that they are fiction, but perhaps some might also think that because they are based on a true story, that there is some "truth" within it. However for that realm where fiction and fact are interwoven, such as in the writings of Kroetsch (19975), O'Hagan (1978) or Wiebe (1973, 1974, 1978, 1989), readers may or may not believe that they have read the "real story." Kulchyski notes, "popular culture refers to cultural texts that reflect the values and interest of dominated social groups [which] dominated cultural minorities" (1997:611). Most readers after reading these popular stories of the Mad Trapper assume these to be the "real story." Consideration of the stereotypes, fantasy or half-truths they contain would likely be rare.

Another Truth

The RCMP version of the Johnson story represents another "truth": a crime is alleged, investigated and then a RCMP is wounded. The case turns into one of murder when another officer is killed. A further man is wounded in the chase. The felon is caught, albeit by his demise, and once the administration on the case is dealt with, the case is closed. The miles of documents lining the archives in various locations around the country detail this story from the RCMP's point of view. These documents have been used as background material for many of the stories told by those in the popular media (Anderson 1986, 1994; North 1969, 1972, 1989; York 1981 for example.)

Future Tellings

The few times I discussed this story with some younger Gwich'in would lead me to suggest that their perception of the story would be very similar to that portrayed in the popular media. Several of these younger people told me they knew the story because they had seen "that Albert Johnson movie," i.e., *Death Hunt*, which is available in the Inuvik video store. Some had read Dick North's 1972 book *The Mad Trapper of Rat River,* and I did note Anderson's 1986 book *Death of Albert Johnson. Mad Trapper of Rat River,* on a shelf at the GSCI office that served as a community library.[iv] Because of intergenerational breakdown of storytelling in the Gwich'in communities between the Elders and the younger people, the Johnson story as known and told by the Elders, as with many of the Gwich'in stories, is not being passed on. The Elders become frustrated when they try to tell a story in a Gwich'in way. The Gwich'in children and youth have attention spans synchronized with the short and snappy movements of the television, which is ubiquitous in their

lives. In addition they do not have the scaffolding knowledge of the cultural landscape and kin connections to understand the nuances of the Gwich'in story as many no longer go out on the land. Layered upon this is the fact that many in the younger generation do not speak Gwich'in, and although all Elders speak English, it is their second language. Many Elders explained to me that the Gwich'in language is very descriptive, and there are no words in English that give the same depth. Many said that telling the story in English flattens or completely loses the richness of the landscape

Most of the Elders reflect back on the Albert Johnson story with a sense of nostalgia, a love for their land and remorse for a lifestyle gone. Many refer to how happy these earlier times were for them, travelling on the land, living on a trapline. In remembering a particular story what they also recall the social relationships of an earlier time. Retelling stories, preferably in the Gwich'in language, has the effect of confirming their personal and social identities. It also reaffirms their relationship to the land (Darnell 1976:173). The Albert Johnson story for Elders recalls a "golden age" of their life in the 1930s. Some look back and discuss the difficulties and hardships of living such a life; but many, if not most, express a desire to go back to that life.

For some of the younger Gwich'in people, Johnson, however, remains a hero. Following the Gwich'in Land Claim, Gwich'in people are exerting their rights of ownership to land and natural resources, and trying to negotiate self-government with the federal government. In this conflict Johnson takes on the status of hero. Some younger Gwich'in identified with Johnson as one man against the larger Canadian government. He was like a metaphor for the struggles with self

determination that they are currently experiencing. These are very different views from their Elders, and more in line with those of some of the versions or interpretations in the popular media.

An aspect that I have not discussed in my thesis that could be further investigated in future, is how the popular versions of the Johnson story are used to lure tourists into the area, by both Gwich'in and non-Gwich'in tour operators. I would except that the Gwich'in versions will mirror more and more those narratives in the popular versions, with the exception of the Gwich'in Special Constables being mentioned. There is however, as I have argued throughout this thesis, more to the Gwich'in story than this. Furthermore, the stereotypes and myths of the "North" are perhaps being perpetuated by using these popular tellings to tourists, instead of educating and giving a voice to the Gwich'in version and all its embedded symbolism and understanding of their world. I also muse that if the story became "marketable" or seen as an "authentic [Aboriginal] cultural product", would it then become widely known to the general public (Kulchyski 1997)?

Giving the Gwich'in Story a Voice

This thesis began with the exploration of the "real story" of Albert Johnson. The search has taken me from Aboriginal oral stories, to government records to the popular media of literature, films and movies. Although my search answered some of my questions, others have emerged.

Canadian writer Margaret Atwood says:

> Literature is not only a mirror; it is also a map, a geography of the mind. Our literature is one such map, if we can learn to read it as *our* literature, as the product of who and where we have been. We need such a map desperately, we need to know about here, because here is where we live. For the members of a country or a culture, shared knowledge of their place, their

> here, is not a luxury but a necessity. Without that knowledge we will not survive (1972:18, 19).

I would argue that where Atwood says literature the word "stories" can also be inserted, and this nicely sums up the final point I would like to make in this thesis. I have looked at the multiple tellings of the Johnson story from the Gwich'in, through official voices and through the popular media. The complexities of the story have been highlighted and discussed, the importance of understanding how each story is situated within a cultural, historical, economic and political framework highlighted. For each story, these frameworks are different and therefore yield varied understandings of the same story, although the "facts" may remain relatively the same across all the versions.

Reflecting on Atwood's above comment, I would argue that each version of the Johnson story is a production that reflects what each group is, and where they have been. But one question remains. Will the "real" Albert Johnson story, as known by the Gwich'in, become part of the larger Canadian "map"? When will it come part of the "shared knowledge" of not only the north, but the whole of the Canadian nation? The Gwich'in stories of Johnson warrant inclusion in the literature of this nation, alongside with the RCMP and more popular versions. The Gwich'in need to tell the "real story" as they know it now more than ever, to their younger generation and to a national audience. When the Elders who tell the stories of Johnson, now among the very last generation to have lived a life of season rounds on the land, pass away, save for the audio recordings and stories recorded by the GSCI, their stories will die along with all their lifetime of accumulated knowledge. When each one passes away, part of their collective history goes with them.

Physically, the cultural landscape as the Elders know it is slowly disappearing. Many younger Gwich'in do not know their kin relations, very few know the traditional place names, legends and stories associated with those places. Fewer still go out on the land and almost none can speak their Native language. The Gwich'in literature is an oral one and by the Elders telling their stories, they are expressing who the Gwich'in are collectively today and where they have been. Their stories, especially if they are told in the Gwich'in language, are their "map" of the way they have known and have lived on their lands. Their stories embody their personal and collective history, unique identity and struggle. They detail their adaptations to changes in their land, culture and language. To have this knowledge shared with a wider audience is not as Atwood (1972) poses, a luxury but a necessity. The oral history of the Gwich'in is their social history and, as Bornat points out, "the contribution which community oral history makes to social history lies in its capacity to link present feelings of community with the retrieval of the communal past" (1993:78). To have the Gwich'in story of Johnson, along with their other cultural stories, heard by a wider audience ensures their version of their collective history, keeps their identity alive and moreover captures their memories, and memories are the soul of a culture, a "universal mirror that shows us the 'truth' about ourselves, who and why we are" (Livo and Rietz 1986:4). Memory ensures survival. The Gwich'in stories need to be heard and understood widely for their collective survival, and as part of the fabric that makes up Canada.

Final Comments

This thesis began with the exploration of the "real story" of Albert Johnson. The search has taken me from Aboriginal oral stories, to government records to the

popular media of literature, films and movies. I have looked at the multiple tellings of the Johnson story, highlighted the importance of understanding how each story is situated within a cultural, historical, economic and political framework. For each version the framework is different and therefore yields varied understandings of the same story, although the "facts" may remain relatively the same across all the versions. Each version of the Johnson story is a product that reflects what each group who tells the story is. But one question remains.

I have underlined the importance capturing the stories of the Gwich'in Elders' as they are the last generation to have lived a life of seasonal rounds and have an intimate connection with the land. These individual stories are central to the Gwich'in collective history. These stories are memories and memories are universal mirrors that show us the "truth" about ourselves. Remembering stories ensures survival, and, as King says, "the truth about stories is that's all we are" (King 2003:2).

[i] When I interviewed Retired RCMP Robert McDowell and Earl Hersey from the Radio Corps of Signals, they both had critiqued Dick North's 1972 book claiming that he had heavily relied on Constable Sid May's accounts although he arrived just shortly before the final encounter with Johnson. Both stated there were other more knowledgeable sources he could have used and in some instances, what he reported was not entirely correct.

[ii] See Heine et al (2001) for textual written Gwich'in stories and legends.

[iii] For a full discussion on the history of the written word superseding the spoken word in the western world, beginning approximately in the 17th century, see Thompson (2000).

[iv] The book looked as if it had been read but I rarely if ever saw anyone in the community come in to take books out to read. The literacy rate in the community, of both young and old, is very low. I noticed during my fieldwork how little printed material was in any of the homes let alone a book shelf or evidence of books on tables in their homes. Many people asked me during the course of my time in the community to read and write things for them.

APPENDIX I

Preface to Appendix I:

I have compiled the following story of Johnson, as told by the members of the Gwich'in community, from various interviews I conducted, archival records and my fieldwork. It is from these personal recollections of Johnson as told by the Gwich'in that I have been able to see their history in a larger sense and understand the story from their perspective (Rosaldo 1980a:93). When the Gwich'in tell the story, it is assumed that the listener would know all the background information, kin relations and places on the land. Because I am assuming that the readers of this Appendix will be non-Gwich'in and therefore not know the background information, I have tried to supply enough of it in the endnotes so that a non-Gwich'in audience can begin to understand what is being said. Although what follows is not an exhaustive list of sources, I have managed to reconstruct the story through a series of vignettes that relate to the arguments put forth in this thesis.

That Albert Johnson Story: As Told By Members of the Gwich'in Community

> *When the Takudh*[i] *tell a story it takes long time. The story goes this way and that and on and on describing every little thing. Their language is like the Caribou they make their living on. It wanders all over everywhere.* (John Ttssietla[ii], Teetl'it Gwich'in in Sax and Linklater 1990:35)

> "The story of Albert Johnson – there was some of our native people involved in this big hunt for this white person. There was a guy from Old Crow, Winston Moses'[iii] dad[iv] and Lazarus Sittichinili[v] from Aklavik and my husband, Peter Alexie[vi]. These were the people that were travelling with the police when they went on a big hunt for Albert Johnson.

> "After ratting everybody go to town. You know where Eight Mile is and how the distance from Fort McPherson to Eight Miles? People from town

used to go up there to set net and everyday they visit their net. There was this one person went to see his net and half way there was someone. Seemed like someone was staying on the beach, not even tent was there just the mosquito bar. When he arrived back to town he told the people and he told the Chief what he saw. So the Chief went up there to see who it was. He began talking to him but this white man didn't say a word. He didn't speak. They came back and report what they saw so Abraham Francis[vii] and somebody else went up there. When they arrive at his camp they try to talk to him and ask him who he was and what was he doing but he would not answer. Finally Abraham Francis told him my name is so and so and I am from Fort McPherson and I am part of these people. Then he answered but he only answered to Abraham, he did not talk to nobody else.

"We were staying across from where he was. We did not really know who it was but we learn later that it was him. He did not have a canoe either. He had four big logs tied together and he sit on that and like he was paddling a canoe. He never show his face and he never, he didn't go anywhere. And he never talk to anyone too. Long ago we had big canoe. Abraham Francis felt so sorry for this person travelling on logs that he took that big canoe across and gave it to this white man. Every day this man walked to town. Maybe for something but when he was given the canoe he made a cover for it too. While that my mother said, "Is that guy okay?" We ask her what is wrong? He was not a friendly person so people were talking about him why he was like that. Well, once in a while he work on his canoe then he runs for while maybe few hours back and forth. We see him across the river. When he finish making a cover for the canoe he paddle down. He left." – Lydia Elias,[viii] Gwich'in Elder in Inuvik

"Well that old Lazar, they hung out with Johnson that time or two at Rat River. He told me a lot of things about [it]. He helped there too. But he died too, that old Lazar Sittichinili. I still remember what he said, what he told me. That's the time, nobody knew where [from] somebody came past McPherson. Albert Johnson. He come through there that time and nobody knew where he came from. He came up from Peel River I think with you know, some kind of boat he made and he came down. He bought a different canoe from Abraham Francis so he had different canoe. Then he went to Hudson Bay. He bought a lot of grub. And he had straight cash. Nobody knows what he's doing. So he stay a few days in McPherson and he went by there and went down the Rat River. He paddle up there, as far as he can make up to Destruction City[ix] they call that old place. That's where he landed there and then he went up two mile up the Rat River. He

made a cabin there. He's in the fall there. It froze up on him there." – Alfred Semple,[x] Gwich'in Elder in Aklavik

"We listen by people telling story, travelling amongst themselves. That was in 1932 it happened, February. We stayed at Campbell Creek and that Paul Niditchie[xi] and all his family went to Sheditchy Lake and then from there, when they run out of grocery ... well, that time, at Big Rock, about more than 10 miles there, there's a trader there, call him Billy Phillip. He's trading there, and there's John Niditchie[xii] and Amos Niditchie[xiii] – them two brothers – they go and get the groceries and what they need you know from there. That's where they get the story and when they pass us they tell us that story too. I was about nine year old that time. Boy, big year that year! That was lots of news! Gee it was kind of excitement! Big story that time boy! All around Aklavik, McPherson, Red River and even down south. Some of them, close around McPherson, they were pretty scared. One of the guy was telling the story about it when I was listening to his story you know. That was [Special Constable] Joe Bernard[xiv] [my Uncle]. He was the one right there and he was telling this story. He was telling this story and I listen to him good and that's how come I got that story.

"This one guy there, from McPherson there, you know he stay around mouth of Rat River and Husky River I think someplace, lots of people around there anyway. Staying out in the bush and he traps around up that way Rat River, this guy, from McPherson. Old Nersyoo, William Nersyoo,[xv] and William Vittrekwa, Old Nersyoo, he went up and set trap and later on this Albert Johnson set trap around there to. He was snapping this guy, William Nerysoo trap, and throw them away. So William Nersyoo, he came back going to McPherson and then came over right here to Arctic Red River and he reported to the police. That was around close to Christmas, New Years sometime anyway because New Year, that's the time they went, just before New Year, the day before New Year they went across the police and that Special from here. That Special name was Joe Bernard. He was Special at that time. This police was Millen, Spike Millen, and he went. They went over to him and this Albert Johnson build house and he had a little window at the door and it had glass or something and the police looked through there and as soon as he looked through there he put blind or cloth right across that window, close it, shut it off you see so that police don't see him. So they told him to open the door, but no, he wouldn't open the door. Never say nothing! No answer. Police told him, he said you got to down to Aklavik and get search warning and then we'll be back again." – Pierre Benoit,[xvi] Gwich'in Elder in Tsiigehtchic

"Everything went on very good until one day, around Christmas, the news came into town. The RCMP went out to Albert Johnson's camp to see what he was doing. They talked to him. Then he shot at them and hit one of the boys. They came right back to town and let everyone know about it. The RCMP got everyone together and the first man-hunt of the North started. They got all the native boys and white trappers they could use. Karl Gardlund[xvii] was one of the first ones to go. He stayed until the hunt was over. The people went out of their camps and were always watching for something. We all thought Albert Johnson could fly over while he was halfway over the mountain." – Sarah Ann Gardlund,[xviii] Gwich'in Elder in Aklavik[xix] (Received from Gwich'in Social and Cultural Institute)

"So they went back to Aklavik and they got some more RCMP and Knut Lang,[xx] he's a trader on the Rat River, Karl Gardlund and all this and old Lazarus Sittichinili and lots of guy went out to help the RCMP. They went back there, he's [Johnson] still there. Day and night they work at him but you know, they even blew his roof off but he's still in there. That's how tough he is I guess. Well, they finally, getting dark so the RCMP and the crew they set tent down somewhere but it getting dark. By that time he escape from there. He got out of there." – Alfred Semple

"I was staying at the mouth of the Rat River with my sick husband. Those who were staying near us all moved to the mountains. In the meantime, early in the fall, before freeze-up Albert Johnson had moved up the Rat River to trap. All at once, the police from Arctic Red River and Aklavik came by our place to look for Albert Johnson." – Sarah Peters,[xxi] Gwich'in Elder, Fort McPherson[xxii] (Peters, 1973, Committee for Original People's Entitlement L27-11)

"So, they got back to Aklavik and then after that, that's where the hunt started. They went up again Inspector and all that and some trappers too and the police, Specials and all that they went over to his place this time again but they didn't get close to his place though. So far and they waiting and no smoke coming out and they figure he might be out about someplace. So they waited and about 3:00 they say the smoke started to come out of his house, stove pipe so they went over and they started working on him. They said they made a bomb or something like explosion and he left his door open and they through that in there. They throw that in there and he cut the line off. The fuse. They burn the fuse down, down there when it supposed to be going up burning all the way up until he hit and he cut that off. It didn't explode at all, they just get the fuse burning didn't get there. He cut it off. Well, they work with him I don't know how long there but anyway [Special Constable] Joe Bernard was telling me story about it. And late at night they make bigger

explosion something like that you know. They throw that up in his house, on top his house and its kind of getting little bit dark too and so that one blow up and it kept blow his house out and then they had tie flashlight to a stick and then shine that flashlight through that, from outside to look for him, see if he was in there. See how he is you know. But they said he was under the bed. He shot that flashlight too – no more light. So they just couldn't do nothing he said and they, they just left him and they had to go back to Aklavik – didn't have much dog feed and that. And then, after that a bunch of them went up with him again, and trappers and all that you know. Knut Lang, Karl Gardlund, Knut Hanson. They start look for him and snow and blow and all that you know and he left his place, so they look around, they look which way he went, and finally up the Rat River quite a ways they found his track going up the Rat River so they went up on the hill and then they follow the hill, look down you know and there's a big drop of a creek in front of them from the hill so they look down and they see his smoke down there so they went down so they went down and snake down that hill and then they came over to where he's got fire. So Millen, Karl Gardlund and the other guy, I forgot his name, this police, the one that went over to him and he Millen and call him and as soon as he call him he there was big timber fall down and all the roots and all that came out and it's kind of a hiding place and that's where he had fire. So he jump over that, he had fire on this side so he jump over that and then the police tell him to give up. No. He took a shot and he shot that police right there. Its' getting kind of little bit dark so anyway they went over and took him, they took that police, two guys and they track him down to the river and then they left, they went home. They went to where they were staying and then after that they went and pick him later on the next day and then they go and try and follow him. He took off from there on up on the hill, the mountain and when, when they got up on the mountain and lots of caribou around there too you know. He went and follow caribou track and they lost his track again. They lost his track again! They lost him again. Oh, they look all over I don't know how long anyway but there was, it was the end of January too. And they went over to, what they call, Loon Lake, on other side of Loon Lake too." – Pierre Benoit

"... I was seven I guess ... We stayed at Rat River. My dad had a log house there and every fall they would go down, either paddle down or sail down ... you might put up a little sail, I remember that. We get to Rat River. I remember when Albert Johnson passed there, the Mad Trapper. I remember all that. I remember when they were hunting for him, all the RCMP and all the Native boys that were there. They would all come in, the log house wasn't very big too. And they would sleep all over the floor in mom and dad's house. And our bed was on that side, wooden bed.

There was no such thing as spring beds. Beds were made out of logs, split and then there's lots of room for them all to sleep. And then ... after they passed through then they're gone for about a week and they're coming back to our place again. So I knew all. I remember all that too because that was 1931 and 1932 and I went to school ... " – Doris Itsi,[xxiii] Gwich'in Elder in Fort McPherson (Itsi and Fafard 2003)

"All that I heard at the time, I was only 14 but I remember I was really scared. I drive dogs and I was just thinking, oh, he is going to come around Aklavik. He was up in the mountains, from McPherson, Ross and Rat River ... so they had to try and get him away but it end up – big thing – he start to use his power and everything so I guess I used to hear now and then. Dad was still working then [as Special Constable] but he didn't go with them. He was getting old but he tells us what's happening. So I guess they went up to talk to him but he got mean with these guys, the RCMP so all they had to do to try and get him. So this is what happen and they start going up there every day with a plane and he was very tricky man. He even backtracked them. He put his snowshoes on backwards and he must have been a really bad guy where he been because I always think that when they say, they thought, they were following his tracks and all of a sudden they thought oh, he can't be that way, so they check his track and he was. He had his snowshoe backwards. They say he was really, really, smart guy. He can just run and up the hill and you know how it is in the mountains there is lots of willows and things like that, in the winter." – Catherine Mitchell,[xxiv] Gwich'in Elder in Inuvik

"My grandfather was the one that figured out that Johnson was wearing his snowshoes backwards!" – Ruth Wright,[xxv] in Inuvik

"Oh, good many times we travel in cold winter I tell you. Over the mountain, no tree, no willow, we go over. Six miles over. That's where they were working with Albert Johnson. Oh, really scared. Even that, we have to go 'cause lots of caribou over there. We're scared of him. We went over we just think he was just going to get shot! They're working with Albert Johnson down that way. Its bare ground, bare hill. No nothing. We go over. We took this trail this way, but not this way. We all travelling, my father, mother, brother Charles – all of us. Big family going over. And then after that we put up a tent. We march up the snow with snowshoe, press it, press it, press it, down. And then we take our snowshoe off and just put snow out. We put all the branches around the wall in there. We tie stick together like this and put the tent pole like this. We tie it both side, outside. And then we bank it with snow. And somebody make fire already. They warm up the place and bring all this stuff in, put the caribou on the branches. As soon as stove starting getting

warm up everything frozen is just thaw out and everything get warm up. Right away they bring that fresh meat, they put caribou skin, they spread it, spread all that caribou skin and we put our fresh meat. We cook something. First thing we fry meat. Oh, we eat good! We just eat anything of caribou. Boy! We eat good! Healthy. We never made, never take no medicine, no nothing. Nothing. Them days people never get sick. Oh, cold, flu went through sometime. Just about 40 below he still travel around it. Oh, bad, everybody cry for him. We feel sad for him because they suffer him too long and they never even eat nothing. Why they bother him but why not, why he don't pay for his licence? That time that police, Millen, that one he shot, Millen he ask him question. He don't talk too much too. He just look over his mosquito [net]. And Millen him told him you should get your licence, his trapping licence. He never did. He just went on his own. That's where they're after him. Gee, that's a good story and the same time, I feel sad when they shot him. He was just starving. He never eat for long time, he never sleep right. They suffer him. At the end they shot him. They say he just skin and bone. I don't like to talk about it." – Annie Benoit,[xxvi] Gwich'in Elder in Aklavik

"Us, Annie[xxvii] and me, we just little girls them days. Seventeen year old! We were just staying in the bush that time, this side of mouth of Peel. But we seen them when they were going to hunt for Albert Johnson. They pass that Rat River. That's where we got there too. Us, my parents were going to go up into the mountains to make dry meat. And that's where we run into them. They camp there and they tell us to stay another night, another night and they feed us. Everybody was scared but they just keep on going. Some people went down the Sheep Creek and some went over this way by Loon Lake and then some went up, there's another river going up through that mountain. We went up that way. Three ways we split. We stay alone, make dry meat, we get enough.

"No, we wanted to see him. We never seen him and we didn't know how he looked. Then my sister Annie and me we said we're going to hunt for porcupine and we going to get porcupine so our word might come true. That's what we were saying. We want to talk to porcupine and tell him we want to see Albert Johnson. Gee, we didn't know nothing did we?! Just young and silly! We went to the hills and one man told us he seen porcupine sitting on the tree but he was too tired to get to it and he just left it. So tomorrow he's going to go and get it but tomorrow, when tomorrow came, he ask me and Annie if we could go and hunt that porcupine, it's just sitting on the hill on that hill on the side on a tree and it's eating around there and it wouldn't move away from there that quick. So he tells us to hunt for it. See if we could talk to it and we had bad luck, we never got it. We were digging around the wrong place! You know where we

were digging on that side of the hill? It was on the other side, behind that same hill and it was just sitting on that tree there. We never found it. We thought he meant this side.

"Then boys went to McPherson with some dry meat to get some tea, sugar, flour, things like that for their parents. We went, we wasn't scared of the boys so went up that hill and we just look across. Oh, big hill! Some of them they high and have sunshine on them and we just said, gee, I wonder where's that Albert Johnson! While everybody scared! We really want to see him, we working to see him and we were bad luck with that porcupine!" – Mary Kendi,[xxviii] Gwich'in Elder in Aklavik

"It took a lot of grub and dog feed [for all the men in the hunt]. All this was done by airplane and planes always landed at our place because we were staying near a big river. When they landed I would haul the stuff up the bank and store it away for the police until they came back again to keep on their search for Albert Johnson. In the meantime, Albert Johnson got away. He made his way over the mountains and went up Eagle River but the police were still after him." – Sarah Peters (Peters, 1973, Committee for Original People's Entitlement L27-11)

"We were staying near La Pierre House that year. Bunch of men went hunting. They were coming back late at night. Somebody walk 'cross, snowshoe. After they got home, well, they ask people and nobody went across. One old man was home. He never went across. Right there, they know there is something funny there. That Albert Johnson took off and sure enough, they check at night. They took candle. Sure enough, they know by funny snowshoe. So they come back. Next morning one guy there went way over at Rat River. They just checking around there. They don't know, they [the posse] never know that Albert Johnson went over mountain. Good thing these people, these McPherson people moved by that time too to around La Pierre House. So next morning this guy, Peter Alexie, he go down with dog team. He always got good team. He come through Rat River and then he come down to Wolf Creek. That's where they are hunting that Albert Johnson. He got there in one day. He tell that Johnson went over mountain so they got to go." – Peter Kay,[xxix] Gwich'in Elder in Fort McPherson

"Once in a while they couldn't find his track and it was really blowing, bad weather there. They finally went over the mountains somewhere near Millen Creek somewhere and then in good weather they found his track again. That's what old Lazar said. Once they got that timber out of sight, they are hard men to track him down. There was a guy coming up the Rat River, way down there, the Bell River. He coming back he seen it, like a

man track across a trail. That was him. So when he got to RCMP this guy – Peter Alexie – they told them that he seen a track way down the Bell River and then they all rush to him down that way. I guess when they got there, you know, that big bluff there. I guess next day he crossed the border and if he got over them – them days anybody murder anybody they just get to Alaska border then you're free. That's how it went. But they caught up to him at Bell River. He was in some blocks under the snow. From there, he shot like sniper that guy. He shot maybe three cops already. Well he that mean he could have shot every one of them. Old Lazar told me that, that he just shoot them cops. He could have shot all the Indians too with him but he never did. Finally, they trick him." – Alfred Semple

"They surrounded him by a river. My husband said they were, these people, it was like they were hunting caribou or moose." – Lydia Elias

"After we break camp, we start off up the Eagle River and Hersey, he go ahead of the boys with good fast team. And that river, he turn in quickly, big curve like. And Johnson he coming down that river and we go up that same river. Then, all of a sudden, Johnson and Hersey meet first, about 100 yards apart. When Johnson see Hersey and his dog team, he start to go ashore in the bush, but that Eagle River got high banks, on both sides and he can't go up. That's when they fired at each other and Hersey got shot [in the knee]. After that, Johnson run up river and we start shooting, and he drop in middle of river. And the plane he come over and go low where he see Johnson, and Hersey lay there, and the plane see him too, and go down and stop. Then the shooting stop, and the boys over there on top of the hill, they watching, and on this side we stay quiet, Peter Alexie and Riddell and me. Then that Old Crow police come down the centre of the river, and we keep walking, never stop. He get there and Johnson never move and he yell out "he's dead!" And we come down and move in towards Johnson's body, and the Inspector and Jackson he come behind that Old Crow police in the middle of the river. When we got there, Inspector Eames look down at Johnson's body. Then he say to me and Old Crow police "take our snowshoe off and turn him over." We get down in the snow, and the Old Crow police he took Johnson's legs and I took his body, and we turn him over. He shot up pretty bad, and after I lift him up my hand is bloody. Blood all over my hand from Johnson's body – by gosh, that was a funny feeling" – Lazarus Sittichinili (Zealley 1979:4).

"My dad, John Moses, was Special Constable on and off for long time in Old Crow. My dad never talk about it. I figured there was a law of silence between the men, at least the Aboriginal men, not to speak about this again. My father fired the final shot that killed Johnson. He then

throw his gun away. So it's there yet. You got to have metal detector to find it I guess. He was scared. He broke the law by saying that you are not supposed to kill someone. And what if they catch him what he was doing? And then he probably didn't want to break the silence of those others, of what somebody done and from there it just spread out. This fellow who died he always tell me Winston, he said, those other people always speak about it but other people get credit for what other people done. That's what he said. My dad never talk about it. They feel uneasy about something you know, they killed a man. My dad died in 1974." – Winston Moses, in Inuvik

"There was nothing but "Albert Johnson". The story, as I remember, got so bad that some people hated to go back to their trapping camps. There was no communication of any kind except by men travelling from Aklavik ... every time I passed by "Shorty Griffin's place," I used to have lunch with him, and I was his newsboy – about Albert Johnson, of course!! It was there that we hear that Johnson had injured two Signal boys, Hancock and Hersey, and later that he had shot Constable Millen stone dead. This was a real shock to Arctic Red people because everybody knew him and like him there." – Edward Nazon[xxx] (quoted in Heine, Andre, Kritsch, Cardinal 2001:212)

"And you know what they those guys were saying too. I heard he even eat a squirrel while he's running! He would eat a squirrel! Maybe he cook them like that or was raw, I don't know!!! He was eating squirrels, running! Tough guy."[xxxi] – Catherine Mitchell

"And then they had one small plane, I don't know whose plane is that. That what they were using to go back and forth to Aklavik to Rat River like this and bring stuff. We got there and we spent maybe three, four days and then we went on up to Sheep Creek, down the Sheep Creek we were to hunt. We hunt caribou 'round there and we live 'round there in the tent. We never seen them in the end so we don't see them anymore until springtime. We heard somebody shot Albert Johnson. Somebody bring the news with the dog team." – Mary Kendi

"That part Old Lazar tell me about it. And then they got him down the river and he had only one squirrel for lunch. He got shot gun and things like that, he carry all that with him. Well supplied with ammunition. That's what Old Lazar told me. So they took him back to Aklavik and then the burial, down at the corner, the grave, they bury him there. There's a big sign on top there last summer. Albert Johnson. Tourists always come around and look at it. Well, they come around and take a picture and there all kind of story about that Albert Johnson you know. I

don't know which one is true but Old Lazar seen it them self. He seen it. He knew the story because he was there. But they didn't know how to write in them days. Old Lazarus Sittichinili – they don't know how to write story. That's a long time ago. That's as far as that story I know." – Alfred Semple

"[Albert Johnson's] rifle, he's got two notch on the stalk. There's an old notch and they figure he shot two guys long ago and that where he make that notch and after that, that's one new notch on it and that's the one he shot Millen – he made new notch there on his gun. So they figure he shot two guys before that. He had $400 cash and some gold teeth and they figure that one of the guys he shot must have had gold teeth and he must have took that. But them guys, he figure he shot two guys before well they don't know nothing about it, they just figure it out after they shot him and they found all that stuff on him." – Pierre Benoit

"Then Inspector say to me, 'Lazarus, try to lift his parkee and see what he got in his pockets'...After that he searched good, but we find no letter, no picture, nothing ... " – Lazarus Sittichinli (Zealley 1979:4)

"Native people led the police to him. They knew that country so they help in that way. I think that if native people were not there to help him they would not find him so easy." – Lydia Elias

"People were talking about him and you know they were kind of afraid because he very tricky."– Catherine Mitchell

"But one thing, he's a darn good man you know. Everyone say he was a good man. If he was mean he would have shot a lot of people right there. When they came over to him he would have shot a few of them police and all that. He had lots of chance to shot them guys but he never did. That's why they call him he was good man. And that's true too. If he was mean, boy, he had lots of chances with them." – Pierre Benoit

"After everything was over, we still were keeping lots of grub for the police. It was all given to me, which was a great help to us, for helping them when they went by my place. My husband was very sick and there was no way for us to get grub. All winter we stayed at the mouth of the Rat River. I trapped a bit sometime. I would get a few mink and foxes. Also I snared rabbits so that we could eat and I had to cut wood for our house. It was getting towards spring – the water was just starting to run on the river. It was about the first part of April when my husband passed away. He was sick for a long time and all that time I look after him the best I could. In this story, I am telling out about Albert Johnson. It

happened when we were staying at the Rat River and this is the end of my story." – Sarah Peters

[i] Today the Takudh are known as the Teetł'it Gwich'in. They have traditionally been located around the headwaters of the Peel River. Takudh literally means over the Richardson Mountains people.

[ii] Born in the 1830s or 40s, around Fort McPherson, the name Ttssietla, also recorded as Chii Adlaa or Tchietla, was given to the boy because his laugh was like a soft buzzing mosquito. In 1865 or 1867, depending on the literature, when Ttssietla and his wife Bitsikotrig were baptized, they were given the names John and Alice. John Ttssietla was the first Gwich'in minister to be ordained by the Anglican Church in 1893. John was the son of Vi-raihnatsittyi and a Slave Kutchin woman whose name was not recorded. John Ttssietle died in 1901 (Gwich'in Enrolment Board 1998:52, 53; Sax and Linklater 1990:3, 8, 13).

[iii] Winston Moses, born in the Yukon in 1944, is the youngest child of John and Louise Moses. Winston's mother died six days after he was born so his oldest sister raised him until he went to the residential school in Inuvik at the age of eleven. Winston married Martha Pascal of Fort McPherson.

[iv] Winston Moses' father is John Moses who was born in Alaska, circa 1890. He is the son of Old Moses, whose Gwich'in name is Atshinekwiditli meaning Stranger and his second wife, Caroline. John married Louise Roberts of Eagle, Alaska, circa 1923.

[v] Born in 1890 about 15 miles north of Fort McPherson, Lazarus, one of nine children, was the son of Edward Sittichinli and Annie Sha-Dah (Campbell 1987:96; Gwich'in Enrolment Board 1998:8, 46; Zealley 1979:2). Annie was the daughter of Chief Satah (Simon 1990:77). Edward was the son of Vadzaih Chaa and Mother Sittichinli. The name Sittichinli means "hanging food on a tree" (Gwich'in Enroment Board 1998:8, 30). Edward Sittichinli was trained by Archdeacon McDonald and became a catechist or Christian Leader along with this brother Colin Vitshikk (Sax and Linklater 1990:86). Edward was one of the first Loucheux ministers ordained by the Anglican Church (in 1903) (Zealley 1979:3). Lazarus' younger brother, James, was the first ordained Dene minister in the Diocese of the Arctic (Campbell 1987:98). When he was about 25, Lazarus' father told him it was time that he get a woman and a marriage was arranged with Catherine Stewart, daughter of Kenneth Stewart and Annie Gootshia, daughter of Henry Gootisha, of Arctic Red River, and his first wife in 1915 (Campbell 1987:99; Gwich'in Enrolment Board 1998:7, 42; Zealley 1979:3). Lazarus and Catherine had 11 children and sadly witnessed most of their deaths during their 73 years of marriage (Campbell 1987:99; Gwich'in Enrolment Board 1998:42). Lazarus died circa 1988.

[vi] Peter Alexie, born in 1888, was the son of Alexie and Angela or Anzell Tok sul, daughter of James Tok sul Chief and Elizabeth. Peter's father Alexie was the son of a crippled woman who could not look after him. Adopted by Alexander and Catherine Stewart, Alexander named the child Alexie after his brother in Scotland and the child was raised as their brother (Gwich'in Enrolment Board 1998:38, 39). Peter's father drowned in 1898 and he was raised by Old Lucy, wife of Thomas Salu, who was also the daughter of James Tok sul Chief and Elizabeth (Gwich'in Enrolment Board 1998:12, 51). Peter married Louisa Thompson and after her death, married Lydia Neyando, daughter of Peter Vittrekwa (also known as Peter Neyando) and Mary Shananazhaa, in 1941. Peter died in 1950.

[vii] Abraham Francis of Fort McPherson, was born in 1894. Abraham was the son of Francis Tski (Gwich'in Enrolment Board 1998:65) and Julia Sha-Dah. Francis Tski is the son of Sarah Tok sul. Abraham was married to Emma Thompson, daughter of William Thompson and Effie or Odella of Arctic Red River (Gwich'in Enrolment Board 1998:63). Emma died in 1921 and in 1923 Abraham married Sarah Sindinilyin (meaning "let me see him next" due to his light complexion), also known as Sarah Vaneltsi (Gwich'in Enrolment Board 1998:63). Abraham was an active leader in Fort McPherson serving as councillor under Chief Julius and later as Chief himself. The ferry at Eight Mile crossing on the Peel River was named in his honour for his many years of community service. Abraham Francis died in 1987.

[viii] Lydia Neyando was born about 25 miles up the Peel River near Fort McPherson on August 4th, 1918. She is the daughter of Peter Vittrekwa, also known as Peter Neyando. (Neyando means lake far over there. Peter lived at a lake far over there and hence became known as Peter Neyando). Lydia's mother was Mary Shananazhaa. Lydia was raised by her mother's sister, Annie Vaneltsi and her husband William Vaneltsi. In 1941, at the age of 23, Lydia married 54 year old Peter Alexie. This was her first marriage and his second. Peter's first wife, Louisa Thompson, had died earlier in 1941. Lydia passed away in Inuvik in the

fall of 2003.

[ix] Destruction City is on the route many took during the Gold Rush to get to the Yukon. It is located just a few miles upstream at the confluence of the Rat River and Driftwood Creek. At this spot, the rapids are so treacherous that a tent town sprang up here during the gold rush. It received the name of Destruction City due to the many wrecked canoes and outfits that were lost on the rapids (Anderson 1994:21).

[x] Born in Mayo, Yukon in 1920, Alfred Semple is the son of Johnny and Alice Semple. Alfred married Catherine Vittrekwa, daughter of William and Ellen Vittrekwa of Fort McPherson, in 1945. Alfred now lives in the Aklavik area. He spends most of his time at his camp outside of Aklavik and has travelled the Gwich'in area extensively during his life.

[xi] Paul Niditchie (Niditchie mans "rushing around") was the first Chief of Arctic Red River (1921-1936) (Heine, Andre, Kritsch, Cardinal 2001:230). Paul and his first wife, Emily, had a son, Amos Nidichie. Paul later married Camilla, daughter of Old Pierre and Sophie. Camilla's first husband was John Zrii Eh Dan, meaning "he got no knife." John Nidichie was adopted by John and Camilla (Gwich'in Enrolment Board 1998:64).

[xii] Ibid.

[xiii] Ibid.

[xiv] Joe Bernard, born around Arctic Red River, was the son of Jerome Ntadettcha and Aatasie Keindjitadheck of the Arctic Red River area. His brothers and sisters included Delma, who married Benoit, Moniqua who married Pascal, Julienne who married Hyacinthe Andre, and John Jerome.

[xv] William Nerysoo, born in 1895, was the son of Andrew Natsoo Tyii and Rachel Fiddleman, John Fiddleman's daughter. Nersyoo is a nickname from Androo Naatsoti who was known as being greedy because he wanted everything. He named his son Nisruuiih (Nisruu for short) which means "wish." William married Catherine Salu, daughter of Peter Salu and Lousia Francis, in 1917 (Gwich'in Enrolment Board 1998:10, 48).

[xvi] Born at Arctic Red River on February 1st, 1921, Pierre is the son of Benoit Kwayin (Coyen) and Rose de Lima, known as Delma Rose. Pierre later married Annie Koe, daughter of Andrew Koe and Talitha Vitshekk.

[xvii] Karl Gardlund, originally from Sweden, married Sarah Ann Firth (see Endnote xviii).

[xviii] Born on June 6th, 1915 in Fort McPherson, Sarah Ann is the daughter of James Firth and Eliza Bonnetplume. James was the son of John Firth and Margaret Stewart. Eliza Bonnetplume is the daughter of Andrew Nisheh and Maria. Sarah Ann married Karl Gardlund in 1937.

[xix] Quoted from COPE text.

[xx] Knut Lang was a trapper in the area who later became elected to the Territorial Council of the Northwest Territories (North 1972:17).

[xxi] Sarah Peters, also known as Sarah Drymeat was the wife of Peter Ga'ahdoh, also known as Peter Drymeat. Peter's parents were Louisa Sha'tra or E'tra and John Kaatadh (now spelt Ga'ahdoh and which means "bouncing or jumping up and down like an elastic" because he was very active). Lousia's mother was Susan, John Ttssietla's sister (Gwich'in Enrolment Board 1998:53, 54). Peter's parents came from Old Crow but travelled to and later lived in the Fort McPherson area. Sarah's parents were Ellen Vagii'eh or Vahgiiheh (which means "talked about her") of Arctic Red River and Amos Roderick or Vitsii Uunjik (meaning "her grandfather took her). Ellen's father was also from Old Crow and is a descendent of the Moses family (Gwich'in Enrolment Board 1998:58; Mitchell (Eunice) & McCartney 2001:3).

[xxii] Reference COPE text project here.

[xxiii] Doris Itsi is the eldest daughter (adopted) of Sarah and James Simon (see endnote xxiv for more).

[xxiv] Born in Aklavik in 1918, Catherine is daughter of Charlie Stewart, who served as a Special Constable with the RCMP for many years, and Margaret Bonnetplume. Charlie Stewart is the son of Catherine Stewart and Alexander Stewart. Sarah Simon is Charlie's daughter from his first marriage to Martha Kyikavichik (Kay). Margaret Bonnetplume is the daughter of Andrew Bonnetplume, whose Gwich'in name was Nisheh (or Nee-sheh which means "keeps going and going") and Maria who was Edward Sittichinli's sister. Maria and Edward's parents were Father Vadzaih Chaa and Mother Sittichinli (Gwich'ine Enrolment Board 1998:8). Catherine Stewart married Moise Mitchell in 1940. Born and raised in Aklavik, today Catherine lives in Inuvik.

[xxv] Ruth Wright, born in Inuvik on April 6, 1960. She's the daughter of Harley and Jane Wright. Harley is the son of Roy Wright and Gladys Phillips. Gladys Phillips is the daughter of Jane Moses who married Mr. Phillips, from Idaho. Winston Moses is Ruth's uncle.

[xxvi] Annie Benoit, born in Fort McPherson on July 23, 1913, is the daughter of Andrew Koe and Talitha Vittshekk. Annie married Pierre Benoit in 1956.

[xxvii] Annie is Annie Benoit. See endnote xxvix. Mary refers to Annie as her sister when they are actually cousins. Their fathers, Andrew Koe and Paul Koe were brothers.

[xxviii] Mary Kendi, born around Pokiak Creek in 1915, is the daughter of Paul Koe and Elizabeth Vittrekwa. Paul is the son of Go'eh which means "to what are they in a hurry?" The Missionaries baptizing him called him Koe (Kendi and McCartney n.d.:7). Elizabeth is the daughter of Old William Vittrekwa and Mary (Merika) Niyedo of the Fort McPherson area. In the summer of 1932, at the age of 17 years, Mary wed Alfred Kendi, from Dawson, Yukon in a marriage arranged by their parents (Kendi and McCartney n.d.:24).

[xxix] Born October 18, 1915 at Dootat Gwitshik (down Husky River), Peter Kay is the son of Johnny Kyikavichik (Kay) and Beatrice Ross. His maternal grandparents were Peter and Esther Ross. Peter married Mary Vittrekwa, daughter of William Vittrekwa and Ellen Snowshoe, in Fort McPherson on July 10, 1939. Peter has spent most of his life trapping on the land.

[xxx] Edward Nazaon was born at Khaii luk in 1913. Son of Simon and Emily Modeste, Edward was raised by Shinaghan Nayaoo, his grandmother. Edward married Joan Husky, of Aklavik, in 1940. Edward died in 1983 (Heine, Andre, Kirtsch, Cardinal 2001:240).

[xxxi] For the Gwich'in real food is meat and a substantial amount of it. Caribou and moose are usually described as the type of food a person needs to live on. Small game such as rabbits or squirrels are deemed not to be substantial enough to live on for a sustained period of time and they feel they are eating poorly or starving if this is their main diet.

APPENDIX II

Preface to Appendix II:

The following narrative has been patched together from sources ranging from the RCMP archival files in Ottawa (both from the National Archives and RCMP Archives) to articles, books and interviews of those official persons involved in the case. I have chosen the various vignettes in the narrative to illustrate the main points I raise in Chapter Three.

The Case of "Albert Johnson"
The RCMP Version

"In 1931 a routine police investigation developed into a hunt for a desperate killer in Canada's frost-bound northland. The tense drama involving "The Mad Trapper of Rat River" has been the theme of countless stories, but here are the facts of the case from RCMP files." – Cst. T.E.G. Shaw (Shaw 1993:147)

"Aklavik, NWT., July 12, 1931 CONFIDENTIAL
To: The Constable in Charge, R.C. Mounted Police, Arctic Red River, NWT.
It has been reported that a strange man going under the name of Johnson landed somewhere near Fort Macpherson [sic] on the evening of Thursday, July 9th, 1931. He apparently came down the river on a raft of two or three logs, tying up above the settlement and walking to the Post. As far as can be learnt he had no outfit of any kind, neither rifle or dogs, but appeared to be well supplied with money. He purchased some supplies from the traders there and is supposed to have made enquiries regarding the route to the Yukon. Please make enquiries in your district and submit a report, but I do not want you to make a special patrol in this connection. (Sgd). Richard S. Wild, Corpl. for Insp., Commanding Western Arctic Sub-Dist."
(Copy of letter in – RCMP Headquarters Archives, Ottawa, FILE III: Mad Trapper Case Vol. III Yukon and NWT 1931/32)

"September 11th, 1931.
To: The Officer Commanding Western Arctic Sub-District, R.C.M.Police, Aklavik, NWT.
Sir: Re: Albert Johnson
I have the honour to report that acting on the instructions of the Officer

Commanding Western Arctic Sub-District, that while on patrol at Fort McPherson I made enquiries regarding the above mentioned man.

> On July 21st, I interviewed this man at Fort McPherson he having come in to purchase supplies. He told me his name was Albert Johnson and that he had come into the country via the McKenzie [sic] River, and that he had been working on the prairies last summer and winter. I asked him what he intended to do, and told him that if he intended staying in this district he would have to get a licence at either Arctic Red River or Aklavik. He then told me that he had not made up his mind as yet to what he intended doing and might go over the Rat portage. His reason for not going into the Fort to live he says is that he does not want to be bothered, and wants to live alone. He did not seem to want to give much information regarding himself, he said that he was not staying in this district we did not need to know all about him . . . As this man had no definite plans as to his winters activities I did not find out if he stayed in this district where he intended to locate, but the next patrol to McPherson if he is still in the district will find out where he intends to locate, and submit a further report. I have the honour to be, Sir, Your obedient servant, E. Millen, Const. Regt. No. 9669. Arctic Red River Detachment."
> (Copy of letter – RCMP Headquarters Archives, Ottawa, FILE III: Mad Trapper Case Vol. III Yukon and NWT 1931/32)

> "August 15th, 1931. To The Officer Commanding Western Arctic Sub-District, R.C.M.Police, Aklavik, NWT.
> Sir: Re: Albert Johnson
> Acting on instructions of the Const. In charge of Arctic Red River while on the McPherson patrol I made inquires re the above mentioned. At Mr. A.N. Blake's home at the mouth of the Husky River I interviewed Mr. Blake and he informed me that A. Johnson had left McPherson about July 28th and had passed his place on his way down river to find the mouth of the Rat River . . . The above mentioned gave Mr. Blake to understand that he was going over to the Yukon side and that he was not returning, since he has left Blake's he has not been heard of. I have the honour to be, Sir, Your obedient servant, R.W. Melville, Const. Reg. No. 9921. Forwarded. E. Millen, Const. Reg. No. 9669, Arctic Red River Detachment."
> (Copy of letter – RCMP Headquarters Archives, Ottawa, FILE III: Mad Trapper Case Vol. III Yukon and NWT 1931/32)

> "Johnson was not heard of again until December when some Indians trapping in the Rat River district reported to Constable Millen at Arctic Red River that a strange white man had been interfering with their trap lines. They said the man lived alone in a cabin about 15 miles up the Rat

and believed his name was Albert Johnson." – Cst. T. E. G. Shaw (Shaw 1960:105, 106).

"I left [Arctic] Red River and see this fellow Johnson who was trapping without a licence and bothering the Indians trap line. This fellow Johnson came down the Peel on a raft and no one knows where he came from. Millen met him, and asked him a few questions but Johnson wouldn't tell him anything. Well, I got to Johnson's place with Joe Bernard and Joe was scared to death I don't know why." – Constable Alfred King in his letter to "Frenchy," February 4th, 1932 (Dobrowolsky 1995:132).

"On December 26, 1931, Constable E. Millen dispatched Constable A. W. King, in company with Special Constable Joseph Bernard, to investigate the complaint [made by Indians that he was interfering with the trap lines] and also to ascertain if the man had a trapping licence. Constable King and S/Constable Bernard arrived at Johnson's cabin on the 28th in daylight, and spent some time knocking on the door, stating who he was, and that he wished to speak to him. Constable King failed to get an answer; neither was the door opened, but Johnson was seen looking through a small window, which he had immediately covered when he saw Constable King looking at him. Constable King decided to proceed to Sub-district Headquarters, Aklavik, for instructions. Constable King and S/Constable Bernard arrived at Aklavik on December 29, 1931. In view of Johnson's suspicious conduct I issued a search warrant and, to prepare for all eventualities, had the patrol take rifles in their sleds as well as side arms. The patrol consisted of Constables King and McDowell, S/Constables Joseph Bernard and Lazarus Sitichiulis. They left Aklavik, N.W.T., on December 30, and reached Johnson's cabin about 10:30 a.m. the next day." – Inspector A.N. Eames (Royal Canadian Mounted Police Commissioner's Report 1933:106).

"The small patrol arrived at Johnson's cabin on the Rat River, Northwest Territories, just before 11:00 a.m. on New Year's Eve day. There was some concern about Johnson because of his erratic and reclusive behaviour. Nevertheless, Cst. King strode up to the door of the cabin and knocked calling out, "Are you there Mr. Johnson?" – William Beahen, RCMP Historian (RCMP Quarterly 1997:16).

"I proceeded King past the door. I was ahead of King. It all happened behind my back. I took my rifle, a .303. That wasn't very nice but you grab your rifle. I went up past the cabin and King was right behind me. King yelled at the door, "Are you there Mr. Johnson?" BANG! Of course there was no shelter. I just wanted to get back and get a view of the whole

thing you see. The spruce trees are about six inches in diameter. You had to make yourself pretty thin! King fell to the ground and then he staggered over to – there was a cut bank about shoulder high." – Robert McDowell (from my interview with him May 26, 2002).

Cst. McDowell who was waiting on the riverbank, seized his rifle and began exchanging fire with Johnson, narrowly missing being hit as well. This diversion allowed King to crawl and then stagger away before the trapper could shoot him again. – William Beahen, RCMP Historian (RCMP Quarterly 1997:16).

"Johnson never came out of that cabin afterwards. He could have killed the whole bunch of us. But we turned our sleds around, our toboggans. I put King in the eider down and away we went. We started going back to Aklavik with him. You know the delta. You go down an embankment and then back up and then down again. We had to cross little lakes and portages and one thing and another. King would groan. I told Lazarus and Joe Bernard to keep behind, to keep a sharp eye on the rear. I figured Johnson might come after us and we didn't want to get attacked from the rear. He didn't. He just stayed in his cabin. We were lucky. We were darn lucky. He could have slaughtered the whole darn bunch of us but he stayed in his cabin. So, away we went to Aklavik. I was young then. I could run like a deer all day, snowshoes and all. I never rode on the toboggan either. Well, with King, we went 80 miles in 20 hours." – Robert McDowell (from my interview with him May 26, 2002).

"McDowell then loaded King onto his sled and mushed for the rest of the day and all through the night to get the seriously wounded member to the doctor. This action saved King's life." – William Beahen, RCMP Historian (RCMP Quarterly 1997:16).

"We got back to Aklavik. Well I told Lazarus and Joe Bernard to take him [King] to the hospital and I went in to report to the old man, Inspector Eames. He gave me a shot of brandy. I could do with it too! I was so tied up you know. That's my nature. I twisted my knee bringing King in. So I went out with the first posse and then we retreated and I stayed at home [in Aklavik] after that. [The rest] happened when I was elsewhere." – Robert McDowell (from my interview with him May 26, 2002).

"We got there on the 31st of December. I got Mac to take cover in the bush with a rifle and I walked up to the door with an axe. I called to Johnson to open the door and he fired at me through the door. I guess he was using an automatic revolver with steel jacket bullets, the slug hit me

just below the nipple on the left side and went through a rib out the right side under the nipple and didn't break a rib. Well I managed to get up and go where Mac was and from him to the dogs and Mac brought me in. Johnson fired at Mac but didn't hit him. Well Mac got me hear [sic] in 21 hours. Some trip and I thought it was all up. The dogs did 105 miles with no stop." Constable Alfred King (Dobrowolsky 1995:132).

"King was dangerously wounded. McDowell saw at once that they must get him to hospital without delay or he would probably die. The hospital was eighty miles away, all the dogs very tired.

McDowell had won renown for the speed of his travel with the "Husky Express." Now he must travel as never before, to save his comrade's life.

They patched King up, placed him in McDowell's cariole; and leaving the two special constables to make their own way back, McDowell whipped up his dogs and started, "with all possible speed" for Aklavik.

A Special Patrol; 1932 – The cold was intense, the teams and its driver grew weary to the point of exhaustion. But McDowell spared neither the dogs nor himself, through the rest of the day and all through the dark and lonely night. At 7 a.m. he toiled into Aklavik – after twenty hours' continuous travel – and delivered King over, still alive, to Acting – Assistant Surgeon J.A. Urquhart at the Anglican Mission Hospital. – Harwood Steele, M.C., F.R.G.S., Major, 17th Duke of York's Royal Canadian Hussars, Historian, Canadian Government Arctic Expedition of 1925 (Steele 1935:320).

"Despite all the writings about "The Mad Trapper," Albert Johnson case, the participants were simple ordinary men, who chose to serve in the Force and they, like all men of strong character, wished to be known and considered as such ... I had a small part in the Albert Johnson encounters . . . "Buns" King had been shot and was in hospital in Aklavik, we learned. He wrote me from there and gave me a sketchy outline of what had happened." – Fred Burt-Johns (1993:161).

"The issue now stood starkly clear. Johnson had committed a serious crime – with no justification whatever, had resisted and nearly killed a Mounted Policeman in the execution of his duty. He had challenged the whole Force; and Eames in particular –

Hardly a wise procedure – Eames alone – rugged, exceptionally strong and

stocky, determined, experienced and in his prime – was no mean opponent.

At once, Eames resolved that he would take Johnson, come what might. He organized a special patrol, with difficulty – dogs, dog feed and supplies being scarce. Leading it himself, he completed it with McDowell, Millen (called to Rat River by radio) and two specials and three gallant trappers – Ernest Sutherland, Karl Gardlund, Knut Lang. He could have had many more, for King's wounding had caused "intense indignation."

In his outfit he placed flares and dynamite.

The cold continued – over 40 below. This and the isolation of Johnson's cabin complicated the supply question, greatly hampering the patrol." – Harwood Steele (Steele 1935:320).

" . . . En route they picked up some dynamite in the hope of being able to blow a hole in Johnson's cabin should he refuse to come out ... Preferring to arrive on Johnson's cabin from above, and following the lead of a native who led them astray two days were lost; the native leading them in a triangle around the cabin all the time telling them 'cabin only four miles'." – Personnel of the Royal Canadian Corps of Signals (1963:74).

"The party reached the mouth of the Rat Jan. 5, 1932 . . . Indian guide Charlie Rat was asked to return from Fort McPherson where he had been spending New Year's to lead the party along an Indian trapline trail south of the Rat . . . however it was found the Indian had made a mistake and they found they were six miles above the shack . . . Travel was slow and tortuous due to the fact that temperatures since New Year's Day had been hovering around 45 degrees below zero and the footing through loose snow and willows was extremely hazardous." – Cst. T.E.G. Shaw (Shaw 1960:107, 108).

"The cabin was situated on the end of a promontory, round which the Rat river ran, so that cover from fire was available on two sides of the triangle only, the third side consisting of flat ground covered with small spruce, willow brush and three feet of snow. By listening from our position on the river band we learned that Johnson was at home and I called to him to come out and said we were determined to arrest him.

At 3 a.m. the last of the dynamite (4 pounds) was thrown against the front of the cabin where it exploded. Immediately after the explosion Gardlund and I ran towards the shack, intending to throw the rays of the spotlight on

Johnson and endeavor to disable him by revolver fire. Johnson evidently saw or heard us when we were within a few yards of the shack and commenced to shoot. Gardlund succeeded in switching on his light, only to have it shot from his hand shortly afterwards, whereupon we retired to the safety of the river bank. The party retired at 4 a.m. and returned to Aklavik.

Two days later (January 14, 1932) Constable Millen and K. Gardlund were despatched to the Rat River, with orders to camp two miles from Johnson's cabin and ascertain, if possible, if the man was still there.

It was not until two days had elapsed that a strong party could be got together and properly equipped. On January 16 the undermentioned left Aklavik: –
Inspector A.N. Eames
John Parsons (ex-member RCMP)
Noel Verville
Q.M. Sergt. R.F. Riddell (Royal Canadian Signals)
S/Sgt. H.F. Hersey (Royal Canadian Signals)
Ernest Sutherland
Frank Carmichael
S/Cst. Lazarus Sittichiulis"
– Inspector A.N. Eames (Royal Canadian Mounted Police Commissioner's Report 1933:107).

"I worked Aklavik. It was a small radio station. The Hudson's Bay Company, the RCMP, the Church of England and the RC [Roman Catholic] Church [all used the radio station]. They all screamed about communications and at $5.00 a message it paid for the whole works. All those stations down the Mackenzie River paid for themselves. There was no subsidies, tax payers money. You see there was in Dawson City and Whitehorse over in the Yukon, two of those stations there. There was a lot of traffic to Dawson – quite an active place. They would forward it as far as Fort Simpson and then Simpson would send it direct to Edmonton and in Edmonton our station there had a line to the CPR and a line to CNR operators. The $5.00 that you would pay for the message at Herschel Island that would be for 10 words to Toronto. Ours was the furthest radio station at the time." – Major Earl Hersey, Retired (my interview with him, June 23, 2001).

"See, before we were in there, many settlements got mail once a year, others twice a year. It was very hard to administer these areas and they needed better ways to communicate . . . The Signal Corps could provide

the communication . . . Well this (posse) was my first "official" involvement with them." – Major Earl Hersey, Retired (Rebiere 1998a:23).

"I used to play hardball, third base. I could have been a hardball, played pro ball. I was supposed to go, the spring that I joined [the Signal Corps], down to the St. Louis Browns. They later became the Dodgers. They sent a man up to [Camp] Borden to try to talk me into coming down. I was lucky, I was left handed and pretty good." – Major Earl Hersey (my interview with him, June 23, 2001).

"So this is really why I was asked to participate. You see, Q.M. Sgt. R.F. Riddell made the bombs of dynamite; he was good at that type of thing . . . I was taken along originally to throw these on Johnson's roof or to knock down his cabin." – Major Earl Hersey, Retired (Rebiere 1998a:24).

"Now all Canada was watching and reading the Globe about the "Mad Trapper of Rat River." The newspaper reported: "It is believed that Johnson, thinking he had killed King, is prepared to resist capture to the limit."

"The Mounties would not be deterred in their pursuit. On January 16, they tried again and headed out with a posse of 21 including 11 Louchoux [sic] Indians. This time they found that Johnson had fled from his cabin and his tracks indicated that he was travelling west towards the sanctuary of the Alaskan border." – Robert Knuckle (Knuckle 1994:153).

"I had not seen a trapper's cabin as well built, because a trapper normally wouldn't spend as much time as Johnson did to build his cabin . . . It was a tremendous amount of work." – Major Earl Hersey, Retired (Rebiere 1998a:27)

"The cabin was a fortress, the floor well below ground – level, the lowest tier of logs double and bulletproof. Johnson, crouching in that shelter as in a trench, had a rifle and two automatics. His expert musketry and these fortifications suggested that he had been once a highly trained soldier." – Harwood Steele (Steele 1935:321).

"On the 23rd January Inspector Eames, Hersey and Carmichael returned to Aklavik at 6 p.m. They reported that Johnson had left his cabin, and the high winds and drifting snows had erased any trail he left. Natives had been used in the capacity of trackers but had proved useless and their only ability appeared to be eating the party out of supplies. Here one must

remember that the native is very superstitious, and searching for a "bad white man" — well, it was not exactly the same as hunting caribou. They had, therefore, been shooed off home and arrived with the above three." – Personnel of the Royal Signal Corps of Signals (1963:76).

"They succeeded in finding his trail near his cabin at a point where the Bear River joints [sic] the Rat River, and then into the higher hills bordering these valleys. Here on January 30 they found the fugitive ambushed in a thick patch of timber." – Inspector A.N. Eames (Royal Canadian Mounted Police Commissioner's Report 1933:106).

"INFORMATION OF WITNESS
CANADA
NORTHWESTERN TERRITORIES
Informations of witnesses severally taken and acknowledged on behalf of our Sovereign Lord and King, touching the death of a Constable Edgar Millen at the RCM Police Barracks at Aklavik on the 18th day of February 1932, before me J.A. Urquhart, Esquire, one of His Majesty's Coroners for the said Northwest Territories . . . Constable Millen and Mr. N. Verville came down the hill into the creek close to Johnson's camp. We could hear Johnson in his camp coughing we could also hear Constable Millen and Noel Verville coming down the hill from where we were, we heard Johnson rattling his rifle as Millen came past an opening in the timber a shot was fired at him by Johnson. At this time Johnson could not be seen by any of us, some shots were fired into the timber blindly and no more shots had come from the timber. We thought that Johnson had been hurt. Millen and I went up the bank into the patch of timber and a shot was fired at very short range. I went over the bank into cover. Millen who was right behind remained on the bank. I do not know if he knew where the shot had come from or not. He fired two shots to my knowledge. I could tell by the sound of the rifle and Johnson fired three. When I got to the top of the bank again at another point Millen had been shot . . . I went up on the bank behind a large spruce tree in view of Johnson's hole and Karl Gardlund had by this time also got behind a tree on top of the bank, we both fired several shots at the point where Johnson's shot had come from. I stayed behind the tree and Gardlund went along and came up opposit[sic] Millen, crawled some ten feet in the deep snow and got to Millen's feet. He undid his shoelaces and tied them together to form a handle to pull him over the bank. While he was doing that I was firing several shots to keep Johnson down. Millen was dragged down under the bank. Mr. Verville and Gardlund examined the remains to be certain that he was dead or just seriously hurt and waited there some three quarters of an hour to decide and when we left Millen was getting stiff and he was practically cold, and

we were sure he was dead.
(Signed) R. Riddell
Taken upon oath and acknowledged this 18th day of February, A.D. 1932 before me
(Signed) J.A. Urquhart, Coroner"
– National Archives in Ottawa – File on Albert Johnson – Northern Administration Branch R.G. 85 Volume 12.

"Like most trappers, Johnson was a deadly shot. He took refuge in a thicket and, in the exchange of fire, he killed Cst. Edgar Millen with his high-power rifle. Then, once more, he disappeared." – Robert Knuckle (Knuckle 1994:153).

" . . . a merciless, face-to-face exchange – and again silence. The outlaw still lived. Millen was dead . . . This added one more tragedy to the man that had taken place in the Force's Northern Graveyard, that narrow, dark belt of country extending from near Fort McPherson to Herschel Island, scene of so many deaths. The news of Millen's murder roused the entire North to 'bitter resentment'". – Harwood Steele (Steele 1935:323).

"On January 31, news came through that "Newt" Millen had been bushwhacked and was dead. This indicated that Johnson was headed into our "B" division territory and contact became more likely . . . On February 1 the Officer Commanding, Dawson, sent out a message that Johnson was believed heading for the vicinity of the Porcupine River (it leads down into Alaska)." – Fred Burt-Johns (1993:162).

"On February 5, Johnson's camp where Millen had been killed was surrounded, and it was found that Johnson had left. The whole of the day was spent in searching the ravine which is almost nine miles in length. We were now in the larger foothills, with numerous creeks, in deep ravines and canyons, running from the watershed. Between the creeks was the frozen tundra covered with snow made hard by the wind that seemed to blow without cessation, and always with a drift that obliterated snowshoe tracks or footprints very quickly. Johnson's comparatively fresh tracks were found on February 6, 7, and 8 in three different creeks (four to six miles apart), showing that the fugitive had been crossing over the tundra from creek to creek, probably during the night, and also circling eight to ten miles back to his own track." – Inspector A.N. Eames (Royal Canadian Mounted Police Commissioner's Report 1933:106).

"For the first time ever, the RCMP ordered the use of an airplane in the pursuit of a wanted man." – Robert Knuckle (Knuckle 1994:153).

"Eames was leaving nothing to chance; every resource of science was enlisted to bring the murderer's career to a close." – L. Charles Douthwaite (Douthwaite 1939:239).

"That was the first time that something like this had happened: Millen, an RCMP cop, had been killed and that really activated everybody. So Insp. Eames had really no trouble in getting a plane to come in. And to top it off, it couldn't have had a better, more natural flyer than Wop May . . . It sped up the whole operation. It was wonderful!" – Major Earl Hersey, Retired (Rebiere 1998b:37).

"Superintendent A.E. Acland, from Edmonton, passed on the wireless report to the Commissioner, with a request for an aeroplane, as it was "impossible to maintain party in position with present equipment . . . Authority to charter a machine was at once secured and the Canadian Airways Limited provided a cabin-plane, a Bellanca, piloted by an experienced Northern flyer, Captain W.R. ("Wop") May. Pending its arrival, Eames sallied out for the third time with Riddell, Sittichiulis, Carmichael, C. Ethier (Ex RCMP) and civilians E. Maring, P. Standberg, K.H.Lang, A.B. Black, A. Tardiff, John Greenland" – Harwood Steele (Steele 1935:323, 324).

"On February 2, I received a wire from "Punch" Dickins, Canadian Airways Superintendent at Edmonton, asking me if it would be possible to fly down to Aklavik and join the Mounted Police in their search. I replied that I was ready to undertake the flight. I received an answering wire from Punch saying he would fly into Fort McMurray, my base, next morning with two Mounted Police officers and supply of tear-gas bombs." – "Wop" May – (May 1986:56).

"The plane arrived at Aklavik on 6th February and this information was immediately transmitted to the party on the trail" – Personnel of the Royal Canadian Corps of Signals (1963:79).

"The well-known bush pilot, Capt. W.R. "Wop" May flew over the area February 7 and seeing the scouting party on the Barrier River, landed two miles away from them on the tundra. Cst. William S. Carter from Edmonton bolstered the searchers." – Cst. T.E.G. Shaw (Shaw 1960:110).

"I was in Edmonton . . . just come off leave and they said to me we got a special job to do. Do you want to volunteer for it? It's a dangerous job. I figured it was the Johnson affair you see. The Mad Trapper. That was February 1932. Well he

said okay get ready, give the bank Power of Attorney so on the 3rd I was on the plane with Wop May flying down along with a chap named Nicholson. We were the only 2 out of about 30 of us from the north that were chosen for this job. Went down with Wop May got into Aklavik and got some northern gear and went out to the Johnson thing. We flew right over him but we didn't see him and I wanted Wop May to go down, I said we might get a shot at him . . . Wop said no, we won't go down, one bullet from him and it will put us out of action. So we stayed up about 1,000 ft. ... I got a picture of Johnson's snowshoe trail. I was the only one that had a camera. I took several pictures." – Constable William Sharples Carter, CD #A1 9902-0102 National Archives.

"It [the airplane] helped tremendously because it made it ever so much easier but once Johnson went over on the other side, where there was a lot of snow, he was in trouble, you see. When he did that, that was a big mistake for his part. Now, Wop May's biggest contribution, as far as we were concerned, was flying in supplies. That's supplies, coming back and forth you see. He could do it in a hour [bring supplies that would take days to get by dog sled]." – Major Earl Hersey, Retired (my interview with him, June 23, 2001).

"Another patrol joined the party February 8 headed by Cst. Sidney W. May from Old Crow Detachment in the Yukon, Spl. Cst. John Moses, two trappers and two Indians. They came via La Pierre House, Bell River, Loon Lake and the Rat." – Cst. T.E.G. Shaw (Shaw 1960:110).

"February 9, Johnson's tracks were seen by a patrol, apparently headed for the divide and the conclusion was reached that he was taking a desperate course. The Indians, in the early stages of the search, had declared that neither white man or Indian could cross the divide alone. I decided to follow Johnson as soon as the required dog feed could be obtained by aeroplane and had no difficulty in getting volunteers willing to accompany me." – Inspector A.N. Eames (Royal Canadian Mounted Police Commissioner's Report 1933:109).

"Science's contribution to the hunt was now complete. Riddell had found his portable wireless rather unsatisfactory to date, 'which was not surprising in view of the jolting the apparatus effected,' an invaluable aid, in co-operation with the aeroplane." – Harwood Steele (Steele 1935:324).

"On 12th February some of the party met the plane at the mouth of the Rat River. While discussing further plans a team arrived from above and reported an Indian (Peter Alexi) had arrived from La Pierre House, having travelled 130 miles without a break, and reported a strange trail in the Bell

River, which one of the guides returning from the Yukon party had identified as Johnson's." – Personnel of the Royal Canadian Corps of Signals (1963:81).

"But once Johnson went over on the other side [of the Continental Divide], where there was a lot of snow, he was in trouble you see. – Major Earl Hersey, Retired (my interview with him, June 23, 2001).

"On February 16 the patrol travelled down the Bell River and up Eagle River, camping 15 miles from the mouth. It was now evident that Johnson, in crossing to the Yukon Territory, where the snow was soft and very little wind blew, had made a grave mistake. His track was easily followed, except for about 10 miles on the Eagle river where he had taken advantage of the passing of thousands of caribou to walk, without snowshoes, in their tracks. The next day (February 17) his track was again picked up and appeared to be not more than 24 hours old." – Inspector A.N. Eames (Royal Canadian Mounted Police Commissioner's Report 1933:109).

"The searchers believed they were narrowing the gap on the fugitive now, they broke camp early February 17. Also, another danger threatened. Johnson was headed toward the cabin of a trapper named Barnstrum and although no one in the party seemed to know the exact whereabouts of the cabin, it was felt the man should be warned of Johnson's treachery. To further complicate things, it had been planned to have Wop May search of the cabin from the air in the previous day, but dense fog prevented him from taking off from La Pierre House." – Shaw (1960: 111, 112).

"Great anxiety was felt that the desperado might get into Alaska and play havoc there, so a message was broadcast to advise the United States Marshal that he had passed La Pierre House; it was feared that he might suddenly descend on a trapper whose cabin lay somewhere on his line of retreat." – Harwood Steele (Steele 1935:324, 325).

About noon of February 17, the patrol, consisting of 8 men with dog teams, with three men travelling on too, were approaching a sharp bend in the river when S/Sergeant Hersey, who was driving the leading team at the time, saw Johnson coming down the river about 250 yards away. Immediately Johnson saw S/Sergeant Hersey and hurriedly put on snowshoes and ran for the river bank, with his rifle in his hands. S/Sergeant Hersey during this time had snatched his rifle from the sled and taken up a position in the centre of the river opened fire, as also did Joseph Verville who was driving the second team. They were quickly joined by

Karl Gardlund and Frank Jackson and in a short space of time the whole party were moving up stream in more or less extended order; some on the river and others on either bank. Johnson had been firing rapidly, but suddenly ceased fire and commenced to run back up the river. I saw that S/Sergeant Hersey had been hit and Joseph Verville went back to care for him." – Inspector A.N. Eames (Royal Canadian Mounted Police Commissioner's Report 1933:109).

"When Riddell was driving his dog team, he carried a radio transmitter and he would send regular messages to Aklavik but when he stopped driving his team, why then, no I wouldn't use the radio. It was just a matter of curiosity as far as I was concerned. The newspapers pestered him in Aklavik for news but I was not interested in it, all I was interested in was getting a hold of Johnson. Finishing that end of it. The news part didn't mean anything to me." – Major Earl Hersey (Retired, interview with me June 23, 2001).

I was leading and Verville was second. As I approached, you see, there was a bend in the river. As I came along there, I was following tracks that were 24 hours old and I saw this man come around the bend. When he saw me, he reached behind. I thought he was one of the two trappers that were up the hill, but when he reached behind his back and pulled that snowsuit out like that, I realized that it was the snowsuit that I'd been following for days. I recognized him right then and there. So I stopped my team and I got my rifle out. Johnson made for the bank while I got my rifle and I ran after him for about 20 to 30 feet . . . So I went down on one knee and shot as he was coming up the bank . . . I figured it was 300 yards. It was measured afterwards as 270 yards. I'm a marksman from the army . . . When I saw his head, this is when I fired. Of course I hit, and down he came . . . I hit his pack three times and down he came. Then I saw him reach behind his pack to get his rifle. Well now, in the army, we practiced a lot. One of our targets was a man shooting over a parrot on his shoulder. I didn't want to kill Johnson (I have trouble killing flies). But anyway, I thought 'Boy, I'll hit him in the shoulder.' I was down on one knee and taking very careful aim to hit his shoulder. But he didn't aim at all . . . He reached behind and got the rifle and BANG! And he hit me dead-centre." – Major Earl Hersey, Retired (Rebiere 1998b:38, 39).

I don't know whether you can see it or not. In there [bottom of left patella], out there [top of left patella], in here [elbow], out here [elbow] in there [chest] and it was just underneath the skin. The chap that he [Dick North] thinks that he was, he used to practice that quick shoot, that snap shooting. That's how, what he [Johnson] did when he hit me. Just bang.

And then he fired three shots after that and missed me three times. The first shot at me was right dead centre and I went up and went backwards into the snow. My elbow wasn't bothering me. Just my knee was what hurt the worst. It didn't hurt my chest any. I didn't hurt there at all. I was talking to the Doc later about it and he said that it hit nerves through my knee that's what caused the pain." – Major Earl Hersey, Retired (my interview with him June 23, 2001).

"Johnson was running in his own track and occasionally stopping to fire, was actually drawing away from the posse and appearing to be making for the opposite bank, which was not so steep as the one he had vacated. Johnson was called upon to surrender but continued his fight, whereupon the rifle fire was concentrated upon him, which apparently caused him to throw himself down and dig down in the deep snow, after placing his large pack sack as cover though it was probably that he had just been wounded in the leg. Having entrenched himself in the deep soft snow Johnson resumed firing at the men on the river. Gradually, however, the men who had gone up the banks of the river were making their way through the deep snow and brush, and from their position in the high ground quickly stopped Johnson's fire, and a few moment later, at 12:10 p.m., it was found that Johnson was dead, having desperately resisted to the last." – Inspector A.N. Eames (Royal Canadian Mounted Police Commissioner's Report 1933:109, 110).

"Eames asked him to give himself up when he was in the first time in his hit. He asked him then and when he and I did our little shooting stunt, and he shot me, he turned around and walked, and was walking away from us, Riddell and a chap named Gardlund, the two of them followed and behind him and they followed for a little while and then they each shot a couple of times at him. They didn't ask him to surrender or anything at all. One of the bullets hit his hip. He had a lot of .22 shells in there and they exploded and down. And he got behind his parka and his pack. Well now, when Eames came up, right just about that time, he came up then and he asked him to surrender right away. Before he authorized them to shoot or anything he asked him about three times, as I remember it. I was conscious you know. I was at the side then [lying injured in the snow]. I heard him calling asking him to surrender. But he didn't fire or anything, they didn't fire back or anything but he didn't surrender. He didn't hit anyone and he saw them up on the hill. Well, and then he said I'm going to authorize them to fire or words to that effect you see. The guy still wouldn't surrender. I could hear Eames alright. I heard what Eames said. Of course when he, Eames offered them to fire, everybody fired at once

and he just went like that." Major Earl Hersey, Retired (my interview with him June 23, 2001).

"Johnson, at last, had been brought to bay on the river ice. He was again matching his rifle against the rifles of Eames' command. Would they 'get him' this time? Or would his luck still hold? And would we go on chasing him up and down through these hills, up and down these rivers through blizzards and cold and the dingy half-light of Arctic Days? My mind seething with these thoughts, I cut my motor and glided down above the river bottom. Above the keening of the wind around the Bellanca's skin I could hear the crackle of the rifles below. Watching with fascinated eyes, I also could not catch the flash of weapons and see the snow dance under the impact of the bullets. As I swept over Johnson, scarcely 50 ft. above him, I could see where he had dug himself a shallow lair in the hard-packed snow of the river bottom, and tossed his pack on the snow in front of him to hide his movements from his foes. I heard his rifle crack as I opened the throttle and flew south in a wide circle. We came roaring back down the river. Once again I peered down at Johnson in his snow trench as we raced overhead. Then, as I passed over the posse, I saw a figure lying on a bed-roll near the west bank. I realized, with a sick feeling, that one of our party had been hit. Who was it? And was he dead? Busy with these torturing thoughts I circled and came back up river, passing over the posse and Johnson. As I flew over the fugitive's lair it appeared to me that he was lying in an unnatural position. When I came back the next time, I nosed the Bellanca down until our skis were tickling the snow on the river bottom. Johnson, I could plainly see as I flashed past, was lying face down in the snow, his right arm outflung, grasping his rifle. There is something about the way a dead man lies that is unmistakable. I knew, as I looked at Johnson, that he was dead. The Mounties had 'got their man.' The chase was over! I rocked the Bellanca back and forth on her wing-tips to signal Johnson's death to the posse. Then I landed on the river bottom and taxied over to where I had seen the man on the bed-roll." – Wop May (May 1986:70, 71).

"On February 17, the man-hunt cornered Albert Johnson in the Eagle River district of the Yukon . . . the final shoot-out began. One of the posse members, Staff Sergeant H.JF. Hersey of the Royal Canadian Corps of Signals, was killed by Johnson's gunfire, but, in the end, Albert Johnson was cut to pieces in a hail of RCMP bullets . . . The Arctic Circle War was over." – Robert Knuckle (Knuckle 1994:154).

"Sergeant Riddell started to prepare Hersey for the trip, and I strolled up the river toward Johnson's lair where members of the posse were staring at the dead man. As I joined the crowd, Verville turned to me and said: 'Just look at his face, Wop. Did you ever see anything like it?' I stepped around to get a look at Johnson's face. He was lying face down on the river. As I stooped over and saw him, I got the worst shock I think I've ever had. Johnson's lips were curled from his teeth in the most terrible sneer I've ever seen on a man's face. The parchment-like skin over his cheek bones was distorted by it, while his teeth glistened like an animal's through his days'-old bristle of beard. It was the most awful grimace of hate I'll ever see – the hard boiled, bitter hate of a man who knows he's trapped at last, and who has determined to take as many enemies as he can with him. After that sneer, I couldn't feel sorry for this man who lay dead in front of me. Instead, I was glad that he was dead. The world seemed a better place with him out of it." – Wop May (May 1986:71).

"Wop May came and loaded me on the plane. I was conscious all the time. I saw the whole battle. If May and his plane hadn't been there, I wouldn't be here today because I was bleeding so much." – Major Earl Hersey, Retired (Rebiere 1998b:40, 42).

"But we got through. Fifty minutes from the time of taking off from the Eagle River we had Hersey in hospital at Aklavik and Doctor Urquhart was cutting his parka off. The Doctor found Hersey gravely wounded . . . Doctor Urquhart's face was grim when he had completed his examination of Hersey, and stopped the hemorrhages from the lungs. 'He's in a very serious condition – very,' the Doctor told us. 'But we may pull him through. Another half hour would have finished him. It wouldn't have taken those hemorrhages long.' I felt repaid for that blind flight through the pass, although it had been nip and tuck in more ways than one." – Wop May (May 1986:75).

". . . Inspector Eames informed me that he would fly back to Aklavik that day, taking Johnson's body and kit with him. Jack [Bowen, May's mechanic] and I loaded Johnson's body, his face still distorted in that horrible sneer, into the Bellanca and hopped off for Aklavik. Our return flight was made without incident, and soon we were back at the police post and where the Inspector fingerprinted the dead man. That proved to be a horrible task, too, for Johnson's body was frozen hard as iron and his hands clamped like claws as he had died clutching his rifle." – Wop May (May 1986:79).

"'I feel very deeply poor Millen's death,' said Eames. 'He was a gallant fellow.' So hot was Northern sympathy that Aklavik wished Johnson's

body buried 'in non-consecrated ground and outside the confines of the settlement.' But Eames supported the Rev. Mr. Murray's wish to bury it in the ordinary way. The Force is not vindictive." – Harwood Steele (Steele 1935:325).

"INQUISITION
CANADA
NORTHWEST TERRITORIES

An inquisition intented taken for our Sovereign Lord the King at the RCM Police Barracks, Aklavik, in the North-West Territories on the 18th day of February, A.D. 1932 before Dr. J.A. Urquhart, M.D. one of the Coroners of our said Lord and King and for the said Northwest Territories on view of the body of Albert Johnson then and there lying dead, upon the oath or affirmation of C.G. Matthews, J. Parsons, L. Scott-Brown, I. Neary, N.H. Hancock and R.G. Kilgour good and lawful men of the said Northwest Territories, duly chosen, and who being then and there duly sworn, and charged to inquire for our said Lord and King, when, where, how and by what means the said Albert Johnson came to his death, do upon their oath say: That Enquiring into the death of the man known as Albert Johnson, we, the Jury, find that the man known as Albert Johnson came to his death from concentrated rifle fire from a party composed of the members of the Royal Canadian Mounted Police and others, Johnson having been called upon to surrender by several members of the party and still desperately resisting arrest we are satisfied that no responsibility rests with any member of the party or the party as a whole. We are further satisfied from the evidence that the party had no other means of affecting Johnson's capture except by the method employed.
In witness whereof, as well the said Coroners as the jurors aforesaid have hereunto set and subscribed their hands and seals the day and year first above written.
(Signed)
J. A. Urquhart, Coroner
C. G. Matthews, Juror
I. Neary, Juror
N. Hancock, Juror
J. Parsons, Juror
L. Scott-Brown, Juror"
– National Archives in Ottawa
File on Albert Johnson – Northern Administration Branch R.G. 85
Volume 12

"ROYAL CANADIAN MOUNTED POLICE

List of effects of Albert JOHNSON – Estate of

(a) Articles of value which it is considered should be forwarded to the Public Administrator.

1. Small glass bottle containing five pearls, approximate value $15. And five pieces of gold dental work 4 dwt. Approximate value $3.20
2. Small glass bottle containing 13 dwt. of alluvial gold, approximate value $9.36

(B) Articles which it is requested be left with the RCM Police for inclusion in the RCM Police Museum at Regina, Sask.

1. Savage 30-30 Rifle, No. 293575, Model 99
2. Ivor Johnson sawed off shot gun No. 5537XF 16 ga.
3. .22 Winchester Rifle, Model 58, No number. Stock sawn off
4. Pocket compass
5. Axe handle bearing bullet mark
6. Sack containing lard tin and lid used as tea pail, showing bullet holes

(C) Articles of no value, for which authority to destroy is requested.

1. Knife made from spring trap
2. Match safe
3. Gillette safety razor
4. Envelope containing piece of three cornered file; awl made from three cornered file; chisel made from nail
5. Small knife made from piece of metal, with mooseskin cover
6. Mooseskin rifle cover
7. Mooseskin pouch
8. Mooseskin sewing pouch containing needles and thread.
9. Small spring
10. Nails wrapped in tinfoil
11. Matches wrapped in tinfoil
12. 30-30 cartridge box containing small empty bottle and piece of wax
13. Sack containing 39 30-30 shells. 1 box. 22 shells (50) 1 box .22 shells (30)
14. Seven pieces of moosehide
15. Sack containing six empty sacks: 15 pieces of babiche; 1 large bundle of babiche (snowshoe lacking) 1 bdle sewing thread; 1

piece mooseskin lace

16. Calico rifle cover

17. Large envelope containing: 1 box pony matches; 1 bdle sulphur matches wrapped in tinfoil; 1 bdle sulphur matches wrapped in paper; 1 tinfoil packet containing 2 pills; 1 paper package containing 6 pills; 1 paper package containing fish hooks; 1 tinfoil package containing oil rag; 1 leather cover containing comb and sewing materials; 1 paper and tinfoil package containing grey powder; 1 rag bundle containing twine; 1 rag bundle containing sewing twine; 1 paper package containing 24 pills; 1 paper package containing fish hooks; 4 .22 shells; 4 -16 ga. Shot gun shells; 1 moosehide folder containing mirror; 1 rag containing pepper; 1 sack containing salt."
– National Archives in Ottawa (File on Albert Johnson – Northern Administration Branch R.G. 85 Volume 12).

"On February 17th, the posse met Johnson on the Eagle River, a tributary of the Bell, and in the fight which ensued Johnson was killed and S/Sgt. Hersey was seriously wounded, the same bullet having passed through part of his left knee, his left elbow, entering the left chest just external to the heart, and passing through to the back to the right chest from which position I removed it. Hersey was brought to Aklavik by plane and it was only with a good deal of difficulty that I managed to control hemorrhage and combat shock. He is doing extremely well and is allowed out of hospital for several hours each day. There should be no permanent disability except possibly a slight stiffening in the elbow the bones of which were penetrated by the bullet. Extracts from letter of J.A. Urquhart dated 22nd March, 1932.
– National Archives in Ottawa File on Albert Johnson – Northern Administration Branch R.G. 85 Volume 12.

"The shooting of Constable A. W. King by Johnson at a cabin on the Rat river on December 31, caused intense indignation amongst the white men in the Mackenzie Delta, which changed to deep resentment when Constable E. Millen was shot and killed on January 30. Armed trappers and other residents came from their cabins, and offered the police their assistance to effect the capture of he culprit. The acceptance of volunteers to search for Johnson was limited as far as possible to experienced bushmen and travellers. The co-operation of the Royal Canadian Signals (Aklavik Station) was greatly appreciated, two of the non-commissioned officers, Q.M. Sergeat R.F. Riddell and S/Sergeant H.F. Hersey accompanied the patrols and did excellent work. The wound sustained by S/Sergeant Hersey, in the final stage of the search, was most serious, the

bullet having passed through the left lung and through the rear wall of the right lung. The timely arrival of the aeroplane flown by Captain W.R. May, who was assisting the patrol, without doubt saved the wounded man's life, as Captain May was able to get him into the hands of Acting Assistant Surgeon J.A. Urquhart (Aklavik) 75 minutes after S/Sergeant Hersey was stricken. The assistance rendered by Captain W.R. May in transporting stores to the Rat River made it possible to advance the search into Yukon Territory, and so bring to a close a search that might otherwise have lasted for an indefinite period." – Inspector A.N. Eames (Royal Canadian Mounted Police Commissioner's Report 1933:111).

"Not a scrap of paper was found upon him . . . Efforts made to establish the identity of this man so far have failed." – Inspector A.N. Eames (Royal Canadian Mounted Police Commissioner's Report 1933:110).

"The task of identifying the man known as Albert Johnson was one that has never been successfully concluded. All the Force had to go on was that he had told the late Constable Millen in Fort McPherson that his name was Albert Johnson; the Indians complaining about trapline interference said they too believed this was his name. Fingerprints taken from his corpse were sent to both Ottawa and Washington but they were not linked to anyone with a criminal record in either country." – Cst. T.E.G. Shaw (Shaw 1993:159).

"32 G 548-L-13 Ottawa, Ontario December 14th, 1939

Mr. E. Owen
11192 62nd Street
Edmonton, Alberta

Dear Sir:

Re: Albert Johnson – Deceased – Estate of

1. With reference to previous correspondence in the above connection, it is desired to advise you that our file has been closed there being no further avenues of enquiry open to definitely establish the identity of A. Johnson.
2. In this regard diligent enquires have been continued and every possible effort made to obtain some definite information on this point without success. It is pointed out that we largely based our hopes on ultimately establishing the identity of Albert Johnson through the firearms found in his possession, but unfortunately our efforts to trace same from the manufacturers to the wholesalers to

the retailers, were for various reasons, unavailable. Numerous enquires were also made throughout the Yukon Territory and Northwest Territories and other points, but no definite information could be secured. It is also added that diligent enquiries through many Bands failed to trace the currency found in his possession, consequently it was deemed advisable to close our file . . .

3. Attached hereto will be found a list of the exhibits which were retained for the purpose of further investigation until our enquiries were completed. It will be observed that these are listed under three headings and your kind concurrence to the proposed disposition as mentioned thereon is requested.
4. In connection with the six items listed for inclusion in the RCMPolice Museum at Regina, Sask, you will readily understand that same would be greatly appreciated if you would kindly approve the suggestion made in this regard.
5. Insofar as the remaining articles are concerned, these have no value and are useless and it is requested that you kindly authorize their destruction.

Yours truly (D.J. Martin) Insp. For Supt. Commanding "G" Division."

– National Archives in Ottawa File on Albert Johnson – Northern Administration Branch R.G. 85 Volume 12.

"After the fact, it was discovered that Albert Johnson was in his mid-thirties and had been in the Yukon for four years. Since 1927, he had been seen around the settlements of Ross River Post, Mayo and Fort McPherson, and was known to be a loner with a miserable disposition. He was supposedly a wealthy American from North Dakota . . . " – Robert Knuckle (Knuckle 1994:151).

"A stranger arrived at Ross River Post, Yukon Territory, August 21, 1927 ... the newcomer's name was Arthur Nelson ... He was a trapper. His speech carried the trace of a Scandinavian accent ... he told Buttle he was an American who had been raised on a small farm in North Dakota. Nelson kept pretty much to himself . . . a curt 'yes' or 'no' . . . [at] the head of the Beaver River, Yukon Territory, in May 1931, trapper Arthur Nelson seemingly vanished just as strangely as he had first suddenly appeared at Ross River Post nearly four years earlier." – Cst. T.E.G. Shaw (Shaw 1960:103-105).

"I give a great deal of credit to Insp. Eames. He was a great leader, the best type of man to be in charge. He was a good traveller, he understood the North and he handled men well . . . I don't think that proper credit has

been given to Insp. Eames. It was a tough job for the RCMP. It couldn't have been tougher. To have a man like that turn up there, in that territory, miles and miles away . . . It was a very difficult situation for the RCMP." – Major Earl Hersey, Retired (Rebiere 1998b:43).

"This affair, the only true man-hunt the North has seen, created a great stir. It focused public attention on the Force, won it loud praise for its tenacity and endurance. Many appreciated the difficulties – cold, vast distances, supply shortages, the need of conserving valuable lives and taking Johnson, if possible, alive. They saw that this ruthless criminal, whom Eames called an extremely shrewd and resolute man, capable of quick thought and action; a tough and desperate character' – as bad as any the Force had ever met and conquered – was no hero. They knew how easy it is to be brave and wise – and critical – when several thousand miles distant from the bitterly cold, dark scene of action where, across ground devoid of cover, a merciless blue muzzle spits point-blank death. They remember King in hospital, young Millen's flag-draped body . . . " – Harwood Steele (Steele 1935:326).

"Whether, actually, the man who called himself Albert Johnson was bush-crazy is open to question; those most closely in touch with him were convinced that he was not. Mad or sane, however, he was the object of one of the most exhaustive, dangerous and highly organized man-hunts in Canadian Police history." – L. Charles Douthwaite (Douthwaite 1939:234).

"Gosh Frenchy it is a terrible affair." – Cst. Alfred King (Dobrowolsky 1995:133).

APPENDIX III

Novels, short stories, poetry, songs, movies, radio and film scripts, newspapers and websites make up the medium in which popular voices tell the story of Albert Johnson. I have listed several items in these categories below to give an idea of the extent of the stories told in them. This is by no means an exhaustive list of all the stories that exist about Johnson, but it is comprehensive in that it portrays the scope and breadth of what does exist in the public discourse.

Books – more factual than fictional

Anderson, F. W.

1986 The Death of Albert Johnson. Mad Trapper of Rat River. Surrey: Heritage House Publishing.

1994 The Albert Johnson Saga. Saskatoon: Frank W. Anderson

Katz, Hélèna

2004 Mad Trapper. The Incredible Tale of a Famous Canadian Manhunt. Canmore: Altitude Publishing Canada.

North, Dick

1969 The Saga of the Mad Trapper of Rat River. Yukon: Midnight Sun Arctic Series 1.

1972 The Mad Trapper of Rat River. Toronto: Macmillan of Canada. Special Printing limited edition 2000, Inuvik: Boreal Books.

1989 Trackdown. The Search for the Identity of the Mad Trapper. Toronto: Macmillan of Canada.

Novels – purely fictional

Kelley, Thomas P.

1972 Rat River Trapper: The Story of Albert Johnson, the Mad Trapper. Don Mills: Paperjacks.

Wiebe, Rudy

1980 The Mad Trapper: A Novel. Toronto: McClelland and Stewart.

York, Thomas
1981 Trapper. Toronto: Doubleday Canada Limited.

Short stories and articles

Batchelor, Bruce
1987 The Killer Who Stopped the Mounties Cold. *In* Up Here. Life in Canada's North. pp. 27-29. Royal Canadian Mounted Police Headquarters Archives in Ottawa File II: Mad Trapper Case Vol. III Yukon and NWT 1931/32

Burt-Johns, Fred
1993 The North. Man Hunt In The Arctic. *In* Red Serge and Stetsons, ed. Donovan T. Saul, pp. 148-164).

Douthwaite, Louis Charles
1939 The Royal Canadian Mounted Police. London: Blackie and Son Limited.

Godsell, Philip H.
1932 They Got Their Man. On Patrol with the North West Mounted. London: Robert Hale Limited.

Ferrell, Ed
1998 Frontier Justice. Bowie: Heritage Books, Inc.

Horwood, Harold and Edward Butts
1984 Pirates and Outlaws of Canada 1610-1932, pp. 229-242. Toronto: Doubleday Canada Limited.

May, W.R. and H. R. Kincaid
1932 Trapping the Mad Trapper of Rat River. The Sensational Capture. True Detective Mysteries. Publisher unknown. Yukon Archives PAM 1932-12.

McCourt, Edward
1969 The Yukon and Northwest Territories. The Traveller's Canada. Toronto: Macmillan of Canada.

McLean, Michael
1973 Historical Article. The Mad Trapper of Rat River. Argosy 1973:36-37, 45, 62.

Mullett, Harry F.
Unknown Trailing the Fiend of Rat River. Unknown magazine. Royal Canadian Mounted Police Headquarters Archives in Ottawa File II: Mad Trapper Case Vol. III Yukon and NWT 1931/32.

Myles, Eugenie Louise
1959 Airborne From Edmonton. Toronto: The Ryerson Press.

The Mystery Review.
1994 Albert Johnson: The Mad Trapper of Rat River. Vol. 3, No. 1, pp. 56-57.

O'Hagan, Howard
1978 Wilderness Men. Vancouver: Talonbooks.

Phillips, Alan
1954 The Living Legend. The Story of the Royal Canadian Mounted Police. Boston: Little, Brown and Company.

Shaw, Cst. T.E.G.
1960 Man Hunt In the Arctic. RCMP Quarterly 26:103-115.

Wayling, Thomas and Edward Doherty
1936 Scarlet Riders. Here Come the Mounted! Liberty for November 7, 1936:5-7.

Wiebe, Rudy
1973 The Naming of Albert Johnson. Queens Quarterly 80:370-382.

1974 Where Is the Voice Coming From? Toronto: McClelland and Stewart Limited.

1978 The Death and Life of Albert Johnson: Collected Notes on a Possible Legend. *In* Figures in a Ground: Canadian Essays on Modern Literature Collected in Honour of Sheila Watson. Diane Bessai and David Jackel, eds., pp. 219-246. Saskatoon: Western Producer Prairie Books

1980 The Mad Trapper: A Novel. Toronto: McClelland and Stewart.

1989 Playing Dead. A Contemplation Concerning the Arctic. Edmonton: NeWest.

Young, Delbert A.
1968 The Mounties. Don Mills: PaperJacks.

No author.
2002 'Mad Trapper' Gun? *In* Up Here. Life at the Top of the World. Yellowknife. Pp. 12-13.

Poems

Barbour, Douglas
n.d. The Apotheosis of Albert Johnson. *In* Wiebe, Rudy, 1978 The Death and Life of Albert Johnson: Collected Notes on a Possible Legend. *In* Figures in a Ground: Canadian Essays on Modern Literature Collected in Honour of Sheila Watson. Diane Bessai and David Jackel, eds. pp. 219-246. Saskatoon: Western Producer Prairie Books.

Barrett, J. Robert
1942 Man-Hunt for the Mad Trapper of the Arctic. A True Story of the Northland – Put Into Verse. RCMP Quarterly 1967:16-19.

Kroetsch, Robert
1975 Poem of Albert Johnson. *In* The Stone Hammer Poems 1960-1975. Nanaimo: Oolichan Books.

Films, Screenplays, radio scripts

Garnett, Tay (Director) and Chuck D. Keen (Producer).
1976 *Challenge To Be Free.* [Film]. Los Angeles: PIE Pacific International Enterprises Inc.

Keen, Chuck D.
Date unknown Story Line. The Mad Trapper of the Yukon. Manuscript. Yukon Archives.

Kligman, Paul and Ed McNamara
1972 Mad Trapper of Rat River. Canadian Broadcasting Corporation CBC Tuesday Night. Produced and Directed by Dan Wood.

Hunt, Peter (Director) and Shotstak, Murray (Producer).
1981 Death Hunt. [Film]. Hollywood: 20th Century Fox.

Songs

Carter, Wilf
1932/3 The Capture of Albert Johnson. Song. RCA.

Bourque, Magnus
1966 Ballad of Albert J. originally in The Delta Encore. *In* Wiebe, Rudy, 1978. The Death and Life of Albert Johnson: Collected Notes on a Possible Legend. *In* Figures in a Ground: Canadian Essays on Modern Literature Collected in Honour of Sheila Watson. Diane Bessai and David Jackel, eds. pp. 219-246. Saskatoon: Western Producer Prairie Books.

Bryand, Christine and Carle Hodson
1965 Saga of the Mad Trapper. New Westminster: Empire Music Publishers *In* Wiebe, Rudy, 1978 The Death and Life of Albert Johnson: Collected Notes on a Possible Legend. *In* Figures in a Ground: Canadian Essays on Modern Literature Collected in Honour of Sheila Watson. Diane Bessai and David Jackel, eds. pp. 219-246. Saskatoon: Western Producer Prairie Books.

Hutton, Doug
1974 Rat River Trapper. Bulrush Music. *In* Wiebe, Rudy, 1978 The Death and Life of Albert Johnson: Collected Notes on a Possible Legend. *In* Figures in a Ground. Canadian Essays on Modern Literature. Dianne Bassai and David Jackell, eds., pp. 219-246. Saskatoon: Western Producer Prairie Books.

Newspapers Articles

Some headlines have been given to depict the manner in which the story was being told. Many of these clips were found in the various archive files and unfortunately, no reference to what newspaper they were in was kept with the clipping.

Found in Albert Johnson File Vol. IV RCMP Headquarters, Ottawa:

Sunday, May 15, 1932 - Chicago Herald and Examiner

Edmonton Bulletin - Thursday March 3, 1932
– no date or paper – Cornered Pursuers, Wounded and Fighting to Last, Johnson Slain

The Daily Gleaner, September 5, 1974 – Wounding Mountie Heralded End of Mad Trapper (Whitehorse)

Mackenzie and District News – December 10, 1970, page 7 Manhunt for a Madman

Ottawa Journal – Saturday, September 16, 1978 – Page 20 – Mad Trapper Vs. The World by Don Whiteley

Found in Albert Johnson File Vol. II RCMP Headquarters, Ottawa

The Whitehorse Star, Wednesday, May 24, 1972, Page 1B – 40 year old Mad Trapper riddle is no mystery to city couple.

Copy of newspaper article from Ottawa Citizen September 13, 1980 – Mad Trapper Hunter insists novel inaccurate
"Edmonton – A new book by Rudy Weibe on the Mad Trapper of Rat River has been called "inaccurate and ridiculous" by the last surviving member of the posse involved in the famous manhunt almost 50 years ago.
"That fellow just didn't do his homework," Frank Hersey, 70, said from his home in Barrie, Ont. "You can see he doesn't know anything about the North."

Found in National Archives Ottawa Albert Johnson File RG 85 V12

Ottawa Journal, February 23, 1932 – THAT DEMENTED TRAPPER
Winnipeg Free Press – February 3, 1932
Police Methods – The attempts made by the Royal Canadian Mounted Police to arrest the demented trapper in the Arctic Circle are being scoffed at by critics expressing their views in newspapers in the United States.

Edmonton, Alberta, Thursday, January 21, 1932
Fear New Siege in Progress At Insane Trapper's Cabin
No Word Received from RCMP Posse Which Made 80 Mile Trek from Aklavik to Smoke Out Albert Johnson From Barricaded Cabin

Regina Leader Post – February 25, 1932
DENIES SLAIN TRAPPER MAD
Lifting of Traps, Root of Trouble, an Unwritten Law, He Says
(Special Despatch)
TORONTO, Ont. Feb. 24

Montreal Gazette – February 13, 1932
MOUNTIES BAFFLED BY TRAPPER'S TRAIL

St. John Telegraph Journal – Feb. 11, 1932
Law In The North

Montreal Gazette – February 23, 1932
THEY ALWAYS "GET THEIR MAN"

Toronto Globe – February 19, 1932
AN ARCTIC TRAGEDY ENDED

Calgary Albertan – 17-2-36
"MAD TRAPPER" SHOT DOWN 4 YEARS AGO

What follows may seem like a very disjointed story but that is because the stories in the popular discourse vary so much. The following sections have been chosen from many of the above sources as they illustrate the themes I discuss in Chapter Four.

The Mad Trapper of Rat River
A Narrative Constructed from the Popular Media Versions of this Story

"No one knew
From where he came
A mystery man
Without a name
And soon you will see
He had challenge to be free"
– verse from theme song in film Challenge to be Free. Directed by Tay Garnett. Produced and Photographed by Chuck D. Keen. Executive Producer Arthur. R. Dubs. Media Home Entertainment Inc.

"There are still today mountains that are nameless, rivers that run God-knows-where, and valleys that are unpeopled and still, but the men who left their mark on the land are gone forever." (Keen Manuscript, n.d:6).

"The story set forth here is factually accurate ... but while details of the story – dates, places, names etc. are factually accurate ... *Trapper* is, finally, a work of fiction." (York 1981:xii).

Scene:	The Northern Traders Post ...
Millen:	What do you say, Peter? How's the leg?
Peter:	(He's Indian) Pretty good now. Squaw cut him off.
Millen:	I see that. What did she use? An Axe?
Peter:	Nope. Swede saw.
...	
Millen:	How're you doing, Charlie Rat?
Charlie:	(Indian) Hello, Redman. Look. I buy big feather pillow for my woman. Gonna make lots of love tonight. Make lotsa little Indians. Grow up and shoot all those Red Mounties.

(Kligman and McNamara 1972:5, 6).

"It was as if he had come from nowhere, and was a 'non-person'" (North 1972:47).

"Johnson drifted into the Northwest Territories of Canada in July 1932, camping near Fort McPherson. Shortly after arriving, he put on a shooting exhibition with automatic pistols. With a pistol in each hand, firing simultaneously, he shot away the target, a stake driven into the ground. Awed by the shooting the Indians spread the word of Johnson's prowess with weapons." (Ferrell 1998:103).

His ways were lone and he kept to his
Own, and he acted 'bushed' and 'queer',
And he turned his guns on the friendly
Ones who dared to venture near.
There were looting tales of trap-line trails
Where the wild Rat River rolled,
And the law of the land stretched out its
Hand dressed in scarlet and gold.
(Barrett 1967:16)

"Winter came down with a roar that year, with 45 below, blizzards and a fast freeze-up that gripped river and lake and creek with merciless intensity. Johnson had disappeared from his camp on the Peel and none knew of his whereabouts." (Mullett n.d.:17).

"The man was five feet nine inches tall. He had blond hair and pale blue eyes. He weighted 175 pounds, with legs like tree stumps; his neck and shoulders were as powerful as a caribou bull's. His name was Arthur Nelson. He unslung the two rifles he arrived over his two-hundred-pound pack. He put one rifle into the snow. It was a Winchester .22. He hefted the other rifle in his hands and quietly racked a shell into the breech. It was a 30-30 Model 99 Featherweight 'take down' Savage ..." (North 1972:xvii).

"The news that Johnson had left his camp on the Peel River for a cabin on the Rat River came when an Indian trapper called the Arctic Red detachment to complain that, evidently with the object of discouraging their activist to the point where they would go elsewhere, a 'crazy man' was treating the white men's traps as previously he had done those of the Indians, and pulling a gun on those who protested" (Douthwaite 1939:235).

"Constable King, a quiet, efficient young man from Montreal, left with Bernard and a dog team in the pitch black of the early morning. It was bitterly cold. They reached Fort McPherson and spent the night comfortable, a warm contrast to the following night when they camped at the mouth of the Rat River in the open in 30-below temperature" (Anderson 1986:13).

"The policemen had spent a day and half travelling in weather where the temperature hovered around forty below zero. They had left camp without eating breakfast, were anxious to take care of what they hoped would be a routine call, and then planned to be on their way to a New Year's party in Fort McPherson" (Horwood and Butts 1984:229).

"Late on the bitterly cold winter night of the 28th Constable King and Joe Bernard trudged through a spume of snow and halted their dog-teams before the Johnson cabin. Squat, ugly and forbidding, built of unusually heavy logs, which had been loop-holed at the corners, it stood in a snow-filled clearing on the north bank of the Rat, twenty miles from its junction with the Husky, and resembled an old-time frontier fort or block-house rather than a trapper's cabin" (Godsell 1932:241).

"Without warning Johnson fired through the door. Constable R.G. McDowell, who had remained at the river bank, returned the fire. Two bullets whistled by his head. He threw himself in the snow and fired again. King took the opportunity to crawl away from the shack and make a round about way back to the shelter of the bank.
"I'm hit," he said.
He tottered. McDowell caught him, placed him on a sled, made him comfortable. He cracked his whip and started the dogs.
It was bitter to think that four members of the Royal Canadian Mounted Police had been routed by one man. It was shameful to realize they must retreat" (Wayling and Doherty 1936:6).

"McDowell and Bernard and Sittichiulis lashed King to one of the sleds and mushed 80 miles in 20 hours to save King's life" (North 1969:9).

Scene in film *Death Hunt*. Millen shows Adams, the new Mountie into the cabin. Another Mountie is there. He is black and has an American accent (as all the actors do!).
There's a Native woman in bed. Adams gets undressed – woman giggles and he gets redressed. Black guy is in bed with woman. Asks Adams if he wants a piece of this Buffalo Woman. Adams goes to sleep in own bed.
Millen looks at fire in woodstove. Black guy gets up and starts drinking whisky and says Buffalo Woman's taking a liking to the Mountie. Millen says she's getting tired of old men like us. Other guy says speak for yourself and goes back to her. Millen drinks more.

"The forty below blizzard was still raging as the party set out with those over-laden sledges; the journey, that had taken McDowell 21 hours, occupied four whole days" (Douthwaite 1939:236).

"[Inspector] Eames chose a force of nine men and forty-two dogs to go after Johnson" (North 1972:17).

"Old Tracks" famed as the north's greatest tracker (Indian, about 60, sitting in dog sled, in white parka, mukluks, mitts) – Film: Challenge to be Free.

"[Indian Guide] Charlie Rat [was] either uncertain of the route or still under the influence of too much New Year's celebration at Fort McPherson. When the posse reached Rat River on January 7, they discovered that they were some 10 km (6 miles) above the cabin instead of behind it" (Anderson 1986:18, 19).

"Cautiously circling the cabin, Inspector Eames posted his men at strategic points in the thick brush at the edge of the clearing, and then he called upon Johnson to surrender.
The distant crash of Johnson's rifle, and the crackling whine of his bullets were the only answer by the embattled trapper; and Eames' patrol, taking cover in the brush, opened a rattling fire against the cabin" (May and Kincaid 1932:88).

"The party was compelled to build a fire in order to thaw out as the temperature was still 45 below. They kept up the siege until after three a.m. the following morning – 15 hours in all – as it seemed Johnson had an unending supply of ammunition. About nine p.m. small charges of dynamite were thawed out ..." (Burt-Johns 1993:153, 154).

"It was near to three in the morning on January 10, 1932, when Inspector Eames decided on one last effort to dislodge Johnson from his redoubt. Eames bound up the remaining sticks of dynamite – four pounds in all – and heaved the deadly bundle across the twenty-yard clearing. The resulting blast ripped the roof off the cabin and partially caved in the sides" (North 1972:21).

"The temperature was sixty degrees below zero and food was running out. The policemen cursed the trapper, who was holed up warm and well-fed in his bullet-proof shelter and trailed off through the bitter winter weather to Aklavik, their nearest source of supplies. When Eames returned ten days later with an augmented force and supplies to last for a week or more, to find that Johnson had fled his cabin and vanished into the wilderness ... Johnson, after a period of indecision and backtracking apparently made up his mind to make a break across the narrow northern end of the Yukon Territory, perhaps in hope the of finding sanctuary on the foreign soil of Alaska. He travelled with amazing speed, covering up to forty miles a day in weather that ranged from thirty to forty degrees below zero, camping cold in the brief daytime, travelling mostly by night, and living off the land on a diet of ptarmigan and rabbit as he travelled – all the time displaying the most extraordinary cunning in either hiding his tracks or leaving behind him a trail whose complexities at times slowed his pursuers to a standstill." (McCourt 1969:107-109)

"Riddell and Millen clambered back up the bank and into the bush. Seconds later a rifle boomed at very close range. Riddell dived back over the bank, but Constable Millen did not follow; he held his ground and returned the Mad Trapper's fire, getting off two shots to Johnson's three. 'Spike!' called Riddell. No answer.
Under the covering fire, Riddell gained the bank. There, neatly at his feet, lay Constable Spike Millen – dead" (McLean 1973:45).

"Millen's view of the job was clear. He knew that it was more difficult than simply killing a man. His job was to bring Johnson to justice. That was the way he was taught and he died fulfilling this unwritten law. These are the moments that make up the tradition, not in the lives of the few outstanding men but the moments of many – moments of crisis, moments of decision, when man shows who he is and what he believes. And these are also the moments that make up the legend, when the man of flesh and blood measures up to the ideal. In these moments, tradition and legend are one, fiction is welded to truth, belief is confirmed, and we understand what the legend symbolizes: faith that man *can* live up to his aspirations. What these aspirations are – the kind of man our society in its wishdreams wants to be – is revealed in the character of the force, in the acts and ideals that keep the legend alive" (Phillips 1954:35).

"Once his pursuers had left his camp, Johnson climbed out of the hole in which he had sought refuge and walked over to look at Millen's body. He quickly realized that he needed to get away before the men returned – for they surely would. Looking around, he saw that there was only one way out. He grabbed some of his gear and collected fistfuls of snow. Then, using his ice axe to carve handholds in the ice and snow, he tackled the vertical cliff behind the camp. After scaling it, the wily trapper sent soft snow cascading down to cover his tracks before vanishing into the frigid Arctic night" (Katz 2004:77).

Calgary Albertan – February 3, 1932
GONE BERSERK

Dispatch of an aeroplane, carrying RCMP officers, to the Rat River area is the latest development in the Albert Johnson chase.
Johnson – the trapper who is alleged to be mad, and to have a grudge against the RCMP – has already killed a member of the force and for many days has held the officers of the law at bay. As time progresses and his capture seems no nearer, stories about Johnson are placed in increasingly prominent places on the front pages of newspapers.

The unfortunate part of this incident-and of most incidents of this nature as reported in press dispatches – is that we know nothing whatever about the real story. Apparently this man was once a law-abiding member of the northern fraternity and suddenly he went "berserk" and decided to go out in a blaze of glory. The stages of his mental disease, or the circumstances which caused it, may never be known.

Whether the loneliness did it, or whether he found himself up against an

accumulation of bad luck, we cannot tell. He seems to have retained a curiously acute sense of self-preservation. Indeed, although he may be deranged in one respect, in another his sanity has been illustrated, in an emphatic and tragic manner.

He is fighting his last fight with the forces of civilization and-mad or not-he is putting up a fight which will not be forgotten for a long time.
National Archives in Ottawa
File on Albert Johnson – Northern Administration Branch R.G. 85 Volume 12.

> "On three continents newspaper readers would marvel day by day at the fortitude of this ruthless adventurer. No one knows his real name but he will live in memory by the name the papers gave him, The Mad Trapper of Rat River – though trapping was only an incidental skill and he wasn't mad, except in the sense of harboring hatred. On the contrary, he was as shrewd, resourceful and resolute a killer as the North has ever known ... a most unlikely hero for an epic" (Phillips 1954:12).

> "By this time, the hunt had become a cause celebre. The Depression-era radio audience was intrigued by the chase – one man pitted against a superior force, eluding them while living off the land in the hardest of climatic conditions" (The Mystery Review 1994:57).

> Scene from movie *Death Hunt* – This motion picture is based on a true story. Albert Johnson (Charles Bronson) is running on snow with snowshoes. Men are chasing him with German Shepard dogs and horses. Wind is blowing. They are in mountains. Johnson wearing brown fur coat, running through bush. Millen (Lee Marvin) states we got to push him till he drops. They keep going, trees are very tall. Johnson watches them through binoculars as he sits perched in a tree. He climbs down, puts his snow shoes on backwards and starts running again toward the mountains. Millen climbs a tree to catch sight of Johnson. He looks through field glasses and sees Johnson looking back at him through glasses. Both men smile at each other. Johnson goes over mountain, crosses an open river, comes to a huge ice wall and climbs it using his axe and enters a cave with icicles hanging down. He rests and resumes his run on a caribou trail. A plane goes overhead. Music speeds up. Machine gun fire lets loose from the plane, Johnson rolls down a huge hill. Johnson continues to run, finds himself at the top of a cliff with huge river below; plane is coming; dogs are coming up behind. He has no choice but to jump. He jumps, catches a tree, plane comes down and keeps machine gun fire on him. The pilot loses control as it is hit with gunfire from below. The engine stalls; the plane crashes into a cliff and blows up in a fireball. Johnson falls down to the ground from the tree, collects his bag and keeps running.

> "Albert Johnson, as he styled himself – for a man to exist in the world of men must have a name – enduring more than most men could, an outcast of the Arctic with death at his heels, kindled a new figure of loneliness in the human imagination and so became the stuff of legend. These were the days when the world's markets had tumbled and stockbrokers threw

themselves from office windows onto the pavement of Wall Street. On Fifth Avenue the unemployed sold apples. In Canada, as in the United States, men walked in gloom, not understanding the disaster that had come upon them. Loggers, miners, farm helpers looked for work and could not find it. The struggle of Albert Johnson against the forces which hunted him across the Arctic wastes became symbolic of their own. Like themselves, he, a trapper and, therefore, a workingman, was a victim of fate" (O'Hagan 1978:65).

Yet the Mad Trapper remained at large. The police finally got a lead on him on February 12 and what they heard was incredible. Snowshoe tracks, believed to be Johnson's had been seen near La Pierre House on the Yukon side of the Richard Mountains ... Indians who knew the region said no man could do it alone in the wintertime and yet, somehow Johnson had done it ... (Horwood and Butts 1984:238).

"Suddenly a strange dog team broke into the circle of flickering fire-light. Behind them was a young Kutchin whose excitement made speech difficult. He was Peter Alexi ... his people were afraid ... they were leaving the camps and travelling to the trading post at La Pierre House in the Yukon. Mad Trapper on Bell River!" (McLean 1973:62).

Scene from the film *Challenge To Be Free* – Narrator: We hold up a nearby lodge, men could get rest while Old Tracks tried to work out the puzzle. There was lots of guessing as to where he [Johnson] was (Chess game being played, Old Tracks watches). Again it was Old Tracks that came up with the answer. He could read any kind of sign and pick up a trail invisible to other men but beyond that he could talk to the land itself and it answered him back (outside, looking at mountains, hears an owl hooting – he goes back into Lodge).

"Around the same time that the posse felt they were nearing Johnson, men in Old Crow wanted to form a posse of their own in case the Mad Trapper went down the Porcupine River. However, a shaman elder from the Old Crow band told them not to. 'You no go look. One sleep and he die' (Katz 2004:108).

Final Scene in film *Death Hunt* – Albert Johnson (Charles Bronson) is over mountain and you can see the other side of the continental divide. He takes off his hat and proceeds down the mountain. Music – no snow to speak of on that side of mountain. Albert Johnson gets away and Millen (Lee Marvin) who saw him go over pretends not to as he respects a man who can escape from him. Victorious music as scene pans to mountains.

"Howling blizzards of midwinter threw their fury at the plane, forcing Wop down at Fort Smith. Then the weather cleared just enough for him to go on, although progress was slow.

> Wop looked down at the swirling snow that must have wiped out Johnson's fresh tracks. 'The old needle in the haystack,' he remarked.
> 'Even the weather seems to work for the Mad Trapper, agreed Jake [Bowen, mechanic.] 'You know, it's the strangest thing I've ever heard of, even here in the North where anything can happen' (Allan 1966:142).

> "That bank is easily climbed, he knows because he climbed it that morning, but all the dogs and men so suddenly around the hairpin turn surprised him toward the nearest bank, and he sees the teams spreading to outflank him, three towards the low west bank. And two of them bending over the one army radioman he got. Instantly the man knew it was the river that had betrayed him. He had outlegged their dogs and lost the plane time and again on glare-ice and in fog and bush and between the endless trails of caribou herds, but the sluggish loops of this river doubling back on itself have betrayed him." (Wiebe 1973:371).

> "Once when they had him surrounded
> While trailing him through the snow
> He aimed another deadly shot,
> Laid another Mountie low."
> (Wilf Carter Song)

Ottawa Citizen February 18, 1932
Trapper Killed In Final Stand Against Police
Deadly Rifle of Alfred Johnson Brings Down Another Man Before Red Coats End Arctic Chase
Staff-Sergeant Hersey Is Seriously Wounded
Wild Man of North Goes Down Fighting After Long Defying Mounties
(Canadian Press)
AKLAVIK, NWT, Feb 17 – Albert Johnson came to the end of his blizzardly trail today. The wild man of the Arctic went down fighting but Canada's red-coated Royal Canadian Mounted Police won out.

In the grey dusk of the Arctic circle day, the Rat river trapper was shot dead today by a posse of Mounties and trappers who had trailed him for weeks over the snow-clad hills of the Yukon-Northwest-Territories boundary area. Before he died, Johnson added a wounded posse member to his two-gun toll of one dead, one wounded.

Two months ago, Johnson shot down Constable A.W. King of the Mounted Police as the policeman sought to arrest him for pilfering Indian's traps. Two weeks later he killed Constable E. Millen as a Mountie posse closed in on him after he had escaped from his dynamite-shattered cabin. Today, cornered after a 200 mile chase into the Yukon, he wounded Staff Sergeant E.F. Hersey in his final death-stand.

Battling cold, hunger, blizzards and overwhelming odds, the eccentric trapper defied the police for eight solid weeks, now running through the bleak hills of the Arctic, now standing at bay and shooting down his pursuers if they came within range of his deadly rifle.

When fate over took him, Johnson was perpetrating one of the foxy, trail-muddling ricks, with which he has managed to keep out of range of the police and trapper pursuers. He was doubling back on his trail. This time, however, his pursuers

were too close.

He was seen by Staff Sergeant E.F. Hersey and a trapper named Noel Verville, plugging along in advance of the main posse. Hunter and hunted at once prepared for a gun battle. Hersey and Verville jerked their rifles from their toboggan.

Hersey Struck Twice

The wild man drew first blood. As Hersey knelt to take aim, a bullet from Johnson's rifle struck him in the knee. Glancing up through his thigh and another entered his chest. Verville continued firing.

Only a few shots had been exchanged when the main police party, hearing the firing, ran up. They opened fire at once and the desperado went down under a hail of lead from half a dozen rifles (National Archives. Northern Administration Branch R.G. 85 Volume 12).

> "*The Eagle River, Yukon:* Wednesday, February 17, 1932.
> There is arctic silence at last, after the long snarl of rifles. As if all the stubby trees within earshot had finished splitting in the cold. Then the sound of the airplane almost around the river's bend begins to return, turning as tight a spiral as it makes it up over bank and trees and back down, over the man crumpled on the bedroll, over the frantic staked dogteams, sputtering, down, glancing down off the wind-ridged river ... The pack is too huge, and apparently worried by rats with very long, fine teeth. Behind it a twisted body. Unbelievably small. One outflung hand still clutching a rifle, but no motion, nothing ... The police rifle points down, steadily extending the police arm until it can level the body, already stiffening, up. A red crater for a hip .. but the face is turning up. Rime, and clots of snow ground into whiskers, the fur hat hurled somewhere by bullets perhaps and the whipped cowlick already a mat frozen above half-open eyes showing only white, nostrils flared, the concrete face wiped clean of everything but snarl. Freezing snarl and teeth ... " (Wiebe 1974:145, 146).

> Now the greatest of the manhunt is ended
> In the history of that northern land,
> But we'll give credit to the Mountie
> Who always get their man.
> (Wilf Carter Song)

> "having lept their ring walked back
> and baited their pride with his spent body
> bought them the cry they sought and only kept
>
> his silence (we stand at his grave in Aklavik
> mosquitoes swarming at our heads like the posse
> that slammed him out of his last loading)" (Kroetsch 1975:49).

> "... the perfect man of mystery ... he might have dropped to earth from outer space. Indeed there is something approaching the eerie about the

man. For instance, how could he have lived for thirty-five to forty years – that was his estimated age – and not have a single scar on his entire body?" (Young 1968:92).

"The slender white crosses, the picket fences of the graves of the good Aklavik citizens crowd about, spreading to the distant corners of the large graveyard, but only this once ostracized "fugitive of the law" who according to the sign was apparently hunted for four and a half years receives so much attention. Every tourist goes there to take a picture. Why are murderers so much remembered?" (Wiebe 1989:51, 52).

Ottawa Journal, February 23, 1932 – copy of article
THAT DEMENTED TRAPPER
Sir: – So, the Mounted Police have finally succeeded in running down and slaying that poor, demented northwestern trapper who succeeded in evading and outwitting them for so long a time. According to despatches published in The Journal it would appear that much gratification is felt amongst the police force that they have accomplished so great an accomplishment. To me the whole affair seems to verge on sheer brutality. There was one lone man combating overwhelming odds in the dead of winter on a vast open terrain where escape was impossible had the police been content to surround his lonely cabin when they knew him to be confined there, and by humans patience holding him there till starvation and privation changed his distorted mentality into a condition of submission. But no, present day police methods call for quick action. 'Get the thing over with. Kill him. Bomb him, if necessary, from an airplane. But kill him and kill him quick so that we can get back to comfortable quarters.' The RNWMP had a great tradition: 'Get your man but bring him in alive.' That fine tradition does not now appear to be part of their comprehension. Alfred W. Law. Noranda, Que. Feb. 19, 1932. (National Archives in Ottawa File on Albert Johnson – Northern Administration Branch R.G. 85 Volume 12).

"So the police were confronted once more with the puzzling question: Who was this man who, under the name of Albert Johnson, lay in a grave at Akalvik? Dead and buried, the mad trapper brought about a new hunt throughout North America as police officers, working with the prints of his frozen fingers, sought the answer to the puzzle ... I'm pretty nearly certain in my own mind that Johnson, the mad trapper of Rat River whom justice overtook on the icy bottom of the Eagle River, will prove to be Coyote Bill, the Idaho murderer who outfooted retribution in his dash through the Craters of the Moon. Time – and the prints of Johnson's frozen fingers – will eventually prove whether I am right. *Editors Note: Despite Wop May's web of strong circumstantial evidence linking Coyote Bill to Albert Johnson, the fingerprints do not match. Police still do not have an answer to the question: Who was the Mad Trapper of Rat River?*" – Wop May, in Anderson (1986:80, 81).

"The story of Albert Johnson is one of a man of mystery ... Johnson's point of origin has never been established. In a sense this is the story of

two men, Albert Johnson and Arthur Nelson ... The available data constitute a fairly good case for Albert Johnson's being Arthur Nelson" (North 1972:xv, 99).

"I must answer the inevitable question: Were John [Johnson] and Albert [Johnson] the same man? Taking a cold, objective look at the vital statistics, modus operandi, and this history of the men, it would be difficult to come to any conclusion other than the affirmative one ... One final bit of evidence seems to capture the essence of Albert and Johnny Johnson. Oddly prophetic, it was an entry written on Johnny's records in the Wyoming State Penitentiary. Dated June 15, 1915, under the title *Description of a Convict* and sandwiched between 'Crime – Stealing livestock' and 'Occupation – Cowpuncher' was the notation "Nativity – Nowhere". Prophetic? On page 47 of my first book on Albert Johnson written in 1972, long before I ever heard of Johnny Johnson, I had written: 'It was as if he [Albert Johnson] had come from nowhere, as a non-person'" (North 1989:168, 173).

From my fieldnotes: – Mad Trapper Tavern, Mackenzie Road, Inuvik
The smoke is really thick, blue plumes circle around the low lights hanging over the pool tables. A few guys from Fort McPherson, who I recognize by sight only are playing pool. The local band is playing some Charlie Pride tune. Beer bottles, half full, half empty cover the tables. The usual seedy bar scene. Photos from Dick North's book are on the walls (Wop May's plane, the bombed out cabin). The girl at the bar is stressed, the usual shortage of staff she complains. I ask if they have any more Mad Trapper T-shirts. I had seen a few people around Inuvik wearing them and they told me the bar sold them. She is annoyed with me but screams the question to the other guy working at the bar with her. He thinks there is in the back, so she goes off to find one. A few minutes later she returns with a grey T-shirt. The death photo of Johnson with the evil smirk is plastered on the front. Yuk. How much I ask her? $20.00. I give her the $20.00 and tuck the T-shirt into my backpack. I chuckle to myself. How Baudrillard. Events only count if mediatized and made to be hyperreal. Produce it for the masses to consume. The hyperreal is now the real. I will now look like the other tourists. The T-shirt now represents the fact that I've been in the north and survived. The ultimate tourist perspective.
I guess Johnson, Mad Trapper represents this area of the north. His death photo is on the shirt but he has survived. How many years later will he still be talked about?

From my fieldnotes: Royal Canada Mounted Police Museum, Regina, Saskatchewan – Friday, August 31, 2001
Finally I come to the Mad Trapper Exhibit, 1932 with no lights on!!! From what I can see in the dark, on the bottom of the display case is a sign "Death by rifle fire was only the beginning in a bizarre mystery that still lingers in the land of the

midnight sun. Subject of the manhunt in the Yukon that spanned 54 days of 40-50 below temperature, the so called Mad Trapper of Rat River was wanted for the murder of a young Constable and the attempted murder of another. Because of the intense cold the posse in pursuit required a large volume of supplies. For the first time in its history the RCMP called on an aircraft to assist in the manhunt. Wop (Spelt in the display Whop) May an ace pilot in WW1 transported vital goods to the posse that was gradually closing on the mysterious man. The Mad Trapper used the name Albert Johnson although there is no real proof of his name, his identity or his background and no explanation as to why he was carrying $2,400.00 in cash in his knapsack. When the posse eventually got their man, they discovered the wily trapper had been wearing his snowshoes on backwards to confuse his pursuers.
The snowshoes are probably as tall as I am, if not a little more. They are very wide, I don't know how wide, two feet maybe. The display case also has a small tin pail with a bullet hole through it, with the lid. It is pretty beat up. There is an axe with a wooden handle and an axe head, there is a chip out of it down near the stem. There's a gun that is a sawed off something. There is another gun here but I don't see the notches on it. Maybe if the lights were on I could see it!!! There is also a sack of some sort. As for pictures, there is a picture of his cabin after it had been dynamited, there is picture of them getting supplies on the plane, a picture of the plane in the snow and a picture of the mushing and it looks like an artist's rendering here on the river, Johnson trying to go up, someone is lying in the snow and an airplane coming down. I will come back when, and if, the lights are on!
(About an hour later) The lights are on! The bag that is in the Mad Trapper exhibit is B.C. sugar, extra fine. There is one gun that is steel that has been sawed off. All there is, is the trigger and a little bit of the shaft and you can see where the bullet is loaded. The next one is like a shot gun that has been sawed off. The next one is an actual big shot gun. I don't see any holes on it that have been notched, that everybody has been talking about. Maybe they are on the other side. I don't see them, where are they?

In the Mad Trapper exhibit, the snowshoes are definitely hand made. The wood has been all carved and placed in it. They tied in with either sinew or babiche and there is a piece of metal that runs across the very front and it has been pushed up and bolted there. I don't know if that is to hold them together because they are old or whatever. They are very long and are hand carved. Other people are passing by me and looking at the case with interest. That's the Mad Trapper stuff I hear someone say.

References Cited

Abel, Kerry
1989 "Matters are Growing Worse": Government and the Mackenzie Missions, 1870-1921. *In* For Purposes of Dominion. Essays In Honour of Morris Zaslow. Kenneth S. Coates, William R. Morrison and Morris Zaslow, eds. pp. 73-85. North York: Captus Press.

1993 Drum Songs. Glimpses of Dene History. Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press.

Allan, Iris
1966 Wop May. Bush Pilot. Toronto: Clarke, Irwin & Company Limited.

Anderson, Frank W.
1986 The Death of Albert Johnson. Mad Trapper of Rat River. Surrey: Heritage House Publishing.

1994 The Albert Johnson Saga. Saskatoon: Frank W. Anderson.

Andrews, Thomas D. and John B. Zoe
1997 The Idaa Trail: Archaeology and the Dogrib Cultural Landscape, Northwest Territories, Canada. *In* At a Crossroads: Archaeology and First Peoples in Canada. P. Nicholas and Thomas D. Andrews, eds. pp. 160-177. Burnaby: Simon Fraser University.

Asad, Talal
1973 Introduction. *In* Anthropology and the Colonial Encounter. T. Asad, ed. pp. 1-11. Atlantic Highlands, N.J.: Humanities Press.

Asad, Talal, James W. Fernandez, Michael Herzfeld, Andrew Lass, Susan Carol Rogers, Jane Schneider and Katherine Verdery
1997 Provocations of European Ethnology. American Anthropologist 99:713-730.

Asch, Michael I.
1979 The Economics of Dene Self-Determination. *In* Challenging Anthropology. A Critical Introduction to Social and Cultural Anthropology. David H. Turner and Gavin A. Smith, eds. pp. 339-351. Toronto: McGraw-Hill Ryerson Limited.

Atwood, Margaret
1972 Survival. A Thematic Guide to Canadian Literature. Toronto: Anansi.

1995 Strange Things. The Malevolent North in Canadian Literature. Oxford: Clarendon Press.

Bailey, Nancy
1985 Imaginative and Historical Truth In Wiebe's The Mad Trapper. Journal of Canadian Studies 20:70-79.

Barbour, Douglas
n.d. The Apotheosis of Albert Johnson. *In* Wiebe, Rudy, 1978 The Death and Life of Albert Johnson: Collected Notes on a Possible Legend. *In* Figures in a Ground: Canadian Essays on Modern Literature Collected in Honour of Sheila Watson. Diane Bessai and David Jackel, eds. pp. 219-246. Saskatoon: Western Producer Prairie Books.

Barrett, J. Robert
1942 Man-Hunt for the Mad Trapper of the Arctic. A True Story of the Northland – Put Into Verse. RCMP Quarterly 1967:16-19.

Basso, Keith
1984 "Stalking with Stories": Names, Places and Moral Narratives Among the Western Apache. *In* Text, Play and Story: the Construction and Reconstruction of Self and Society. 1983 Proceedings of The American Ethnological Society. Stuart Plattner and Edward M. Bruner, eds. pp. 19-55. Washington DC: The American Ethnological Society.

Batchelor, Bruce
1987 The Killer Who Stopped the Mounties Cold. *In* Up Here. Life in Canada's North. P. 27-29. RCMP HQ file, V.2

Beahen, Dr. William
1997 Robert George McDowell - Arctic Hero. RCMP Quarterly 62:15-6

Beardy, Flora and Robert Coutts
1996 Voices from Hudson Bay. Cree Stories from York Factory. Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press.

Behar, Ruth
1995 Introduction: Out of Exile. *In* Women Writing Culture. R. Behar and D. Gordon, eds. pp.1-29. Berkeley: University of California Press.

Bem, S. L. and D. J. Bem
1971 Training the Woman to Know Her Place: The Power of Nonconscious Ideology. *In* Roles Women Play. Readings Toward Women's Liberation. M.H. Garskof, ed. Belmont: Brooks/Cole.

Berkhofer, Robert F., Jr.
1978 The White Man's Indian. Images of the American Indian from Columbus to the Present. New York: Alfred A. Knopf.

Best, Steven and Douglas Kellner
1991 Postmodern Theory. Critical Interrogations. New York: Palgrave MacMillan.

Blaeser, Kimberly M.
1999 Writing Voices Speaking: Native Authors and an Oral Aesthetic. *In* Talking on the Page. Editing Aboriginal Oral Texts. Laura J. Murray and Keren Rice, eds. pp. 53-68. Toronto: University of Toronto Press.

Bohannon, Laura
1971 Shakespeare in the Bush. *In* Conformity and Conflict: Readings in Cultural Anthropology. James P. Spradley and David W. McCurdy, eds. Boston: Little Brown and Company. Accessed through internet http://www.cc.gatech.edu/people/hjome/idris/Essays/Shakes_in_Bush htm last accessed February 3, 2005.

Boon, Thomas C. B.
1965 William West Kirkby. First Anglican Missionary to the Loucheux. Beaver 295:36-43.

Bordo, Jonathan
1993 Jack Pine – Wilderness Sublime or the Erasure of the Aboriginal Presence From the Landscape. Journal of Canadian Studies 27:98-128.

1997 The *Terra Nullius* of the Wilderness – Colonialist Landscape Art (Canada & Australia) and the So-Called Claim to American Exception. International Journal of Canadian Studies 1997:13-36.

Bornat, Joanna
1993 Two Oral Histories: Valuing our Differences. Oral History Review 21:73-95.

Bourque, Magnus
1966 Ballad of Albert J. originally in The Delta Encore. *In* Wiebe, Rudy, 1978. The Death and Life of Albert Johnson: Collected Notes on a Possible Legend. *In* Figures in a Ground: Canadian Essays on Modern Literature Collected in Honour of Sheila Watson. Diane Bessai and David Jackel, eds. pp. 219-246. Saskatoon: Western Producer Prairie Books.

Brannon, Robert
1976 The Male Sex Role: Our Culture's Blueprint of Manhood and What It's Done For Us Lately. *In* The Forty-Nine Percent Majority. Deborah S. David and Robert Brannon, eds. pp. 1-45. Reading: Addison-Wesley.

Breen, David H.
1976 The Turner Thesis and the Canadian West: A Closer Look at the Ranching Frontier. *In* Essays on Western History. Lewis H. Thomas, ed. pp. 147-156. Edmonton: University of Alberta Press.

Brody, Hugh
1981 Maps and Dreams. Indians and the British Columbia Frontier. Vancouver: Douglas & McIntyre.

2000 The Other Side of Eden. Hunters, Farmers and the Shaping of the World. Vancouver: Douglas & McIntyre.

Bryand, Christine and Carle Hodson
1965 Saga of the Mad Trapper. New Westminster: Empire Music Publishers *In* Wiebe, Rudy, 1978 The Death and Life of Albert Johnson: Collected Notes on a Possible Legend. *In* Figures in a Ground: Canadian Essays on Modern Literature Collected in Honour of Sheila Watson. Diane Bessai and David Jackel, eds. pp. 219-246. Saskatoon: Western Producer Prairie Books.

Bulhof, Ilse N.
1980 Wilhelm Dilthey. A Hermeneutic Approach to the Study of History and Culture. The Hague: Martinus Nijhoff Publishers.

Burt-Johns, Fred
1993 Yukon Patrols. *In* Red Serge and Stetsons, Donovan T. Saul, ed. pp. 161-164. Victoria: Horsdal & Schubart.

Campbell, Myra
1987 Aklavik. A Community Study. Yellowknife: Department of Education, Government of Northwest Territories.

Carter, Wilf
1932/3 The Capture of Albert Johnson. Song. RCA.

Chamberlin, J. Edward
1999 Doing Things With Words: Putting Performance on the Page. *In* Talking on the Page. Editing Aboriginal Oral Texts. Laura J. Murray and Keren Rice, eds. pp. 69-90. Toronto: University of Toronto Press.

Clifford, James
1988 The Predicament of Culture: Twentieth-Century Ethnography, Literature, and Art. Cambridge: Harvard University Press.

Clifford, James and George E. Marcus
1986 Writing Culture: The Poetics and Politics of Ethnography: A School of American Research Advanced Seminar. Berkeley: University of California Press.

Clyne, Michael
1976 Towards an Integrated Model of Language Contact Research. *In* Canadian Languages In Their Social Context. Regna Darnell, ed. pp. 1-6. Edmonton: Linguistic Research, Inc.

Coates, Kenneth S. and William R. Morrison
1986 Treaty Research Report. Treaty Eleven (1921). Ottawa: Treaties and Historical Research Centre, Indian and Northern Affairs Canada.

Cohen, Bernard S.
1980 History and Anthropology: A State of Plan. Comparative Study of Society and History 22:198-221.

Cook, Ramsay
1991 The Triumph and Trails of Materialism (1900-1945). *In* The Illustrated History of Canada, Craig Brown, ed. pp. 375-466. Toronto: Lester Publishing Limited.

Cross, Michael S.
1970 Introduction. *In* The Frontier Thesis and the Canadas: The Debate on the Impact of the Canadian Environment. Michael S. Cross, ed. pp. 1-7. Toronto: The Copp Clark Publishing Company.

Creighton, Donald
1970 Alternatives to the Frontier Thesis: Paul Fox Interviews Donald Creighton. *In* The Frontier Thesis and the Canadas: The Debate on the Impact of the Canadian Environment. Michael S. Cross, ed., pp. 39-42. Toronto: The Copp Clark Publishing Company.

Cruikshank, Julie

1990 Getting the Words Right: Perspectives on Naming and Places in Athapaskan Oral History. Arctic Anthropology 27:52-65.

1991 Reading Voices. Dän Dhá Ts'edenintth'ę. Oral and Written Interpretations of the Yukon's Past. Vancouver: Douglas and McIntyre.

1998 The Social Life of Stories. Narrative and Knowledge in the Yukon Territory. Vancouver: UBC Press.

1999 The Social Life of Texts: Editing on the Page and in Performance. *In* Talking on the Page. Editing Aboriginal Oral Texts. Laura J. Murray and Keren Rice, eds. pp. 97-120. Toronto: University of Toronto Press.

Cruikshank, Julie with Angela Sidney, Kitty Smith and Annie Ned

1990 Life Lived Like a Story. Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press.

Darnell, Regna and L. Vanek

1976 The Pscyhology Reality of Cree Syllabics. *In* Canadian Languages in Their Social Context. Regna Darnell, ed. pp. 171-191. Edmonton: Linguistic Research, Inc.

Dauenhauer, Nora Marks and Richard Dauenhauer

1999 The Paradox of Talking On the Page: Some Aspects of the Tlingit and Haida Experience. *In* Talking on the Page. Editing Aboriginal Oral Texts. Laura J. Murray and Keren Rice, eds. pp. 3-42. Toronto: University of Toronto Press.

Dobrowolsky, Helene

1995 Law of the Yukon. A Pictorial History of the Mounted Police in the Yukon. Whitehorse: Lost Moose, the Yukon Publishers.

Douthwaite, L. Charles

1939 The Case of the "Mad Trapper" *In* The Royal Canadian Mounted Police, pp. 233-243. London: Blackie and Son Limited.

Fenwick, Rudy

1989 Canadian Society. *In* The ACSUS Papers. Joseph T. Jockel and Victor M. Howard, eds. pp. 36-49. Washington: The Association for Canadian Studies in the United States (ACSUS).

Ferrell, Ed
1998 Frontier Justice. Bowie: Heritage Books, Inc.

Francis, Daniel
1992 The Imaginary Indian. The Image of the Indian and Canadian Culture. Vancouver: Arsenal Pulp Press.

Freeman, Mark
1993 Rewriting the Self. History, Memory, Narrative. London: Routledge.

Freeman, J.
1971 The Social Construction of the Second Sex. *In* Roles Women Play: Readings Toward Women's Liberation. M.H. Garskof, ed. Belmont: Brooks/Cole.

Friedan, Betty
1963 The Feminine Mystique. New York: Norton.

Frye, Northrop
1970 The Frontier and Literary Imagination. *In* The Frontier Thesis and the Canadas: The Debate on the Impact of the Canadian Environment. Michael S. Cross, ed. pp. 168-171. Toronto: The Copp Clark Publishing Company.

1971 The Bush Garden. Essays on the Canadian Imagination. Toronto: House of Anansi Press Ltd.

Fumoleau, René
1973 As Long As This Land Shall Last. A History of Treaty 8 and Treaty 11. 1870-1939. Toronto: McClelland and Stewart Limited.

Garnett, Tay (Director) and Chuck D. Keen (Producer).
1976 *Challenge To Be Free.* [Film]. Los Angeles: PIE Pacific International Enterprises Inc.

Gittings, Christopher
1998 Imagining Canada: The Singing Mountie and Other Commodifications of the Nation. Canadian Journal of Communications v. 23. http://www.cjc-online.ca/viewarticle.php?id=485&layout=html. Last accessed March 14th, 2005.

Godsell, Philip H.
1932 The Mad Trapper of Rat River. *In* They Got Their Man. On Patrol with the North West Mounted. pp. 237-179. London: Robert Hale Limited.

Goulet, Jean-Guy A.
1998 Ways of Knowing. Experience, Knowledge, and Power Among the Dene Tha. Vancouver: UBC Press.

Government of Canada
1928 Rules and Regulations for the Government and Guidance of the Royal Canadian Mounted Police Force. 1928. Ottawa: F.A. Acland Printer to the King's Most Excellent Majesty.

1991 Comprehensive Land Claim Agreement Between Her Majesty The Queen in Right of Canada and The Gwich'in as Represented by the Gwich'in Tribal Council. Ottawa: Comprehensive Claims Branch, Department of Indian and Northern Development.

Graham, Angus
1935 The Gold Grindstone. The Adventures of George M. Mitchell. Recorded by Angus Graham. Toronto: Canadian Branch of Oxford University Press.

Grant, Shelagh D.
1989 Myths of the North in the Canadian Ethos. The Northern Review 3/4:15-41.

Greer, Sheila
1999 Ehdiitat Gwich'in Place Names Research. Report prepared under contract for Gwich'in Social and Cultural Institute, Tsiigehtchic, N.W.T. (in preparation).

Grimshaw, Anna and Keith Hart
1995 The Rise and Fall of Scientific Ethnography. *In* The Future of Anthropology: Its Relevance to the Contemporary World. A. S. Ahmend and C.N. Shore, eds. pp. 46-64. London: Athlone.

Gwich'in Enrolment Board
1998 Jijuu. Who Are My Grandparents? Where Are They From? Our People, Our Names: A Genealogy/History of the Teetl'it Gwich'in of Fort McPherson. Fort McPherson: Gwich'in Enrolment Board.

Gwich'in Social and Cultural Institute
1996 Into the Next Millenium: The Five-Year Plan of the Gwich'in Social and Cultural Institute. 1996-2001.

1999 A Dictionary of Gwichya Gwich'in and Teetl'it Gwich'in Dialects. 3rd Edition. Tsiigehtchic: Gwich'in Social and Cultural Institute.

Hall, Edwin S. Jr.
1969 Speculations on the Late Prehistory of the Kutchin Athapaskans. Ethnohistory 16:317-333.

Hallowell, A. Irving
1938 Fear and Anxiety as Cultural and Individual Variables in Primitive Society. Journal of Social Psychology 9:25-47.

Hegarty, Paul
2004 Jean Beaudrillard: Live Theory. London: Continuum.

Heine, Michael, Alestine Andre, Ingrid Kritsch and Alma Cardinal
2001 Gwichya Gwich'in Googwandak. The History and Stories of the Gwichya Gwich'in As Told by the Elders of Tsiigehtchic. Tsiigehtchic & Yellowknife: Gwich'in Social and Cultural Institute.

Helm, June
1981 Subarctic: Handbook of North American Indians. Vol. 6. Washington, D.C.: Smithsonian Institution.

Hofstadter, Richard
1970 The Frontier Thesis Under Attack. *In* The Frontier Thesis and the Canadas: The Debate on the Impact of the Canadian Environment. Michael S. Cross, ed. pp. 23-38. Toronto: The Copp Clark Publishing Company.

Honigmann, John J.
1981 Expressive Aspects of Subarctic Indian Culture. *In* Subarctic, ed. June Helm. Handbook of North American Indians, Vol. 6, pp. 718-38. Washington DC: Smithsonian Institution.

Hoppe, Kirk
1993 Whose Life Is It, Anyway?: Issues of Representation in Life Narrative Texts of African Women. The International Journal of African Historical Studies 26:623-636.

Horwood, Harold and Edward Butts
1984 Pirates and Outlaws of Canada 1610-1932. Toronto: Doubleday Canada Limited.

Hunt, Peter (Director) and Shotstak, Murray (Producer).
1981 Death Hunt. [Film]. Hollywood: 20th Century Fox.

Hutton, Doug
1974 Rat River Trapper. Bulrush Music. *In* Wiebe, Rudy, 1978 The Death and Life of Albert Johnson: Collected Notes on a Possible Legend. *In* Figures in a Ground: Canadian Essays on Modern Literature Collected in Honour of Sheila Watson. Diane Bessai and David Jackel, eds. pp. 219-246. Saskatoon: Western Producer Prairie Books.

Innis, Harold A.
1970 The Fur Trade in Canada. An Introduction to Canadian Economic History. Toronto: University of Toronto Press.

Innu Nation and Mushuau Innu Band Council.
1995 Gathering Voices. Finding Strength to Help Our Children. Innu Nation and the Mushuau Innu Band Council.

Jennings, John
1985 The Mad Trapper In Literature and Film. Journal of Canadian Studies 20:80-91.

Jordan, Glenn H.
1991 On Ethnography in an Intertextual Situation: Reading Narratives or Deconstructing Discourse? *In* Decolonizing Anthropology. Moving Further Toward an Anthropology for Liberation. Fay V. Harrison, ed. pp. 42-67. Washington: Association of Black Anthropologists. American Anthropological Association.

Katz, Hélèna
2004 Mad Trapper. The Incredible Tale of a Famous Canadian Manhunt. Canmore: Altitude Publishing Canada.

Keen, Chuck D.
n.d. Story Line. The Mad Trapper of the Yukon. Manuscript.

Kelley, Thomas P.
1972 Rat River Trapper: The Story of Albert Johnson, the Mad Trapper. Don Mills: Paperjacks.

King, Thomas
2003 The Truth About Stores. A Native Narrative. Toronto: House of Anansi Press Inc.

Kligman, Paul and Ed McNamara
1972 Mad Trapper of Rat River. Canadian Broadcasting Corporation CBC Tuesday Night. Produced and Directed by Dan Wood. Manuscript.

Knuckle, Robert
1994 No. 51 - Millen, Edgar - Cst. Regimental No. 9669. January 30, 1932 - Rat River, Northwest Territories Age: 31. The Mad Trapper of Rat River. *In* In the Line of Duty. The Honour Roll of the RCMP since 1873. Burnstown: General Store Publishing House.

Koroscil, Paul M.
1976 Introduction: The Canadian Northland. Canadian Issues 2:7-9.

Krech III, Shepard
1976 The Eastern Kutchin and the Fur Trade, 1800-1860. Ethnohistory 23:213-235.

1978a Disease, Starvation and Northern Athapaskan Social Organization. American Ethnologist 5:710-732.

1978b On the Aboriginal Population of the Kutchin. Arctic Anthropology 15:89-104.

1979a Interethnic Relations in the Lower Mackenzie River Region. Arctic Anthropology 16:102-122.

1979b The Nakotcho Kutchin: A Tenth Aboriginal Kutchin Band? Journal of Anthropological Research 35:109-121.

1980 Reconsiderations of the Aboriginal Social Organization of the North American Subarctic. Introduction: "Reconsideration" and Ethnohistorical Research. Arctic Anthropology 17:1-11.

1983 The Influence of Disease and The Fur Trade on Arctic Drainage Lowlands Dene, 1880-1850. Journal of Anthropological Research 39:123-146.

Kritsch, Ingrid D. and Alestine M. Andre
1997 Gwich'in Traditional Knowledge and the Heritage Studies in the Gwich'in Settlement Area. *In* At A Crossroads: Archaeology and First Peoples in Canada. George P. Nicholas and Thomas D. Andrews, eds. pp. 126-144. Burnaby: Archaeology Press, Simon Fraser University.

Kroetsch, Robert
1975 Poem of Albert Johnson. *In* The Stone Hammer Poems 1960-1975. Nanaimo: Oolichan Books.

Kulchyski, Peter
1997 From Appropriation to Subversion: Aboriginal Cultural Production in the Age of Postmodernism. The American Indian Quarterly 21:605-620.

Kulchyski, Peter, Don McCaskill and David Newhouse
1999 In the Words of Elders. Aboriginal Cultures in Transition. Toronto: University of Toronto Press.

Layton, Robert
1997 Postmodernism and Anthropology. *In* An Introduction to Theory in Anthropology. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Lee, Raymond L.M. and Susan E. Ackerman
1994 Farewell to Ethnography? Global Embourgeoisement and the Disprivileging of the Narrative. Critique of Anthropology 14:339-354.

Livo, Norma J. and Sandra A. Rietz
1986 Storytelling. Process and Practice. Littleton: Libraries Unlimited, Inc.

Mair, Charles
1999 Through the Mackenzie Basin. An Account of the Signing of Treaty 8 and the Scrip Commission, 1899. Edmonton: The University of Alberta Press and the Edmonton & District Historical Society.

Maracle, Brian
1993 Crazywater. Native Voice on Addiction and Recovery. Toronto: Penguin Group.

Marcus, George E. and Michael M. J. Fischer
1986 Anthropology as Cultural Critique. An Experimental Moment in the Human Sciences. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

May, W.R. and H. R. Kincaid
1932 Trapping the Mad Trapper of Rat River. The Sensational Capture. True Detective Mysteries. Publisher unknown. Yukon Archives PAM 1932-12.

May, Wop
1986 Trapping the Mad Trapper. *In* The Death of Albert Johnson. Mad Trapper of Rat River. Surrey: Heritage House Publishing Company Ltd.

McCormack, Patricia A.
1987 Fort Chipewyan and the Great Depression. *In* Canadian Society and Culture in Times of Economic Depression. Canadian Issues 8:69-92.

McCourt, Edward
1969 The Yukon and Northwest Territories. The Traveller's Canada. Toronto: Macmillan of Canada.

McKennan, Robert A.
1965 The Chandalar Kutchin. Montreal: Arctic Institute of North America.

McLean, Michael
1973 Historical Article. The Mad Trapper of Rate River. Argosy 1973:36-37, 45, 62.

Messent, Peter
1993 'The Naming of Albert Johnson' and 'The Death and Life of Albert Johnson: Collected Notes on a Possible Legend': Rudy Wiebe, Albert Johnson and Canadian Regional Literature. British Journal of Canadian Studies 8:85-102.

Milloy, John S.
1999 A National Crime. The Canadian Government and the Residential School System 1879-1986. Winnipeg: The University of Manitoba Press.

Mishler, Craig
1990 Missionaries In Collision: Anglicans and Oblates Among the Gwich'in, 1861-65. Arctic 43:121-126.

Morra, Linda
1996 Singing the Nation Into Consciousness: Rudy Wiebe's *Playing Dead.* Northern Review 17:19-32.

Morrison, William R.
1985 Showing the Flag. The Mounted Police and Canadian Sovereignty in the North 1894-1925. Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press.

1987 Eagle Over The Arctic: Americans in the Canadian North, 1867-1985. Canadian Review of American Studies 18:61-73.

Mullett, Harry F
n.d. Trailing the Fiend of Rat River. Unknown magazine. RCMP HQ file v 2.

Murray, Laura J. and Keren Rice
1999 Introduction. *In* Talking on the Page. Editing Aboriginal Oral Texts. Laura J. Murray and Keren Rice, eds. pp. xi-xxii. Toronto: University of Toronto Press.

Myerhoff, Barbara and Jay Ruby
1982 Introduction. *In* A Crack in the Mirror: Reflexive Perspectives in Anthropology. Jay Ruby, ed. pp 1-35. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press.

Myles, Eugenie Louise
1959 Airborne From Edmonton. Toronto: The Ryerson Press.

The Mystery Review (author unknown)
1994 Albert Johnson: The Mad Trapper of Rat River. Vol. 3, No. 1, pp. 56-57.

Nadasdy, Paul
2003 Hunters and Bureaucrats. Power, Knowledge and Aboriginal-State Relations in the Southwest Yukon. Vancouver: UBC Press.

Nolley, Ken
1997 Finding Alternatives to Gossip: Reflexivity and the Paradigm of Traditional Documentary. Visual Anthropology 9:267-284.

Norris, Frank
1992 Popular Images of the North in Literature and Film. The Northern Review 8/9:53-81.

North, Dick
1969 The Saga of the Mad Trapper of Rat River. Yukon: Midnight Sun Arctic Series 1.

1972 The Mad Trapper of Rat River. Toronto: Macmillan of Canada. Special Printing limited edition 2000, Inuvik: Boreal Books.

1989 Trackdown. The Search for the Identity of the Mad Trapper. Toronto: Macmillan of Canada.

1995 The Lost Patrol. The Mounties' Yukon Tragedy. Vancouver: Raincoast Books.

Northwest Territories Education, Culture and Employment
2001 Revitalizing, Enhancing, and Promoting Aboriginal Languages. Strategies for Supporting Aboriginal Languages. Yellowknife: Government of the Northwest Territories.

O'Hagan, Howard
1976 The Man Who Chose to Die *In* Wilderness Men. Vancouver: Talonbooks.

Ortner, Sherry B.
1994 Theory in Anthropology Since the Sixties. *In* Culture/Power/History. A Reader in Contemporary Social Theory. Nicholas B. Dirks, Geoff Eley, Sherry B. Ortner, eds. pp. 372-411. Princeton: Princeton University Press.

Osgood, Cornelius
1936 Contributions to the Ethnography of the Kutchin. New Haven: Yale University Press.

Pamphilon, Barbara
1999 The Zoom Model: A Dynamic Framework for the Analysis of Life Histories. Qualitative Inquiry 5:393-410.

Peacock, James L.
1986 The Anthropological Lens. Harsh Light, Soft Focus. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Personnel of the Royal Canadian Corps of Signals
1963 A North Canadian Adventure. Army Quarterly and Defence Journal 86:73-84.

Phillips, Alan
1954 Living Legend. The Story of the Royal Canadian Mounted Police. pp. 12-35. Boston: Little, Brown and Company.

Raboff, Adeline Peter
1999 Preliminary Study of the Western Gwich'in Bands. American Indian Culture and Research Journal 23:1-25.

Rapport, Nigel
1997 Edifying Anthropology. Culture as Conversation; Representation as Conversation. *In* After Writing Culture. Epistemology and Praxis in Contemporary Anthropology. Allison James, Jenny Hockely and Andrew Dawson, eds. pp. 177-193. New York: Routledge.

Ray, Arthur J.
1990 The Canadian Fur Trade in the Industrial Age. Toronto: University of Toronto Press.

Rebiere, Cst. Eric
1998a Revisiting Our Storied Past (Part 1). RCMP Quarterly 63:21-28.

1998b Revisiting Our Storied Past (Part II). RCMP Quarterly 63:37-43.

Richards, Cst. J.P.
1998 The Long March to the Klondike. RCMP Quarterly 63:21-24.

Rosaldo, Renato
1980a Doing Oral History. Social Analysis 4:89-99.

1980b Ilongot Headhunting 1883-1974. A Study in Society and History. Stanford: Stanford University Press.

Rudnyckyj, J.B.
1976 Communicating in a Multicultural Society. *In* Canadian Languages in Their Social Context. Regna Darnell, ed. pp. 117-128. Edmonton: Linguistic Research, Inc.

Rushforth, Scott
1992 The Legitimation of the Beliefs in a Hunter-Gatherer Society: Bearlake Athapaskan Knowledge and Authority. American Ethnologist 19:483-500.

Sahlins, Marshall
1994 Cosmologies of Capitalism: The Trans-Pacific Sector of "The World System." *In* Culture/Power/History. A Reader in Contemporary Social Theory. Nicholas B. Dirks, Geoff Eley, Sherry B. Ortner, eds. pp. 372-411. Princeton: Princeton University Press.

Said, Edward W.
1979 Orientalism. New York: Vintage Books.

Sax, Lee and Effie Linklater
1990 Gikhyi. One Who Speaks the Word of God. The True and Remarkable Story of the Arctic Kutchin Christian Leaders. Whitehorse: Diocese of Yukon.

Schieffelin, Edward L.
1976 The Sorrow of the Lonely and the Burning of the Dancers. New York: St. Martin's Press.

Shaw, T. E. G.

1960 Man Hunt in the Arctic. RCMP Quarterly 26:103-115.

1986 Who was Albert Johnson? *In* The Death of Albert Johnson. Mad Trapper of Rat River. Surrey: Heritage House Publishing Company Ltd.

1993 The North. Man Hunt In the Arctic. *In* Red Serge and Stetsons, Donovan T. Saul, ed., pp. 147-161. Victoria: Horsdal & Schubart.

Simon, Sarah

1990 Chapter VI. Edward Sittichinli *In* Gikhyi. One Who Speaks the Word of God. The True and Remarkable Story of the Arctic Kutchin Christian Leaders. Lee Sax and Effie Linklater. Whitehorse: Diocese of Yukon.

Slobodin, Richard

1960 Eastern Kutchin Warfare. Anthropologica, n.s. 2:76-94.

1962 Band Organization of the Peel River Kutchin. Ottawa: Department of Northern Affairs and Natural Resources.

1964 Kutchin Polyandry and the Culture of Poverty. Department of Northern Affairs and National Resources, Canada.

1981a Kutchin. *In* Subarctic: Handbook of North American Indians, Vol. 6. June Helm, ed. pp. 514-532. Washington, D.C.: Smithsonian Institution.

1981b Subarctic Metis. *In* Subarctic: Handbook of North American Indians, Vol. 6. June Helm, ed. pp. 361-371. Washington, D.C.: Smithsonian Institution.

1994a Kutchin Concepts of Reincarnation. *In* Amerindian Rebirth: Reincarnation Belief Among North American Indians and Inuit. Antonia Mills and Richard Slobodin, eds. pp. 136-155.

1994b The Study of Reincarnation in Indigenous American Cultures: Some Comments. *In* Amerindian Rebirth: Reincarnation Belief Among North American Indians and Inuit. Antonia Mills and Richard Slobodin, eds. pp. 284-297.

Stallworthy, A/Sergeant H. W.

1934 Winter Patrols in the Arctic. R.C.M.P. Quarterly 2:17-25.

Steele, Harwood
1935 Policing the Arctic. The Story of the Conquest of the Arctic by the Royal Canada (Formerly North-West) Mounted Police. Toronto: The Ryerson Press.

Stewart, Ethel
1979 Kutchin Trade Prior to 1840. Beaver 315: 54-58.

Stone, Thomas
1981 Whalers and Missionaries at Herschel Island. Ethnohistory 28:101-124.

Struthers, James
1988 A Profession In Crisis: Charlotte Whitton and Canadian Social Work in the 1930s. *In* The Depression in Canada. Responses to Economic Crisis. Micheal Horn, ed. pp. 229-244.

Thompson, John Herd with Allen Seager
1985 Canada 1922-1939. Decades of Discord. Toronto: McClelland and Stewart Limited.

Thompson, Paul
2000 The Voice of the Past. Oral History. Third Edition. New York: Oxford University Press.

Tonkin, Elizabeth
1990 Narrating our Pasts: The Social Construction of Oral History. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Tosh, John
1999 The Pursuit of History. Aims, Methods and New Direction in the Study of Modern History. Third Edition. London: Longman.

Tucker, Frank H.
1980 The Frontier Spirit and Progress. Chicago: Nelson-Hall.

Turner, Frederick Jackson
1956 The Significance of the Frontier in American History. *In* The Turner Thesis Concerning the Role of the Frontier in American History, Revised Edition, George Rogers Taylor, ed., pp. 1-33. Boston: D.C. Heath and Company.

Turner, John Peter
1950 The North-West Mounted Police. 1873-1893. Volume 1. Ottawa: King's Printer and Controller of Stationery.

Ulin, Robert C.
1991 Critical Anthropology Twenty Years Later. Critique of Anthropology 11:63-89.

Up Here
2002 The Outeredge. News from the Frontier. 'Mad Trapper' Gun? Yellowknife: Marion LaVigne/Ronne Heming.

Usher, Peter
1975 The Growth and Decay of the Trading and Trapping Frontiers in the Western Canadian Arctic. The Canadian Geographer 19:308-320.

Van Kirk, Sylvia
1976 Chapter Four. *In* Essays on Western History, Lewis H. Thomas, ed., pp. 49-68. University of Alberta Press.

1980 "Many Tender Ties" Women in Fur-Trade Society in Western Canada, 1670-1870. Winnipeg: Watson & Dwyer Publishing Ltd.

Venkateswar, Sita
1999 The Andaman Islanders. Scientific American 280(5):82-88.

Watson, Graham
1991 Rewriting Culture. *In* Recapturing Anthropology: Working in the Present. R.G. Fox, ed. pp. 72-92. Santa Fe: School of American Research Press.

Wayling, Thomas and Edward Doherty
1936 Scarlet Riders. Here Come the Mounted! Liberty for November 7, 1936:5-7.

Webb, Walter Prescott
1956 The Frontier and the 400 Year Boom. *In* The Frontier Thesis and the Canadas: The Debate on the Impact of the Canadian Environment. Michael S. Cross, ed. pp. 87-95. Toronto: The Copp Clark Publishing Company.

Westfall, William
1980 On the Concept of Region in Canadian History and Literature. Journal of Canadian Studies (Summer 1980) pp. 3-15.

Wiebe, Rudy
1973 The Naming of Albert Johnson. Queens Quarterly 80:370-382.

1974 Where Is the Voice Coming From? Toronto: McClelland and Stewart Limited.

1978 The Death and Life of Albert Johnson: Collected Notes on a Possible Legend. *In* Figures in a Ground: Canadian Essays on Modern Literature Collected in Honour of Sheila Watson. Diane Bessai and David Jackel, eds., pp. 219-246. Saskatoon: Western Producer Prairie Books.

1980 The Mad Trapper: A Novel. Toronto: McClelland and Stewart.

1989 Playing Dead. A Contemplation Concerning the Arctic. Edmonton: NeWest.

Winks, Robin W.
1970 The Myth of the American Frontier. Its Relevance to America, Canada, Australia. Leicester: Leicester University Press.

Wolf, Margery
1992 A Thrice Told Tale. Feminism, Postmodernism and Ethnographic Responsibility. Stanford: Stanford University Press.

Yardley, M. Jeanne
1994 Voyage into Oblivion, Voyage into Legend: The Albert Johnson Narratives. Canadian Issues 16:21-31.

York, Thomas
1981 Trapper. Toronto: Doubleday Canada Limited.

Young, Delbert A.
1968 The Mounties. Don Mills: PaperJacks.

Zealley, Edward
1979 Lazarus Sittichinli. North 26:2-5.

Unpublished Sources:
Archival Material

Bilton, Jim
1973 Jim Bilton interviewed by Raymond Stone. Oral History. Part 1 of 1. Audio Recording. Produced by Raymond Stone. National Archives of Canada ISBN:257694.

Carter, William Sharples
National Archives of Canada. CD #A1 9902-0102

Eames, Inspector A. N.
1932 Letter to the Officer Commanding, Royal Canadian Mounted Police, Edmonton, Alberta dated February 26, 1932. Mad Trapper File, Volume 3, R.C.M.P. Headquarters, Ottawa.

1933 Western Arctic. *In* Report of the Royal Canadian Mounted Police for the Year Ended September 30, 1932. Ottawa: Dominion of Canada.

Melville, Constable R. W.
Letter in RCMP Headquarters Archives, Ottawa, FILE III: Mad Trapper Case Vol. III Yukon and NWT 1931/32

Millen, Constable E.
Letter in RCMP Headquarters Archives, Ottawa, FILE III: Mad Trapper Case Vol. III Yukon and NWT 1931/32

National Archives of Canada
File on Albert Johnson. Northern Administration Branch.
R.G. 85 Volume 12

National Archives of Canada, File on Special. 1011 - Royal Canadian Mounted Police, Lazarus Sittichiulis - Aklavik

Neiman, Paul
1980 Pioneering in the Canadian North in the Land of the Midnight Sun. Draft manuscript of memoirs of Paul Neiman. Paul Neiman Collection, F106, MSS109. Parts 1 to 3 are edited by Jim Nixon and the MS was part of the Yukon Lifestyles Project sponsored by the Yukon Historical and Museums Association. Whitehorse: Yukon Archives.

Royal Canadian Mounted Police Fond
Northwest Territories Archives, Yellowknife
RCMP reports dated February 1926, April 27, 1927, January 7, 1929, January 20, 1930, June 27, 1930 and April 9, 1931 held at the Northwest Territories Archives files.

Royal Canadian Mounted Police Headquarters Archives in Ottawa
File I: Mad Trapper Case Vol. III Yukon and NWT 1931/32
File II: Mad Trapper Case Vol. III Yukon and NWT 1931/32
File III: Mad Trapper Case Vol. III Yukon and NWT 1931/32

Royal Canadian Mounted Police Museum, Regina, Saskatchewan

Wild, Richard S.
Letter to Arctic Red River Constable from Wild in RCMP Headquarters Archives, Ottawa, FILE III: Mad Trapper Case Vol. III Yukon and NWT 1931/32)

Wilson, Const. A. S.
1928 Letter to The Officer Commanding MacKenzie Sub-District. RCMP "G" Division File. Northwest Territories Archives.

1930 Letter to The Officer Commanding Western Arctic Sub-District. RCMP "G" Division File. Northwest Territories Archives.

Other Materials:

Andre, Hyacinthe with Leslie McCartney
n.d. Hyacinthe's Story. Tsiighethchic & Yellowknife: Gwich'in Social and Cultural Institute and Leslie McCartney. Unpublished manuscript.

Benoit, Pierre with Leslie McCartney
n.d. Pierre's Story. Tsiighethchic & Yellowknife: Gwich'in Social and Cultural Institute and Leslie McCartney. Unpublished manuscript.

Hersey, Major Earl Frank, Retired
2001 June 23. Personal communication; interview with Leslie McCartney.

Itsi, Doris and Melanie Fafard
2003 Interview. Gwich'in Settlement Region Heritage Resources Project. January 28, 2003. Tape B11-B12.

Kendi, Mary and Leslie McCartney
n.d. Mary's Story. Unpublished Manuscript with the Gwich'in Social and Cultural Institute.

Kritsch, Ingrid D.
2002 May 14. Personal communication.

Live Oak Project
n.d. Definition of an Elder. Publisher unknown.

McDowell, Robert, Retired Senior Corporal
2002 May 26 and June 2. Personal communication; interview with Leslie McCartney.

Mitchell (Catherine) with Leslie McCartney
n.d. Catherine's Story. Tsiighethchic & Yellowknife: Gwich'in Social and Cultural Institute and Leslie McCartney. Unpublished manuscript.

Mitchell (Eunice) with Leslie McCartney
n.d. Eunice's Story. Tsiighethchic & Yellowknife: Gwich'in Social and Cultural Institute and Leslie McCartney. Unpublished manuscript.

North, Dick
2001 July 13. Personal communication.

Peters, Sarah (Speaker).
1973 A Long Time Ago/Spruce Gum Man/ The Two Women/Albert Johnson. Committee for Original People's Entitlement. (Original Number L27-11). Canadian Broadcasting Corporation. Northwest Territories Archives.

Semple, Alfred with Leslie McCartney
n.d. Alfred's Story. Tsiighethchic & Yellowknife: Gwich'in Social and Cultural Institute and Leslie McCartney. Unpublished manuscript.

Simon, Sarah with Leslie McCartney.
n.d. Sarah's Story. Tsiighethchic & Yellowknife: Gwich'in Social and Cultural Institute and Leslie McCartney. Unpublished manuscript.

Websites:

Carter, Wilf
http://www.thecanadianencyclopedia.com/index.cfm?PgNm=TCE&Params=U1ARTU0000623 Last accessed January 30, 2005
http://www.canoe.ca/JamMusicPopEncycloPagesC/carter_wilf.html Last accessed January 30, 2005

Cassidy, Butch
http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Butch_Cassidy Last accessed February 5, 2005

Charter Communities Act. S.N.W.T. 2003, c.22. In force April 1, 2004; SI-001-2004 http://www.justice.gov.nt.ca/PDF/ACTS/Charter_Comm.pdf Last accessed November 12, 2004

Dene (Language) (http://north.cbc.ca/regionalnews/chaches/dene-eldersws-10272004.html). Last accessed October 27, 2004.

Diavik Diamond Mines
www.diavik.ca/loc.htm Last accessed February 8, 2005

Earp, Wyatt
http://encyclopedia.thefreedictionary.com/Wyatt%20Erp Last accessed January 10, 2005
http://www.desertusa.com/mag98/mar/papr/du_earp.html Last accessed January 10, 2005

Filters for Better Pictures. No author cited. http://cyberdenis.topcities.com/filters.htm. Last accessed on February 4, 2005.

Government of Canada, Department of Indian and Northern Affairs
http://www.ainc-inac.go.ca/rt/trts/hti/mps/eng/hc1921trty_e.pdf. Last accessed on February 4, 2005.

Ingerson, Alice E.
2002. What are Cultural Landscapes? Jamaica Plain: The Arnold Arboretum of Harvard University. http://www.icls.harvard.edu/language/whatare.html Last accessed February 4th, 2005.

Legislation:

Regulations for the Protection of Game in the North West Territories Effective from 1st July, 1929. Established by P.C. 807 dated 15th of May, 1929.

November 26th, 1929, Explanation of the Order in Council P.C. 2265, 26th November, 1929. Amending the N.W.T. Game Regulations.

The Migratory Birds Convention Act, 1916

Northwest Territories Game Act, 1917

1927 Revised Statues of Canada, Volume III, Ottawa: Frederick Albert Acland, Law Printer to the King's Most Excellent Majesty
The Royal Canadian Mounted Police Act, R.S., c. 91

Newspaper Articles:

National Archives in Ottawa File on Albert Johnson - Northern Administration Branch R.G. 85 Ottawa Journal, February 23, 1932 - copy of article THAT DEMENTED TRAPPER

Found in Albert Johnson File Vol IV RCMP Headquarters, Ottawa:
Sunday, May 15, 1932 - Chicago Herald and Examiner
Edmonton Bulletin - Thursday March 3, 1932
a. no date or paper - Cornered Pursuers, Wounded and Fighting to Last, Johnson Slain
The Daily Gleaner, September 5, 1974 - Wounding Mountie Heralded End of Mad Trapper (Whitehorse)
Mackenzie and District News - December 10, 1970, page 7 Manhunt for a Madman

Ottawa Journal - Saturday, September 16, 1978 - Page 20 - Mad Trapper Vs. The World by Don Whiteley

Found in Albert Johnson File Vol. II RCMP Headquarters, Ottawa
The Whitehorse Star, Wednesday, May 24, 1972, Page 1B - 40 year old Mad Trapper riddle is no mystery to city couple.

Copy of newspaper article from Ottawa Citizen September 13, 1980 - Man Trapper Hunter insists novel inaccurate
"Edmonton - A new book by Rudy Wiebe on the Mad Trapper of Rat River has been called "inaccurate and ridiculous" by the last surviving member of the posse involved in the famous manhunt almost 50 years ago.

"That fellow just didn't do his homework," Frank Hersey, 70, said from his home in Barrie, Ont. "You can see he doesn't know anything about the North."

Found in National Archives Ottawa Albert Johnson File RG 85 V12

Ottawa Journal, February 23, 1932 - THAT DEMENTED TRAPPER

Winnipeg Free Press - February 3, 1932

Police Methods - The attempts made by the Royal Canadian Mounted Police to arrest the demented trapper in the Arctic Circle are being scoffed at by critics expressing their views in newspapers in the United States.

Edmonton, Alberta, Thursday, January 21, 1932
Fear New Siege in Progress At Insane Trapper's Cabin
No Word Received from RCMP Posse Which Made 80 Mile Trek from Aklavik to Smoke Out Albert Johnson For Barricaded Cabin

Regina Leader Post - February 25, 1932
DENIES SLAIN TRAPPER MAD
Lifting of Traps, Root of Trouble, an Unwritten Law, He Says
(Special Despatch)
TORONTO, Ont. Feb. 24

Montreal Gazette - February 13, 1932
MOUNTIES BAFFLED BY TRAPPER'S TRAIL

St. John Telegraph Journal - Feb. 11, 1932
Law In The North

Montreal Gazette - February 23, 1932
THEY ALWAYS "GET THEIR MAN"

Toronto Globe - February 19, 1932
AN ARCTIC TRAGEDY ENDED

Calgary Albertain - 17-2-36
"MAD TRAPPER" SHOT DOWN 4 YEARS AGO