

Building Representation: The Development of Barkerville Historic Town & Park's Chinese Narrative

**by
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Abstract

This thesis examines the long-term effects of multiculturalism on the representation of minority groups in museum interpretations in Canada. This is explored through a case study of Barkerville Historic Town & Park, focusing on the museum's inclusion of the Chinese narrative through time. It traces the changing interpretations of the Chinese in Barkerville, and explores the social, academic, and political forces that act on museums and museum representation. Overall, the presentation of the Chinese experience at Barkerville developed substantially over the past 60 years. This development has relied on many factors, including, research available to advance the Chinese interpretation program; resources available to complete Chinese exhibits; interests in including minority narratives.

Keywords: Barkerville Historic Town & Park; Chinese Canadian; Multiculturalism; Museum Representation; Minority Narratives

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Table of Contents

Approval.....	ii
Ethics Statement.....	iii
Abstract.....	iv
Acknowledgements.....	v
Table of Contents.....	vi
List of Tables.....	viii
List of Figures.....	ix
Foreword.....	x
Chapter 1. Introduction.....	1
1.1. The Role of Minority Narratives within Museums.....	1
1.2. Chinese Settlements in BC and in Barkerville.....	3
Chapter 2. Research Objectives and Methods.....	7
2.1. Objectives.....	7
2.2. Methods.....	8
2.2.1 Research Question 1 Methods:.....	8
2.2.2 Research Question 2 Methods:.....	9
2.2.3 Research Question 3 Methods.....	9
Chapter 3. Chinese Canadians in Barkerville.....	10
3.1. The History of Chinese Immigration in Canada.....	10
3.1.1. A Brief Timeline of Chinese History in Canada.....	10
3.1.2. Chinese Communities in BC.....	11
3.1.3. Becoming Chinese Canadians.....	12
3.1.4. Reconciliation.....	12
3.2. The Development of Barkerville.....	13
3.3. Chinese in Barkerville.....	15
Chapter 4. The Initial Chinese Narrative and its Subsequent Development at Barkerville Historic Town & Park.....	18
4.1. Phase 1:1958 to 1969.....	19
4.1.1. Barkerville Historic Park Origins.....	19
4.1.2. Goals of Barkerville Historic Town & Park.....	21
4.1.3. Development at Barkerville Historic Town & Park.....	22
4.1.4. Chinese Representation and Research at Barkerville Historic Town & Park.....	23
4.1.5. Barkerville Historic Town & Park’s Reception and Success.....	24
4.2. Phase 2: 1970 to 1989.....	25
4.2.1. Barkerville Historic Town & Park Development.....	25
4.2.2. The Chinese Narrative and Research at Barkerville Historic Town & Park ..	27
4.2.3. Barkerville Historic Town & Park’s Reception and Criticisms.....	29
4.3. Phase 3: 1990 to 2004.....	31
4.3.1. Barkerville Historic Town & Park Development.....	31

4.3.2.	Chinese Research at Barkerville Historic Town & Park	32
4.3.3.	The Chinese Interpretation Program.....	33
4.3.4.	Barkerville Historic Town & Park’s Resources and Limitations.....	35
4.4.	Phase 4: 2005 to Present.....	36
4.4.1.	Barkerville Historic Town & Park Development.....	37
4.4.2.	The Chinese Interpretation Program and Chinese Research at Barkerville Historic Town & Park	37
4.4.3.	Chinese Community Involvement at Barkerville.....	42
4.4.4.	Resources and Limitations at Barkerville Historic Town & Park	42
4.4.5.	Results Summary	44
Chapter 5.	Discussion	46
5.1.	Phase 1: 1958 to 1969	47
5.2.	Phase 2: 1970 to 1989	49
5.3.	Phase 3: 1990 to 2004	51
5.4.	Phase 4: 2005 to Present.....	54
5.5.	The Balance between Museum Representation and Resources	57
Chapter 6.	Conclusion	58
References	61

List of Tables

Table 1.	List of visitor numbers at Barkerville Historic Town & Park between 1959 and 1969 (DORC 1959-1969).	24
Table 2	List of visitor numbers at Barkerville Historic Town & Park between 1970 and 1974 (DORC 1970–1974).....	30
Table 3.	A list of the Chinese exhibits at Barkerville Historic Town & Park as of June 2017.....	38

List of Figures

Figure 1.	The entrance to Barkerville's Chinatown, facing south. March 2017. Photo by author.....	3
Figure 2.	Barkerville Historic Town & Park, facing south along Main Street. June 2017. Photo by author.	4
Figure 3.	Map of Barkerville in relation to Vancouver BC.	6
Figure 4.	A bird's eye view of many prominent Chinese businesses in Barkerville's Chinatown. June 2017. Photo by author.	16
Figure 5.	A Chinese exhibit at Barkerville Historic Town & Park in 1980. Photo by Grant Keddie. Used with permission.	29
Figure 6.	Chinese cemetery plaque at Barkerville Historic Town & Park. June 2017. Photo by author.	34
Figure 7.	Barkerville's Chinatown looking North from the Lee Chong Co. Chinese Museum. June 2017. Photo by author.....	39
Figure 8.	Mound of sediment from archaeological screening at Barkerville Historic Town & Park. June 2017. Photo by author.....	42

Foreword

I first became interested in the representation of minority groups in museums while researching my own family history. One part of this was piecing together and understanding my maternal grandfather's life as a Chinese Canadian. My grandfather, Thomas Lum, was born to Chinese parents in Victoria BC in the mid-1910s. Growing up, he lived through anti-Chinese prejudice, but also changing perceptions of the Chinese throughout the 20th century. Having died a decade before I was born, I was unable to turn to my grandfather to teach me about his lived experience. In the absence of his stories, I looked to museums to help me situate my own family history within the broader Canadian narrative. I found myself disappointed in their ability to tie the Chinese experience to the broader overview of Canadian history. As a descendant of both Chinese and European immigrants, I wanted to understand both experiences, and how they fit together. This led me to question how BC museums have developed their Chinese narratives, and how changing Canadian values would have influenced this presentation.



Chinese opera performed in Vancouver in the 1960s. Center, author's grandfather, Thomas Lum. Photo courtesy of Margaret McLeod.

Chapter 1.

Introduction

This thesis examines the long-term effects of multiculturalism on the representation of minority groups in museum interpretations in Canada. I explored this through a case study of Barkerville Historic Town & Park, focusing on the museum's inclusion of the Chinese narrative through time. I sought to answer two primary questions: First, how has this heritage site specifically included minority narratives across the last 60 years? Second, has Barkerville Historic Town & Park adapted to changing Canadian values concerning multiculturalism, and if so, how?

1.1. The Role of Minority Narratives within Museums

This research explores the inclusion of minority narratives in the representation of provincial and Canadian history in museums, specifically through the examination of the Chinese narrative at Barkerville Historic Town & Park. Narratives are expressions of social agents and contribute to the construction and assimilation of knowledge (Frykman 2009:300–304). A narrative's purpose is to communicate information, interpret data, stimulate imagination, challenge existing views, and to invite public involvement and discourse (Frykman 2009:314–315). Narratives also allow the public to become involved in the subject at hand by drawing upon their own personal experiences, rather than just imposing an explanation (Frykman 2009:316, 317). People respond and learn through story telling, which is why narratives are so important to communicate the past to the public. Narratives are used to support and legitimize values and social structures; they have the power to shape the way that people view and understand the past. Museums offer a public space in which to present these narratives. Public presentation is important as “the past is intelligible to us only in the light of the present; and we can fully understand the present only in the light of the past.” (Carr 1961:32).

Museums also offer unique opportunities to bridge academic research, public awareness, and interest. They are one of the most effective stages in which to present archaeological and historical research to the larger public (Bandelli and Konijn 2013; Camarero et al. 2015; Capriotti 2013; Evans-Palmer 2013). In 2011, American museums

received more than 850 million visits in person, and more than 500 million visits online (American Alliance of Museums 2011). These numbers far surpass the attendance of all major-league sporting events and theme parks, which drew a combined 483 million visitors in 2011 (American Alliance of Museums 2011). Museums hold power in presenting narratives, so it is important that they reflect upon their representations. Historically, many museums have been complicit in the presentation of racist cultural hierarchies (Lynch and Alberti 2010:14). Despite this, Canadian museums are generally moving towards a more inclusive and self-critical role, where the negative effects of prejudice and colonialism are explored publicly (Lynch and Alberti 2010:13). Through this self-examination, museums have recognized the need to represent minority groups within national and provincial histories and identities (Lynch and Alberti 2010:13).

History museums and heritage sites in BC are charged with representing both the province and its people (Dean 2002/03:57). Museums are also spaces for the public to confirm cultural identities and community belonging (Ashley 2011:183). Many of these museums are publicly funded and have a responsibility to represent the full range and diversity of cultures within the modern province (Thumim 2009:618). Therefore, public narratives must be updated to reflect changes to Canadian diversity. In the past, the focus of most BC museums has primarily been on the White, middle-class narrative, which assumes a unified history of the province (Dean 2002/03:57–58). This representation can be reassuring for those who feel as if they are represented; however, this narrow narrative leaves the experiences of many minority citizens behind. Minority groups in Canada have become increasingly active within the re-examination of their representation and seek to be producers and users of Canadian history (Ashley 2011:183). Therefore, museums must reflect upon the narratives they put forth, to ensure that the representation of the past is not coloured by historical prejudice.

The participation and empowerment of minorities could shift the role of public cultural institutions towards a more complete and authentic representation of minority narratives (Thumim 2009:617). A requirement for the development of authentic representations of minorities was the adoption and acceptance of cultural pluralism in Canada. Canada first adopted a commitment to multiculturalism by enacting the Multiculturalism Policy in 1971. This policy recognized the importance of preserving and enhancing the multicultural heritage of Canadians (Trudeau 1971). Multiculturalism in Canada is not a temporary situation and is an essential component of Canadian identity

and society (Wayland 1997:50). As such, cultural pluralism must be incorporated wherever cultural identity is expressed, including museums.

1.2. Chinese Settlements in BC and in Barkerville

An important aspect of British Columbia's history is the migration of Chinese immigrants during the late-19th and early-20th centuries. This group became integral to building BC's industries and infrastructure. While the Chinese were welcomed as labourers in Canada, they were not considered ideal candidates for citizenship, or even permanent residency (Price 2007/2008). This thesis uses the term 'Chinese' when referring to early Chinese immigrants in Barkerville, as the term Chinese Canadian was not adopted until the 1910s. Early immigrants would not have referred to themselves as 'Chinese Canadians'.



Figure 1. The entrance to Barkerville's Chinatown, facing south. March 2017. Photo by author.

Chinese immigrants and other settlers were drawn to Barkerville in BC's Cariboo region. Barkerville was established as a temporary mining town in the 1860s, and quickly expanded into a bustling Gold Rush settlement. People came to Barkerville from across the world in search of gold; among them were many Chinese immigrants. By 1900, there were over 23,000 people of Asian origin in BC, accounting for nearly 11% of the total Provincial population (Wayland 1997:37). During the late 1800s and early 1900s, Barkerville had a substantial Chinese population (Iredale 2015). This community established several businesses and Chinese benevolent associations within Barkerville's Chinatown (Iredale 2015).



Figure 2. Barkerville Historic Town & Park, facing south along Main Street. June 2017. Photo by author.

Barkerville faded into obscurity as the gold supply ran dry between 1885 and 1920. It was revitalized in 1958 as an important provincial historical site and converted into a historic museum and archives. Barkerville Historic Town & Park's official name has existed in several forms during its lifespan. From 1958 until the 1990s, this site was called Barkerville Historic Park. From the early 1990s until 2015, the park was named Barkerville Historic Town. The official name as of 2016 is Barkerville Historic Town & Park; this most recent name is used throughout this thesis.

Barkerville Historic Town & Park is an ideal candidate for the analysis of how policies of multiculturalism have affected the representation of a minority narrative within a BC museum. This institution has seen major changes to the presentation of its narrative over time, had a distinct and recognizable minority group present throughout much of its history, and existed in Canadian society before and after the legal and societal adoption of multiculturalism. At Barkerville both archaeological and historical research focused on Chinese Canadians has taken place, and over the past 60 years the museum has developed an interpretative program dedicated to the Chinese narrative. Additionally, Barkerville Historic Town & Park houses the oldest and largest collection of Chinese buildings and artifacts in North America, as well as an established library and archives (Barkerville Heritage Trust 2011).

At Barkerville Historic Town & Park, archaeology has had an important role in uncovering the Chinese narrative at this site. Archaeology can create a more multidimensional view of the past by challenging, correcting, or enriching archivally based narratives (Barman 2013; Moshenska 2009; Ross 2015:185). As new research on the Chinese at Barkerville emerged, interpretations and assumptions surrounding Barkerville's history has been re-written; this new knowledge has been reflected in the museum's interpretations (Barkerville Historic Town 2017:6).

I have divided the history and development of Barkerville Historic Town & Park into four distinct phases. This system is used to clearly organize major and influential changes to Barkerville's historical narrative. Phase 1 is defined as the period between 1958 and 1969; it represents the establishment and initial years of Barkerville Historic Town & Park. Phase 2 is represented by Canada's inaugural commitment to multiculturalism, as well as the influence of the BC Heritage Conservation Branch at Barkerville. This phase took place between 1970 and 1989. Phase 3 took place between 1990 and 2004; it is characterized by the substantial development of Barkerville's Chinese interpretation program. Phase 4 began in 2005 and continues to the present day. During this phase the management of Barkerville Historic Town & Park was transferred from the provincial government to the Barkerville Heritage Trust.

Barkerville Historic Town & Park presents the historic narrative of the town and its peoples. Though historic Barkerville was home to a considerable number of Chinese men in the late 1800s and early 1900s, the Chinese narrative was largely absent from

the presentation of the narrative when Barkerville Historic Town & Park first opened in 1958. This thesis aims to trace the changing interpretations of the Chinese in Barkerville, and to explore the social, academic, and political forces that act on museums and museum representation.



Figure 3. Map of Barkerville in relation to Vancouver BC.

Chapter 2.

Research Objectives and Methods

2.1. Objectives

This thesis explores the complex inclusion of minority narratives within Barkerville Historic Town & Park, specifically the evolving inclusion of the Chinese narrative. It also discusses how museums have been influenced by socio-political aspects, such as the adoption of multiculturalism by the Canadian government.

This thesis examines two primary research questions. First, has Barkerville Historic Town & Park adapted to changing Canadian values concerning multiculturalism, and if so, how? Specifically, how has this heritage site adopted a commitment to multiculturalism and the inclusion of minority narratives? Second, how, when, and why did Barkerville Historic Town & Park include the Chinese in the presentation of Barkerville's history?

This case study illustrates how a historic provincial site and museum has adapted alongside Canada's commitment to multiculturalism. Barkerville Historic Town & Park was established in 1958, 13 years prior to Canada's first Multiculturalism Policy, and almost 10 years before total Chinese political and immigration equality in Canada. Because Barkerville once had a significant Chinese population, it follows that its interpretation should include the presence of Chinese people and their cultural influences on Barkerville.

To operationalize my primary research questions, I address the following:

1. How has the presentation of the Chinese experience at Barkerville changed through time? Has Canada's political commitment to multiculturalism affected Barkerville's presentation of Chinese history?
2. What Chinese research has taken place at Barkerville since its establishment?
3. What resources were available to Barkerville Historic Town & Park throughout its operational history?

I explored how, when, and why Barkerville Historic Town & Park developed, through the lens of the Chinese experience. This helped inform my understanding of how social, political, cultural, and economic factors influenced the representation of the Chinese at Barkerville.

2.2. Methods

For each question addressed in this thesis, I have laid out below the methods used to research and answer it.

2.2.1 Research Question 1 Methods: How has the presentation of the Chinese experience at Barkerville changed through time? Has Canada's political commitment to multiculturalism affected Barkerville's presentation of Chinese history?

To answer this, I explored the original and subsequent goals and objectives for interpretative programs at Barkerville Historic Town & Park. I specifically examined the Chinese content in interpretative programs and projects through time. I reviewed primary source documents from Barkerville's administration spanning the history of the park. These included annual and official reports, as well as exhibit proposals and plans. I obtained access to these materials by visiting Barkerville Historic Town & Park's archives as well as the BC Archives at the Royal BC Museum from June 2017 to May 2018. Exploring these documents allowed me to understand what Barkerville's original mandate and goals were, and how they changed and evolved. Additionally, it allowed me to determine how the mediums through which Barkerville's narratives were presented, changed and evolved. Finally, analyzing these materials revealed the goals of the Chinese exhibits at Barkerville.

To complement this, I reviewed the development of multiculturalism in Canadian and provincial politics from the 1950s to present. This analysis allowed me to understand how large-scale political and cultural processes would have affected exhibit focus and messaging at Barkerville.

To gain further understanding of Barkerville's goals, I conducted semi-structured interviews with former and current Barkerville staff. These included curators, park interpreters, and administrative staff. These interviews allowed me to understand how

broad goals for the park were translated into exhibits and projects, and how that affected the content of the narrative being presented.

Finally, to examine the presentation of the Chinese experience at Barkerville, I undertook an experiential walk-through of the Chinese exhibits at Barkerville. I examined the focus of the exhibit content to determine the aspects being prioritized. This was informative about current exhibit goals, as well as the social, political, and cultural context in which the exhibits were created.

2.2.2 Research Question 2 Methods: What Chinese research has taken place at Barkerville since its establishment?

To explore the extent of Chinese research at Barkerville, I reviewed all research projects relating to the Chinese experience that have been undertaken there. This research question also required an examination of the research sources that were used by the museum in the creation of their public interpretation programs. To assess the range of Chinese research undertaken at Barkerville, I examined reports from archaeological and historical projects at Barkerville that focused on the Chinese population. This revealed the type, focus, and number of research projects undertaken at this site, as well as the research data that was available to staff throughout its operational history. Finally, through my interviews with staff, I ensured that the most recent, and upcoming research on the Chinese at Barkerville was included in my analysis.

2.2.3 Research Question 3 Methods: What resources were available to Barkerville Historic Town & Park throughout its operational history?

To answer this question, I explored the funding sources and resources available to Barkerville Historic Town & Park. I also examined the limitations that the site faced. Furthermore, I reviewed exhibit and museum planning documents, as well as administrative and annual reports. Analyzing these documents allowed me to understand the resources available to, and limitations placed on, Barkerville Historic Town & Park over its history. This data illustrated how the development of research and exhibits were affected. Once again, interviews with past and present museum staff provided additional information.

Chapter 3.

Chinese Canadians in Barkerville

3.1. The History of Chinese Immigration in Canada

Chinese immigrants came to Canada in search of work as early as the 1790's, initially as part of the European fur trade (Ross 2015:161). Later migrants constituted much of the labour force for the construction of the Canadian Pacific Railway, and as labourers, prospectors, and miners during the gold rush (Ross 2015:161). Historically, the Chinese have struggled to gain citizenship and acceptance as Canadians; they have long been viewed as foreigners responsible for social maladies (Li 1992:264). Negative government reactions to the development of Chinese communities are evident in the instances of legal discrimination and institutional exclusion that spanned the 19th and 20th centuries. However, Canadian law and policies have changed drastically over the past 150 years, especially as they relate to matters of Chinese citizenship and equality.

3.1.1. A Brief Timeline of Chinese History in Canada

Chinese history in Canada can be divided into three adaptive and distinct periods, as developed by Chinese-Canadian historian Li (1992:265). The first phase, "Development of Institutional Racism" took place between 1858 and 1923; it includes the initial, large-scale migration of the Chinese to Canada (Li 1992:266). Two factors that motivated migration from China were the labour requirements of the industrialized Western world, and internal issues relating to socio-economic conditions, foreign invasion, and revolts within China (Li 1992:266; Ross 2015:162). Chinese immigrants worked in businesses, mines, on railways, as well as many other industries including logging, farming, and canning (Ross 2015:162). As Chinese immigrants came to BC and began creating wealth, the Provincial government worried that the Chinese might take control of the colony (Stanley 2011:68). The Canadian government began to take measures to discourage Chinese immigration to Canada. They did so by imposing a head tax, which began as a \$50 charge, but increased to \$100 in 1901, and \$500 in 1903 (Li 1992:267). The quote "We want to be here ourselves, and do not want others" by John Sebastian Helmcken, an important figure in the incorporation of BC into

Canadian Confederation, sums up the general attitude of white Canadian settlers in the 1800s and early 1900s (Stanley 2011:47).

The second period “Exclusion and Adaption,” existed between 1923 and 1947 and was dominated by legal inequality, and the subsequent response of the Chinese community (Li 1992:268, 269). On July 1st, 1923 the Chinese Immigration Act was passed by the Canadian government; this prohibited further Chinese immigration (Stanley 2011:43). Legal Chinese immigration to Canada had come to an end, and the Chinese were required to sign a national registry (Stanley 2011:43). This act symbolized the inability for the Chinese to become Canadian. Such exclusionary political reactions reinforced the idea that Asian immigrants were solely migrants and did not belong in Canada (Yu 2007:6). In response to the discrimination that Asian communities faced, networks of survival, support, and defiance developed (Price 2007/2008:56).

The third period, “Gaining of Civil Rights and Chinese Family Immigration,” began in 1947 and continued into the 1990s. During this period the Chinese Immigration Act was repealed, and Chinese Canadians were given the right to vote (Li 1992:270). The 1950s saw the dissolution of discriminatory laws; however, immigration policies did not become equal for the Chinese until 1967, when a new point system was adopted (Li 1992:271).

3.1.2. Chinese Communities in BC

Many of the Chinese men who travelled to North America in the late 1800s and early 1900s left families behind in China. Though some wives accompanied their husbands, most women remained in China (Woon 2007:83, 86). As such, the Chinese in Canada lived primarily in a bachelor society. Alternatives sprang into existence to replace traditional family structures; Tongs, for example, were secret societies that acted as a source of support in place of a family for the overseas Chinese (Li 1992:270). Those Chinese who died in Canada were taken care of by their clan associations, who would return their clansmen’s bodies to China (Maxwell 2007:13–14)

Chinatowns were the physical manifestations of Chinese community organization and segregation in Canada. Chinatowns were created as a means of separating the Chinese both culturally and physically from white Canadians (Dunae et al. 2011:52).

This division emphasized the Chinese as non-white, non-Christian, amoral, and uncivilized (Dunae et al. 2011:52). Cultural barriers also segregated the Chinese, as immigrants seldom spoke English prior to their arrival in Canada; communications were therefore often strained and difficult (Lai 1988:35). Economics also shaped the creation and boundaries of Chinatowns, as there were strict restrictions and exclusions for the Chinese community in terms of the sale and lease of lands (Lai 1988:34). Such measures limited settlement options for Chinese communities. Finally, violence and racism were major components of the formation of Chinatowns. The Chinese isolated themselves to avoid confrontations and violence (Lai 1988:35). Chinatowns served as sanctuaries, where the marginalized population were safer and better able to support themselves.

3.1.3. Becoming Chinese Canadians

The term Chinese Canadian was first used in the early 1900s by a group of young, ethnically Chinese men born in Victoria BC. This group established The Chinese Canadian Club in Victoria in 1914 (Stanley 2007:112). They demonstrated that identities are not fixed but are forever being defined and redefined (Stanley 2007:109, 112). This new identity simultaneously asserted the young men's 'Chineseness' *and* 'Canadianness' (Stanley 2007:109).

Chinese Canadians of the early twentieth century had a unique identity that was neither Chinese nor Canadian, but simultaneously both. The children of Chinese immigrants were assimilated into the dominant society, yet they recognized their Chinese origins (Stanley 2007:129). These young men and women were essentially caught between two worlds. As active agents in the process of cultural production, they created and identified themselves using the new hybrid term Chinese Canadian (Stanley 2007:138).

3.1.4. Reconciliation

When Canada joined the Second World War in 1939, the Chinese community was indecisive as to whether they should support the Canadian war effort (Wong 2007:219). Canada had discriminated against and alienated the Chinese community, and they questioned the need to fight for a country that had so consistently, and often

harmfully, restricted their upward social, political, and economic mobility (Wong 2007:219). However, many young men and women saw the war as an opportunity to prove themselves worthy of Canadian citizenship (Wong 2007:219).

After the war, the Chinese felt they had proven their right to full citizenship, respect, and inclusion within Canadian society (Wong 2007:221). With the repeal of the Chinese Immigration Act in 1947, Chinese Canadians won the right to the vote (Wong 2007:221). While the 1950s saw the dissolution of discriminatory laws, immigration policies did not become equal for the Chinese until 1967 when a new point system was applied (Li 1992:271). In recent years, the Chinese community has sought reconciliatory measures such as formal apologies from the Canadian government. For example, Prime Minister Stephen Harper's 2006 apology to Chinese Canadians recognized the historical injustices they had faced (Li 2008:135).

The Chinese Canadians narrative is one that is exemplified by exclusion, hard work, and resistance. Chinese Canadians faced an uphill battle to become legally and socially accepted as Canadians. They succeeded through persistent challenges to the white Canadian narrative that viewed the Chinese as alien, and as a group that would never be able to belong to or within Canada. The Chinese in the Cariboo, and more specifically Barkerville, faced similar challenges whilst labouring in the Gold Rush.

3.2. The Development of Barkerville

Barkerville is an example of a historic BC town with deep multicultural roots, notably for its large Chinese population between 1862 and 1925. The British colony, now known as British Columbia, was not a substantially developed area prior to the Gold Rush of 1858 (Wright 2006:10). However, when gold was found on the Fraser River, hordes of gold seekers rushed north from San Francisco. Seemingly overnight, Fort Victoria's permanent population had risen from a mere 300 inhabitants to over 3,000 (Wright 2006:10). Governor James Douglas encouraged this influx of settlers and gold seekers by urging them to "Acquire all the gold you can," and announcing the sale of mining licenses (Wright 2006:11–12). However, this sudden inflation of the population on the west coast left the British colony vulnerable to foreign immigration and American "sovereignty by occupation claims" (Wright 2006:12). In response to this threat, British Columbia –at this time known as New Caledonia– was formally made a crown colony

(Wright 2006:12–13). Thus, BC's provincial origins can be traced directly to the Gold Rush.

The Cariboo region in the northern interior of BC saw men searching for gold as early as 1858 (Wright 2006:13). Billy Barker, one of the most famous prospectors of the era, arrived in Williams Creek in 1861 and struck gold the next year. He founded the town of Barkerville, which was established that same year as a gold rush and mining settlement. The community sprung up as a “instant town,” focused on expedient domestic and functional purposes (Iredale 2015:1). Like other Gold Rush towns, Barkerville was shaped by the local geography, and was oriented along one commercial main street near the creek (Iredale 2015).

Barkerville's early history can be separated into three phases, in which mining technological advancements altered the dynamics of the area. The first phase was the “Discovery Phase” between 1860 and 1863, when individuals first arrived and prospected using only simple mining methods. During this time, several other mining camps were established in the Cariboo, which together had a population of over 5,000 (Iredale 2015:28). Buildings constructed during this early time were hastily built and were meant to eventually be abandoned (Iredale 2015:29). The cost of living was extremely high in Barkerville, due to the difficulty of importing goods by pack-trails along an unfinished road (Hong 1978:211).

1864 saw the beginning of the “Mature Phase,” with the introduction of shaft and tunnel mining techniques. The Cariboo Road was completed in 1865 and improved transportation along Williams Creek; by 1867 Barkerville was the supply center for mining in the Cariboo (Boyle and Mackie 2015). During this time many businesses were established, and the population of Barkerville grew steadily. Among these businesses stood churches, family homes, miners' cabins, cemeteries, schoolhouses, and a jail (Wright 2006:72–87). The town was taking on a more permanent nature (Iredale 2015). However, this permanence was tested when the Great Fire of 1868 devastated the town; few buildings survived (Boyle and Mackie 2015; Iredale 2015). After the Great Fire, the town was rebuilt with safety and permanence in mind, and many of these buildings still stand in Barkerville today. The Great Fire also marked the beginning of Barkerville's decline, as many merchants left Barkerville due to losses incurred from the fire (Boyle and Mackie 2015).

Finally, the “Hydraulic Mining Phase” took place between 1879 and 1885, marking a shift to large-scale hydraulic mining (Wright 2006:17). However, by the late 1880s the gold supply in Williams Creek was running low, and Barkerville began to fade into obscurity, except for a brief second wave of miners arriving between 1929 and 1939 (Boyle and Mackie 2015; Wright 2006:18).

3.3. Chinese in Barkerville

During the late 1800s and early 1900s, Barkerville had a substantial Chinese population (Iredale 2015). The Chinese, like many others, came to Barkerville in search of gold and to establish businesses (Wright 2006:55). To deal with cultural and racial conflicts, the Chinese established a separate Chinatown that ran along the main commercial street, to the south of the European section (Iredale 2015; Wright 2006:57). Barkerville’s Chinatown location was also selected based on the ideals of Feng-Shui, and not solely due to racism and segregation (Peters 2015). Barkerville’s historic diversity is reflected in the presence of a distinct Chinatown and large Chinese population, in addition to the presence of citizens from a multitude of European nations.

As in many other parts of BC, the white settlers in Barkerville were often prejudiced against the Chinese, expecting for them to take the gold and rush back to China with their new-found wealth (Wright 2006:55). At this time the BC government encouraged the immigration of the Chinese, permitting many large Chinese businesses like the Kwong Lee Company to import indentured labourers (Wright 2006:55). Regarding the increase of Chinese immigrants, Governor Douglas stated that “They are certainly not a desirable class of people, as a permanent population, but are for the present useful as labourers, and as consumers, of a revenue-paying character” (Wright 2006:56). The famous Williams Creek Judge Begbie, who was the first Chief Justice of the BC Supreme Court, disagreed and stated that “The Chinese are here. There is nothing in British Constitution to say they should not be, and while they are here we should protect them as we would any white man, and sometimes better” (Wright 2006:56).

Because so few Chinese wives and family were able to travel with their husbands abroad, most Chinese men in Barkerville lived a bachelor lifestyle. A prominent social component for the Chinese were the Tongs, which acted as fraternal associations that

promoted Chinese beliefs, and provided boarding houses, hospitals, old-age homes, gambling halls, and community centers (Peters 2015; Wright 2006:55, 90). Tongs also served as political societies, whose general goal was to restore the Ming dynasty (Wright 2006:96). Tongs in Barkerville included the Min Yee Tong, Chih Kung T'ang, and Long Duck Tong (Wright 2006:91, 96, 98). These Tongs were integral to the Chinese community in Barkerville, acting as a refuge for the men who otherwise had few connections within Canada.



Figure 4. A bird's eye view of many prominent Chinese businesses in Barkerville's Chinatown. June 2017. Photo by author.

While most Chinese immigrants worked as labourers, the Chinese in Barkerville were not restricted to this occupation; many Chinese businesses formed a merchant class (Wright 2006:57). One of the most prominent businesses in Barkerville was the Kwong Lee Wing Kee Co., which opened a branch in Barkerville in 1866 (Wright 2006:88-89). It was also one of the first chain stores in BC, with branches in Victoria, New Westminster, and Quesnel (Wright 2006:88–89). Many of these stores have since been recreated as exhibits at Barkerville Historic Town & Park.

By 1862, over 1,000 Chinese were in the Cariboo working on the construction of the Cariboo Road (Wright 2006:57). Though Barkerville's white population began to decline in 1870, Chinese miners were known to successfully rework abandoned mining claims, and the Chinese population increased (Barkerville Historic Town 2017:4). Many Chinese men came to work on Canada's transcontinental railway, while others travelled to the Cariboo due to the ban on Chinese immigration in the United States of America (Barkerville Historic Town 2017:4). By the mid-1880s, half the population in the Cariboo was Chinese (Barkerville Historic Town 2017:4). In fact, in some camp communities the population was as much as 95% Chinese (Wright 2006:57). Therefore, the Chinese played an important role in the development of the Cariboo.

As Barkerville slowly faded into obscurity and its residents left, so too did the Chinese. Between 1910 and 1915 only about 150 Chinese remained in Barkerville, as many Chinese businesses moved on to more profitable areas (Hong 1978:183; Wright 2006:90). Additionally, around 1918, many Barkerville residents moved to the then-booming community of Prince George (Hong 1978:186). By 1920 only one Chinese store remained in Barkerville, the Lun Woo store, which operated until 1925 (Hong 1978:187). At this time only 35 Chinese remained in the town (Hong 1978:187). This number increased to 60 in 1934 thanks to the opening of the Slough Creek Mine and the creation of the new town of Wells (Hong 1978:189; Quackenbush 1994). Another factor that affected Chinese immigration to Barkerville was the 1923 Exclusion Act, which effectively barred the Chinese from immigrating to Canada (Barkerville Historic Town 2017:6). As the population in Barkerville steadily declined, the boundaries around Chinatown began to fade; many white households were moved to Chinatown. By 1957 only 60 people remained in Barkerville. However, the town was soon revived by the BC Centennial Celebrations. It seemed as though Barkerville was "again rising from a position of neglect and despair. Here again is rising the symbol of one of the most famous gold rushes of the world, in one of the most beautiful spots of the world" (Wallace 1962:18).

Chapter 4.

The Initial Chinese Narrative and its Subsequent Development at Barkerville Historic Town & Park

This chapter traces the changing interpretations of the Chinese in Barkerville. I examine social, academic, and political forces that affected the inclusion of Chinese representation at Barkerville Historic Town & Park. I have organized the development of the Barkerville museum into four phases. These four phases delineate the substantial changes in Barkerville Historic Town & Park's goals, management, and the Chinese experience presented in the museum's exhibit narratives. I discuss each of these phases in turn, focusing on the extent of Chinese representation at the site.

Phase 1 (1958 to 1969) refers to the museum's founding period, which centered around the province of BC's Centennial celebrations. During Phase 1, Canada slowly moved beyond Anglo-conformity in favour of cultural pluralism, which spurred Canada's Multiculturalism Policy in Phase 2. Phase 2 (1970 to 1989) is characterized by the adoption of multiculturalism in Canada, and the creation of the Heritage Conservation Branch in BC. These major changes to government policy resulted in changes to Barkerville Heritage Town & Park's narrative, goals, and plans. It was during Phase 2 that the Chinese narrative began to take shape. Phase 3 (1990 to 2004) began with the arrival of a new curator, Bill Quackenbush, and Chinese-born researcher, Ying Ying Chen. This phase is distinctive as it marked the introduction of a substantial Chinese interpretation program at Barkerville. Phase 4 (2005 to Present) is characterized by the transfer of management of Barkerville Historic Town & Park from the Provincial government to the Barkerville Heritage Trust. This transfer of responsibility resulted in changes to Barkerville's goals and plans, as well as funding sources.

The development of Barkerville's Chinese narrative has depended on three major factors. These are: The availability of research to ensure the authenticity of the presentation; the availability of resources such as funding and staff and; the desire and interest to include minority narratives within the museum. Barkerville Historic Town & Park was created prior to Canada's official commitment to multiculturalism and has witnessed numerous changes to Canadian values over the years. These have

influenced the interpretation, research, and presentation of Barkerville's historic narrative.

4.1. Phase 1:1958 to 1969

In 1924, Barkerville and the Cariboo gold fields were designated as a historic site; however, it was not until 1958 that Barkerville was converted into a historic town, museum, and archives (Iredale 2015:27). Barkerville Historic Town & Park was established as a means of regenerating the cultural identity of the Cariboo region. It was also designed to provide new opportunities for the community by stimulating the region's economy by creating jobs and drawing in tourism.

4.1.1. Barkerville Historic Park Origins

The origins of Barkerville Historic Town & Park began in 1952, when Mr. Fred Ludditt became interested in the town. He created the Barkerville restoration program by setting up the 'Barkerville Historical and Development Companies' in 1953 (McKelvie 1964). Ludditt's entity was created to "reconstruct, re-establish, develop, and maintain historical sites, townsites, buildings and landmarks of historical significance in BC" (McKelvie 1964:2). The general idea for the restoration of Barkerville at this time was "to restore the old-time hospitality of that era," with the intention that these restorations would not cost the government "one cent" (McKelvie 1964:3). The first museum in Barkerville was set up by 'Buck' Kelly of Barkerville, with the help of Ludditt. This museum was eventually turned over to the government when the historic park was established (McKelvie 1964).

The creation of Barkerville Historic Town & Park as a provincial institution began with the recognition of Williams Creek as a valuable historic site, and Barkerville as an invaluable surviving gold rush settlement (Iredale 2015:27). Barkerville was brought to the attention of the provincial government by Ludditt and the Cariboo Historical Society in the 1950s. As BC's centennial year approached, Cariboo MLA Bill Speare convinced the provincial government of Barkerville's historic value (Wright 2006:19). Premier W.A.C. Bennett embraced this dream and chose Barkerville as a focus for the 1958 centennial celebrations; this resulted in the designation of Barkerville as a historic park (Wright 2006:19). Restoration work began almost immediately at Barkerville, with a

focus on the historic buildings. Reconstructions have continued to this day; the buildings simultaneously house and exist as museum exhibits. During Phase 1, most funding came from provincial government grants, with supplemental funding coming from admissions, fares, as well as food and souvenir sales (Hilker 1961).

BC's centennial celebrations were key in the establishment and the development of Barkerville Historic Town & Park. Wallace (1962:1) stated that:

The restoration of Barkerville was also a direct result of BC's 1958 Centenary. Restored Barkerville is, in essence, a tribute to the great pioneers who built what is now the Province of BC.

A major focus of these celebrations was awakening "others to the fact that BC is mature and far-thinking enough to be prepared to spend time and public money on preserving those links" (Barkerville Historic Town & Park 1961:4). Barkerville's original purpose was to celebrate BC, as "the Centennial Committee saw Barkerville primarily as a celebration symbolizing the foundation upon which the province's centennial celebration was built." (Kerr 1981:17). The restored town of Barkerville was meant to be a tribute to the great pioneers who built the Province of BC, as Barkerville taught "objectively something of the past and inspires public with respect for pioneers of our early history" (Wallace 1962:1). However, the Chinese were not recognized as being a part of this group of pioneers. They were primarily viewed as temporary labourers, and BC's progress was attributed to white pioneers. Due to the initial impetus of the centennial celebrations, there was a great emphasis on provincial history and pride within Barkerville. Thus, the centennial celebrations shaped the narrative that was presented at Barkerville.

The most important intention of BC's Centennial celebrations was the greater awareness of BC's heritage. The Gold Rush was chosen as a main theme for both Barkerville and the Centennial celebrations, as this aspect was of seminal importance in the creation of the province. During this initial founding phase, Barkerville Historic Town & Park emphasized entertainment and the wild gold rush days. The presentation of Barkerville's history was designed to appeal to a wide variety of visitors. This gold rush narrative drew in many visitors, though primarily families.

4.1.2. Goals of Barkerville Historic Town & Park

The original purpose of Barkerville Historic Town & Park was to celebrate provincial history and to stimulate the Cariboo's regional economy by boosting tourism. The objective of Barkerville Historic Town & Park, originally outlined in the 1958, was to "preserve, present and manage for public benefit the historic town and representative or significant elements of historic value related to the Cariboo Gold Rush" (Wright 2006:19). The five major goals at Barkerville during the initial program were:

(1) The restoration of existing buildings within the limited time frame of 1869–1885; (2) the reconstruction of many destroyed buildings; (3) the refurbishment of each structure, complete with exhibits; (4) the installation of basic services in such a manner as not to detract from the whole project; and (5) the development of an interpretation program. (Kerr 1981:17)

In 1961 a more complete set of goals were instituted. These went beyond the mere restoration of the park, and instead centered around ensuring the success of Barkerville as a sustainable tourist attraction (Barkerville Historic Town & Park 1961). The promotion of Barkerville was also regarded as a means of educating the public on the value of future restoration and development of historical sites in other parts of the province (Barkerville Historic Town & Park 1961).

From the beginning it was recognized that Barkerville Historic Town & Park could not operate as a normal museum, but instead needed to be suited to Barkerville's unique narrative and situation. Lyons (1958:10) described this difference:

The function of the museum becomes more one of interpretation of events and the significance of the town in its relationship to the growth of BC. Its presentation shouldn't be static but rather one of variation whereby the story is retold but with a shift of emphasis.

The museum was to display significant events at Barkerville, in relation to the growth of BC (Quackenbush 1999). For visitors to be fully immersed in the authentic gold mining experience they should:

Not only see what the community looked like, but also how and why life was as it was. To such degree as is possible, visitors should come to understand what the gold seekers felt in this primitive land (Hilker 1961:1).

Authenticity was—and remains—one of the major goals of Barkerville Historic Town & Park (Wallace 1962). Since its establishment in 1958, the restoration program has been characterized and shaped by the available research used to ensure authenticity (Quackenbush 1999:10). Barkerville emphasized that all historic buildings at Barkerville were to be thoroughly researched to restore Barkerville as authentically as possible (Wallace 1962). Though research and authenticity were very important factors in the initial planning stages at Barkerville, during Phase 1 very little research had occurred. What research was available was primarily based on historical sources, which were often prejudiced against the Chinese, and did not include an examination of Chinese sources.

Authenticity at Barkerville during Phase 1 was based heavily on a nostalgic imagining of the past, which included many stereotypes. The presentation of an authentic past is a challenge at many historical sites; many fall into a nostalgic narrative rather than an authentic presentation of the past. This view often erases or ignores negative historical narratives (Summerby-Murray 2015:65). Often the landscape and activities required to authentically represent a historic site do not meet the requirements of cultural tourism, which must balance entertainment value, historical accuracy, as well as contemporary health and safety standards (Summerby-Murray 2015:68). In the case of Barkerville Historic Town & Park, in the absence of detailed research it appears that the major focus of the presentations was on presenting the Gold Rush era to promote 'family fun' tourism. This simplified version of the past ignored the Chinese experience, including the prejudice and ill treatment they often faced in BC. In Phase 1, these negative aspects of the Chinese experience were replaced with stereotypical representations of Chinese activities to account for the entirety of the Chinese narrative. In this way, the past is remembered inauthentically.

4.1.3. Development at Barkerville Historic Town & Park

There were many major projects and developments at Barkerville between 1959 and 1969 (Barkerville Restoration Advisory Committee 1962; Barkerville Restoration

Advisory Committee 1972; Barkerville Historic Town & Park 1965). During Phase 1, the restoration program was very successful, with the museum attempting a minimum of one reconstruction per year (Kerr 1981). The setup of essential services also accounted for much of available funds (DORC 1962–1968).

4.1.4. Chinese Representation and Research at Barkerville Historic Town & Park

During Phase 1 there was little mention of or value placed on the history and contributions of the Chinese in Barkerville. When the Chinese were included, they were portrayed primarily in association with opium use and gambling activities. The Chinese exhibits at Barkerville during Phase 1 were limited to a Chinese gambling exhibit, and Trapper Dan’s cabin. Trapper Dan was one of the few Chinese individuals whom information was available, as he had died within living memory and was a well-known community member (Barkerville Historic Town & Park 1966).

A major limitation to Barkerville’s Chinese interpretation program was the lack of research and partnership with BC’s Chinese communities. Though there were prominent Chinese families in the area, for example the Hong family, the Chinese community was not consulted or involved in these plans (Quackenbush, personal communication, January 2018). An example of these limitations was the restoration of the Chinese Masonic Hall. This restoration work was done swiftly and without the consultation of the Chinese community or adequate research on the Chinese experience in Barkerville (Barkerville Historic Town & Park 1966). The project went ahead without consultation or research as “it was doubtful that this building could have stood much longer unattended” (Barkerville Historic Town & Park 1966). At that time there was no research on the Chinese, and so there was no basis for determining the authenticity of the presentation. Research on Barkerville at this time was largely derived from biased historical documents, and rarely included Chinese language sources or voices. The specific information on the lifestyle of Chinese miners in Barkerville in the 1870s was sparse and restricted to often bigoted comments from the *Cariboo Sentinel*, and correspondences or diaries (Barkerville Display Program Staff 1982). An exception to this pattern was a single research project in the early 1960s at Barkerville that mapped the Chinese Terrace Gardens (Quackenbush 2013).

4.1.5. Barkerville Historic Town & Park's Reception and Success

Barkerville Historic Town & Park was a popular destination in BC during Phase 1 and received rave reviews. In 1963 the American Association for State and Local History recognized the Barkerville Restoration Advisory Committee with an award for significant work in the promotion of local history (McWilliams 1963). Historians were also delighted with the faithful restoration of Barkerville. The popularity of Barkerville Historic Town & Park was evident in their visitor numbers, which increased steadily with each passing year, as demonstrated in Table 1.

Table 1. List of visitor numbers at Barkerville Historic Town & Park between 1959 and 1969 (DORC 1959-1969).

Year	Number of Visitors
1959	10,000
1960	19,000
1961	25,000
1962	107,000
1963	128,000
1964	~100,000
1965	127,000
1966	174,000
1967	154,000
1968	~100,000
1969	115,000

Despite the positive reviews, there were some criticisms directed at Barkerville Historic Town & Park. The majority of these centered around the lack of essential services, which Barkerville worked to improve. These critiques were not concerned with the lack of Chinese representation. Other challenges that Barkerville Historic Town & Park faced during Phase 1 included the short operating season, its distance from other tourist destinations, and the disconnection between the site and the Chinese community in BC. More critiques and criticisms about the museum management, interpretations, and lack of the Chinese experience at Barkerville emerged in the 1970s.

Overall, during Phase 1, Barkerville Historic Town & Park received the funding necessary to develop an interpretation program and museum at Barkerville. This funding was meant to establish the park, and for the reconstruction of its historic buildings. So, although Barkerville received a great deal of funding during Phase 1, Barkerville's Chinese narrative was not developed at this time. The undeveloped nature of the Chinese section was due to a lack of research on the Chinese experience, and a lack of

interest in the representation of the Chinese within Barkerville. The lack of research on the Chinese continued to be a limiting factor in Phase 2. However, Phase 2 saw the recognition of the value of multiculturalism in Canada, and the issue of the absence of a developed Chinese section at Barkerville.

4.2. Phase 2: 1970 to 1989

Phase 2 was characterized by major changes to the original goals and purpose of Barkerville Historic Town & Park. These changes resulted from the creation of the BC Heritage Conservation Branch (HCB), and changes to Canada's national policies that favored and prioritized multiculturalism.

4.2.1. Barkerville Historic Town & Park Development

By the 1970s, the momentum of restorations that characterized Phase 1 had declined (Kerr 1981). Barkerville's funding was no longer able to support numerous restoration projects, as annual budgets had not been increased to keep up with inflation. Restoration and reconstruction dwindled to a single project over many years (Kerr 1981). Most funds were instead spent on maintenance and the continuation of the interpretive program. Funding for Barkerville Historic Town & Park was provided through the Provincial Secretary's Department, and under the Parks Branch's Accelerated Park Development Act (DORC 1971).

The BC HCB was created in 1976 to protect provincial heritage, and quickly became involved at Barkerville Historic Town & Park. Part of the HCB's mandate was to prepare policies and plans for historic parks and sites managed by the Provincial Government, including Barkerville Historic Town & Park (Barkerville Historic Town & Park 1979). By the mid-1970s work at Barkerville came to a standstill while the HCB reviewed Barkerville's practices and made recommendations for the future of the site. During this time the HCB provided critiques and recommendations. Major recommendations included the need for a curator, adequate storage for the collections, and research to accompany restoration and interpretation work. These changes were to ensure that "Barkerville in the eighties will be different in a number of respects from Barkerville in the sixties and seventies" (Kerr 1981:19). However, the site was to be

“adjusted continually throughout Barkerville’s life if its purpose is to remain relevant, meaningful and dynamic” (Kerr 1981:19).

The HCB created a new concept and master plan for Barkerville Historic Town & Park, which spurred many projects. Since the park’s establishment, it had been extensively restored and interpreted; however, there had been no comprehensive and official concept or master plan. As such, Barkerville had not reached an acceptable level of development and interpretation, according to museum standards of the time (Stephenson 1977). Since Barkerville was funded by the public, the park needed a concept and master plan to guide management and development (Barkerville Historic Town & Park 1979).

The Barkerville Task Force constructed a more definitive objective statement for Barkerville Historic Town & Park:

The main purpose of Barkerville Historic Town & Park is the preservation and presentation to the public of predominant or distinctive characteristics of historical value directly related to the Cariboo gold rush, which were significant in the development of the Province of British Columbia (Barkerville Historic Town & Park 1979:2).

The HCB defined the presentation’s historic period to be between 1858 and 1885, with a primary focus between 1861 and 1872 for the interpretive programs. Aspects outside of this range were to only be presented when the historic period needed clarification (Quackenbush 1999). The HCB also outlined the principles that Barkerville Historic Town & Park would follow. These included the precedence of preservation over restoration, and that restorations should be based on the structures’ earliest known appearance (Quackenbush 1999).

In 1981, the provincial government approved an accelerated restoration and development program at Barkerville, as restoration work had greatly declined since the 1960s. This new program recognized the changes to socio-political aspects and attempted to reflect these changes through the interpretative program (Kerr 1981). This began a movement towards the inclusion of the Chinese narrative. However, funding was not adequate to finance the full rehabilitation of the main street, back street, and Chinatown (Quackenbush 1999). The fund was instead mostly devoted to the

construction of the sewage system, water system, and fire suppression system, all of which were necessary for health and safety standards (Quackenbush 1999). So, although funds were established to develop Barkerville's presentation, the development of necessary structural and essential services took precedence at this time.

4.2.2. The Chinese Narrative and Research at Barkerville Historic Town & Park

In Phase 2, research projects on the Chinese at Barkerville had begun, mostly resulting from HCB research contracts. This research provided the basic information needed for the creation of a Chinese interpretation program. Regarding the limitations of Chinese research in BC, Keller (1980:5–6) stated that Chinatown may have been neglected due to:

The persistent feeling that the information no longer exists. In fact, it is surprising the number of English language sources that have never been turned to. In Chinese a great deal of information still exists and the access to that information also exists.

However, although Chinese documents from Barkerville did exist, Barkerville Historic Town & Park was unable to translate and utilize these documents during Phase 2.

Early research on the Chinese in Barkerville centered around archaeological excavations, and the collection of necessary information for the restoration of Chinatown (Barkerville Master Plan Committee 1981). The first archaeological excavation took place in the mid-1970s on the Chee Kung Tong building; however, these results have since been lost (Quackenbush 2013). Another excavation took place in 1982 at the Kwong Sang Wing, a historic Chinese store. The objective of this excavation was to learn about the structure of the building and to find out more about the Chinese at Barkerville in general (Irvine and Montgomery 1983; Quackenbush 1993; Quackenbush 2013). These initial research projects attempted to establish a general baseline of information about the Chinese experience at Barkerville, as little information existed.

As research on the Chinese in Barkerville emerged in the 1970s, the Chinese interpretation program began to take form. By 1970 a start was made toward the projected reconstruction and restoration of Barkerville's Chinatown (Department of

Recreation and Conservation 1970; Irvine and Montgomery 1983; Barkerville Historic Town & Park 1970). However, these plans were limited to the construction of a Chop Suey House restaurant in Chinatown; this project was not completed (Barkerville Restoration Advisory Committee 1972). These plans were focused on establishing any form of the Chinese presence in Barkerville, rather than exploring the larger Chinese experience. However, despite the priority of the development of Chinatown, the Chinese interpretation program remained underdeveloped due to a lack of resources and research.

The HCB identified the lack of Chinese representation at Barkerville in 1977. Although plans began in 1970 to develop Chinatown, it was not until the involvement of the HCB that Barkerville obtained the resources to begin this project. The two top priorities for development were the main commercial street and the development of Chinatown (Barkerville Master Plan Committee 1981). The HCB recommended that Barkerville should make long term efforts to involve Chinese communities in future restorations, as “the benefits for Chinese-Canadians and for Barkerville would be immense” because “the donations of artifacts and information would greatly improve the authenticity of the restorations” (Keller 1980:6). It was also noted that Barkerville would need to hire a long-term or permanent staff member to deal with Chinatown. This staff member would need to have knowledge on traditional Chinese daily life in BC, speak Cantonese as well as modern and classical Chinese, and should have the “ability and interest in explaining Chinese culture to a largely non-Chinese public” (Keller 1980:6). At this point Barkerville was pulled in somewhat opposing directions; it still catered primarily to a non-Chinese public but attempted to establish relationships with Chinese communities and researchers.

In 1981 the lack of research on the Chinese was discussed by staff, as it continued to impede the development of the Chinese interpretation program. The lack of research limited the understanding of important aspects of the Chinese experience. For example, due to the lack of understanding of Chee Kung Tong materials, it was recognized that researchers unfamiliar with these materials could easily interpret and present the society incorrectly. As such, further research was recommended before a Chee Kung Tong exhibit could be established (Eversole 1981). Despite this, the restoration of the Chee Kung Tong Building and Kwong Sang Wing began to take shape (The Barkerville Master Plan Committee 1981).



Figure 5. A Chinese exhibit at Barkerville Historic Town & Park in 1980. Photo by Grant Keddie. Used with permission.

Thanks to the Chinese research that was undertaken at Barkerville during Phase 2, other Chinese exhibits were created. The Yan War Store and Chinese Miner's cabin exhibits displayed aspects of Chinese culture and social life in Barkerville between 1868 and 1885 (Perry 1981). The 1982 Chinese Miner's cabin display was developed to authentically interpret the lifestyle of Chinese Miners in the Barkerville area circa 1870. However, the lack of information on the Chinese lifestyle in Barkerville was a hindrance to the authenticity of the display (Barkerville Display Program Staff 1982).

4.2.3. Barkerville Historic Town & Park's Reception and Criticisms

In both Phase 1 and 2, Barkerville had an important role in attracting visitors to the Cariboo and served as a major provincial historic and economic resource (Collins and Lee 1976). Despite the stunted development and changes to Barkerville's interpretation program, visitor numbers reached an all-time high in 1973 with 280,000 visitors (DORC 1973). However, numbers began to decline in 1974, and never recovered, as illustrated in Table 2.

Table 2 List of visitor numbers at Barkerville Historic Town & Park between 1970 and 1974 (DORC 1970–1974).

Year	Number of Visitors
1970	170,000
1971	175,000
1972	190,000
1973	280,000
1974	200,000

Due to the involvement of the HCB and their examination of Barkerville Historic Town & Park’s management, many new critiques emerged during Phase 2. Reports observed a lack of a clearly defined planning process, objectives, research, and that there was no curator at the site (Frey 1977; Kerr 1977; Stephenson 1977). It was recommended that restorations should be halted until historical, architectural, and archaeological research took place, and that a site restoration plan including a priority list was prepared (Kerr 1977). As part of a report on conservation issues in BC, museologist Henry Hodge (1981:13–14) stated that he found it “almost impossible to write about the site without becoming furious about the opportunities that have been missed and the sheer ineptitude of its management to date.” “They have to be quite the worst I have ever encountered, seen from the point of view of preservation” (Hodge 1981:13–14). These reports suggest that Barkerville Historic Town & Park’s museum exhibits largely fell behind museum standards of the time (Stephenson 1977). Generally, the critiques made during Phase 2 called for a curator to be hired at Barkerville, a master plan to be created, basic research to be done, and for existing exhibits to be updated.

Despite this initial introduction of the Chinese experience to Barkerville Historic Town & Park’s narrative, there was no developed plan for Chinatown during Phase 2. Information on Chinatown was still scarce and not enough to make Chinatown a reality at this stage (Barkerville Master Plan Committee 1981). Barkerville Historic Town & Park was also limited by a lack of funding for the development of the Chinese interpretation program, as most of the funding went towards the maintenance of the site and the establishment of essential services. However, in 1971 Barkerville Historic Town & Park received “considerable financial assistance... under the Parks Branch’s Accelerated Park Development Act [that] enabled attention to various projects which had been held in abeyance because of more immediate priorities” (DORC 1971:92).

It was acknowledged at this time that “the future for Barkerville’s Chinatown appears to lie in continuing research on the Barkerville collection of documents and

artifacts and in tapping the many outside sources of information” (Keller 1980:6). Additionally, the site lacked the curatorial staff needed to develop the Chinese narrative, such as a curator and Chinese researchers. So, although Barkerville Historic Town & Park had the desire to create a Chinese interpretive program, the lack of resources and research hindered this development. However, the recognition of the existence of the Chinese experience at Barkerville set the stage for its future development and inclusion.

4.3. Phase 3: 1990 to 2004

Phase 3 is defined by the substantial development of Barkerville’s Chinese interpretive program. This substantial development can be primarily attributed to the hard work of two individuals. These were Bill Quackenbush and Ying Ying Chen, both of whom were interested in the Chinese history of the site. It is during this phase that the Chinese narrative was researched, interpreted, and included at Barkerville.

4.3.1. Barkerville Historic Town & Park Development

Bill Quackenbush became the curator at Barkerville Historic Town & Park in April 1990 (Quackenbush, personal communication, January 2018). This new appointment spurred major changes at Barkerville, as Quackenbush was committed to developing the Chinese interpretation program, as well as revamping the master plan (Quackenbush, personal communication, January 2018). Quackenbush (1999) wrote a new master plan for Barkerville Historic Town & Park. In it, one of the major critiques pertained to the period that Barkerville presented (1860s–1885). This critique originated in the 1970s, when staff acknowledged that the complete restoration of Barkerville in this period “would be an effort of phenomenal proportions and could not be carried out with 100% accuracy due to the lack of documentary evidence” (Premischook 1973:1). Quackenbush (1999) acknowledged that this original time frame could not be authentically presented due to a lack of artifacts and research. A strict viewing of the 1862 to 1885 period would only offer a brief snap shot of Barkerville’s extensive history (Quackenbush 1999).

Barkerville Historic Town & Park still primarily followed the objectives and principles that were established in 1981 that focused on preservation over restoration, and education (Quackenbush 1999). At this time Quackenbush (1999) also reconfirmed

that the underlying presentation at Barkerville would continue to be the 'gold rush' theme with emphasis on a dynamic cultural experience that was both educational and entertaining. The 1999 Master Plan included the notion that Chinatown had to be represented "somehow" (Quackenbush 1999:11). However, the time period issue needed to be resolved first, as it held many problems for the development of the Chinese interpretive program. Because Chinese records and research for this period was limited, the authenticity of Chinatown could not be ensured (Quackenbush 1999).

4.3.2. Chinese Research at Barkerville Historic Town & Park

Ying Ying Chen started her PhD at Simon Fraser University in the early 1990s. Her research focused on the history of Chinese settlement between 1860 and 1940 in the Cariboo, specifically on the important role of the Chinese in the development of the province. Chen was passionate about incorporating Chinese history in BC's narrative; "their historical roots and important role in opening up the BC Interior is under-appreciated, even today, many people think that the Chinese are newcomers" (SFU Alumni Journal 1994:para.4). Chen's (2001) thesis examined Chinese immigration and emigration, the Gold Rush, the development of Chinese communities within BC, as well as the cultural principles of the Chinese community in BC across time. This document has since become an essential source of information on the Chinese in the Cariboo and Barkerville.

As part of Chen's (2001:11–27) research, an excavation of the Chee Kung Tong building in Barkerville took place in 1993. Chen (2001:31–49) also reconstructed Chinese settlement patterns in the Cariboo using archival sources and an archaeological field survey. However, there were few archival written records on the Chinese in Barkerville, and most of these records are written in Chinese. The translation of these documents did not become possible until Phase 3, thanks to translation efforts by Chen and Chinese business operators at Barkerville (Quackenbush, personal communication, January 2018). Access to these Chinese documents was a huge factor in the development of Barkerville's Chinatown, as the site finally had the necessary research to ensure a more authentic presentation of the Chinese experience in Barkerville.

SFU's archaeology department was also involved in many Chinese projects and research at Barkerville. This partnership contributed substantially to the Chinese

narrative; Quackenbush stated that “without involving the university – the students and the researchers – none of these projects would have been possible” (SFU Alumni Journal 1994:para.7). In 1993 the excavation of the Chee Kung Tong building was operated as an archaeological field school by SFU, directed by Phil Hobler and assisted by Chen. This project was engaged by the Province of BC’s Heritage Properties Branch to investigate Barkerville with a focus on the Chinese component, and general material culture at Barkerville.

In addition to the contributions of Chen and SFU, there were additional research contracts during this time. Prior to the involvement of Chen and SFU, David Lai was hired on a short contract in the early 90s for research on the Chinese in Barkerville, including translations (Quackenbush, personal communication, January 2018). Other research included the excavation of the Chinese Free Mason’s building, artifact recovery and faunal analysis of a Chinese lot, and investigations on the domestic residence of the Lee Chong and Hong families (Quackenbush 2013; Koskitalo 1995; Moosang 2000; Hines 1996). Because so little was known about the Chinese, the goals of these projects were general, and focused on learning more about the lifeways of the Chinese in Barkerville.

4.3.3. The Chinese Interpretation Program

During Phase 3 one of the biggest issues for the development of the Chinese interpretation program was Barkerville’s ability to draw visitors into Chinatown, located at the far end of the park; this remains an issue today. Quackenbush (1999) noted the need for new displays to draw people into Chinatown for longer periods of time. Proposed solutions to this problem included the development of the Kwong Sang Wing building, establishment of the Lee Chong Company as a Chinese Museum, creation of a mining museum in one of the non-Chinese buildings in Chinatown, and an archaeological excavation (Quackenbush 1999). Many other Chinese exhibits were created at this time, which generally focused on domestic life, gambling, Chinese language and culture, as well as prominent Chinese businesses within Barkerville (Quackenbush 1999). These exhibits were installed to address the outstanding issues about Chinatown. The principle issues were that the considerable collection of materials was not exhibited effectively, and that the Chinese were under-represented considering their contributions to the development of Barkerville (Chen 1992).

Many other Chinese projects and activities were incorporated at Barkerville during Phase 3. The Chee Kung Tong was stabilized in 1989, and the Mid-Autumn Moon festival was introduced at Barkerville in the early 2000s. This festival was meant to honour the significant contributions made by Chinese settlers during the Gold Rush (Barkerville Heritage Trust 2014; Barkerville Heritage Trust 2015; Barkerville Heritage Trust 2016; Barkerville Heritage Trust 2017). A Chinese Cemetery Plaque was also placed in Barkerville to acknowledge the Chinese who lived and died in Barkerville.



Figure 6. Chinese cemetery plaque at Barkerville Historic Town & Park. June 2017. Photo by author.

Phase 3 saw the involvement and the inclusion of Chinese families and communities at Barkerville. It was clear that the Chinese community would be a valuable resource for the development of Barkerville's Chinatown. Though few Chinese families remained in Barkerville after the 1950s "those who did become integrated into the communities, with several such as Hong (Wong), Hoy (Chow), and Sing families in the Barkerville region becoming community leaders" (Quackenbush, personal communication, January 2018). Barkerville Historic Town & Park staff made connections

with the descendants of these significant Chinese individuals during Phase 3. During this time, many interviews were conducted by staff with the descendants of Barkerville's Chinese families to learn more about the daily and domestic lives of the Chinese (Chen 1992; Moosang 2000). These interviews served as the first steps in establishing relationships with the Chinese community. These new relationships included partnerships and connections with Vancouver's Chinese community, and the Chinese Freemasons (Quackenbush, personal communication, January 2018).

4.3.4. Barkerville Historic Town & Park's Resources and Limitations

The development of Barkerville's Chinese interpretation program relied heavily on research, but also on the availability of resources and funding needed to complete these projects. As Barkerville was a provincial establishment, it was ineligible for Provincial heritage funding; however, the Friends of Barkerville, a historical society, were sometimes able to apply for grants (Quackenbush, personal communication, January 2018). Occasional federal and summer student grants also aided in the development of the Chinese program (Quackenbush, personal communication, January 2018). Museum staff found that "Victim funding" was a means to find funding for Chinese projects (Quackenbush, personal communication, January 2018). This funding was the result of the recognition "that the dominant culture has victimized other parts" (Quackenbush, personal communication, January 2018). They found that funding could be found if one only used the victim angle to find funding for student projects (Quackenbush, personal communication, January 2018). Some funding for the restoration of buildings in Chinatown resulted from the celebrations of the year 2000, through joint funding from the Friends of Barkerville Cariboo Historical Society, Barkerville Historic Town & Park, and the government of Canada. As it had previously, Barkerville Historic Town & Park benefitted from additional funding for restoration projects thanks to provincial and national celebrations.

Despite the limitations that stemmed from the availability of funding, there were other issues at Barkerville that impeded the development of Chinatown. Again, the tightly constrained period of 1860 to 1885 limited the development of exhibits (Quackenbush 1999; Quackenbush, personal communication, January 2018). Curatorial staff found that another issue was "the idea that all presentations were to be fully researched" (Quackenbush, personal communication, January 2018). This idea was impossible due

to the funding and research available (Quackenbush, personal communication, January 2018). However, the development of exhibits did not push the overall development of Barkerville Historic Town & Park. Instead the development of essential services drove much of the development of Barkerville “because they are easiest to understand” and were legally required (Quackenbush 1999:2). Conservation issues were often “lost in the shuffle due to being most difficult to understand” (Quackenbush 1999:2).

Visitor numbers were low during Phase 3, which was an issue as one of the original purposes of Barkerville Historic Town & Park was to serve as an economic stimulant for the Cariboo (Quackenbush 1999). The downturn in the economy also reflected a downturn of visitors to Barkerville (Quackenbush 1999). However, there has been no full analysis of the economic benefit of Barkerville (Quackenbush 1999).

Phase 3 was the most influential phase in the development of Barkerville’s Chinese narrative. At this time all the necessary factors for the advancement and reconstruction of Chinatown—the resources, research, and interest—were all present. During Phase 3 great strides in Chinese research at Barkerville took place, largely due to the partnership between Barkerville Historic Park and SFU. Many of the student projects, including Chen’s thesis, greatly contributed to the understanding of the Chinese experience in Barkerville. This partnership with SFU archaeology students also brought in resources necessary for the completion of research, as student grants were available to fund projects (Quackenbush, personal communication, January 2018). Another significant resource available was the staff at Barkerville, notably Quackenbush and Chen; the presence of individuals committed to the development of Chinatown made a significant impact on research and expansion in this area. Finally, during Phase 3, Canada had embraced multiculturalism as a core Canadian trait and highlighted the inclusion of minority narratives in national history.

4.4. Phase 4: 2005 to Present

Phase 4 began on April 1, 2005, when the Barkerville Heritage Trust (BHT) assumed management of Barkerville Historic Town & Park from the provincial government. The BHT was created to address the need for a more regional perspective that could respond quickly to local priorities (Barkerville Heritage Trust 2007). The BHT’s current mandate is to remain “committed to ensuring that Barkerville is efficiently

managed, entertaining and educational to visit, and financially sustained” (Barkerville Heritage Trust 2011:22). The BHT’s vision is for Barkerville Historic Town & Park to be “provincially, nationally and internationally recognized for its historic significance associated with its place in western Canada’s gold rush era and the role the gold rush played in BC joining Canada” and to be “a significant contributor to the regional economy” (Barkerville Heritage Trust 2011:22). The greatest challenge for the Barkerville Heritage Trust has been convincing BC citizens “that Barkerville was alive and well and that they needed to come and visit this historic place”; in 2006 rumours circulated that Barkerville Historic Town & Park had closed, leading to a decrease in visitor numbers (Barkerville Heritage Trust 2007:1).

4.4.1. Barkerville Historic Town & Park Development

From 2006 to 2017, the curatorial section of Barkerville Historic Town & Park focused on their commitment to authenticity, the cataloguing of collections, artifact storage, funding applications, the restoration of the Chinese cemetery, the CD Hoy project, the maintenance of exhibit rooms, digitization projects, and the restorations and renovations of heritage buildings (Barkerville Heritage Trust 2007; Barkerville Heritage Trust 2008; Barkerville Heritage Trust 2009; Barkerville Heritage Trust 2010; Barkerville Heritage Trust 2011; Barkerville Heritage Trust 2012; Barkerville Heritage Trust 2013; Barkerville Heritage Trust 2014; Barkerville Heritage Trust 2015; Barkerville Heritage Trust 2016; Barkerville Heritage Trust 2017). In 2008 Barkerville’s presentation moved towards a more inclusive history covering the period between 1862 and 1958 (Barkerville Heritage Trust 2008).

4.4.2. The Chinese Interpretation Program and Chinese Research at Barkerville Historic Town & Park

In comparison to earlier phases, Phase 4 boasts the most complete and developed Chinese interpretive program; this is largely thanks to major advancements in Phase 3. The Chinese narrative at Barkerville now includes many important aspects of the daily lives of the Chinese in Barkerville.

Table 3. A list of the Chinese exhibits at Barkerville Historic Town & Park as of June 2017.

Chinese exhibits at Barkerville During Phase 4	Type of Presentation
Gee Quon Building	Chinese Laundry
Chinese Miners Cabin	Domestic residence of Chinese miners
Kwong Lee Wing Kee Co.	Butcher shop and associated storeroom
Tsang Quan Residence	The domestic home of a Chinese manager and his family
Wa Lee Store	Chinese store
Yan War Store	Chinese store
Min Yee Tong	Chinese gambling house
Houser House	The home of a German girl. An example of a non-Chinese residence in Chinatown.
Sing Kee Herbalist	Chinese medicine and storefront
Trapper Dan's cabin	The residence of Trapper Dan
Chee Kung Tong	Tong societies in Barkerville
Lee Chong Co.	Chinese museum

The diversity of subjects included within Barkerville's Chinatown (as seen in Table 3) demonstrates the extent of the research and the commitment to presenting the full spectrum of the Chinese experience at Barkerville. The Lee Chong Co. building houses one of the most important displays on the Chinese in Barkerville; the Chinese Museum. This building covers the extensive history of the Chinese in BC and Barkerville, examining such topics as: Chinese immigration to BC, emigration out of China, the Opium trade, Chinese involvement in the Canadian Pacific Railway, Chinese occupations in BC, Tongs and Chinese secret societies, Chinese cultural practices, Chinese domestic life in Barkerville, and discriminatory laws and practices against the Chinese in Canada. This exhibit highlights the extensive involvement of the Chinese in the development of the Cariboo and of the province. In general, the Chinese narrative has been expanded to encompass many aspects of Chinese culture and how the Chinese adapted to life in Barkerville.



Figure 7. Barkerville's Chinatown looking North from the Lee Chong Co. Chinese Museum. June 2017. Photo by author.

Other activities in Chinatown further explore the daily lives of the Chinese. The Chinese walking tour delves into a more comprehensive history of Chinese exclusion and prejudice within BC and Barkerville. Some Chinese buildings now house businesses; these include the Long Duck Tong (Chinese restaurant), the Lai Soy Lum building (Chinese artwork shop), and the Kwong Sang Wing (Chinese souvenirs). The Mid-autumn moon festival is held in Barkerville in late August, to honour Chinese-Canadian pioneers and their contributions to Barkerville and the Cariboo Gold Rush (Barkerville Heritage Trust 2014). Chinese festival activities include: A moon cake tasting, lion and dragon dances, a Chinese school program, a lantern making station, a lantern festival, dancers, and Chinese music. Overall, these activities are designed to promote and present a wide range of aspects of Chinese culture, even beyond the Chinese experience at Barkerville. In this sense, Barkerville retains the desire to present a family-friendly atmosphere and experience, which as a tourist center it must. However, this representation now includes elements from the once-excluded Chinese portion of Barkerville's population.

In terms of recent Chinese projects, Barkerville Historic Town & Park has participated in the Chinese Canadian Artifacts Project, in conjunction with the BC Museums Association. This project included the digital gathering of significant Chinese documents, photographs and artifacts for public online viewing (Barkerville Heritage Trust 2016). Partnerships and community involvement have been a priority during Phase 4, especially in terms of the Chinese interpretation program. It has been acknowledged that the key to Barkerville's success lies in "Partnerships – with individuals, with different communities, with agencies and likeminded organizations, with learning institutions, and with all levels of government," and that "Barkerville continues to benefit from a growing and strengthening set of partnerships. Local, provincial and federal governments all have made significant contributions to the preservation and maintenance of Barkerville." (Barkerville Heritage Trust 2011:1; Barkerville Heritage Trust 2017:3) A particularly important outcome has been the restoration of the Chinese Cemetery, which was primarily funded by the Chinese community (Barkerville Heritage Trust 2016). Another exhibit is the C.D. Hoy historic photographs collection, a travelling exhibit that depicts the lives of Chinese in the Cariboo. This is comprised of historic photographs taken at Barkerville by C.D. Hoy, a Chinese photographer. This exhibit was created in partnership with the Guangdong Museum of Overseas Chinese (Barkerville Heritage Trust 2014). One of the goals of this exhibit was to:

Try to re-connect names with some of the unidentified individuals in the pictures by sending the Exhibit to the same areas in South China from where many of the Chinese pioneers came (Barkerville Heritage Trust 2013:6).

This photographic exhibit helped to re-establish a connection between Barkerville and the Guangdong Province, where the stories and photographs of early Chinese immigrants in Barkerville provide "an important window into the lives of these early pioneers and have been largely lost to China in the turmoil of the ensuing 150 years" (Barkerville Heritage Trust 2013:5).

When compared to Phase 3, there is less ongoing Chinese research at Barkerville; one major reason for this is that SFU is no longer directly involved in research at Barkerville. In 2015, the journal *BC Studies* published an issue that centered around Barkerville, though only two of these articles focused on the Chinese. The first

article, *Kwong Lee & Company and Early Trans-Pacific Trade: From Canton, Hong Kong, to Victoria and Barkerville*, delves into the trans-Pacific trade, and the origins and legacy of Kwong Lee & Co (Chung 2015). The second article, *Barkerville in Context: Archaeology of the Chinese in British Columbia*, explores the archaeology of the Chinese in British Columbia (Ross 2015). These two articles are examples of recent research relating to the Chinese at Barkerville. However, Barkerville Historic Town & Park also has future research plans and have taken steps to establish further academic projects through an Academic Heritage Symposium in 2012. This resulted in 15 academics indicating a “desire to focus some of their future research on Barkerville,” and the hope that “It won’t be long, we believe, before more people will discover and enjoy the site’s culturally rich Chinese heritage” (Barkerville Heritage Trust 2012:3). Chinese academic connections have also been made through an understanding between Barkerville and Wuyi University “to foster the exchange of knowledge about the lives of the early Chinese immigrants,” and “to send researchers here to study our collections and learn more about their overseas ancestors” (Barkerville Heritage Trust 2014:3). Additionally, Barkerville employs SFU trained archaeologist Dawn Ainsley, who undertakes on-going archaeological work at Barkerville in the summer season (Ainsley 2017). Archaeology at the site is currently focused on salvage archaeology, school programs, and public archaeology.



Figure 8. Mound of sediment from archaeological screening at Barkerville Historic Town & Park. June 2017. Photo by author.

4.4.3. Chinese Community Involvement at Barkerville

Both BC's Chinese community and the Chinese government have become increasingly involved at Barkerville Historic Town & Park. Barkerville has hosted important Chinese officials, who were impressed with efforts to tell the story of the Chinese community that was such an important part of life in Barkerville. (Barkerville Heritage Trust 2009; Barkerville Heritage Trust 2013). The buildings, photographs and archival materials at Barkerville tell the stories of the overseas Chinese that have been lost on the other side of the Pacific (Liang 2012). These exhibits link the history of Barkerville's Chinese back to Guangdong Province, which many of them called home.

4.4.4. Resources and Limitations at Barkerville Historic Town & Park

Income for Barkerville Historic Town & Park comes primarily from operating grants from the government, revenue collected from admission, rent paid by Barkerville merchants, public donations, interest from investments, and external grants acquired by staff (Barkerville Heritage Trust 2007, Barkerville Heritage Trust 2008; Barkerville

Heritage Trust 2012; Barkerville Heritage Trust 2016). Barkerville is a major part of the Cariboo region's economy and has a regional economic impact of \$19.5–24 million (Barkerville Heritage Trust 2014). These numbers are representative of the period between 2005 and 2017. The \$1–3 million annual budget for projects at Barkerville is primarily used for maintenance, especially upkeep of heritage buildings, servicing of campgrounds, and installation of BC hydro upgrades (Barkerville Heritage Trust 2017). Additionally, since about 2015 a portion of the projects budget has been used to set up winter recreational activities. Though these facilities are not related to the museum's interpretation projects, the extension of the tourist season at Barkerville could help bring in further revenue.

A major challenge at Barkerville Historic Town & Park during Phase 4 has been the reduction in visitors in recent years, in large part due to rumour that Barkerville had been closed (Barkerville Heritage Trust 2007). This rumour was due to the uncertainty of the continuation of the site after the provincial government transferred management to the Barkerville Heritage Trust. In recent years the park has drawn in about 50,000–60,000 visitors per year (Barkerville Heritage Trust 2014).

Two other issues that affect visitor numbers are that Barkerville is geographically distant from the Lower Mainland and has a short tourist season that runs from mid-May to the end of September. With the installation of winter activities at the site, Barkerville is now partially open from October to May. Because of the short visitor season, most staff members are only hired seasonally. Lastly, the foot traffic in Chinatown is reduced, as this section lies at the far end of Barkerville Historic Town & Park. Due to its location many tired tourists miss this section or spend a relatively short amount of time here.

Phase 4 has seen few changes to the Chinese exhibits in the interpretive program at Barkerville Historic Town & Park; however, there have been notable developments in the extensive partnerships that the site has forged with the Chinese community. These partnerships have largely provided the means and resources necessary for the completion of Chinese-related restoration projects, as Barkerville lacks the funding to complete more extensive Chinese projects. The continuing support of multiculturalism in Canada has also had some effects on the Chinese section at Barkerville. As Canada and BC participate in reconciliation with the Chinese community, the Chinese experience has been increasingly recognized as significant to our national

history. As such, the inclusion of the Chinese narrative at Barkerville is increasingly necessary for the authentic presentation of provincial history. However, during Phase 4 there has been a downturn in the number of Chinese research projects at Barkerville, which has limited more extensive development of Chinatown. Despite this, the partnerships Barkerville has developed with the Chinese community have led to broader presentation and inclusion of the Chinese experience at Barkerville and in BC.

4.4.5. Results Summary

Barkerville Historic Town & Park has grown as an establishment and has taken on a more inclusionary role in the presentation of provincial history. Though the museum does not actively address the subject of historical racism and prejudice, aspects of this negative history are explored through the lens of the Chinese. Instead, Barkerville primarily celebrates its diversity, and the role of Chinese culture in the development of the town. Overall, the presentation of the Chinese experience at Barkerville developed substantially between Phase 1 and 4. This development has relied on three main factors, which are: The research available to advance the Chinese interpretation program; the resources available to complete Chinese projects, and; the desire and interest of both staff and the public for the inclusion of a minority narrative at the site. These limitations are mirrored in many other museums, who also face challenges associated with time, space, budgets, and academic storylines (Lynch and Alberti 2010:28).

In Phase 1, Barkerville Historic Town & Park was established with an interpretive focus on the Gold Rush and the settlers who built the province of BC. This narrative was largely determined by BC's centennial celebrations, which aimed to highlight the history and the initial settlement of the province. However, this narrative did not include the contributions of Chinese settlers; this is unsurprising given Canada's perspective on multiculturalism at this time, where Anglo-conformity was favoured. During this phase Barkerville Historic Town & Park had the resources at hand to substantially develop their interpretive program and to restore many historic buildings. However, they lacked the necessary research and staff to authentically represent the Chinese. As such, the Chinese narrative was not included within the larger history of Barkerville.

During Phase 2, Canada adopted a Multiculturalism Policy that had substantial effects on the inclusion of minority groups in Canada. These changing Canadian values influenced Barkerville Historic Town & Park; during this phase it was recognized that the park lacked a Chinese interpretative program. The involvement of the HCB at Barkerville spurred the research and directional goals of the development of Barkerville's Chinatown. However, the Chinese interpretive program could not be fully developed during this time due to a lack of necessary research, resources, and staff.

Phase 3 marked the substantial development of Barkerville's Chinatown. This development was made possible by archaeological research on the lifeways and history of the Chinese at Barkerville. These developments can be attributed to the dedication of both Bill Quackenbush, Ying Ying Chen, and many students from SFU. During this time, numerous Chinese exhibits and activities were established. The Chinese interpretation program was extensively developed during this phase thanks to newly available information on the Chinese, the interest of the Canadian government in minority narratives, and the dedication of Chinese researchers such as Chen. During this phase, Barkerville Historic Town & Park finally had the research, resources, and interest of the public needed to develop Chinatown.

In Phase 4, the Barkerville Heritage Trust took over management of Barkerville Historic Town & Park from the provincial government. Phase 4 is also characterized by the considerable involvement of the Chinese community and Chinese government at Barkerville. These partnerships with the Chinese community and government, as well as with Chinese researchers have helped Barkerville continue to build an authentic Chinese experience at Barkerville. These partnerships have also been crucial in providing the resources necessary to complete and develop new Chinese projects. In terms of public interest in the Chinese narrative, multiculturalism in Canada has continued to grow, and the inclusion of minority narratives are prioritized. However, there has been less research on the Chinese at Barkerville in Phase 4. As such, Barkerville Historic Town & Park must rely on their partnerships to continue to develop their Chinese narrative.

Chapter 5.

Discussion

This chapter discusses the inclusion of minority narratives in Canadian museums, and how increased representation follows the rise of multiculturalism as a core value in Canada. I discuss each of Barkerville's developmental phases in terms of developments in multiculturalism and immigration, and how these changes might have affected the Chinese narrative at Barkerville Historic Town & Park. For the majority of Canada and BC's history, multiculturalism was not considered an important Canadian value. Prior to the adoption of multiculturalism in Canada many instances of racial discrimination and prejudice occurred within socio-political contexts. The trend towards multiculturalism has resulted in changes to many aspects of Canadian society, including how museums construct and present representations of historical narratives. The development of museum interpretive programs is heavily influenced by the socio-political climate of the time in which they are created (Mason 2009). Changes to political aspects of Canadian society have undoubtedly influenced Barkerville Historic Town & Park's representation of the Chinese experience.

Currently, the representation of Canadian identity in museums frequently emphasizes pluralism and multiculturalism as a defining characteristic of national identity. However, the inclusion of minority narratives in representations of Canadian history has been slow (Ashley 2011:184). Around the time of Canada's centennial year, minority representation in museums often revolved around the subject of immigration (Ashley 2011:184). Barkerville Historic Town & Park was established in conjunction with BC's centennial year, and heavily emphasizes European immigration and settlement in Barkerville. Chinese immigration was not substantially included within this narrative until the 1990s. The increasing influence and importance of multiculturalism in Canadian social and political values is reflected in the increased inclusion of minority narratives within museum representations; this is evident within Barkerville Historic Town & Park's developmental history.

5.1. Phase 1: 1958 to 1969

Canada's commitment to multiculturalism had yet to be adopted as an official government policy when Barkerville Historic Town & Park was established in 1958. An official Multiculturalism Policy was not adopted until 1971. However, during the lead up to the adoption of this policy there were profound changes to the Canadian governments view on Anglo-conformity and pluralism.

Anglo-conformity was the predominant ideology in Canada prior to 1940 (Palmer 1975:112). Anglo-conformity suggests immigrants should shed their cultural traditions in favour of Anglo-Saxon values and behaviours (Palmer 1975:112; Hudson 1987:61; Wood and Remnant 1980:168). When Barkerville Historic Town & Park was opened in 1958, Canada still favoured Anglo-conformity with respect to immigration. This culturally assimilationist approach was not repudiated until the late 1960s, when Canadian society began to recognize the value of ethnic diversity (Banting and Kymlicka 2010:49; Wood and Remnant 1980:180). "Prior to the 1960s, Canadian government policy did not address pluralism in specific terms of "cultural," "ethnic" or "multicultural" elements" (Hudson 1987:60). Divisions were instead rather narrowly defined; these divisions were dichotomies between "English and French, Protestants and Catholics, colonists and indigenous peoples, or recent immigrants and "Canadians" (Hudson 1987:60). In 1960, the Canadian Bill of Rights was passed, which prohibited discrimination against based on race, sex, or religion (Wayland 1997). With this bill, it became clear that Canada would need to formally change its policies regarding immigration and multiculturalism (Wayland 1997:44). This change was made to remain credible within international human rights circles, such as the United Nations and in the multiracial Commonwealth (Wayland 1997:44). The Canadian Human Rights Act of 1977 went further to ensure that "every individual should have an equal opportunity" (Hudson 1987:65). This act ensured that no person should be discriminated based on "race, national or ethnic origin, colour, religion, age, sex, marital status, family status, or disability" (Hudson 1987:65).

Trends in Canadian immigration speak to the rise of ethnic diversity within Canada. During Phase 1, there were many changes to the Canadian immigration policy, specifically regarding eligibility for immigration to Canada (Wayland 1997:42, 59). Pre-war Asiatic immigration accounted for only 1.7% of Canada's total immigration and had only increased to 2.2% by 1961 (Kalbach and McVey 1971). Thus, Asian immigration

was still relatively limited in Canada during Phase 1. By 1962, racial discrimination was removed from Canadian immigration regulations (Hawkins 1971:72; Wayland 1997:45). However, the government was still concerned about the potential for mass migrations from Asia. In response to this, family sponsorships were regulated by restricting the range of relatives which could be sponsored by Asian immigrants (Hawkins 1971:72). Therefore, although racial discrimination had formally been excluded from immigration regulations, Asian immigration was still restricted to an extent.

It was not until 1967 when Canada's immigration policy shifted to the point system, where potential immigrants were deemed eligible for immigration based on occupation, education, language skills, and age (Wayland 1997:45). This meant that all immigrants were chosen without discrimination and were evaluated based on the same standards. The Chinese were finally considered on equal grounds with other nationalities in relation to immigration and citizenship (Woon 2007:85,95). Overall, Phase 1 experienced great strides towards more equal and non-discriminatory immigration policies. However, this change was just one step towards the promotion of pluralism in Canadian society.

Anglo-conformity in Canada was further challenged by the creation of the Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism in 1963, known as the B&B Commission. The B&B Commission was developed to respond to the growing friction between what was considered the "two founding races" of Canada, the English and the French (Hudson 1987:62). The English and French were formally recognized as Canada's two founding people by the British North America Act in 1867 (Wayland 1997:43). The B&B commission was developed to create a Canadian Confederation that was based on equal partnership between the English and French, in which the contributions of both ethnic groups would be recognized and safeguarded (Hudson 1987:63). Although the B&B Commission only recognized the contributions of the English and French to Canadian society, this commission was the first step towards an official policy of multiculturalism in Canada (Wood and Remnant 1980:181).

During Phase ,1 the presentation of the Chinese at Barkerville Historic Town & Park was sparse and limited. The Chinese were largely left out of the "authentic" Barkerville experience. When the Chinese were represented, their narrative was highly simplified and exoticized. The limited presentation of the Chinese experience is likely because

multiculturalism and the inclusion of minority narratives were not yet a priority for Canadian society. Though Canada had begun to work towards an equal and inclusive immigration policy, the government had yet to establish a Multiculturalism Policy. There was also little research on the Chinese in Barkerville at this time, and what knowledge existed was limited to stereotypical behaviours and activities that were easy to understand. Therefore, Chinese representations were restricted primarily to opium and gambling activities. Although the inclusion of the Chinese at Barkerville in Phase 1 could be considered an early form of multicultural representation, this narrative simplified and exoticized Chinese culture, was inauthentic, and largely racist in attitude. Due to Canada's stance on multiculturalism, the demographics of the area, and the low visibility of Chinese population in the Cariboo, it is unsurprising that the Chinese narrative was not a priority during Phase 1.

5.2. Phase 2: 1970 to 1989

During Phase 2 at Barkerville Historic Town & Park, representation of the Chinese experience was influenced by the creation of the Multiculturalism Policy in 1971, which represented a pluralistic change to Canadian values. In the late 1960s and early 1970s a more “multicultural conception of integration” was adopted by the Canadian government (Banting and Kymlicka 2010:49). This concept accepted that immigrants “will visibly and proudly express their national identity” (Banting and Kymlicka 2010:49).

The 1971 Multiculturalism Policy stated that:

Although there are two official languages, there is no official culture, nor does any ethnic group take precedence over any other. No citizen or group of citizens is other than Canadian, and all should be treated fairly (Trudeau 1971:8545).

The overall objective of the Multiculturalism Policy was to ensure the “equality of all persons” (Hudson 1987:64). However, multiculturalism was to be implemented within a bilingual framework (Hudson 1987:63; Wayland 1997). The original goals of the Multiculturalism Policy centered around supporting all cultural groups so that they could fully participate in Canadian society (Banting and Kymlicka 2010:49–50).

The Multiculturalism Policy was to be implemented by all government departments. However, the actual implementation of the policy varied between departments. As multiculturalism became a major part of Canadian identity, legislation supporting cultural pluralism was extended once again in Canada with the introduction of the Multiculturalism Act in 1988; this was an outgrowth of the original Multiculturalism Policy (Wayland 1997:33). This Act recognized multiculturalism as a fundamental characteristic of Canadian society, that needed to be integrated in federal decision-making (Wayland 1997:49). At the time of its creation, no such act existed anywhere else in the world (Wayland 1997:33). By the late 1980s, Canada's Multiculturalism Policy had been expanded to tackle other social issues (Wayland 1997:48). Five important modifications were made during Phase 2: support for heritage language programs, anti-racist initiatives, provincial multicultural education programs, emergence of limited support for cultural diversity in Quebec, and the political and administrative strengthening of multiculturalism (Wayland 1997:49).

Immigration in Canada during Phase 2 continued to affirm Canada as a multicultural society. In 1976 the Immigration Act was created to supplement the 1967 'point system' policy. This policy reaffirmed Canada as a country of immigration, and prohibited discrimination based on "race, national or ethnic origin, colour, religion, or sex" (Wayland 1997:45). Additionally, this new Act highlighted the importance of family reunification, and Canada's obligation towards refugees (Wayland 1997:45).

During Phase 2, Canada affirmed itself as a nation of immigrants, and embraced cultural pluralism as a core Canadian value. This adoption and celebration of Canada's multicultural roots was evident at Barkerville Historic Town & Park; it was in Phase 2 that the lack of Chinese representation was acknowledged. This acknowledgement led to the initial inclusion of a more authentic Chinese narrative. However, this relied heavily on the availability of information on the Chinese in Barkerville, which was lacking during this period. The creation of the HCB was also a major factor in the driving changes at Barkerville Historic Town & Park. The involvement of the HCB increased funding for restoration work, the creation of a more comprehensive master plan, and the beginning stages of research on the Chinese in Barkerville.

The adoption of multiculturalism by the Canadian government had a profound effect at Barkerville Historic Town & Park, though not directly. The Multiculturalism Policy

did not specifically call for Barkerville to include minority narratives within the museum. However, since all government departments were to follow the 1971 Multiculturalism Policy, and since Barkerville was under the management of a government department, the act therefore applied to this institution. The lack of Chinese representation was acknowledged by staff in 1970, just one year prior to the Multiculturalism Policy. As members of Canadian society, museum staff also experienced the shift in societal values towards multiculturalism and greater inclusion of minority voices. In 1970 staff formally recognized the lack of Chinese representation within the museum, even before federal legislation required them to examine it. This is indicative of the effect that multiculturalism had on Barkerville's narratives and representations.

5.3. Phase 3: 1990 to 2004

Up until Phase 3, the Chinese interpretive program at Barkerville Historic Town & Park lagged compared to the development of the rest of the site due to the lack of understanding about the Chinese experience. While staff attempted to include the Chinese narrative more substantially during Phase 2, the lack of research on this topic hindered the development of the program. However, during Phase 3 substantial research on the Chinese in the Cariboo was conducted by Chen (2001) and through student contracts. This information allowed for the construction of a more authentic representation of daily life for Barkerville's Chinese community.

The growing diversity of Canadian society is evident in the changing immigration trends between Phase 1 and Phase 3, especially in terms of the growth of Chinese immigration. In 1994, Canada's top three source countries for immigration were Hong Kong, China, and the Philippines (Wayland 1997:50). Canadian society was also less fearful of the impact of Asian migration. A 1993 poll found that only 25% of Canadians felt that non-white minorities were threatening the fabric of Canada and feared that immigration would result in the Canadian way of life and Canadian identity disappearing (Wayland 1997:52, 53). Conversely, most Canadians had accepted Canada as a nation of immigrants. This contrasts with the early 1900s, when European settlers in Canada were worried about the perceived negative impacts of non-white immigrants, particularly the Chinese. Multiculturalism and cultural diversity are generally considered one of Canada's most positive traits, though there are still criticisms surrounding immigration and multiculturalism (Wayland 1997:55).

By Phase 3, Canada had emphasized multiculturalism as part of its national identity, and the Canadian Multiculturalism Act was renewed in 1997 (Banting and Kymlicka 2010:50–52). This renewed policy operated on two levels: Through a small Multiculturalism Directorate within the Department of Citizenship and Immigration, and through a government-wide commitment to multiculturalism (Banting and Kymlicka 2010:50). At the first level, the Multiculturalism Directorate received between \$10–15 million annually to implement programs intended to promote ethnic diversity (Banting and Kymlicka 2010:50). These programs included academic research, anti-racism education, ethnocultural organizations, and immigration integration services (Banting and Kymlicka 2010:50). At the second level, government-wide commitment meant that all departments were to consider multiculturalism within their policies and programs (Banting and Kymlicka 2010:50). This government-wide commitment to multiculturalism meant that the department under which Barkerville Historic Town & Park fell also had to consider multiculturalism within their policies and programs. Then as now, the extent to which government departments implemented multiculturalism in their policies and practices varied (Banting and Kymlicka 2010:51).

The federal government-wide commitment to multiculturalism is evident in the update to the BC Heritage Branch's mandate in 2000. This new mandate outlined that the branch was "to respect the value of our 'whole heritage' by integrating diverse aspects of our history at BC heritage sites" (Dean 2002/03:58). This change to the mandate was driven by the political response of visible minorities and First Nations communities, who criticized the portrayal of Canadians as descendants of Europeans (Dean 2002/03:58). In 2000, Parks Canada also changed their policies to better represent and include minorities within Canadian culture, history, and identity. Part of this change included such actions as establishing the National Historic Sites System plan, which prioritizes the inclusion of indigenous peoples, women, and ethno-cultural communities (Ashley 2011:186).

Influenced by Canada's reaffirmed stance on multiculturalism, many Canadian museums became interested in the increased representation of minority and Indigenous narratives in Phase 3. However, some narratives were communicated poorly, resulting in critiques and even protests (Lynch and Alberti 2010:16). One extreme example of an exhibit that sparked community outrage was the infamous *Into the Heart of Africa* exhibit, displayed at the Royal Ontario Museum between 1989–1990. Though this exhibit was

created to represent the African-Canadian community, it was heavily stereotypical and was poorly received (Lynch and Alberti 2010:16). Two other exhibits created during Phase 3 that attempted to respectfully include the Chinese narrative in Canadian history were the *Point Ellice House* in Victoria, and the *Chinatown Exhibit* in the *Old Town* gallery of the Royal BC Museum. Though these exhibits incorporated a Chinese voice, the focus of these exhibitions were still on White upper to middle-class families (Dean 2002/03:66). This focus gave the impression that the Chinese and other minorities existed only on the margins of, and with reference to, White settler culture (Dean 2002/03:67). This gives the impression that the Chinese narrative is only significant when considering their interactions with white settlers (Yu 2007). This issue at the *Point Ellice House* may have been due to the complications of trying to actively include minorities in the narrative of white settler household. At Barkerville Historic Town & Park, the Chinese experience was increasingly incorporated into the historic narrative during Phase 3, though it was incorporated within the appropriate context of Chinatown.

During Phase 3, the messaging of Chinese exhibits at Barkerville moved beyond standard and stereotypical presentations and began to explore more complex aspects of the Chinese experience. This was achievable thanks to archaeological and historical research that allowed for a more complete understanding of Chinese culture in the Cariboo during the 19th and early 20th centuries. Such research includes and was fore fronted by Chen's (2001) PhD dissertation, accompanied by archaeological excavations and reports undertaken at Barkerville.

Archaeological research on the Chinese has been one of the most significant factors in the inclusion of the Chinese narrative at Barkerville. Little was known about the Chinese at Barkerville prior to the 1990s when the SFU archaeology department, and Chen became involved in numerous Chinese research projects at the site. These projects provided Barkerville with the information necessary to present an authentic representation of the Chinese community. Archaeology played, and continues to play, an important role in uncovering minority narratives; this has been the case at Barkerville. For example, at Barkerville there are few Chinese historical documents, and those that do exist are not written in English. Other historical documents are often biased, in that they are both racially prejudiced, and lack insight into Chinese culture. Thus, researchers at this site must rely on archaeology to fill in the gaps left by the historic record. Without archaeological research at Barkerville, the historical narrative of the

Chinese would have been greatly limited, as it would have had to primarily rely on incomplete historical resources.

Multiculturalism was a very important topic of discussion in Canada during the period between the early 1990s and 2005. During this time there were doubts as to whether Canada could successfully exist as a multicultural society. However, these larger discussions did not directly affect Barkerville Historic Town & Park, as the discussions were primarily theoretical and had few practical impacts. It was during Phase 3 at Barkerville that the Chinese interpretation program grew and developed most. This inclusion of the Chinese at the museum was due to the availability of research on the Chinese, and the interest of staff members such as Bill Quackenbush and Ying Ying Chen. The rise of multiculturalism to some extent resulted in additional funding opportunities for research on the Chinese at Barkerville.

5.4. Phase 4: 2005 to Present

Multiculturalism is an integral aspect of Canadian life today. Canada has officially defined itself as a multicultural nation, an aspect of society in which citizens feel pride (Banting and Kymlicka 2010:60). As of 2006, 83.9% of new immigrants to Canada came from non-European regions (Yu 2009:1012). Canadians also feel a sense of confidence about the “state of ethnic relations” in Canada, and that immigration integration needs only “minor tinkering” (Banting and Kymlicka 2010:43). As Canada has grown confident with its identity as a multicultural society, so too have other nations. The topic of representation and collaboration within museums has been increasingly discussed during Phase 4, not only in Canada but also abroad; the UK and Australia have developed museum policies which promote social inclusion (Ashley 2011:187). This discussion has spurred many to ask when it is appropriate to represent minorities, how to go about it, and when and where to do so (Ashley 2011:187).

Canada’s current Multiculturalism Policy focuses on recognizing and promoting multiculturalism, as well as the cultural and racial diversity of Canadian society. In addition to promoting multiculturalism, the Canadian government is now negotiating the process of reconciliation. If Canada is to embrace diversity and multiculturalism we must first reconcile with our colonial past (Yu 2009:1012). Increasingly in Phase 4, many minority communities across Canada have fought for reconciliation of past wrong-doings

and prejudice. To hold the Canadian and provincial governments accountable for their actions in the past, the Chinese community sought a redress for the head tax imposed on Chinese Immigrants in the late 1800s and early 1900s. The Chinese head tax was imposed in 1885, and the Chinese Immigration Act was put in place in 1923. The wounds caused by these acts were not addressed for many years. The official redress was finally implemented on June 22, 2006, when then Prime Minister Stephen Harper issued a formal apology in parliament. In his statement Harper said that “we also recognize that our failure to truly acknowledge these historical injustices has prevented many in the community from seeing themselves as fully Canadian” and that “this apology is not about liability today: it is about reconciliation” (Li 2008:135). Though the government acknowledged the injustices that the Chinese Canadian community faced, they also made clear the legality of the historical laws (Li 2008:135).

A more recent example is the official apology to the Chinese on April 22, 2018 by Vancouver Mayor Gregor Robertson. This apology recognized the historical discrimination against Chinese people in Vancouver, and it was accompanied by a cultural day in Chinatown to celebrate Chinese culture and heritage in Vancouver. The apology acknowledged that for the first half of the city of Vancouver’s history, the Chinese community suffered racial prejudice and discrimination.

Barkerville Historic Town & Park has also been impacted by the reconciliation process. A Chee Kung Tong Building Plaque was installed in Barkerville to commemorate the building’s historical significance. The plaque highlights the importance of the Chee Kung Tong benevolent services, and that society’s role in fostering a sense of belonging for the Chinese. In 2014, then Premier Christy Clark delivered the legislative assembly’s apology signifying the deepest regret for the hardship and suffering past provincial governments imposed on Chinese in British Columbia. Another plaque was installed at Barkerville Historic Town & Park to commemorate the official apology to the Chinese community made on behalf of the province. A direct result of this apology was the Chinese Artifact Project, a database for all Chinese artifacts in BC. This project greatly improved accessibility of research and artifacts for both the public and researchers, which further promotes Chinese representation in BC.

In addition to the reconciliation process, Barkerville Historic Town & Park has great potential to be further involved with the Chinese community. The interest and

involvement of the Chinese community could have advantages to the further development of the Chinese narrative at Barkerville. Developing the Chinese narrative further would also likely interest Chinese tourists in BC, opening the park to a broader range of visitors. This opportunity has been created by Barkerville's inclusion of the Chinese narrative. The people China's Guangdong province, from which many Chinese immigrants to Canada originated, feel deeply connected to the overseas Chinese; the money sent home by men who voyaged overseas to their families in Guangdong resulted in significant economic and social development for the province (Barkerville Heritage Trust 2011). In fact, Barkerville Historic Town & Park has already started to build connections with Chinese audiences through the creation of the C.D. Hoy travelling exhibit, which provided "a potential for identification of long-ago relatives, some of whom were never to return from their perilous journey to Gold Mountain" (Barkerville Heritage Trust 2013:2).

In 2013, China was the largest Asia/Pacific market for both BC and Canada. China ranked #2 in international visitors to Canada, only behind the USA (Destination British Columbia 2014). Between 2004 and 2013 Canada saw an 246% increase of Chinese visitors, and BC saw a 155% increase (Destination British Columbia 2014). However, there are few Chinese visitors in Barkerville. 74% of visitors to Barkerville Historic Town & Park are residents of BC, and only 10% are international visitors, most notably from Germany, Switzerland, and Holland (Tourism BC 2010:19). In conjunction with Prince George, Barkerville hosted a delegation of government officials from Guangdong Province. This event was used to learn what Chinese visitors would be interested in, and to capitalize on the expanding Pacific Rim markets (Barkerville Heritage Trust 2007). Currently, most visitors come to Barkerville "to learn about the history of the area" or to "experience the history of the area," and only 1% visit due to interest in Chinese culture (Tourism BC 2010:38). Barkerville's current marketing plans are to brand Barkerville for a global audience by developing their brand model and creative platform to compliment their strategic marketing and commerce plan (Barkerville Heritage Trust 2017:17). To increase visitation, they are also focusing on partnerships with market-ready regional associations, for example, Northern BC Tourism and the Cariboo Chilcotin Coast Tourism Association (Barkerville Heritage Trust 2017:17). However, increased representation of the Chinese experience at Barkerville may attract Chinese tourists who have a connection to the experiences of the overseas Chinese.

Phase 4 has seen a great surge in reconciliation efforts for Chinese Canadians, in both Canada and BC. Though many of these apologies do not have direct effects for Barkerville Historic Town & Park, messages about historical injustices are becoming publicly widespread. The involvement of the Chinese community and Chinese government has also spurred the development of Barkerville's Chinese narrative through collaborative projects that further link the descendants of the Chinese who lived and worked in Barkerville with their history.

5.5. The Balance between Museum Representation and Resources

While a museum's strength lies in its ability to present a narrative for public consumption, it may have weaknesses, especially with respect to the representation of minority groups. However, the collaboration between museums and minority cultural groups can help to mitigate these weaknesses by renegotiating narratives and their presentations (Ashley 2011:184). Though many museum staff members recognize the deficiencies in efforts to respectfully represent minority groups, changes to address these issues within museums are often limited by a lack of funding, staff, time, and research (Dean 2002/03:58). In addition, museums must also balance the presentation of complex narratives with the need to provide an entertaining and educational experience for their visitors (Dean 2002/03:59). Because heritage sites are limited by these factors, the development of minority interpretation programs is often not possible, despite the priority of minority representation within the BC Heritage Branch and Parks Canada (Dean 2002/03:59).

Chapter 6. Conclusion

The examination of how museums and historical sites have represented minority groups in the past can help us to better identify strengths and weaknesses within museum representations and practices. This understanding can help to better engage and include minority groups within an inclusive and authentic representation of Canadian national history. Barkerville is an example of an important provincial heritage site whose history has been preserved as an active museum. This museum was established before the Canadian government embraced a pro-multicultural stance and preceded political equality for Chinese Canadians. Barkerville has had to adapt to include the Chinese narrative, a major component of its history. Barkerville Historic Town & Park offered a case study through which to examine how changes to socio-political aspects, in this case multiculturalism, spurred the inclusion of minority narratives in Canadian museums.

When Barkerville Historic Town & Park was initially established in 1958, the Chinese experience was largely absent from Barkerville's narrative. When this narrative was included the presentation primarily focused on gambling, opium, and hard labour. This narrative was one-dimensional, centering on the Gold Rush and the famous founding settlers of Barkerville. It was in Phase 2 that Barkerville Historic Town & Park acknowledged the lack of depth in its Chinese representation and interpretations. This was during a period when Canada adopted a Multiculturalism Policy and embraced multiculturalism as a core Canadian value. It was also at this time that multicultural representation was being implemented at Barkerville. The current narrative, developed primarily in Phase 3, presents the domestic, societal, cultural, and daily lives of the Chinese settlers.

The main theme of Barkerville still revolves heavily around the significance of the Gold Rush in BC; however, the narrative also considers many other external and internal forces that shaped the development of the town. This narrative, in addition to discussing the important role of Barkerville in the founding of the province, delves into the complex Chinese experience within Barkerville. Future curatorial projects at Barkerville focus on cataloguing, a new database system, and the reimagining of the curatorial website (Kilsby 2017; Barkerville Heritage Trust 2017). Work will continue on the Chinese cemetery restorations that began in Phase 4, and a new exhibit dedicated to Chinese

artifacts found during archaeological investigations at Barkerville is planned (Kilsby 2017).

The inclusion of the Chinese narrative has been made possible at Barkerville Historic Town & Park due to the increased availability of research on the Chinese settlers of Barkerville. This development of the Chinese narrative was largely due to archaeological research at the site, and Bill Quackenbush and Ying Ying Chen's interest in developing Chinatown during Phases 3 and 4. Through the examination of this historic site, it becomes clear that the substantial changes and developments at the site have come about through new relationships and partnerships. The interest and participation of researchers at the site have made important contributions to developing the Chinese narrative, a narrative that has been expanded upon to include the lived experiences of the overseas Chinese in Barkerville. The partnerships formed with the Chinese Canadian community and Chinese institutions have resulted in increased interest in this narrative, as well as increased availability of resources to complete projects. These partnerships can provide the research and resources necessary to extend the presentation of the Chinese experience in Barkerville further and contextualize it within the larger context of early Chinese settlers in Canada.

Understanding the power of representations in museums is important, as misleading representations pose a significant threat to cross-cultural relations and understanding, as they spread stereotypical portrayals of different cultural groups (Mason 2009:363). In these cases, the simplification or exoticism of complex cultures only strengthens these stereotypes. Museums must become aware of their role in spreading prejudice through inaccurate representations of minorities (Lynch and Alberti 2010:30). Barkerville Historic Town & Park has become increasingly aware of the need for Chinese representation and has worked to address it. This can be situated within the larger process of reconciliation between the federal and provincial governments and BC's Chinese community. This process is represented at Barkerville Historic Town & Park in the installation of several plaques within Chinatown. These plaques represent political apologies and the recognition of important contributions by Chinese settlers to BC. The fight the reconciliation is a prime example of the ways in which historical injustices affect modern day governments and societies (Li 2008:138). The inclusion of the Chinese experience at Barkerville Historic Town & Park offers descendent

communities an opportunity to participate in reconciliation of past injustices, remember their pasts, and to celebrate their heritage.

In practice, cultural representation within museums is far more complex than it may appear to non-professionals (Mason 2009:367). The inclusion of minority narratives is highly influenced by broader socio-political, economic, and cultural factors that are constantly shifting across time (Mason 2009:367). As Dean (2002/2003:71) states, “there is no easy solution to the politics of representation in museum displays.” We must remember that to create a single permanent inclusive display is impossible, as it must be continually updated as Canadian values evolve. This is evident at Barkerville, where the Chinese narrative has been re-examined and updated over the past 60 years.

The inclusion of the Chinese narrative at Barkerville Historic Town & Park is significant as it marks the recognition of the Chinese as early settlers and contributors to the development of the province of BC. The Chinese have played an important role in Canadian and British Columbian history, and to exclude them from this narrative would be inauthentic, inaccurate, and unjust. Archaeology has been a tool in which to uncover these narratives, and museums are a means in which to share this knowledge with the greater public. The representation of a shared Canadian heritage, and the acknowledgement of different aspects of our shared past is now better reflected at Barkerville Heritage Town & Park. This evolving nature of Barkerville’s Chinese narrative reflects changing Canadian values, where the priority of pluralism has provided the impetus for the inclusion of minority narratives within national and provincial history.

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