

PIONEERS, PROGRESS, AND THE MYTH OF THE FRONTIER:

The Landscape of Public History in Rural British Columbia

ELIZABETH FURNISS

Historical images infuse the public landscape of the city of Williams Lake in the Central Interior of British Columbia. Downtown streets are named after early settlers and politicians who were prominent in local and provincial life in the 1920s. Images of cattle, cowboys, and the Cariboo gold rush adorn the walls of the city hall's council chambers, the public library, and downtown businesses. Tourism brochures promote the Cariboo-Chilcotin as the last vestige of the Canadian Wild West, a frontier still rich in historical traditions where the wilderness remains "untamed" and "untouched." History — non-Native history — is highlighted in the summer newspaper supplements featuring the region's pioneer families and even on restaurant placemats that pay tribute to the "settlers who came to Canada's West [and] made this magnificent land their own." While most residents of Williams Lake may profess a lack of interest in history, their everyday world is permeated by the values and identities of a selective historical tradition that celebrates European expansion, settlement, and industry.

Similar constructions of history can be found in virtually any small city and town across Canada. Histories commemorating the arrival of early non-Native explorers, settlers, missionaries, and industries in the remote regions of Canada constitute the master narratives of Canadian nationalism. These narratives comprise what the Marxist literary critic Raymond Williams calls a society's "selective tradition," a partial vision of history that provides the official story of that society's past — a story that is produced and communicated in the most significant of public domains, ranging from public schools and national museums to ceremonies of the state, and a story that plays a vital role in rationalizing past and present social institutions and

structures of political authority (Williams 1977). Historians Eric Hobsbawm and Terence Ranger (1983) have shown how these selective historical traditions have been creatively “invented” by colonial governments to promote nationalism and to legitimize the process of colonization and the subjugation of Indigenous peoples. The real power of a selective tradition, however, exists in its eventual colonization of popular consciousness: when it becomes transformed into a set of unquestioned, taken-for-granted historical “truths” that define conventional historical understandings among members of a society. In Canada, these frontier histories are not only produced by agents of the state, but they also saturate the everyday world of non-Native Canadians who encounter (and reproduce) these narratives in the arts and entertainment industries, in the media, in local museums, in small-town festivals, and in the popular literature of pioneer life. In short, the ubiquity of frontier histories reflects how certain colonial traditions of imagining history and constructing knowledge have come to dominate “common-sense” understandings of Canada’s past.

In this article I explore the contours of one of the most pervasive and influential selective historical traditions evident in British Columbia today: the myth of the frontier.¹ Drawing on Richard Slotkin’s study of the frontier myth in American history, culture, and politics (Slotkin 1973, 1986, 1992), I show that a distinctly Canadian variant thrives in one rural BC city and provides the dominant framework for the construction of popular history in public settings.²

While my focus is on the city of Williams Lake, this city is in no way unique in having frontier narratives highlighted in public settings. Nor is the frontier myth found only in rural regions of the province. Similar frontier narratives are also clearly evident in popular histories, monuments, and ceremonies in urban British Columbia. I use the term “rural” not in a strictly demographic sense, but out of a need for a convenient reference to those cities and towns lying beyond the Victoria, Vancouver, and Lower Mainland regions.³ I refer to the

¹ This article is a revised version of a chapter from my PhD dissertation (Furniss 1997), in which I trace more broadly how the idea of the frontier shapes Euro-Canadian historical consciousness, identity, and Native/non-Native relations in the Cariboo region.

² By “public history” I mean the representation of history in public places: museums, galleries, festivals, parks, public schools, and so on. I use “public history” much as Karp and Lavine (1991), Karp, Kreamer, and Lavine (1992), and others have used the term “public culture.” I define “popular history” more generally as histories produced in non-academic settings for non-academic audiences.

³ Census Canada identifies a rural area as one having a population concentration of less than 1,000 residents and a population density of less than 400 inhabitants/sq. km. (Statistics Canada 1992, 2). Williams Lake, with a population of over 10,000, is considered an urban region.

landscape of public history as a “rural” landscape because of the preponderance of histories dealing with the intimacies of locality and of individual relationships with place. These intimate relationships — evident especially in pioneer and settler autobiographies — are less evident in urban histories.⁴ While the frontier histories produced in these rural settings are shaped by the particularities of local historical, social, and economic contexts, they are variations on a form of historical consciousness and representation that can be found elsewhere in British Columbia and Canada. Indeed, as Richard Slotkin shows, they are variations of a long-standing genre of imagining the past that has existed in the United States for centuries.

Slotkin (1992) identifies the frontier myth as one of the major “cultural myths” of American society.⁵ Cultural myths, he argues, are dramatizations of historical experience that, through their repeated use, eventually become condensed and standardized into a core set of narrative structures, symbols, metaphors, and relationships. Cultural myths communicate historical truth not so much through explicit, argumentative forms of presentation as through narratives rich in symbolism and metaphor (p. 5) in which meaning is grasped instantly and intuitively. Because these metaphors, narratives, and symbols are embedded in our common-sense understandings and in our language, the meanings they communicate are both extremely pervasive and extremely difficult to challenge as historically specific constructs rather than as natural models of the world.

The myth of the frontier is one of the most important cultural myths providing a conceptual framework for understanding the past in both Canada and the United States. Slotkin traces the development

⁴ Local politicians, civic leaders, and community newspaper editors in these areas frequently use the terms “rural” and “small town” to promote a set of identities, values, and lifestyles that distinguish them from urban residents. These terms are increasingly the currency of political discourse among those opposing the imposition of “urban” government policies on forest industry regulation, environmental protection, and Aboriginal treaties. For example, at the November 1996 Select Standing Committee on Aboriginal Affairs public hearing in Williams Lake, one prominent regional politician publicly stated he was advocating “rural common-sense” in his opposition to the provincial government’s Aboriginal treaty policy.

⁵ I am not using the term “myth” in the structuralist sense, as being comprised of objective, binary archetypes that have an objective existence in language independent of human will or consciousness. Instead, as Slotkin writes: “Myth and ideology are created and recreated in the midst of historical contingency, through deliberate acts of human memory, intention, and labour ... Myth has a human/historical rather than a natural or transcendent source and is continually modified by human experience and agency” (1992, 25). The frontier myth, while it exerts a conservative cultural force, is nevertheless subject to continual reworking through history and — in theory, at least — is capable of being transcended through critical self-reflection.

of the frontier myth in the United States over a period of three centuries, finding expression in a variety of genres ranging from early settlers' narratives to nineteenth-century dime novels and Wild West shows to contemporary Hollywood movies. The frontier myth contains several standard themes. North America is presented as an empty, unoccupied wilderness where land is free for the taking and resources are abundant. History is seen as a process of the continual recession of the frontier as European settlement pushed westward. The moral and symbolic landscape of the frontier is one of boundaries: the encounter between civilization and wilderness, man and nature, and Whites and Indians (although there are many metaphorical variations). The frontier encounter is characterized by moral opposition, conflict, and struggle; these relationships are eventually resolved through domination and conquest. Ultimately, settlers reemerge from the frontier experience transformed and upholding the values of self-reliance, democracy, competition, and freedom that define American cultural identities and ideals to this day.

Elsewhere I have discussed the way in which the idea of the frontier and its associated values, identities, and understandings of Aboriginal/settler relations have been adapted and creatively reinterpreted in the contemporary setting of one BC city (Furniss 1997). For now, some generalizations can be made to characterize the frontier myth as a distinct way of representing history. First, history is understood as the heroic struggle between the forces of good and evil, where conflict and violence are naturalized and seen as the very motor that drives history. The frontier myth is drawn upon not only to provide an explanation of history and of contemporary social and political arrangements, but also to provide a metaphysical understanding of the nature of history, individual agency, and humankind's ongoing relationship to the social and natural world.

Second, the complex interplay of the diverse individuals and groups encountering one another is condensed into a simple narrative structure: a protagonist's encounter with opposing forces. The cultural diversity of Aboriginal peoples is rarely presented; instead, Aboriginal peoples are presented as a homogeneous group — Indian — that provides a mirror opposite to, and facilitates the construction of, the settler's own self-image. At times, Indians are represented as a hostile, threatening people to be conquered and annihilated; at other times, they are presented in more noble terms, as helpers of the colonial project or as a childlike people to be patronized and protected. What

is significant is the rigidity of the Indian/White dichotomy and the rendering invisible of the multiple identities, the multiple interests, and the ambiguities and incompleteness of domination and resistance now highlighted in anthropological histories (e.g., Trigger 1985; Hanks 1986; Comaroff and Comaroff 1991).

Third, the past is represented in terms of a series of what Fogelson (1984, 1989) has called “epitomizing events,” dramatic incidents that serve as convenient, easily grasped condensed symbols that represent (and at the same time draw attention away from) the more complex historical processes. Typically, the epitomizing events in frontier histories are the heroic actions of individual explorers and settlers who embody the ideals of individualism, courage, and self-sufficiency. In contrast, the forces that enabled the expansion of settlement, such as European economic and administrative expansion in the colony and the suppression of Aboriginal resistance, go unmentioned.

Finally, expressions of the frontier myth communicate historical “truths” not so much through explicit, discursive forms of expression — through argument, through polemic debate — as through narratives rich in symbolism and metaphor (Slotkin 1992, 5). As Slotkin argues, “the logic of myth is the logic of metaphor and narrative. It depends less upon analytical reason than on instant and intuitive understanding and acceptance of the given meaning.” Of particular importance are what he calls “mythic icons,” powerful condensed symbols that are “capable of evoking a complex system of historical associations by a single image or phrase” (p. 6). A simple evocation of the symbol of the “pioneer,” for example, evokes images of settlers arriving in remote regions, establishing homesteads and farms through their own hard labour, struggling against the forces of nature and, at times, “hostile” Indians, and “opening up” the wilderness for the advancement of civilization; in short, it evokes the master narrative of Canadian nationalism.

To date, no ethnographic studies have assessed the impact of the frontier myth in shaping ideas of Canadian national identity and history.⁶ In the following pages I explore the frontier myth as it

⁶ There is, of course, a large literature in Canadian history assessing the degree to which Frederick Jackson Turner’s influential frontier thesis of American history is relevant to understanding the Canadian context (see Cross 1970). These discussions, however, are not ethnographic applications. They look at how the specific features of the Canadian frontier environment may have shaped Canadian history, but not at the way in which the *idea* of the frontier has shaped Canadian historiography — how Canadian history has been understood and represented. Indeed, Michael Cross states that the frontier ideology has had less impact on Canada than it has on the United States, and as evidence he finds “significance in the fact

appears in those domains of public history that are among the most authoritative and influential sites of historical knowledge and that play an important role in socializing residents of Williams Lake into particular understandings of the past. I examine three settings: public school curriculum, popular historical literature available in local bookstores, and the city museum. From the vast array of events that occurred in the Cariboo's past, and from the vast range of historical experiences of different sectors of the population — men and women; European, Chinese, and South Asian immigrants; area Shuswap, Carrier, and Tsilhqot'in peoples; wealthy and working-class individuals — what histories are told? What aspects of history are absent, are collectively forgotten? Who controls the representation of history?

On the one hand, the political, economic, and ideological forces shaping the histories produced in each of these settings are quite different. Each of these sites focuses on different levels of history: national, regional, local, and personal. However, there is a remarkable similarity in the histories that *are* produced. Euro-Canadians regularly draw upon the frontier myth when they write about history, when they reflect back on their lives, and when they discuss contentious historical events and issues. By virtue of their ubiquity, these frontier histories constitute the dominant historical discourse in the city — a discourse that shapes how local residents understand the past, the present, and their relationships with one another. The exercise of power relies on knowledge, and these habitual modes of knowing about the past, in both *what they say* and *what they do not say*, have significant implications for the continued material and ideological domination of Aboriginal peoples in the Cariboo-Chilcotin.

that Canada's western heroes have been not rugged individual gunmen like Wyatt Earp or Jesse James, but rather a collective law-enforcement agency, the Mounties" (p. 3). As I argue later, this difference certainly is significant — not of the absence of a frontier ideology in Canada, but of a frontier ideology particularly adapted to the Canadian context.

Historians and other scholars today are applying the concerns of the new social history to analyses of Canada's past, emphasizing the plurality of social and ethnic groups interacting with one another in remote regions and the different ways in which factors of gender, class, and ethnicity shape experiences (e.g., Van Kirk [1992]; Brown [1980]). In this way scholars are transcending the limitations of earlier historical analyses, which homogenize the experiences of Aboriginal peoples and settlers and reproduce the rigid categories on which the frontier myth, and colonial discourses generally, are structured. What remains generally lacking are ethnographic analyses of how the idea of the frontier has shaped earlier scholarly and popular historical representations. To be clear on this, my assumption is that the frontier is neither a place (Limerick 1987) nor a process of encounter in a certain historical epoch (Turner [1893] 1963) but an idea that is imposed on particular places and processes to provide a framework for understanding. It is this process of imposing the idea of the frontier to order history and contemporary social relations in which I am interested.

The frontier myth, though, should not be considered a form of ideology, as “false consciousness.” Instead, it exists as a very flexible set of metaphors, images, symbols, and narratives through which a variety of historical perspectives and experiences can be voiced. Frontier narratives may be put forth both to affirm and to criticize existing structures of power and past practices of colonial expansion. Counter-hegemonic formulations, for example, may romanticize the noble savage, either expressing regret over the destruction and disappearance of Aboriginal peoples and cultures or celebrating their resistance and survival and downplaying colonialism’s impact. The standard narrative structure, the binary encounter of opposites on the frontier, and the outcome of absolute conquest (or absolute resistance) remain the same; the moral weighting of these agents and outcomes, however, is reversed. It is precisely this flexibility — the ability to serve a variety of purposes and interests, both hegemonic and counter-hegemonic — that has enabled the frontier myth to survive as a dominant historical mode into the present.

As I show here, it is more appropriate to speak of frontier histories in the plural. In Williams Lake there is an array of frontier histories: national histories; local histories; histories written by men and by women, by professional writers and first-time, self-published authors, by urban residents, and by Chilcotin pioneers. Many of these are variations on the frontier myth, each, in different ways, celebrating the “discovery” of the “empty” land, the arrival of settlers, and the establishment of colonial society.

Buried within the bulk of public history are a few alternate histories. Some of the counter-hegemonic histories produced by First Nations and Euro-Canadian writers are also put forth within the symbolic language and themes of the frontier myth. They seek to challenge the legitimacy of colonization by retaining the narrative structure of history as contact, conflict, and conquest, but they provide a critique of colonialism by inverting the moral weighting of the historical agents and the outcomes of their actions. Others attempt to step outside of the narrative and symbolic framework of the frontier myth, challenging the notions of discovery and conquest and the binary narrative structure of the frontier experience, and attempting to highlight the coexistence of multiple histories and experiences. Finally, there are the life histories and oral traditions of First Nations peoples — exceedingly scarce in the public domain — in which the past is conveyed through narratives emerging from Aboriginal traditions and ways of knowing.

My intent here, however, is not to trace instances of conflict over public history but, rather, to survey the most important and authoritative domains of that history in order to sketch the dominant themes and variations of frontier histories as they appear in the context of a small city in rural Canada in the 1990s. I present a quick inventory of the histories encountered in these settings and comment on the potential implications of such selective accounts for naturalizing relations of power and inequality between Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal Canadians.

HIGH-SCHOOL HISTORY TEXTBOOKS

Public school curriculum in British Columbia is controlled by the provincial government. As institutions of the state, public schools play a powerful role in the socialization of young people into the dominant beliefs, values, and identities of Canadian society and in the inculcation of selective understandings of history that promote Canadian nationalism. At the same time, public schools are also sites of resistance and struggle over the structure of the educational system, teaching methods, and the content of curriculum. In the last two decades an important focus of debate has been the teaching of Canadian history.

Standard textbooks have long portrayed Canadian history through the actions of the two “founding” nations, the British and the French (Trigger 1985; Walker 1971). Their account of Canada’s past has highlighted the heroic actions of White, male elites while ignoring the different historical experiences of other groups — women, the working-class, other immigrant minorities — and the roles played by capitalist expansion, class conflicts, and Aboriginal/state struggles. In general, history textbooks have celebrated the processes of European expansion while rendering Aboriginal peoples either invisible or grossly caricatured in either romantic or negative, demeaning stereotypes (Walker 1971).

With the adoption of the federal government’s official policy of multiculturalism in the 1970s, the rise in public interest in Aboriginal issues, and the growing political strength of First Nations, politicians and educators have acknowledged the need to revise public school curricula to reflect the diversity of perspectives and values of different cultural groups in Canada (Barman, Hebert, and McCaskill 1987; Mazurek 1987; Battiste and Barman 1995). The two Canadian history textbooks now assigned as standard curriculum to all BC schools

were written in this context; the Grade 9 textbook was written in 1979, the Grade 10 textbook in 1987. These textbooks are official, state-sanctioned accounts of Canadian history that have been designed specifically to shape how Canadian children understand the history of the nation, the process of colonization, and the relationship between non-Aboriginal society and Aboriginal peoples. In the following pages I examine these texts and ask: How is the past remembered? How are Aboriginal peoples portrayed? How is Canadian national identity constructed? By paying particular attention to the narrative structures and metaphors, we can ask: to what extent do the authors draw upon the frontier myth to structure their accounts?

A common criticism of Canadian historiography concerns the lack of attention to Natives' roles in shaping Canadian history. Bruce Trigger (1985, 4) suggests that "Canadian historical studies as a whole have suffered from the chronic failure of historians and anthropologists to regard native peoples as an integral part of Canadian society." This marginalization of Native peoples in Canadian history has been practised and reinforced not only by early writers of British and French Canadian historical literature, but also by the developing academic disciplines of archaeology and anthropology in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries (Trigger 1986). Images of Aboriginal peoples have shifted according to changes in the climate of Aboriginal/settler relations and the dominant intellectual approaches to understanding the diversity of human populations and societies. But several themes have continued to appear.

Native cultures are often presented as static, as lacking history prior to European contact. Colonial and Native societies continue to be treated as separate spheres, and the role of Native peoples in facilitating, shaping, and/or hindering the course of colonial expansion has been ignored. When incorporated into Canadian histories, Native peoples are shown to respond passively to forces of change, to be secondary and largely irrelevant to the course of history, and to have lost their culture following European expansion.

In various ways such portrayals have affirmed the colonial assumption of Natives' inherent inferiority and legitimated European expansion and domination. Yet the hegemonic potential of these histories is a product not just of the way Natives are portrayed, but also of the more general type of colonial history in which these images are embedded. The narrative structures, the metaphors, and the symbolic imagery of these histories are firmly rooted in the frontier myth. Further, these national histories are framed by a series of

epitomizing events captured through the heroic deeds of courageous men. History is told through the individual experiences of explorers like Champlain and Cartier, who “discovered” Canada; of missionaries like Brébeuf and Lalemant, who were martyred in their struggle to bring Christianity to Aboriginal peoples; and in the accomplishments of colonial officials, such as James Douglas and Matthew Baille Begbie in British Columbia, who brought “civilized” society, law, and order to the wilderness. These individuals are portrayed as heroes, as symbols of national pride and identity, as the founding ancestors of the contemporary nation.

These themes are central in the two secondary school textbooks now assigned to BC classrooms. These texts are explicitly nationalistic and celebrate European colonization. This fact is evident in the titles alone: *Exploration Canada* (Collins and Sheffe 1979) and *Our Land: Building the West* (Bowers and Garrod 1987). The first is a Grade 9 text that covers the period from first human arrival in the New World to 1812; the second is a Grade 10 text that begins with the British conquest of New France and ends with comprehensive chapters on the contemporary industrial economies of Canada and of the province of British Columbia.

Both textbooks use value-laden adjectives to describe European colonization as a heroic triumph over adversity. In the first, the Arctic environment is described as “hostile.” Missionaries eagerly accepted the “dangerous, difficult, and uncomfortable life of the wilderness” (Collins and Sheffe 1979, 95). Settlers are recognized for their “courage” in leaving their homelands (p. 245). The Ohio Valley was an area that had “scarcely been touched,” where Indians “had lived quietly in its forests and its streams” (p. 134).

The second textbook describes the “triumph” of the Hudson’s Bay Company. In British Columbia, colonial governor James Douglas is described as “a stout, powerful, active man of good conduct and respectable abilities” (Bowers and Garrod 1987, 161). The building of the Cariboo Wagon Road through the Fraser Canyon was the Royal Engineers’ “greatest accomplishment” (p. 171). All of these images directly evoke the frontier myth, where nature is feared and endured; where (White) man encounters and eventually conquers the wilderness; where the territory is unoccupied, “untouched,” and thus free for the taking; where Indians live a “quiet” life as noble savages (Collins and Sheffe 1979, 134).

Aboriginal peoples remain a marginal presence in both books, although in the Grade 9 textbook there is some attempt to recognize

the Native presence in several introductory chapters. The first five of its thirty-two chapters describe the cultures of Native Canadians (Inuit, Haida, Blackfoot, Iroquois, Beothuk, and Micmac). One chapter presents a contemporary Inuit woman's reminiscences about Inuit culture. These chapters, however, use the past tense timelessly; Native history is denied. After brief discussions, the Native presence soon fades. History is then presented in chapters describing the first Europeans to arrive in the New World, the development of the fur trade, and the struggles between the British and the French for the control of much of North America.

The portrayal of Natives in the Grade 10 text is often starkly negative. For example, a discussion of the extinction of the Great Plains buffalo herds refers to the "stone-age" Native cultures of the Plains and reinforces the widespread and erroneous notion of the "primitiveness" of Native cultures. Once Europeans introduced horses and guns to the Native tribes, however, bison hunting intensified, and Native over-hunting led to the "near extinction of the bison" (Bowers and Garrod 1987, 111). There is no discussion of the widespread slaughter of buffalo by White sports hunters and hide collectors, nor of the deliberate American slaughter of buffalo herds to destroy the subsistence base of the Plains nations in order to bring about their subjugation (Prucha 1986, 179-80).

Inordinate attention is given to the relationship between Natives and alcohol. Under the first major heading mentioning Native peoples — "The Fur Trade and Native People" — the book suggests that the fur trade brought about the destruction of Native cultures (Bowers and Garrod 1987, 126-28). Natives became "dependent on the brandy or rum forced upon them by traders" (p. 127). Weakened by alcohol and dependent on trade goods, they then succumbed to European diseases and often died, "even though the sickness was not fatal to Europeans."

The most vitriolic treatment of the Indian-alcohol relationship occurs in the section entitled "The Whiskey Trade." There the reader is told that, "for bottles of cheap rotgut," Natives were trading "valuable buffalo robes, furs, horses, food, and some even their wives and daughters" (p. 187). "Many deaths and murders had followed drinking sessions in the Native camps" (p. 187). Again, disease and malnutrition are presented not as a result of dislocation from traditional territories, but because "alcoholism interfered with traditional Native hunting and food-gathering activities" (p. 187). The North-West Mounted Police formed in an effort to address the problem of

the whisky trade, heroically marching 2,000 kilometres in the hot summer sun to the western Prairies to impose law and order on the Canadian frontier (p. 188).

These writers engage in a prevalent myth of colonization: Native peoples were inherently weak and incapable of controlling their compulsive thirst for alcohol. Alcohol is treated as the cause of the decline of Native societies rather than as a symptom of a wider and more complex set of forces, among them territorial dispossession and the disappearance of the subsistence base brought about by European expansion. The actions of colonial society are excluded from the explanation.

In neither text is there much mention of Aboriginal land claims, treaties, or the need for colonizers to acquire Aboriginal lands through formal processes. The Grade 10 text states that Native peoples had no concept of individual land ownership and no fixed boundaries to their territories (Bowers and Garrod 1987, 190). “The idea of buying or selling land was totally foreign to these Native hunters. The land was theirs — but they did not own it” (p. 190). Canadian Natives, the book states, willingly signed the treaties offered by the Canadian government. In so doing, Canadian Natives acknowledged and benefited from the benevolent paternalism of government officials, enjoying a relationship not available to their Native “brothers” in the American West, who were the targets of “warfare” launched against them by settlers and the US army. This brief mention apart, the text is resoundingly silent about Native/non-Native land conflicts.

Both textbooks provide official views of the history of Canada in which images of heroic courage and benevolent paternalism define Canadian colonial practices. Nationalist histories present what could be called the “big man” theory of history, in which history is made by the heroic actions of elite, European males. These figures then become condensed symbols of national identity; in their actions are embedded the ideal values of contemporary Canadian society. Native peoples are slotted into these dramas as supporting characters in a larger historical script through which (Euro-Canadian) national identities are constructed. Pluralism, alternate identities, contrasting value orientations, and competing historical perspectives — issues hinted at in the Grade 9 text — are suppressed in the more overtly nationalistic history of the Grade 10 text.

This celebratory view of colonial history both omits some of the more brutal aspects of Canada’s past treatment of Aboriginal peoples and, at the same time, evokes this brutality in racist stereotypes. The stereotypes of the drunken Indian, the Indian squaw, and the lazy,

irresponsible, and immoral Indian all resonate not only with prevailing attitudes towards Native peoples in Williams Lake (Furniss 1997) and many other small cities and towns in rural Canada (Braroe 1975; Stymeist 1975; Dunk 1991), but also with literary traditions in Canada more generally (Francis 1992). These images are all the more surprising given the Grade 10 text's recent publication. That these images persist in state-sanctioned official histories is testimony to the widespread and purportedly uncontroversial nature of anti-Native racism in Canada.

The limitations imposed by the frontier history genre are evident in the strategies that have arisen, since the 1970s, to accommodate multicultural and anti-racist critiques. Walker (1983), in his review of popular and academic histories produced during the 1970s, found this strategy to be largely one of silence: of erasing Indians from history. Walker illustrates how historians have responded to a growing awareness of the inadequacies of earlier works by simply removing any mention of Native peoples. "Measured in column inches of print, histories written in the 1970s pay less attention to Indians than ever before" (p. 346). This is only one manifestation of the hegemonic power of the "invisible Indian" stereotype, through which writers render Aboriginal peoples invisible from their historical accounts, thus avoiding rather than confronting the politics of representation. The strategy of adding preliminary chapters on Native cultures presented in ahistorical contexts gives an appearance of pluralism while retaining the central narrative themes of heroic individualism, discovery, and conquest. To what extent histories produced through the 1980s and 1990s have moved away from these trends remains to be explored.

These official histories of Canada, funded, produced, and sanctioned by the state, provide comfortable, non-controversial accounts of the past and encourage students to accept the legitimacy of state authority, the myths of conquest, and the theories of Aboriginal inferiority that rationalize colonialism. Yet these textbook histories contrast sharply with the current discourses and practices of other agencies of the state, not the least of which are the initiatives, under way for the last two decades, to negotiate outstanding Aboriginal title claims with Canadian Aboriginal peoples. Official historical discourses of the Canadian state are themselves diverse and plural.

For example, in 1995 the BC provincial government created a province-wide Grade 12 elective course: BC First Nations Studies. One of its stated objectives is:

To provide students with an alternative to the ethnocentric histories traditionally taught. Students require a more balanced perspective of the history of relations between colonizing powers or incoming settlers and BC First Nations. The resistance and resilience of First Nations people in response to imperialism and colonialism should be affirmed. (British Columbia 1995, 16)

That such a curriculum was deemed necessary for British Columbia is undoubtedly a reflection of the growing prominence of First Nations issues in the media and in the courts, and the rising tensions between Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal peoples over impending treaty settlements. The recommended resources include a variety of recent scholarly publications on Aboriginal history and culture in the province. To what extent these histories are being interpreted and implemented in classrooms in ways that step beyond the terms of the frontier myth, rather than in ways that only reverse the morality of the colonial process, highlight Aboriginal resistance, and offer comfortable accounts of Aboriginal/non-Aboriginal relations in the present, remains an open question. It remains significant, though, that such challenges to the dominant nationalist histories are being introduced on the fringes of the educational system: in supplementary curriculum rather than in official textbooks, and in optional electives rather than in standard academic subjects. High-school textbooks remain the most conservative and archaic of the official nationalist histories in the public domain.

POPULAR HISTORICAL LITERATURE

The shelves of the two major bookstores in Williams Lake are filled with popular histories recounting the romantic past of British Columbia and the Cariboo. Within the last decade growing public interest in heritage issues and heritage tourism has resulted in an exponential increase in the number of regional and local histories available to the public. These books are bought not only by summer tourists, but also by local residents interested in the region's past and searching for gifts for distant relatives and friends. Such popular histories become standard historical reference books and are emblems of all that is considered distinct and unique about the Cariboo-Chilcotin.

A different set of political and economic forces influences what books are available to the general public and, consequently, whose histories are aired in these settings. Publishing houses cater to a presumed market for historical information and entertainment; the

histories they publish are shaped by their assessment of what will sell to the public. While large national publishing houses have a competitive edge in producing and marketing books, a variety of provincial and regional publishers have now taken the lead in producing popular histories with a local focus. This opening up of the industry is, in part, linked to the technological advances in desktop publishing systems, through which small publishing houses, First Nations organizations, school districts, and even self-publishing authors have been able to produce and sell their works. These books make their way onto the shelves of local bookstores, their owners and buyers alternately turning away books judged to be controversial or enthusiastically supporting those written by local authors or describing local histories and Native cultures.

Well over fifty regional and local histories are now available in city stores, and overwhelmingly they are written within the same romantic frontier tradition. Regional histories, written by both non-local and local authors, recount key events in the advance of non-Native settlement and focus heavily on the “discovery” of gold and the Cariboo gold rush. Local histories, often written by Cariboo residents themselves, typically tell the story of the achievements of early settlers and pioneer families. The vast majority of regional and local works are written by non-Natives; history is presented as a series of positive events, as a progressive, linear process of development.

In contrast to the nationalist textbooks, popular pioneer autobiographies are written not from a position of scholarly distance, but from the authority of personal experience, giving voice to the experiences of “ordinary” men and women overlooked by the elitist focus of national histories. Yet popular histories are fully compatible with the histories of high-school textbooks. These histories are equally enmeshed in the imagery, symbols, and narrative forms of the frontier myth. They are equally engaged in a commemoration of European colonization, now writ small in the lives of individual men and women on the Cariboo-Chilcotin frontier.

Regional Histories

Among the most prolific publishers of popular history is Heritage House, a small BC company that specializes in brief, inexpensive paperbacks. Its regional history collection is contained on the “Western Canadiana” bookracks that are prominently displayed in stores across the province. A main focus in this collection is police

history; that is, the bringing of law and order to the western Canadian frontier. Among the titles *Outlaws and Lawmen of Western Canada* (three volumes)(n.a. 1983a, 1983b, 1987a), *Off Patrol: Memories of BC Provincial Policemen* (British Columbia Provincial Police Veterans Association, 1991), *BC Provincial Police Stories* (three volumes) (Clark 1986, 1989, 1993), and *March of the Mounties*, by Sir Cecil E. Denny (1994), which describes the formation of the North-West Mounted Police. Its front cover reads:

Despite their impressive red coats and white gauntlets, virtually all of the new policemen were inexperienced ... despite these handicaps, their Commanding Officer reported that they “performed one of the most extraordinary marches on record.”

The heroic individualism of regional histories is no longer centred on missionaries, explorers, or colonial officials, but on figures of law and order: the Mountie, the BC provincial policeman. Here the Canadian version of the frontier myth takes on a distinctive narrative theme that distinguishes it from the American version.

Slotkin (1986, 1992) argues that the quintessential feature of the American frontier myth is the master narrative of “regeneration through violence,” in which the moral imperative of violence and aggression as a means of achieving progress and civilization has been fundamental in shaping past and present constructions of American national identity. Just as the hero of many American frontier histories is the Indian fighter, and just as regeneration through violence is a central narrative theme of many American versions of the frontier myth, in Canada a dominant heroic figure is the Mountie, and a dominant narrative theme is what could be called “conquest through benevolence.” Canadian heroes do not inflict violence; instead they impose peace, order, and good government on Natives and non-Natives alike. Yet the Mounties, too, encounter forces of opposition and engage in conflict. These forces of opposition are not hostile Indian tribes, but lawless, renegade criminals, both Native and non-Native. These criminals play key roles in these historical dramas: they are the dark forces of lawlessness and immorality against which the heroic protagonists must struggle for the advance of “civilization” and “progress.”

This narrative of conquest through benevolence — the definition of the Canadian spirit, and of Canadian national identity, through the continual assertion of history as a narrative of paternalistic domination of Aboriginal peoples — is a theme that weaves in and out of Canadian literature and popular history. As noted, the conviction

that in Canada “we have treated our Aboriginal peoples well” is central to high-school history textbooks. Pierre Berton, Canada’s foremost popular historian, has characterized the Canadian frontier as a series of benevolent, paternalistic extensions of British authority (Berton 1978, 1982). The members of the North-West Mounted Police were really “civil servants and social workers” (Berton 1982, 31). “The Indians called [the Mountie] ‘father’ to his face, but it was not only the Indians who appreciated his paternalistic qualities” (p. 28-29). Berton celebrates the absence of violence on the Canadian frontier: “The Indian fighter is as foreign to our experience as the fighting Indian” (p. 30).

BC scholars have also noted how early historians emphasized the contrast between the peaceful and law-abiding settlements in British Columbia and the settlements on the American frontier (Smith 1980; Pritchard 1992). Bruce Trigger (1986, 321) notes that the idea of Canadian benevolence existed among nineteenth-century historians, who “relished comparing the brutal treatment of native people by the Americans with the ‘generous’ treatment they had received from Euro-Canadians.” Such writers construct an oppositional national identity in the shadow of American cultural and economic imperialism. While the particular political and economic conditions in which the myth of Canadian benevolence has arisen and has been reformulated over time have yet to be explored, a long-term implication is silence regarding the realities of Canada’s own repression of Native peoples and a cloaking of forms of domination and power as paternalistic expressions of good will.

In a number of regional histories Natives do emerge as the central symbolic counterpart to settlers and the advancement of Euro-Canadian “civilization.” Natives at times are portrayed as bloodthirsty, violent, and irrational savages. One example of this may be found in McKelvie’s *Tales of Conflict: Indian-White Murders and Massacres in Pioneer British Columbia* (1985), which announces on its cover:

The Indians were an extremely proud people, fierce warriors quick to avenge a real or imagined wrong. Indian justice did not require that retaliation be made upon the persons who committed the wrong, only that blood be spilled. This form of justice resulted in the murder of settlers and the massacre of crews on several sailing ships.

Likewise, Rothenberger’s *The Chilcotin War* (1978) describes the conflict that arose when a crew of Euro-Canadian surveyors was murdered in the course of its attempts to build a road through Tsilhqot’in

territory in 1864. The book's cover depicts an attack by Natives on a camp of sleeping Whites. The cover claims the book is about "the true story of a defiant chief's fight to save his land from white civilization." The defeat of the Tsilhqot'in, it is implied, is inevitable.

These accounts reduce the complexity of Native/non-Native conflicts to simple narrative structures in which the imagined "savagery" of Natives justifies the use of violence as a natural and inevitable process in the expansion of "civilized" European societies. Rothenberger's story of the Chilcotin War, in fact, has become the subject of intense public criticisms by Tsilhqot'in political leaders. While no published written history yet provides Tsilhqot'in perspectives on these events,⁷ the subject is occasionally debated in letters to the editor of the Williams Lake city newspaper, and the public hanging of the Tsilhqot'in men, in the name of colonial justice, is a source of great bitterness among many Tsilhqot'in people today.⁸

Books on the discovery of gold in the Cariboo are popular and numerous. These books play upon the romance associated with the riches to be found in the "untouched wilderness," luring destitute men into the region with the hope of prosperity and redemption. Such books, emphasizing the abundance of valuable natural resources essentially free for the taking, are another version of the frontier myth. In *Cariboo Gold Rush* (n.a. 1987b), for example:

In 1858 some 30,000 Gold seekers stampeded to the Fraser River. Scores drowned in the tumultuous rapids or were killed by Indians. But survivors pressed upstream. In a land called Cariboo they found nuggets by the ton, their discovery resulted in today's province of British Columbia.

The gold rush is a story of conflict between the principal oppositional elements of the frontier myth: man/nature, Whites/Indians. Those with the courage to attempt the challenge and the luck to survive found their fortune in the abundant nuggets that were free for the taking. The province of British Columbia, it is claimed, was built on such individual initiatives.

The epitomizing event in such histories is the "discovery" of untapped riches by heroic individuals. These individual protagonists

⁷ Glavin's *Nemihab: The Unconquered Country* (1993), presenting Tsilhqot'in elders' narratives on the events surrounding the confrontation, is an exception.

⁸ In an effort to acknowledge these discrepant historical experiences and perspectives, the Cariboo Chilcotin Justice Inquiry (Sarich 1993) recommended that these men be given an official pardon and that a monument be erected to honour their efforts to protect Tsilhqot'in territories.

embody the cultural ideals of Canadian society: individualism, courage, the quest for material wealth, and the ability to prosper through hard work, determination, and ingenuity. As Cruikshank (1992) notes in “Klondike Gold Rush Narratives,” this theme of discovery condenses what, in reality, was a slow historical process of the emerging knowledge of gold among non-Native immigrants.

The discovery of gold in British Columbia was equally slow and sporadic. In 1852 there was a brief gold rush to the Queen Charlotte Islands; in the face of Haida resistance both miners and Hudson’s Bay Company officials abandoned their quest for gold on the islands (Fisher 1992, 69–70). Through the 1850s colonial officials in Victoria were receiving reports of gold in the interior of the mainland, and in 1858 a Hudson’s Bay Company post began to be built at the forks of the Thompson and Fraser Rivers for the purpose of trading gold from Aboriginal miners (p. 71). Hudson’s Bay Company officers had sought to protect their trading monopoly with Aboriginal peoples by containing the knowledge of gold strikes, yet eventually rumours of gold spread beyond the colony, drawing thousands of prospectors from the depleted California gold fields. In 1858 the lower Fraser River gold rush was at full height. Aboriginal peoples along the Fraser were continuing to assert ownership of the gold resources, and that year there were violent confrontations as Natives sought to fend off the flood of non-Native prospectors entering Aboriginal territories (p. 70). As the lower Fraser gold became depleted, miners again moved north to the upper reaches of the Fraser, and by the early 1860s the Cariboo gold rush was at its height.

From an academic perspective the Cariboo gold rush is only one incident in a broader scenario of advancing European industry, colonial authority, and settlement. In contrast, popular histories mark the onset of the Cariboo gold rush with a specific event: the “discovery” by a group of American prospectors, assisted by a Native guide, of gold on the Horsefly River. Natives are portrayed as helping in the process of non-Native economic expansion and settlement; Aboriginal perspectives on these events remain inaudible and unavailable to the general public.

Local Histories: Pioneer Stories

Pioneer stories of the Cariboo-Chilcotin region have always been popular with wider Canadian audiences (Marriott 1966; Lavington 1982; Collier [1959] 1991; Hobson [1951] 1993). The last five years have

seen a tremendous growth in the number of books discussing Cariboo and Chilcotin pioneer history. Many of them have been written by contemporary Cariboo-Chilcotin residents, including Irene Stangoe, Diana French, Branwen Patenaude, Todd and Eldon Lee, and Chilco Choate. Several of these authors are now writing their second or third books. These books, recounting the experiences of early ranchers, school teachers, road builders, cowboys, big game guides, ministers, and road house operators, provide a glimpse of the diversity of historical experiences among the many individuals who arrived in the Cariboo-Chilcotin over the last 100 years.

In contrast with this new array of available books, the best known stories of the Cariboo-Chilcotin, and, as I was told by one bookstore manager, the books that continue to be the most frequently requested by purchasers, are two autobiographical books first published in the 1950s: Eric Collier's *Three Against the Wilderness* ([1959] 1991), and Rich Hobson's *Grass Beyond the Mountains* ([1951] 1993). They were published by major publishing companies and are still promoted by local bookstores as the classic stories of the Cariboo-Chilcotin. Collier's book, an international best-seller, has been condensed in a *Reader's Digest* version and is described on the cover of its 1991 edition as "the classic Canadian wilderness tale." These two books, one by a British immigrant and the other by an American, draw on essentially the same frontier myth to narrate a story of arrival and establishment in the Cariboo-Chilcotin. They also reflect the ways in which the frontier narrative is differently formulated by different writers.

Eric Collier, the son of a wealthy English businessman, emigrated to Canada in the 1920s. He and his "quarter-breed" wife established a homestead in the Meldrum Creek area in the northeastern Chilcotin plateau. For the next thirty years they raised a family and made a living by trapping and hunting. The Collier family's achievement is indeed remarkable. He tells of felling trees and building a log cabin by hand; of fencing acres of meadowland; of surviving long, bitterly cold Chilcotin winters; and of re-seeding beaver into Meldrum Creek to eventually establish thriving colonies all along the creek's length. What makes this the story of a Euro-Canadian settler, rather than of a Native family (many of whom were living successfully under similar conditions), is the way Collier frames his experience.

Collier's book is the story of conflict and struggle against dark forces. These forces are conceptualized both in terms of the elements ("summer's searing heat and winter's penetrating hostility" [Collier 1991, 3]) and of nature ("our only neighbours [were] the moose, bears,

timber wolves and other wild life of the muskegs and forest; some of whom seemed ever ready to dispute our right to be there at all" [p. 3]). Nature is something to be feared and respected, to be constantly vigilant against. Collier, in fact, summarizes this heroic struggle in the book's title, *Three Against the Wilderness*.

Margaret Atwood (1972) has identified this constant, chronic fear of nature as a defining feature of Canadian literature. Whereas Natives have played a central oppositional role in literary depictions of American history, Atwood suggests that in Canadian literature the wilderness is the dark force against which settlers continually struggle. While in American literature these frontier struggles are eventually resolved through conquest, in Canadian literature the battle with nature is ongoing, domination is partial and transitory, and the struggle for survival is never-ending. Her generalizations capture some of the central themes of Collier's story.

Yet the narrative theme of conquest through benevolence is also highlighted. Native people enter Collier's account, but only to provide a colourful, exotic, and at times threatening presence that adds to the spectre of his own heroism. Native people are rarely presented as individuals with their own personalities; rather, their Indianness is emphasized, and often in negative terms. "Redstone Johnny had often dropped in at our cabin to share a meal or a cup of tea with us, and tell of his woes — as Indians ever will if they can strike a sympathetic audience" (p. 127). Paradoxically, a Native labourer he hires is described as a man "sparing of words as so many primitive Indians are" (p. 139). His book also includes a grossly demeaning depiction of a Native woman he encounters in a Chilcotin store (p. 80).

Conflict over possession of the land is a central tension in the book. Collier arrived in the region on a wave of post-war immigrants seeking to pre-empt land and homestead in the Chilcotin region. Their search for "free land" was enabled by the apparatus of colonial authority and bureaucracy that, by this time, had been in place for sixty years. Nevertheless, non-Native settlement was still minimal in the Chilcotin, and Tsilhqot'in people continued to hunt, fish, and trap in their original territories with relatively little interference. The issue of Aboriginal title became a subject of conflict only in the intermittent encounters with settlers — encounters that intensified as post-war settlement increased. These broader contexts enabling Collier's immigration to the region, however, are not part of his story. He presumes the land he pre-empted is his and that Native people have no legitimate claims to it.

Collier “expected trouble from [his] Indian neighbours” (p. 104) and worried constantly that they would “poach” on his trapline. When he finally does find a group of Native people trapping on the land he now claims is his, he could no more become angry with them than he could “hold a grudge against a little child who climbs up on a stool and helps himself to the cookies” (p. 108). Instead, he reprimands them in a stern, paternalistic fashion and teaches them a lesson in the importance of managing the beaver populations, during which the Indians stare at the ground. In gratitude to his benevolence, the Indians become his friends (p. 111-112). In short, the inevitable land conflicts and encounters with Native people become part of the romance and the natural danger of his homesteading experience. These tensions are resolved through paternalistic domination; the morality of non-Native settlement and the superiority of Euro-Canadian civilization is affirmed.

A similar set of narrative themes and images, with some variations, are found in *Grass Beyond the Mountains*. This book describes how New York City real estate salesman Rich Hobson decided to abandon city life after the stock market crash of 1929 and move west to pursue his childhood dream of becoming a cowboy. While working on a Wyoming ranch he met up with fellow cowpuncher Pan Phillips. Phillips planted seeds in Hobson’s imagination of a vast, undiscovered grassland lying beyond the mountains in the northern Chilcotin plateau. “Yeah — that’s my gold mine. Grass! Free grass reachin’ north into unknown country. Land — lots of it — untouched — just waitin’ for hungry cows, and some buckaroos that can ride and have guts enough to put her over,” Pan reportedly said (Hobson 1993, 16). The two immediately decided to tackle the unknown country and headed to the Chilcotin.

There the two found “a new frontier — a frontier as tough, as wild and as remote as the West of the early days. This unconquered barrier stands out, unique in this day and age, for it is the last great cattle frontier on the North American continent” (p. 9). There Hobson also “discovered” Carrier Indians: “Back in its jackpine forests there are Indians who have never seen a white man” (p. 9). A few become his friends: these he refers to by name and they become characters in his adventures. Other Natives resent his intrusion into their territories. In scenes replete with six-shooters and ominous Indian “tom tom” drums, he describes how he had to physically fight an Indian protagonist, and win, in order to earn the latter’s respect (p. 165-173).

In the end, Hobson and Phillips succeed in setting up a string of ranches and homesteads in the Blackwater River area and, in doing so, become renowned as the region's first, and perhaps most colourful, non-Native settlers.

This novel contains all of the central ingredients of the frontier myth: the promise of abundant resources free for the taking, the challenge of the heroic trek into uncharted and untouched wilderness, and the thrill and danger of discovering Indians who had never seen a White man. With its images of six-shooters, tom-toms, and hand-to-hand combat with a fierce Indian around a blazing campfire, along with its narrative of conquest through violence, the book reflects a typically American expression of the frontier myth. The settling of the Chilcotin by non-Natives is reduced to a cliché of the American Wild West.

Once again, conflict over the land is naturalized and is an essential ingredient in Hobson's heroic adventure. There are notable silences. Hobson, like Collier, assumes that the land is free for the taking and that the Carrier have no legitimate rights to it. The reader does not learn that the territory had been "discovered" thousands of years earlier by Aboriginal peoples. Further, for several decades Carrier families themselves had been running herds of cattle, fencing off meadows, putting up large amounts of hay for winter feed, and building roads through the country to bring their cattle to market — all in the vicinity of the territory Hobson portrayed as unused and unoccupied.⁹ Technically, the range was "free" because of the government's failure to address Aboriginal title and because Native peoples were legally prohibited from pre-empting land (Cail 1974, 252-57).¹⁰

⁹ For example, by 1915 a Carrier family at Trout Lake in Nazko country was running a herd of sixteen cattle and had built a thirty kilometre sleigh road through the bush to bring their cattle to market (Canada, *Annual Report of the Department of Indian Affairs*, 1912, 261). In 1915 at Ulkatcho, two brothers, Old Cahoose and Capoose, owned almost 200 horses; one brother had recently sold his stock of sixty cattle. The two had set up trading stores in the region and had built a sixty-kilometre road to haul freight in and out of their territory, which itself eventually facilitated the opening up the country for non-Native settlement (Evidence Heard Before the Royal Commission on Indian Affairs for the Province of BC Bella Coola Agency; Meeting with the Ulkatcho Band, Victoria, 3 August 1915. p.132-40. Special Collections, University of British Columbia Library).

¹⁰ One Ulkatcho man, Capoose, had dealt with this dilemma by asking a local White settler to "lend" his name and pre-empt the land on which Capoose was living and on which he had built a house, barns, and several miles of fencing. The settler did so but then refused to sell the deed to Capoose. Capoose raised this issue with the commissioners during the 1912-1916 Royal Commission on Indian Affairs; the Commission refused to intervene in the matter (ibid.).

The image of the “Indian who had never seen a White man” was also a figment of Hobson’s literary imagination. When Hobson arrived in the Chilcotin in 1934, the Carrier along the Blackwater River area had been in contact with non-Natives since the opening of Fort Alexandria some 113 years ago; and one group, the Ulkatcho Carrier, was about to receive its first resident anthropologist. Irving Goldman’s ethnography paints a dramatically different picture of Carrier life than that presented by Hobson (Goldman 1953).

These are the characteristic silences of frontier histories. The hegemonic potential of these histories lies not only in the facts that are excluded, and not only in the way Native/settler conflict is naturalized, but also in the way settler and Native identities are constructed. The subtle images of the paternalistic benevolence of the colonizers and settlers, and the savage primitiveness or childishness of Natives, implicitly affirm the legitimacy of European expansion and settlement. While the “facts” of history may be debated, these understandings of colonial and Native identities persist at a level of implicit, “taken-for-granted” beliefs that reflect deeply held convictions about the morality of the colonial process.

These narratives persist in many of the more recent popular histories now on the shelves of Cariboo bookstores. Their authors engage in a form of salvage history: they seek to record the experiences and contributions of the early pioneers before their voices are lost to the public record. The most recent and comprehensive book is the 432-page *Chilcotin: Preserving Pioneer Memories* (Bonner, Bliss, and Litterick 1995). This book, written by the granddaughters of one of the founding Chilcotin pioneer families, recounts the array of settlers who have arrived in Chilcotin country over the last two centuries. Its introduction encapsulates the motive of this recent crop of books:

There is a vast storehouse of romantic history connected with the opening and settlement of the Chilcotin country of British Columbia. Yet much will be lost if it is not preserved in writing... This new book is dedicated to preserving the memory of the early pioneers whose courage and spirit of adventure brought them into this country. With these writings, we hope to bring some of these hardy characters to life to share with the reader the unique magic of the Chilcotin we love. (p. 8)

In contrast to the elitism of nationalist histories, local pioneer stories have an egalitarian orientation. They celebrate the lives of the “ordinary people,” both men and women, and highlight their

contributions to the “building” of the Canadian nation. These stories recover silences in the historical record that complement rather than challenge nationalist constructions of the past. In so doing, they ensure that the pioneer becomes a localized, populist symbol of nationalist pride and identity. The success of the colonial endeavour, it is suggested, is due to the pioneers’ personal courage, determination, and drive, while the broader political and economic contexts that enabled their success, and that functioned to suppress Aboriginal resistance to their appropriation of Native lands, go unmentioned. Instead, we have the narrative structure of contact, conflict, and conquest as relayed through the personal experiences of the settler’s encounter with the frontier.

Native peoples remain secondary to the narrative of settlement. Although the virulently negative images of forty years ago are encountered less often, in some books, the “savage” Indian still appears. For example, in *Chilcotin: Preserving Pioneer Memories*, Natives continue to be portrayed either as “wild,” “hostile,” and “war-like” (p. 10, 12, 15, 275) or as colourful characters who accept White encroachment on their lands meekly and who are “loyal” and “faithful” to their new neighbours (p. 12, 112, 113, 136). That settlement is a worthy moral project is ultimately affirmed by the “loyalty” of the Aboriginal peoples, whose territory the settlers take. Native peoples’ presumed admiration for the new settlers is but a reflection of the settlers’ own self-image, a reflection of the deeply ingrained assumption of superiority that characterizes the colonial mentality (Memmi 1965) and that has been continually reinforced by nationalist identities heralding paternalistic benevolence as a Canadian tradition.

It is important to look beyond these stereotypes to the underlying narrative genre in which they are embedded. While my analysis of these three books may seem harshly critical, I am neither singling out these authors for personal criticism nor implying that they are misinformed about the “real” nature of history. Instead, I am suggesting that the manner in which such writers express history is culturally patterned. Their portrayals of the Cariboo-Chilcotin past are expressed through a conventional narrative genre that has certain plot lines and certain roles assigned to Native peoples, and this genre itself emerges from a pervasive historical world view.

Some writers of popular history in the Cariboo-Chilcotin are concerned with the problems of negative stereotyping and are highly critical of the derogatory portraits of Natives in earlier pioneer stories. The problem remains, though, of how to incorporate Native historical

perspectives into stories that ultimately celebrate European settlement of the region. There is no easy solution. At a much more general level it is this very issue that underlies the efforts of Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal Canadians across the country to address issues of land claims, Aboriginal treaty rights, and self-government and to arrive at a common understanding of who, and what, constitutes the Canadian nation. One local writer I spoke with addressed the dilemma of representation by largely excluding any mention of Natives, stating, "I didn't feel I had the right to tell that story." This strategy, while on one level respecting recent criticisms from Native writers concerning the traditional power of non-Natives to depict (and, some would say, misrepresent) Native realities, may only reproduce the problems of earlier frontier histories. Erasing Native peoples from the historical landscape while presenting history as a story of discovery, settlement, and progress only perpetuates the longstanding silences of official histories.

Local Histories: Alternate Perspectives

Local histories that deviate from the celebratory themes of the frontier myth are scarce, although their numbers are growing (Coffey et al. 1990; Speare 1973; Tatla Lake School Project 1986-96; Birchwater 1991, 1993; Glavin 1993; Furniss 1993a, 1993b; Mack 1993, 1994). The title of Vancouver journalist Terry Glavin's *Nemiah: The Unconquered Country* (1992) is explicitly counter-hegemonic, morally inverting the terms of the frontier myth. Yet the book also weaves within its narrative the historical reminiscences of Tsilhqot'in elders. Speare's *The Days of Augusta* (1973), compiled by a local Euro-Canadian resident and wife of an ex-Cariboo Social Credit MLA, presents the narratives of an elderly Shuswap woman reflecting upon her life. The book is a remarkable precursor of experimental ethnographies that take a poetic textual approach to Native American discourse, viewing it as verbal art. These stories reflect the Shuswap tradition of recounting history through the genre of personal narrative.

Within this category are a few recent publications by First Nations. These publications have been produced through grants provided by government agencies or through the curriculum development division of the local school district. In directly challenging the images of Natives and the celebration of European conquest contained in frontier histories, these books constitute the only available histories that directly confront the terms of the frontier myth.

A good example of this kind of book is *Ulkatcho: Stories of the Grease Trail* (Birchwater 1993). The author, a non-Native, presents his own narrative juxtaposed with stories told to him by Ulkatcho elders. The author aims to provide “a Native point of view” of the grease trail’s significance in the culture and history of the Carrier people. By presenting the stories and reminiscences of Carrier elders, Birchwater attempts to recover the silences created through the trail’s official history, which celebrates Alexander Mackenzie’s heroic voyage down the trail and his “discovery” of the Pacific Ocean. The author explicitly challenges the invisibility and irrelevance of Native peoples in dominant histories and the assumption that “somehow [Native peoples] weren’t really there until [Whites] came along and found [them]. Or if [they] were there, what [they] were doing beforehand simply didn’t matter very much” (p. vii). The book challenges pioneer histories by arguing that “a story can be told from many points of view” (p. vii).

The few recent publications on local Native cultures and history that explicitly challenge the objectivity of frontier histories, and that present Native voices to readers, remain exceptions to the historical accounts available to the general public on the bookstore shelves. While restrictions of space have caused me to limit my discussion to only a few of the historical books now on sale to the public — and, it could be argued, to oversimplify what is in fact a much more diverse set of popular historical narratives — I hope that the starkness of the frontier myth in the books I have discussed, each of which is prominently displayed and widely promoted as representative of the Cariboo-Chilcotin, indicates the pervasiveness of the frontier genre in popular writing.

Overall, the dominant historical discourse remains relentlessly that of the European settlers and nationalists. There is a smooth fit between the nationally produced books on Canadian history used in the public school system, the Western Canadiana books produced by the small provincially based publishing house, and the histories written by regional pioneers. These books are united by their common situation within the frontier myth. They focus almost exclusively on the challenges and triumphs of pioneers and colonial systems. Natives are either invisible in these histories or are scripted as supporting characters in images that are negative, quaint, childlike, and/or passive. These books, by their sheer volume, constitute a dominant historical discourse that cannot but pervade the consciousness of the general population.

THE CITY MUSEUM

The city museum is an important site for the representation of local history. Small-town museums are controlled neither by the state nor by more general corporate or business interests. Rather, they are typically operated by a local historical society — a non-profit volunteer association that controls what history is to be represented. In Williams Lake, the city museum presents a regional history that, ostensibly, is produced *by* “the community” and that is reflected back for community consumption. The city museum occupies a privileged space in public history: it is the only institution devoted exclusively to the collection, representation, and celebration of the region’s past.

Despite its democratic appearance, the museum presents an image of regional history that is partial and selective. An organized historical society has been in existence in the city since the 1950s, but the current Museum and Historical Society has been operating only since 1988. Although a makeshift museum was created in 1967 as a Canada centennial project, it deteriorated over the years through lack of interest and attention. The current city museum opened in 1991 under the leadership of the new society. Although theoretically the society is open to any interested individuals, its active members do not reflect a diversity of regional residents. The museum is run entirely on volunteer labour, and its most active members are retired, middle-class Euro-Canadian women. The museum’s construction of regional history has been influenced by the specific interests and perspectives of this sector of the community.

The museum is firmly entrenched in the social structure of the city. It relies heavily on local donations from industry and small businesses, and it depends on the political support of the municipal government, which owns the museum building. The museum directors work to maintain positive working relationships with these groups, at times expressing frustration that the importance of their facility is not recognized or appreciated by all community leaders. The degree to which these delicate political and economic relationships shape the manner in which history is represented varies with the particular individuals creating the displays. On the one hand, it is implicitly expected that the city museum should promote a positive image of the region to enhance the city’s potential for business and industrial investment, to attract new residents, and to impress passing tourists. As is true of local histories generally (Kohl 1990; Hale and Barman 1991), the treatment of the past is expected to be

celebratory rather than critical, and the themes of collective harmony and history-as-progress are expected to be highlighted.

On the other hand, the individuals involved in the creation of the museum's displays and interpretive texts do not feel coerced by civic or corporate sponsors. Rather, the general themes to be displayed in the museum were decided upon in the society's early stages of planning, and the final shape of the displays and interpretive texts emerged largely under the influence of the museum's volunteer curator. The curator arrived in the region in the 1950s and is a talented story-teller, keenly interested in the people and history of the Cariboo-Chilcotin.

The museum now highlights two themes: the region's ranching heritage and the Williams Lake Stampede. These themes were chosen in part to tap into the city's international image as a "Stampede Capital" — a strategy that reflects the constraining power of selective traditions — and in part to distinguish the museum from other regional museums. Community museums across the province compete with one another to capture tourist interest, and many do so by specializing in one aspect of history, whether mining, forestry, ranching, the gold rush, or whatever. The specialized focus of the city museum is a product of these competitive interests.

Displays on the Williams Lake Stampede are prominently positioned. Walking up the steps to the main floor of the museum the visitor faces a series of large photographs of the stampede in the 1920s. The scenes depict cowboys on horseback, a gathering of Natives watching and laughing while leaning on a fence, and a scene of the stampede grounds with the many white canvas tents. A striking photograph depicts the Roman race, in which men, each standing astride two horses, race against each other. The caption reads: "Alkali Lake contestants: Joe Dick, Patrick Chelsea, and Pierre Squinahan."

The displays include old trophies, an old stampede queen's crown, and a replica of the infamous Squaw Hall, which was built in the 1950s as an Indian dancehall but eventually was also frequented by non-Natives. To the latter it was known as "a place to let down your hair, drink your refreshments and do almost anything that your morals will permit you to do." The stampede collection includes a photograph showing several Native men and women in head-dresses, with a man kneeling and playing a hand drum. The picture is captioned: "Sugar Cane residents at Williams Lake Stampede in the 1920s," and it includes the names of the individuals.

The rest of the museum is an eclectic display of artefacts and themes. There is a brief section on Native artefacts, with no interpretive

commentary, followed by a section on communications: an old switchboard, an old printing press. The side wall of the room is devoted to the story of the British Columbia Provincial Police. The display includes a mannequin in police uniform; a photograph of William Pinchbeck, who was “appointed Justice of the Peace at first settlement of Williams Lake in 1860 and maintained Law and Order in the Valley;” and a photographic display along with brief biographies of the thirteen local policemen who served in the area between 1910 and 1950.

Off the main room are several side rooms reconstructed as a bedroom, parlour, kitchen, blacksmith’s shop, Chinese store, and trapping display. A set of cast-iron frying pans hangs on the wall: “Frying pans and grill used by the Tom Mikkelsen family while travelling from Ashcroft to Horsefly in 1910. Donated by Jean Mikkelsen.” One of the side rooms portrays the history of Williams Lake, with photographs of the town in the 1920s and important local personalities of the time, including one prominent woman: “Jessie Pidgeon ... While legend has it that the Cariboo was the land where ‘men are men’ and the women were proud of it, women have been prominent on many fronts.” Small displays on ranching equipment, the Williams Lake stockyards, and cattle brands follow, along with photographs and brief stories about many of the well-known settler families in the Chilcotin.

Like most community museums, the displays, to an extent, have been determined by the artefacts on hand; that is, stories have been built up around whatever odd assortment of antiques and relics happen to have been donated. Yet here the eclectic displays are tied together by a central theme. The curator admits to being more interested in people than in material objects, and she has used the historical artefacts as vehicles for telling stories about the lives of the people from whose homes they came. In short, despite its ranching and stampede focus, the history presented in museum displays is the history of the “ordinary people” of the Cariboo-Chilcotin.

For example, a pair of scruffy riding boots are mounted as a display and are used to tell the life story of the woman who owned them — Josephine Robson. Above the boots is a picture of Josephine, a smiling young woman with a child on her back. The boots themselves are captioned by a headline: “Josephine Robson’s boots were burned in a campfire. She resoled them herself.” In the interpretive text, Josephine’s life story is summarized: “Josephine was born ‘under a jackpine in the Itcha Mountains’ says her stepson, George Robson ... Her parents were Rosalie Sandyman and Antone Capoose; they only came out of

the mountains twice a year.” The story continues to tell of Josephine’s life as a rancher, hunter, and trapper, and of how she continued this lifestyle well into her elderly years.

The curator has structured the exhibits to make them relevant to the local public. In representing the “ordinary people” she has drawn extensively on her knowledge of many of the Cariboo-Chilcotin pioneers as well as her familiarity and friendships with members of the regional Shuswap, Tsilhqot’in, and Carrier communities. Rather than presenting anonymous images of noble savages, the Native people featured in the museum are named. They are presented in their full individuality.

At the same time, there are silences that reverse the typical features of Euro-Canadian representations of Natives. In many of these displays the “Indianness” of these individuals goes unmentioned. For example, the three Alkali Lake Roman racers are Shuswap. Josephine Grambush, the woman who married one of the instigators of the Williams Lake Stampede in the 1920s, and whose children became prominent in the local rodeo circuit, is Tsilhqot’in. Josephine Robson is a Carrier, a fact hinted at only at the end of her biography: “Josephine never new [*sic*] what a welfare cheque was. She made her living trapping and tanning hides. She also pitied people who drank liquor, saying it makes people poor and sick.”

With Natives not explicitly identified as such, the museum displays present histories that, in significant ways, diverge from the dominant frontier discourse. The displays honour both Natives and non-Natives as having an equally important place in the history of the Cariboo-Chilcotin’s settlement. The displays provide one avenue for area Native peoples — not as “Indians,” but as humans with all their individuality and diversity — to become visible to the local community and visiting tourists. At the same time, these displays do not directly challenge the conceptual opposition of Indian and White that is central to frontier conceptions of history. Further, the visitor may leave the museum without ever realizing that the individuals honoured — Alkali Lake Roman riders, Josephine Grambush, and Josephine Robson — are Native.

All histories are selective accounts, highlighting certain events and actors while relegating others to the background. The history presented through the city museum is no exception. For example, there is no discussion of the long Aboriginal history prior to European arrival. There is no mention either of the more general political context of colonial settlement that enabled pioneers and settlers to

arrive or of the forms of political and economic domination of Native populations that worked to suppress Aboriginal resistance. Stories could have been told of the changing roles of women in the stampede and of their gradual exclusion from rodeo events, changes that might be linked to shifts in the political/economic structure of gender relations in Canadian society.

The focus on “ordinary people” recovers voices that are often left out of regional histories. Yet these individuals are presented as existing outside any political/economic context. As Bennett (1995, 112) notes in his critique of populist museums, first settlers, pioneers, and Natives are presented as “a people without politics.”¹¹ While these histories may honour the lives of individuals and may celebrate their qualities of courage, determination, and independence, at the same time they assimilate the varied values and experiences of diverse subordinate classes and groups — experiences that included conflict, inequality, and struggle against forms of domination — into particularly middle-class notions of the past.

This is not to say that early pioneers and settlers should not be publicly honoured. Nor am I attempting to mute the diversity of historical voices by insisting on substituting one dominant historical discourse with an equally narrow history that focuses exclusively on the injustices of colonialism and Aboriginal/settler relations. But I am suggesting that silences have a cumulative effect. In not discussing certain major themes in the region’s past, the history presented by the city museum may have hegemonic implications that are only amplified by the lack of competing historical perspectives in the public domain.

CONCLUSION

The histories encountered in public places in Williams Lake reflect the dominance of the frontier myth as a framework for the telling of history. Frontier histories render irrelevant Aboriginal histories, Aboriginal communities, and the complexities of the relationships that developed between Aboriginal and settler societies. Instead, frontier histories highlight the courageous actions of individual

¹¹ There is one notable exception. A display on the “Cariboo’s First Japanese Family” discusses the extensive racial discrimination this family suffered at the hands of local townspeople during the Second World War. Given the powerful forces that bear down on city museums to represent history as harmonious and progressive, this display constitutes a very significant movement into areas of history in which there usually are considerable silences. In contrast, there is virtually no reference to the racial discrimination that Native peoples historically experienced, and continue to experience, in the city.

Europeans and assimilate history into a conventional narrative structure of the contact of opposites, the heroic struggle for domination, and the eventual triumph of European colonialists. In these narratives Natives are assigned secondary, supporting roles that reflect and enhance the identities of the colonizers as paternalistic benefactors while commemorating colonization as a positive, progressive development of Western civilization.

At the same time, the frontier myth is capable of accommodating a variety of voices and a variety of histories, ranging from national histories sanctioned by the state to the individual autobiographies of Cariboo-Chilcotin pioneers. The remarkable degree to which this selective historical tradition has been adopted by local pioneers, settlers, and "ordinary people" to organize their experience, frame their life stories, and account for their collective past indicates the depth to which this selective historical tradition operates in the realm of lived experience. Thus the distinction between the officially sanctioned histories of the state and the popular memory of the "ordinary people," a distinction prevalent in current studies of the exercise of power in colonial and postcolonial settings (Bommes and Wright 1982; Alonso 1988; Bodnar 1992; Cohen 1994), is not immediately relevant here. Rather, pioneer stories and nationalist histories operate within the same mythic framework and are fully compatible with celebrations of European colonization.

Some comment is required about the social effects of these histories. My analysis of high-school texts, popular histories, and museum displays is admittedly limited by its focus on textual analysis rather than on an analysis of how texts are interpreted within contexts of social interaction. For this reason, I have argued for their hegemonic implications or potential rather than their actual hegemonic consequences. My goal has been to identify the frontier myth as a narrative genre; to illustrate how this myth encodes certain understandings of history, society, and individual agency; and to indicate how it allows certain spaces for Aboriginal peoples. For this, textual analysis, I think, is sufficient. To demonstrate that these histories actually reinforce relations of inequality would require an examination of how they are being applied and interpreted in specific social contexts. For example, questions could be asked about how high-school history textbooks are being used in classrooms, as school teachers do have discretionary powers to replace assigned textbooks with equivalent supplementary curriculum. In the case of the city museum, it would be important to trace how visitors respond to the displays. Although the museum

displays remain silent on critical issues in the history of the Cariboo-Chilcotin, they may in other ways be working to overcome the anti-Native racism that pervades social relations in the city. For example, the fact that Native men and women are named in displays may have a great effect on public school children with regard to developing positive images of Aboriginal peoples, particularly when it is pointed out in discussion that the individuals being honoured are in fact Native. It is in the application of displays and texts that the actual force of frontier histories becomes apparent.

Nevertheless, the accumulated silences of the frontier myth do have implications for the shaping of public consciousness. The frontier myth, as expressed in Cariboo-Chilcotin popular histories, encodes a systematic forgetting of contentious issues of the past, a forgetting that has significant implications for Native/non-Native relations. Aboriginal title to the lands of Canada, the obligation of colonial governments to acquire lands by due process, and the failure of governments to sign treaties or otherwise acknowledge Aboriginal title in British Columbia go unmentioned. The Indian reserve system, the Indian Affairs bureaucracy, and the residential school system, all of which have had a profound impact on a large proportion of the regional population, are not discussed. The very existence of diverse Native communities, with organized social structures, complex modes of subsistence, distinct metaphysical beliefs, and independent historical traditions, is not mentioned. Apart from their highly stylized appearances in frontier accounts, the existence of Native peoples and communities is rendered invisible. In their struggles to untangle themselves from the various threads of colonial domination, Shuswap, Tsihquot'in, and Carrier peoples in the Cariboo-Chilcotin today are struggling against a dominant historical tradition that has virtually erased them and their history from the public landscape.

The hegemonic potential of frontier histories — their use in affirming the current structure of relationships between Native peoples and non-Native society and its institutions — lies not only in what is omitted, but in *how* history is presented. History, we are told, is the product of individual actions: the themes of heroic individualism, survival of the fittest, and the “self-made man” define a particular understanding of history, society, and the individual. Frontier histories provide Euro-Canadians with a sense of collective identity constructed in opposition to Aboriginal peoples; the nature of Aboriginal/settler relations is construed as one of paternalistic

benevolence and natural superiority. These frontier histories tell their readers that colonization has been in Native peoples' best interests and that Native peoples have been treated well by Canadians. These histories constitute a public apparatus for the shaping and defining of Euro-Canadian historical consciousness, and it is from within this partial, selective historical world view that non-Native resistance to Aboriginal treaties and self-government initiatives in rural settings is being articulated. Given how deeply embedded cultural myths are in the dominant world view of a society, it would be simplistic to suggest that the solution to this situation is to abandon the frontier genre or to censor or criticize those who choose to express the past in this format. What is important, rather, is a reflexive awareness of the pervasiveness of the frontier myth and the way in which frontier narratives convey implicit values, assumptions, and beliefs that reflect the legacy of Canada's colonial heritage.

REFERENCES

- n.a. 1983a. *Outlaws and Lawmen of Western Canada*. Vol. 1. Surrey: Heritage House.
- 1983b. *Outlaws and Lawmen of Western Canada*. Vol. 2. Surrey: Heritage House.
- 1987a. *Outlaws and Lawmen of Western Canada*. Vol. 3. Surrey: Heritage House.
- 1987b. *Cariboo Gold Rush*. Surrey: Heritage House.
- Alonso, Ana Maria. 1988. "The Effects of Truth: Re-Presentations of the Past and the Imagining of Community." *Journal of Historical Sociology* 1:33-57.
- Atwood, Margaret, 1972. *Survival: A Thematic Guide to Canadian Literature*. Toronto: Anansi.
- Barman, Jean, Yvonne Hebert, and Don McCaskill, eds. 1987. *Indian Education in Canada*, Vol. 2: *The Challenge*. Vancouver: UBC Press.
- Battiste, Marie, and Jean Barman, eds. 1995. *First Nations Education in Canada: The Circle Unfolds*. Vancouver: UBC Press.
- Bennett, Tony. 1995. *The Birth of the Museum: History, Theory, Politics*. London: Routledge.
- Berton, Pierre. 1978. *The Wild Frontier: More Tales from the Remarkable Past*. Toronto: McClelland and Stewart.
- _____. 1982. *Why We Act Like Canadians: A Personal Exploration of our National Character*. Toronto: McClelland and Stewart.
- Birchwater, Sage. 1991. *Ulkatchotien: The People of Ulkatcho*. Anahim Lake: Ulkatcho Indian Band.
- _____. 1993. *Ulkatcho: Stories of the Grease Trail*. Anahim Lake: Ulkatcho Indian Band.
- Bodnar, John. 1992. *Remaking America: Public Memory, Commemoration and Patriotism in the Twentieth Century*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.

- Bommes, Michael, and Patrick Wright. 1982. "Charms of Residences': The Public and the Past." In *Making Histories: Studies in History-Writing and Politics*. Richard Johnson et al., eds., 254-301. London: Hutchinson.
- Bonner, Vera, Irene E. Bliss, and Hazel Henry Litterick. 1995. *Chilcotin: Preserving Pioneer Memories*. Surrey: Heritage House.
- Bowers, Vivien, and Stan Garrod. 1987. *Our Land: Building the West*. Toronto: Gage.
- Braroe, Niels Winther. 1975. *Indian and White: Self-Image and Interaction in a Canadian Plains Community*. Stanford: Stanford University Press.
- British Columbia. 1995. *BC First Nations Studies 12, Integrated Resource Package*. Victoria: Queen's Printer.
- British Columbia Provincial Police Veteran's Association. 1991. *Off Patrol: Memories of BC Provincial Policemen*. Surrey: Heritage House.
- Brown, Jennifer. 1980. *Strangers in Blood: Fur Trade Company Families in Indian Country*. Vancouver: UBC Press.
- Cail, Robert E. 1974. *Land, Man, and the Law: The Disposal of Crown Lands in British Columbia, 1871-1913*. Vancouver: UBC Press.
- Canada. 1912. Department of Indian Affairs *Annual Report*. Ottawa: King's Printer.
- Clark, Cecil. 1986. *BC Provincial Police Stories: Mystery and Murder from the Files of Western Canada's First Lawmen*. Surrey: Heritage House.
- _____. 1989. *BC Provincial Police Stories: More True Crime Cases from the Files of Western Canada's First Police Force*. Surrey: Heritage House.
- _____. 1993. *BC Provincial Police Stories*. Surrey: Heritage House.
- Coffey, J., E. Goldstrom, G. Gottfriedson, R. Matthew, and P. Walton. 1990. *Shuswap History: The First 100 Years of Contact*. Kamloops: Secwepemc Cultural Education Society.
- Cohen, David. 1994. *The Combining of History*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Collier, Eric. [1959] 1991. *Three Against the Wilderness*. Toronto: General Paperbacks.
- Collins, Paul, and Norman Sheffe. 1979. *Exploration Canada*. Toronto: Oxford University Press.
- Comaroff, Jean, and John Comaroff. 1991. *Of Revelation and Revolution: Christianity, Colonialism, and Consciousness in South Africa*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Cross, Michael, ed. 1970. *The Frontier Thesis and the Canadas: The Debate on the Impact of the Environment*. Toronto: Copp Clark.
- Cruikshank, Julie. 1992. "Images of Society in Klondike Gold Rush Narratives: Skookum Jim and the Discovery of Gold." *Ethnohistory* 39: 20-39.
- Denny, Sir Cecil E. 1994. *March of the Mounties*. Surrey: Heritage House.
- Dunk, Thomas W. 1991. *It's a Working Man's Town: Male Working-Class Culture in Northwestern Ontario*. Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press.
- Fisher, Robin. 1992. *Contact and Conflict: Indian-European Relations in British Columbia, 1774-1890*. 2nd ed. Vancouver: UBC Press.
- Fogelson, Raymond. 1984. "Who Were the Ani-Kutani? An Excursion into Cherokee Historical Thought." *Ethnohistory* 31: 255-63.
- _____. 1989. "The Ethnohistory of Events and Non-Events." *Ethnohistory* 36: 133-47.

- Francis, Daniel. 1992. *The Imaginary Indian: The Image of the Indian in Canadian Culture*. Vancouver: Arsenal Pulp Press.
- Furniss, Elizabeth. 1993a. *Dakelh Keyoh: The Southern Carrier in Earlier Times*. Quesnel: Quesnel School District.
- _____. 1993b. *Changing Ways: Southern Carrier History, 1793-1940*. Quesnel: Quesnel School District.
- _____. 1997. "In the Spirit of the Pioneers: Historical Consciousness, Cultural Colonialism, and Indian/White Relations in Rural British Columbia." PhD thesis, Department of Anthropology, University of British Columbia.
- Glavin, Terry. 1993. *Nemiah: The Unconquered Country*. Vancouver: New Star.
- Goldman, Irving. 1953. "The Algetcho Carrier of British Columbia." Manuscript. Royal British Columbia Museum, Victoria, BC.
- Hale, Linda L., and Jean Barman. 1991. *British Columbia Local Histories: A Bibliography*. Victoria: BC Heritage Trust.
- Hanks, William F. 1986. "Authenticity and Ambivalence in the Text: A Colonial Maya Case." *American Ethnologist* 13: 721-44.
- Hobsbawm, Eric, and Terence Ranger, eds. 1983. *The Invention of Tradition*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Hobson, Richmond P. Jr. [1951] 1993. *Grass Beyond the Mountains*. Toronto: McClelland and Stewart.
- Karp, Ivan, Christine Mullen Kreamer, and Steven D. Lavine. 1992. *Museums and Communities: The Politics of Public Culture*. Washington: Smithsonian.
- Karp, Ivan, and Steven D. Lavine. 1991. *Exhibiting Cultures: The Poetics and Politics of Museum Display*. Washington: Smithsonian.
- Kohl, Seena B. 1990. "Writing Popular History: Contrasting Approaches from Rural Mississippi and Rural Canada." In *Cultural Heritage Conservation in the American South*. Benita J. Howell, ed., 42-53. Athens: University of Georgia Press.
- Lavington, H. Dude. 1982. *The Nine Lives of a Cowboy*. Victoria: Sono Nis Press.
- Limerick, Patricia. 1987. *The Legacy of Conquest: The Unbroken Past of the American West*. New York: Norton.
- Mack, Clayton. 1993. *Grizzlies and White Guys*. Madeira Park, BC: Harbour.
- _____. 1994. *Bella Cooola Man*. Madeira Park, BC: Harbour.
- Marriott, Harry. 1966. *Cariboo Cowboy*. Sidney, BC: Gray's Publishing.
- Mazurek, Kas. 1987. "Multiculturalism, Education and the Ideology of Meritocracy." In *The Political Economy of Canadian Schooling*. Terry Wrotherspoon, ed., 141-63. Agincourt, ON: Methuen.
- McKelvie, B.A. 1985. *Tales of Conflict: Indian-White Murders and Massacres in Pioneer British Columbia*. Surrey: Heritage House.
- Memmi, Albert. 1965. *Colonizer and Colonized*. New York: Orion Press.
- Pritchard, Allan. 1992. "The Shapes of History in British Columbia Writing." *BC Studies* 93: 48-69.
- Prucha, Francis Paul. 1986. *The Great Father: The United States Government and the American Indians*. Abridged edition. Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press.
- Rothemberger, Mel. 1978. *The Chilcotin War*. Langley: Mr. Paperback.
- Sarich, Commissioner Anthony. 1993. *Report on the Cariboo-Chilcotin Justice Inquiry*. Victoria: Queen's Printer.

- Slotkin, Richard. 1973. *Regeneration through Violence: The Mythology of the American Frontier, 1600-1860*. Middletown, CT: Wesleyan University Press.
- _____. 1986. *The Fatal Environment: The Myth of the Frontier in the Age of Industrialization*. New York: Atheneum.
- _____. 1992. *Gunfighter Nation: The Myth of the Frontier in Twentieth-Century America*. New York: Atheneum.
- Smith, Allan. 1980. "The Writing of British Columbia History." *BC Studies* 45: 73-102.
- Speare, Jean E., ed. 1973. *The Days of Augusta*. Vancouver: J.J. Douglas.
- Statistics Canada. 1992. *Urban Areas. Census of Canada*, Catalogue Number 93-305. Ottawa: Supply and Services Canada.
- Stymeist, David H. 1975. *Ethnics and Indians: Social Relations in a Northwestern Ontario Town*. Toronto: Peter Martin.
- Tatla Lake School Heritage Project. 1986-96. *Hoofprints in History*. Seven volumes. Tatla Lake: Tatla Lake Elementary Junior Secondary School.
- Trigger, Bruce G. 1985. *Natives and Newcomers: Canada's Heroic Age Reconsidered*. Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press.
- _____. 1986. "The Historian's Indian: Native Americans in Historical Writing from Charlevoix to the Present." *Canadian Historical Review* 67: 315-42.
- Turner, Frederick Jackson. [1893] 1963. *The Significance of the Frontier in American History*. Harold P. Simonson, ed. New York: Frederick Ungar.
- Van Kirk, Sylvia. 1992. "A Vital Presence: Women in the Cariboo Gold Rush, 1862-1875." In *British Columbia Reconsidered: Essays on Women*. Gillian Creese and Veronica Strong-Boag, eds., 21-37. Vancouver: UBC Press.
- Walker, James W. 1971. "The Indian in Canadian Historical Writing." *Canadian Historical Association, Historical Papers*, 21-47.
- _____. 1983. "The Indian in Canadian Historical Writing, 1972-1982." In *As Long as the Sun Shines and Water Flows: A Reader in Canadian Native Studies*. Ian Getty and Antoine Lussier, eds., 340-57. Vancouver: UBC Press.
- Williams, Raymond. 1977. *Marxism and Literature*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.