The Fraser River rush that initiated the gold frenzy of 1858 and led to the creation of the colony of British Columbia was a placer mining event: miners in the Fraser Canyon panned the shoreline banks and bars for fine gold (gold dust, "flour gold," and occasionally nuggets), the result of the erosion of multiple glaciations and tens of thousands of years of fluvial action. As the miners went upstream and on to the interior plateau, the particles generally got bigger, the yield got progressively richer, and the miners followed the flakes and lumps of "coarse gold" (gold in large grains) in search of their origin. This strategy prevailed until 1860, when the source of most of the gold in the Fraser River was located in the Cariboo Mountains some fifty miles (eighty kilometres) east of Quesnel.

Between 1860 and 1862, a rush of prospectors ascended the Quesnel and Cottonwood rivers and combed the western slopes of the Cariboo Mountains for gold. They found exceptionally rich deposits in a series of continuous and uncontrolled strikes: in 1860 at Quesnelleforks, Keithley Creek, and Antler Creek; in 1861 at Grouse Creek, Lightning Creek, and Williams Creek, where deposits of placer gold were mixed with gravels in old creek beds up to eighty feet (twenty-five metres) underground. "We are daily receiving the most extraordinary accounts of the almost fabulous wealth of the Antler Creek and Cariboo diggings," wrote Governor James Douglas in June 1861. Extracting this gold from the overburden would require capital investment and, soon, hydraulic methods: shafts, drifts, tunnels, sluices, wingdams, flumes, spillways, water wheels, reservoirs, immense ditch systems, and large companies of men.

By 1864, four towns had appeared on a four-mile stretch of Williams Creek: Richfield, Barkerville, Cameronton, and Marysville. With a combined population of some four thousand, Williams Creek was the biggest urban conurbation in British Columbia outside of Victoria. Creek trails led to Barkerville and to the Cariboo Wagon Road, making Barkerville both the de facto terminus and the ultimate destination of the Fraser River gold rush itself as well as the primary town and supply centre of the Cariboo gold fields – a drafty, rough-hewn, wooden town on a creek floor at 4,200 feet (1,280 metres) in the Cariboo Mountains. The articles presented here explore aspects of this fascinating community and represent an important step towards redressing a remarkable lack of scholarship on the gold rushes that were so important to early British Columbia.

This special issue includes seven articles on overlooked topics. Christopher Herbert leads off with a prospective piece: "A New Take on an Old Town: New Directions in Research on Barkerville and the Cariboo." He wants to move scholarship beyond popular histories that, he claims, portray "a mythical image of gold rush society, filled with larger-than-life figures, odd coincidences, and humorous stories." This, says Herbert, is predominantly a history that celebrates solitary and determined white miners and unusual events and personalities. Herbert urges the embrace of more sophisticated concepts and approaches drawn variously from economic and environmental history, material culture, and archaeology. He would like to see interdisciplinary studies of the ripple effects of colonialism that grapple with the transnational processes of empire, capital, and culture, and to consider the prevalence of homosociality in communities with hugely skewed sex ratios. Most of all, he wants scholars to "destabilize the narrative" of the solitary white miner and embrace more inclusive analytical frameworks of race, class, and gender. "We know too little of how non-white actors understood, participated in, subverted, or rejected the creation of this colonial society in the Cariboo," he observes. In this Herbert anticipates many of the topics and analytical concerns of this special issue; several of his trumpet calls are answered in the six articles that follow.

In "Eldorado Vernacular: Barkerville and Its Buildings," Jennifer Iredale answers Herbert's call for more work on material culture. A built heritage rather than a formal architectural tradition, Iredale's Eldorado Vernacular consists entirely of log and wooden buildings: log huts, hewn-log buildings, vertical plank structures, balloon frame constructions, Gothic Revival churches, and Chinese timber frame buildings, all of which responded to gold rush conditions: expediency, isolation, transiency, and an emphasis on functionality, utility, and local building materials. The earliest dwellings – tents, log huts, and hewn-log houses – gave way to more permanent structures, especially after the completion of the Cariboo Wagon Road to Barkerville in 1865, which enabled the arrival of freight wagons and sawmill equipment. Notable in Iredale's analysis is the range and purchase of outside influences and styles, from the balloon frame buildings of the American west to the Gothic Revival architecture of the Anglican Church in British Columbia. A gradual sense of permanence replaced the early miners' rough and makeshift cabins.

In "Barkerville's Thomas Robson Pattullo," Don Bourdon suggests that Herbert's pronunciation of the last rites of scholarly interest in

white, male, "real miners" of the Cariboo may be premature. From Woodstock, Ontario, Pattullo set out for the mines of California in 1859 and reached Williams Creek in the fall of 1861, just in time for the fabulous discoveries of the Cariboo gold rush. He went on to own or invest in properties on Antler, Grouse, and Lightning creeks. A major player in Barkerville, Pattullo was typical of the Cariboo's miner-owners who, Bourdon writes, collaborated "to ensure that contiguous claims could be secured as a means of strategic mining. Pattullo entered into a myriad of claim registrations, partnerships, purchases, transfers, and companies." The net result was considerable wealth. Indeed, at one time, Pattullo was regarded as one of the richest men in British Columbia. Politically, he represented the "Canadian contingent" in Barkerville that agitated for responsible government in the colonial era, and, after the colony joined Canada, he boosted both Cariboo and British Columbia. At the American centennial in 1876, Pattullo displayed thirteen thousand dollars worth of gold dust, nuggets, and bars, all from his own Cariboo claims. When he died three years later, his family prepared an album containing twenty-seven iconic photographs by Frederick Dally. Pattullo appears in seven of them. A historian of photography, Bourdon situates the Pattullo album within the work of Canadian scholars of photography, including Carol Williams, Joan Schwartz, and Martha Langford. And, with Langford, he concludes that the Victorian photograph album functioned "as an *aide-mémoire* for personal and collective storytelling." With this article, Pattullo's album achieves precisely that purpose.

In a trailblazing study of the Hudson's Bay Company (HBC) in the gold rush era in British Columbia, Ramona Boyle and Richard Mackie argue that completion of the Cariboo Wagon Road to Barkerville brought an influx of Victoria-based banks and merchant houses to this boomtown in 1866 and 1867. The biggest of these was the HBC, which, since the 1820s, had been broadening its commerce on the west coast, moving away from the fur trade and towards retailing, coal mining, farming, sawmilling, fishing, and urban land sales. Basing their study on the Barkerville Correspondence Books, 1869-71, located in the Hudson's Bay Company Archives in Winnipeg, Boyle and Mackie show the range of goods sold and purchased by the HBC in Barkerville in these late colonial years. With a staff of three, the HBC sold construction and mining supplies, transport goods, hunting and trapping supplies, and all kinds of hardware, provisions, and alcohol – from cigars to window panes, gold pans to chamber pots, Worcester sauce to beaver traps.

This article also documents the HBC's continuing fur trade in Barkerville with the "Fort George Indians" – the Lheidli T'enneh of the Dakelh (Carrier) Nation. Most notably, the HBC accepted gold in payment for goods, opened its own assay office, bought gold from miners with cash, and shipped about five thousand dollars worth of gold bars to Victoria headquarters every month between 1869 and 1871 for transhipment to San Francisco and London. Boyle and Mackie conclude that, while the HBC preceded the gold rushes in British Columbia, it also accompanied and followed the rushes and diversified its operations to cater to the new demands of European settlement on the Pacific slope.

In "'Into That Country to Work': Aboriginal Economic Activities during Barkerville's Gold Rush," Mica Jorgenson responds to Herbert's call for studies of First Nations involvement in early Barkerville. She bases her analysis on the important 1990s work of ethnohistorian Elizabeth Furniss on the "frontier myth" of British Columbia, an illusion that posited an "empty land" for the settler-newcomers. Furniss also demonstrates the reality of annihilation by disease of the Dakelh people at Bowron lakes in the 1860s, a calamity that, in turn, explains the absence of "local Indians" at nearby Barkerville, which Jorgenson calls "a ready explanation for Aboriginal peoples' apparent absence in the subsequent rush." But into this vacuum came other and visiting First Nations. Jorgenson draws on the work of Rolf Knight and John Lutz to chart First Nations' creative adaptation to the economic opportunities of the settlement. She draws fruitfully on Lutz's concept of a "moditional" economy – a mixture of subsistence (traditional) and capitalist (modern) work strategies. Portraying Barkerville as a hub of employment, Jorgenson reveals fragments of forgotten First Nations work, including packing, letter-carrying, servicing packhorses, mining, cattle-driving, hunting, trapping, selling salmon and eulachon, berry picking, laundry services, and prostitution. "Starting in 1862," she concludes, "Aboriginal people of various origins participated actively in the gold rush economy in Barkerville by mixing subsistence, commercial, and wage work." Jorgenson documents that Aboriginal peoples came to Barkerville from many parts of British Columbia, including Dakelh, St'at'imc (Lillooet), Tsilhqot'in (Chilcotin), Haida, and Coast Salish territories. Visiting Native people even had their own "Indian Encampment" in Barkerville for much of the late nineteenth century.

Herbert's discerning plea for transnational gold rush studies is well answered by Tzu-I Chung in her article "Kwong Lee & Company and Early Trans-Pacific Trade: From Canton, Hong Kong, to Victoria

and Barkerville." Many who have dipped into the gold rush history of British Columbia have noted the ubiquity of the name Kwong Lee & Co., which was almost as pervasive as the HBC. But was it a company or a person? Chung answers this question: Kwong Lee & Co. was a Victoria merchant house with Cantonese origins, founded in about 1860, that extended a corridor of influence to the very terminus of the gold rushes in Barkerville. Chung places Kwong Lee & Co. in the context of trans-Pacific trade in the mid-nineteenth century, starting with a glance back at the role of the powerful eighteenth-century Cantonese Co-hong merchants in facilitating foreign trade – "Co" means public and "Hong" means company. One of the Co-hongs, Kwong Lee Hong, dating to 1792, shared a name with the BC outfit and might have had some connection to it. Employing a productive analytical framework – based on the work of Elizabeth Sinn (in-between places), Philip A. Kuhn (trans-Pacific cultural, social, and economic corridors), Henry Yu (the legacy of the Cantonese Pacific), and Tony Ballantyne (the webs of connections between and among Britain and its colonies) – Chung provides a careful story of a merchant house with connections from Canton to Barkerville. Drawing as well on the pioneering local work of Ying-Ying Chen and Lily Chow, Chung supports her corridor argument with artefacts, documents, and photographs from museums and archives in Victoria, Quesnel, and Barkerville. In the process, Chung gives considerable meaning to the Chinese role in British Columbia's gold rushes and a transnational context for Chinese commercial involvement in Victoria and Barkerville.

In "Barkerville in Context: Archaeology of the Chinese in British Columbia," Douglas Ross provides yet another item on Herbert's wish list, this one concerning continuing archaeological research in Barkerville. Ross offers a much-needed synthesis and review of Chinese diaspora archaeology in British Columbia. The fact that Chinese were everywhere in nineteenth-century British Columbia – in mining, railway construction, freighting, logging, farming, ranching, salmon canning; as operators of stores, restaurants, hotels, laundries; as merchants, labour contractors, and domestic servants – means that their material remains are widely distributed in rural settings and Chinatowns alike. The earliest Chinese-related archaeology in British Columbia took place at the Chee Kung Tong Chinese Freemasons Building in Barkerville in 1978; since then, Barkerville excavations have included the Kwong Sang Wing Building, the Chee Kung Tong Building, terraced gardens in Barkerville's Chinatown, and thirty-four Chinese sites on seventeen

creeks and rivers in the Barkerville-Stanley area. Barkerville, Ross notes, "is important because it has been subject to the most extensive, sustained, and publicly visible work on Chinese sites in the province." From here, Ross extends his discussion to Chinese settlements in the rest of the province. He reports on archaeology projects conducted by contract and academic archaeologists, emphasizes new analytical frameworks rooted in concepts of transnationalism and diaspora, encourages an "increasing scholarly focus on transnational communities and identities," and ends with a plea to pay attention to "sophisticated, theoretically informed research, drawing on interdisciplinary literature and international comparative data," much of it from the United States, Australia, and New Zealand.

* * *

Five of the seven articles in this special issue originated as talks at a symposium held in Barkerville in June 2012 to mark the 150th anniversary of the town's founding. The Barkerville Symposium was a collaboration between the research staff of Barkerville Historic Town and scholars at the University of Northern British Columbia: Tracy Summerville, Angele Smith, and Jacqueline Holler from UNBC, and Ramona Rose from the Northern BC Archives. Attendees, who numbered twenty, came from UNBC, Barkerville Historic Town, the Royal British Columbia Museum, UBC, and SFU. Summerville proposed a special issue in *BC Studies* and then passed the reins of guest editorship to Jacqueline Holler, who met with Mackie and Wynn in Vancouver in October 2013. This special issue proceeded quickly from there. Some additional thanks are due. The Barkerville Symposium was supported by a grant from UNBC through the office of (then) Dean John Young. The relationship between UNBC and Barkerville Historic Town has been built over many years, primarily through the UNBC History summer seminar in Barkerville, which Jacqueline Holler has taught since 2006. Judy Campbell, Bill Quackenbush, Anne Laing, Mandy Kilsby, and Richard Wright have been extraordinarily supportive of the course, of the symposium, and of this special issue. At *BC Studies* we are grateful, as always, to Leanne Coughlin and Janice Beley for their stellar work. This special issue received a generous grant from UNBC's Office of Research to subsidize the additional costs of cartography, ably provided here by Eric Leinberger, and was substantially brought to fruition by the considerable editorial labours of Richard Mackie.

Jacqueline Holler, Richard Mackie, and Graeme Wynn