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AN ORAL HISTORY OF A FIELD TRIP: A Study of Participants' Historical Imagination in
"Action" and "Artifact Within Action."

by

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We accept this dissertation as conforming to the required standard

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Abstract

This study investigated former students' historical imaginations and recollections emanating from a visit to an historic site as an extension of the curriculum in social studies in grade five a decade ago. Historical imagination was defined as placing children within past "actions" or experiences of history through heritage to discern for themselves the thoughts and experiences of people of the past. The following question guided this study: What was the nature of historical imagination constructed from participants' recollections through "action" and "artifact within action" based on an extended field trip to an historic site in the recent past? "Action" was defined as vigorous activity of children involved in learning through experience, such as panning for gold. "Artifact within action" referred to objects illustrative of human workmanship, such as those found in historic sites.

Ten years ago, ten and eleven year old students participated in historic site 'interpretation' programs including a court trial, school house activities, gold panning, graveyard exploration, household chores and carpentry tasks. They explored the reconstructed townsite of Barkerville where these activities occurred. The investigation of historical imagination was not intended as an evaluation of the educational programs offered at Barkerville, nor was it intended to generalize these findings to other historical sites.

The author involved young adults to construct memories of shared events from their experiences of a field trip to Barkerville. In spite of efforts to determine efficacy of education through field trips, little has been written about the stimulation of historical imagination through this process.

The author's definition of historical imagination formed the foundation for this study. In addition, the concept of shared voice or the interactive memory of former students and their teacher through conversation was developed for use through the methodology of oral history. Hermeneutics provided the interpretive instrument for constructing and understanding the narrative expressed through participants' conversation. The interview lent itself to the expression of former students' stories recollecting "action" and "artifact within action." Thematic analysis was used to interpret the conversational data. Three main themes emerged from the data: recollecting feelings, creating images and pictures and experiencing the past. Within the theme recollecting feelings, three references emerged: feelings of emotional involvement, "the actual feeling" and feeling closeness with the group.

A salient conclusion of this study is that participants' historical response was evident over time, expressed as the "actual feeling" and utilized in the active construction of meaning through vivid recollections, which employed historical imagination to explain and extend historical understandings. The constructs most evident underlying historical imagination were interaction, free

play, provocation, the supernatural and engagement. Furthermore, gender recollection was a significant construct and, as a result, woman's past emerged as a reference within the theme experiencing the past.

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Dedication

Hoo Hoo

Friend, Mentor, Mom

Thank you for encouraging and understanding imaginative learning.

CHAPTER 1

Introduction

Background

Downey and Levstik (1991) provided an analysis of research in teaching and learning history. Their analysis revealed that although the research on how children learn history is thin, there was considerable debate among scholars on issues including content, context and pedagogy. Much of the research on teaching history has investigated concepts, skills and strategies deemed necessary for children's historical understanding (Armento, 1986; Wallen and Fraenkel, 1988; Egan 1988; Shaver, 1991). Scholars such as Kermode (1980), Blake (1981) and Egan (1986, 1990) have attempted to define engaging content for children through the use of narrative sources. Levstik (1989) herself suggested the use of narrative sources, such as, letters, journals, biographies and historical fiction for use as supplements to textual materials. However, both Downey and Levstik caution that little research is available discussing the results of the use of narrative materials by children.

Newmann (1988, 1990) and Hickey (1990) in studies pertinent to this thesis have advocated role playing, mock trials and historic dramatizations to engage students. Newmann defined student engagement as tasks which encourage active learning, affective involvement and informal learning. Watts (1972) carried the issue

of engagement further in discussing history's popular appeal to literate adults in contrast with its lack of appeal as a subject in school. He enlarged the debate in teaching and learning history by addressing factors present in mass appeal. In this discussion, Watts expanded the definition of history beyond content and technique to encompass response, which he defined as "an emotional or intellectual reaction to the knowledge, or the belief, that certain things were so in the past." He further elaborated, "In history, our response is grounded on reality; we must suppose that the events occurred, and to be satisfied with evidence that they did so" (p. 44). In experiential contexts such as heritage sites, children have an "historical response or experience from an encounter with properly presented historical material" (Watts, 1972, p. 44). Watt's emphasis of the importance of response is reinforced by Hoge (1988) who argued that an important purpose of instruction in history is to make the past seem real instead of remaining an abstraction of adult explanation or textbook passages. Hence it may be argued that historical reality for children could be created through a feeling of being in history or a sense of being in the past. Hoge maintained that these experiences for children can be found during field trips to heritage sites or living museums where people dressed in period costume perform various tasks or customs.

Often, however, the learning opportunities for children in such sites are defined only in the most general terms. Franklin (1986) for instance, noted that heritage is an integral part of our

understanding of the-past-in-the-present. Munley (1984, p. 64) has alluded to the dearth of research on specific objectives of learning through visitation of museums and heritage sites and stated, "There has been little research on object-centered learning or the nature of the museum experience." However, a few scholars have addressed the value of such learning in museums. Grinder and McCoy (1985, p. 42) for example, provided greater articulation for learning in museums and heritage sites by explaining that "the excitement of contact with original objects...stirs the imagination and creates interest in an object or subject." Martin (1987) reported that these settings created multisensory and interactive learning environments for children. Myers (1988, p. 67) specified that field trips or experiential learning "transform learners so they can feel connected to their world, experience a sense of power over their lives, and sense that what they are learning matters." Cuthbertson (1986) concluded museums can "stimulate enquiry, diagnose interest and develop commitment to a subject" (p. 83). She alluded, in part, to how individuals learn in museums by explaining that they believe what they see for themselves and understand artifactual evidence on their own level. DeLeeuw and Griffiths (1990, p. 190) supported Cuthbertson in their work by acknowledging that "at its very core, the act of thinking historically is personal, individual and dynamic."

The author's study sought to investigate participants' historical imagination based on an historic site visitation. Armento (In Shaver, 1991, p. 189) advocated that social studies researchers

go beyond narrow orientations "to find new ways to study the role of such constructs as teacher caring, imagination, identification and role taking in social studies." Hence oral history was chosen as the appropriate methodology especially in light of Cornbleth's (1982, p. 3) insight that classrooms have histories of their own. Frisch (1988) reinforced the importance of oral history as a methodology when he concluded, "By understanding interview interaction and the interaction of the past and the present, oral history allows us to study the personal grassroots side of educational history" (p. 26). Based on this understanding, this investigation developed the concept of shared voice, which is the interactive memory of former students and teacher, to explore the construction of students' historical imagination. The interaction of teacher with students in the past facilitated meaning making and meaning sharing. The meaning and understanding constructed through interaction contributed to their prior knowledge and learning experiences. This study also revealed that the meaning of these students' past experiences was also constructed in the present through interaction with the interviewer. As T.S. Eliot (1943) observed:

Time present and time past
Are both perhaps present in time future
And time future contained in time past.

The relationship of the interviewer/former teacher with students was instrumental in revealing the historical imagination of participants through this shared voice and the remembrances of experiences in the past. Through conversational interviews, recollections of the participants' field trip experiences created an opportunity for their voices to be heard.

Purpose

The purpose of this study was to investigate former students' historical imagination through the methodology of oral history based upon conversational interviews, and to understand and explain students' recollections and historical imaginations emanating from a visit to an historic site as an extension of the curriculum in social studies in grade five. Historical imagination was defined as placing children within past "actions" or experiences of history through heritage to discern for themselves the thoughts and experiences of people of the past (Green, 1992).

Ten years ago, ten and eleven year old students participated in historic site 'interpretation' programs; such as, a court trial, school house activities, gold panning, graveyard exploration, household chores and carpentry tasks. They explored the reconstructed townsite of Barkerville in which these activities occurred. The investigation of historical imagination of these students was not intended as an evaluation of the educational programs offered at Barkerville, nor was it intended to generalize these findings to other

historical sites. Similar programs provided by provincial and federal heritage sites are available to school groups through field trips (Austin, 1986). However, some recommendations on pedagogical practice and further research arising from this study will be suggested.

Sixteen in depth conversational interviews were collected to discern students' historical imagination through the recollection of "action" and "artifact within action." Action in this study was defined as vigorous activity of children involved in learning through experience, such as panning for gold. Artifact referred to objects illustrative of human workmanship, such as those found in historic sites.

The researcher transcribed and analyzed conversational data of sixteen former students, who participated in the week-long social studies field trip. This study acknowledged that classes have histories of their own and that these students had experienced a program of activities in Barkerville. Unlike most studies in oral history which involve older participants, the author has involved young adults to construct memories of shared events from their experiences of a field trip.

Question

The following question guided this study: What was the nature of historical imagination constructed from participants' recollections through "action" and "artifact within action" based on an extended field trip to an historic site in the recent past?

The Significance of the Study

Cornbleth (1985) indicated that curriculum in social studies is contextually shaped through the dynamic interaction and activity of students and teachers. She postulated that studies of schooling would benefit from research that addressed this dynamism from three dimensions: contextualization, interaction and sensitivity to participants' conceptions. Newmann (1990) also maintained that research attention must be given to student engagement and its role within social studies. He (1986, p. 242) suggested that such "engagement" could occur only when students devoted "substantial time and effort to a task." However, it remains a disappointment that research in social studies has largely not addressed Cornbleth's and Newmann's concerns but has focused instead upon empirical analysis of isolated variables in learning and teaching in social studies (Wallen and Fraenkel, 1988; Aoki, 1991). Furthermore, teaching methodology has changed little over the years. For example, history, in particular, is dominated by text and worksheet activities (Goodlad, 1984; Newmann, 1990; McGuire, 1992). However, it has been demonstrated many people enjoy history

through an exposure to heritage (Watts, 1972; Hoge, 1988; Myers, 1988). As a result, some teachers attempt to develop in their students an awareness of their heritage through their students' participation in field trips to historic sites or local museums. Some sites request information from school groups about the programs offered (Donald, 1991). In spite of efforts to determine the efficacy of education through field trips, little has been written about the stimulation of historical imagination through this process. Such a dearth of studies is surprising in view of Dewey's emphasis on imagination in the construction of meaning. Dewey (1934, p. 154) conceptualized imagination "as the 'gateway' through which meanings derived from prior experience feed into and illuminate present experiences." Not only is the stimulation of historical imagination important of itself, it may also reveal students' anticipation of the future (Ricoeur, 1981). This qualitative study has sought to understand and explain recollections and historical imaginations contained within conversations based on an historic site field trip. This methodological approach, encompassing the concept of shared voice, illuminated the meaning of a childhood school experience.

Definition of Terms.

A selection of words employed in this study is expanded through definitions to provide the reader with a greater understanding. These words are not presented in alphabetical order;

rather, they are presented in circumstances the reader is most likely to encounter.

The author's definition of historical imagination, which is placing children within past "actions" or experiences of history through heritage to discern for themselves the thoughts and experiences of people of the past, forms the foundation for this study. In this context, action constitutes children's vigorous activity while learning through firsthand experience, and artifact refers to objects showing human workmanship, such as a bonnet or a chair. "Action" and "artifact within action" provide the text for this study. Text is an account of action given by participants, such as discovering the graveyard, sitting in the school house or panning for gold. Text also refers to an account of "artifact within action" given by participants. The use of text is derived from Ricoeur (1981, Kemp and Rasmussen, 1989; Van Manen, 1990). The text of "action" and "artifact within action" is confined to a heritage site, or a reconstructed site located in an environment of significance, which in this study is Barkerville. The participant action locations within the heritage site are enhanced through interpretation programs, or "educational activity which aims to reveal meanings and relationships through the use of original objects, by firsthand experience and by illustrative media, rather than simply the communication of factual information" (Tilden, 1967, p. 8).

Underlying participant recollected "action" and "artifact within action" which enlarge the meaning and understanding of

historical imagination are five aspects: interaction, which is mutual or reciprocal action or influence (Webster, 1977, p. 601), free play, or the quality or state of being free as the absence of necessity, coercion, or constraint in choice or action (Webster, 1977, p. 881), provocation, or something that provokes, arouses or stimulates (Webster, 1977, p. 928), the supernatural, or that which is attributed to an invisible agent, as a ghost or spirit (Webster, 1977, p. 1169) and engagement, or that which holds the attention through an inducement to participate (Webster, 1977, p. 378). These aspects contributed to the thematic construction of participant data. In this context, theme "forms a major dimension, aspect or constituent of the phenomenon studied; expressed more simply, a partial descriptor of the phenomenon" (Tesch, 1987, p. 231).

In this study the author adopted semantic innovation as the assessment of imagination as an indispensable agent in the creation of meaning through language (Kearney, In Kemp and Rasmussen, 1989, p. 1). Narrative was gathered through the use of discourse, or conversation (Webster, 1977, p. 326). These conversations formed the shared voice, or the interactive memory of former students and teacher (Green, 1992). Shared voice was developed for use through the methodology of oral history, which is a means to study recent past using personal recollection, wherein participants speak about their own experiences (Henige, 1987). The interpretation of the conversational data gathered through interview is founded on hermeneutics, or the theory and practice of interpretation of text,

which is defined as discourse, narrative, action or artifact (Ricoeur, 1989). Hermeneutics applied in oral history conversations is enlarged upon by Clark, Hyde and McMahan (1980, p. 35), who explain that hermeneutic formula is the interaction between an individual personal experience and the expression of that personal experience and the reflective understanding of this experience. Reflection, or thoughtful consideration, provides pedagogical implications for the researcher/teacher of the participants in this study.

Limitations

This study is limited to sixteen participants' conversational interviews recalling "action" and "artifact within action" about their Barkerville field trip a decade ago. The interviews were collected to discern students' historical imagination. It does not seek to provide generalized findings but rather to stress the importance of the context, setting and subjective frame of reference of personalized field trip experiences.

Assumptions

The author's underlying assumptions are outlined in Chapter 3.

Summary

This chapter has presented the purpose of this study and has defined its guiding question. The importance of children's experiential learning in the heritage sites was described, and oral

history as the methodology underlying this study was defined. The following chapter reviews the literature that formed the conceptual, pedagogical and methodological foundation for this study.

CHAPTER 2

Review of Literature

This chapter presents a discussion of the conceptualizations and contexts which formed the pedagogical framework for this study. The pedagogical framework is organized under the following categories: (1) children and the teaching of history, (2) heritage and history, including experiential learning, and (3) imagination, romantic understanding, and the development of children's historical imagination. Each section is discussed in sequence in order to illuminate the conceptual foundation of this study. Furthermore, a review of literature on oral history provides the methodological foundation for this study. The interpretation and analysis of data within the framework of oral history is enlarged through insights provided by scholars from related areas, particularly hermeneutics.

Children and the Teaching of History.

The study of history is predominant in many elementary social studies programs despite the fact that the ability of children in the intermediate grades to understand history has been questioned and debated among scholars in the field. Largely this debate has focused upon the correlation of Piagetian stages of development and children's historical thinking. Hallam (1979) found children's responses to historical narratives compared to Piaget's

developmental stages but that children reached these stages three years later. Hallam explained this discrepancy was due to the closed structure of mathematics and science in contrast to the open structure of history. Zaccaria (1978) provided a comprehensive review of earlier research on the psychological processes encompassing historical thinking. In short, Zaccaria with support from Peel (1971) and Postner (1973) reported that earlier scholarly positions discouraged teaching history to children based upon Hallam's findings. However, a number of scholars have argued that history, in fact, can be made intelligible to young children.

Fair and Kachaturoff (1988) offered some insights. They interpreted understanding history in terms of appreciating the past and explained that children can understand the past by role-acting as pioneers. They also suggested that children can learn about the past by visiting museums, handling artifacts, reading stories and listening to music. Akenson (1987) pointed out that as early as 1902 eminent teachers such as Lucy Salmon at Vassar College advocated the employment of imagination and enthusiasm in introducing history to children. James and Zarrillo (1989), on the other hand, developed a conceptually-based interdisciplinary approach to the teaching of history to children through various selections of children's literature. They postulated that children learn history through experiences in art, drama, music and literature rather than through discovery or inquiry. Downey and Levstik (1988) complemented this view but suggested the role of the narrative

within history was in need of greater research to better assess its value for children. They found that children were not "spontaneously critical of narrative sources" (p. 341). Downey and Levstik also explained that little research in social studies exists about what children do know about history and how they come to know it. Furthermore, they reported that research in children's historical understanding "does not address more fundamental questions regarding early learning of history, developmental patterns, and the birth of historical interest or responses to historical data" (p. 340).

Collingwood (1946) also provided an insight about the early learning of history and the arousal of historical interest within children in his emphasis of the view that history and historical understanding are grounded in imagination and are foundational to social understanding. Collingwood's theorizing about imagination among children was carried further by Egan (1988) who suggested that research in the teaching and learning of history has been limited to the acquisition of logical concepts and associated skills. He stressed that attention must be given to imagination in understanding history and its role with intuition, perception and memory. Watts (1972, p. 33) supported Collingwood and Egan in his suggestion that much of "historical thinking is better described as a form of speculation, directed imagination or vicarious living." Mink described this thinking as adductive or 'seeing things together' and explained that such understanding required intuition and empathy (In Polkinghorne, 1988, p. 52). O'Connell and Levin (1986) suggested a

means to address directed imagination and vicarious living when they elaborated that "because history and historical time are abstract concepts without meaning for children unless connected with experience, we must find a way to introduce them to students in a personal and concrete way" (p. 286). Leon (1986) reinforced this view in his emphasis on the re-creation of historical activities for children to foster an understanding of the relationship between objects and processes.

Peel (In Zaccaria, 1978, p. 334) articulated the argument for the necessity of concrete learning experiences for children in pointing out:

History is difficult for children because it is concerned with the activity of adults living in a different age. Thus . . . the task is to find ways of spanning the gap between the child's world and the world of historical adults. The teacher must somehow invest the adult actions of the past with an air of reality for the student. . . . the 'gap of time' has to be bridged by utilizing whatever is available for the pupils' comprehension - the more concrete the better.

Machlis (1986) carried further Peel's argumentation in emphasizing the importance of concrete learning of heritage through live interpretation programs within heritage settings. Finally, in this context Tilden (1967, p. 8) defined interpretation as "an educational activity which aims to reveal meanings and relationships through the use of original objects, by firsthand experience, and by illustrative media, rather than simply to communicate factual

information." In summary, scholars such as Hallam have argued about children's ability to understand history. In contrast to Hallam's findings, other scholars have demonstrated that children can understand history through literature and narrative structures encompassing imagination. In addition, scholars support concrete learning experiences necessary for children's historical understanding. If heritage shares a common bond with history in creating unique and concrete learning experiences for children, one must consider the pertinent literature.

History, Heritage and Experiential Learning

A field trip to an historic site and participation in 'interpretation' programs is one way to make historical experiences more concrete for children. With this context in mind, Grinder and McCoy (1985, p. 49) argued that participatory learning enables children to be "free to guess, probe, take risks and challenges." To facilitate this process, Leishman (1986, p. 98) proposed experiential environments for children's historic learning as "... they have to be able to be in touch with early experiences where the object signifies, the subject is confirmed and creativity explodes into life." Leishman postulated that "the experience of place is person centered - where we learn because we can't do other than absorb and enlarge and enrich and expand" (p. 99). Watts (1972) reinforced this view by stressing the importance of historical field experiences in illustrating an historical theme and enabling children to encounter

historical evidence (p. 102). As Lowenthal (1989, p. 1277) stated vivid experience obtained through heritage visits and re-enactments has, for many, "enhanced if not replaced bookish historical knowledge." Finally, as Kammen (1989, p. 150) pointed out, "Heritage that heightens human interest may lead people to history for purposes of informed citizenship, or the meaningful deepening of identity, or enhanced appreciation of the dynamic process of change over time."

To assist in this process of historical understanding through experience with heritage, heritage sites create the lived-experience of common people. Through stories and interpretations, a texture of daily life is conferred upon the mentalities of another time (Cromley, 1987). Ettema (1987, p. 72) suggested that factual learning which leads to the discovery of artifact information is presented either in a formalistic way emphasizing the concrete aspects of history, or in an analytical way that "attempts to teach not just what happened but how and why." This view, common to the interpretive programs offered through the historic site visited, "situates objects in a context of ideas, values and other social circumstances of the time" (Ettema, p. 72). Grinder and McCoy (1985, p. 46) expanded this idea stating that association "relates the object [artifact] to a cultural, historical or personal reference enlarging the context of the object." Munley (1987, p. 116) contributed the view that "the factors involved in this type of learning are comprised primarily of subjective feelings, states of

minds, and development of personal meaning about the content of the programs." Finally, Falk and Dierking (1986, p. 2) emphasized that "in the area of learning, we need to remove ourselves from the formal education mind-set that makes us equate learning with facts and concepts. The cognitive domain of facts and concepts, although important, does not encompass the totality of 'learning'; it is merely a subset. Learning is a process that represents an organism's way of discovering, and storing for the future, useful information about the world." However, Munley (1986, p. 7) alluded to the fact that "longer term effects of museum visits are virtually unexplored. Nearly all studies are designed to get information from visitors immediately after they experience a program or exhibit." She also explained that "experience is not adequately described by a report of new facts that were learned - the experience is more complex." Heritage sites are not simply supplements to the classroom. Rather, they add an experiential, familiar extension to the learning that takes place in school. Research needs to address that complexity.

However, Wolf (1986) outlined that the great diversity of exhibits and sites makes it difficult to generalize research findings. Screven (1986) supported Wolf in this conclusion as well as Koran and Koran (1986, p. 15) who conceded that "the wide variety of museums with varying content and artifacts makes generalizing difficult." Therefore, it is necessary to study the special nature of learning in heritage sites. Similarly, like the experiences provided for students in Barkerville, heritage sites may be less concerned

about teaching specific facts and more intent on creating environments that enable individuals to gain an insight into the reconstructed world that surrounds them. Participants in this study were ten and eleven years old when they undertook their adventure to Barkerville. In the instruction of such children Watts (1972, p. 93) encouraged teachers "...to give them an historical experience and to leave them a little better equipped to deepen it the next time they encounter the topic." In addressing Watts' recommendation Kammen (1989, p. 154) suggested that "heritage as an enticement, however, could conceivably bring us to history as enchantment, as mental exercise, and as a source of self-knowledge that points toward enlightenment if not wisdom."

Enchantment and enlightenment are attributes of romantic understanding (Neff, 1947; Frye, 1963; Watts, 1972; Egan, 1990). As Kirk (1987) indicated the resources of heritage sites are vivid, rich and real in as much as their impact on students creates a focus for imagining and creating. Therefore, the following section explores romantic understanding, imagination and historical imagination within the context of this study.

Romantic Understanding, Imagination and Historical Imagination

Egan (1989, pp. 285-287) maintained that children between the ages of nine and fifteen develop romantic understanding based on an interest in and engagement with things strange, exotic and bizarre in the human world, an association with transcendent human

attributes, such as power, courage and ingenuity, and an obsession with collections that encompass detail or extremes. Sturrock (1988, p. 72) suggested romantic understanding also stressed the need for interaction between individuals and encouraged the need for freedom and spontaneity. Romantics, according to Whitehead (1967), believed that imagination was an agent of the romantic stage. "The romantics added, or gave pointed definition to, another dimension of the concept of imagination; that is, its imprecise but strong connection with childhood experiences" (Egan, 1991 in press p 29). Romantic understanding was linked to learning by Whitehead as much as he (cf. Leeuw and Griffiths, 1990, p. 190) believed that

...genuine understanding of foundational seminal ideas could not occur until learners became profoundly involved in the creation of personal meaning. Such a construction of understanding was not merely mechanistic. It was a deeply creative, personal act that could happen only with the romantic participation of the learner. For Whitehead, all successful forays into understanding must be founded upon a sense of excitement, mystery and adventure. When learning is romantic, it becomes playful, imaginative, intrinsically motivating, a process of active seeking and creation in which students' collective interests help shape learning.

It appears that such experiences probably induce romantic understanding in students based upon creative stimulation of imagination. Furthermore, if imagination is active and energetic

during this stage of childhood, what role might it play in the recollections of this historical field trip experience?

Watts (1972) commented that imagination has been neglected by empirical theorists because it has been conceptualized as necessary for affective, rather than intellectual, development. Egan (1991, in press, p. 2) agreed. He stated that "there is an absence of empirical research in imagination because of the difficulty dominant research methods have in coming to grips with imagination." White (1990) stated that more prominence is given to passive reception of appearances than to the active power to recall them. White outlined the persistent similarities between recollecting or remembering and imagination. Both references were couched in terms of perception or in sensual terms. This duality, however, as White admitted, creates confusion as "our memories or recollections of something can be confused with how we imagine it or what we imagine it as, our fantasies about it" (p. 163). He also stated that from Aristotle to Ryle different philosophers have conceptualized imagination and memory as closely connected. Hobbes defined them as "but one thing" and Aristotle believed both were the "same part of the soul." White recounted that philosophers have defined imagination in terms of either image or language. Ricoeur, however, "considers imagination less in terms of 'vision' and more in terms of 'language.'" He calls this language 'semantic innovation,' as "imagination is assessed as an indispensable agent in the creation of meaning through language" (Kearney, In Kemp and Rasmussen, 1989, p. 2).

This preference for a semantic over a visual idea of imagination allows for another conceptualization of the creative role of imagination. "If images are 'spoken' before they are 'seen,' then they can no longer be construed as modifications or negations of perceptions" (p. 4). Moreover, as Ricoeur pointed out the productive power of imagination is verbal as new meaning comes into being "when spoken or uttered in the form of new verbal images" (p. 4). Therefore, Ricoeur postulated that "every historical narrative forms this imaginative power of redescription, since insofar as it constitutes a 'reference through traces,' the past can only be reconstructed through imagination" (1989, p. 4).

With specific reference to the understanding of history, Collingwood stressed that 'historical imagination' is "needed for the historian to relive for himself the states of mind into which he enquires" (In Esposito, 1984, p. 21). In light of the above discussion, historical imagination may be defined as a construct used to explain the process of historical investigation wherein the historian attempts to enter the consciousness of the historic actors, to understand their lived-experience and to reconstruct the understanding for others in a narrative form called history. In the context of this study, historical imagination employs Ricoeur's idea of 'semantic innovation' in that imagination is first verbal, then embellished through image. Also, Ricoeur's model of text analysis extends the concept of narrative or text to include phenomena for interpretation, such as "action" and "artifact". For Ricoeur,

imagination never resides in the unsaid. The meaningfulness of the past is presented to us in narrative discourse. The referent of this discourse is human action. In this study human action was undertaken within the context of a visit to a heritage site. In that context the children were located in heritage as a medium of history. In their "action" through interpretative programs, they shared Collingwood's concept of experiencing the events. However, the children did not have to "think themselves into this action, to discern the thought of its agent" (Collingwood, 1946, p. 231). Alternatively, the children were encouraged to transcend the concrete experience and reconstruction of the experience by teacher and interpretive staff. This reflective "action" constitutes historical imagination within the context of this study. In interviews with the investigator, this recollection of the initial experience in turn re-stimulated historical imagination which was expressed as intellectually meaningful through language in conversation.

If imagination is the capacity to think the possible rather than the actual, exposing children to history through the medium of a heritage site allows them to consider the possible. Historical imagination created the possibility to feel or think something not present or real as though it were present and real (White, 1990, p. 6).

An example from Michelet (Neff, 1947, p. 129) reinforced by an observation by the participant Laura might serve to illuminate an example over time of the meaning of historical imagination.

Neff stated:

Michelet's curiosity about the past was first awakened, when in his twelfth year, his mother took him to the Museum of French Monuments, a collection of medieval sculpture saved from the iconoclastic rage of the revolution...his imagination retained emotion, always the same and always intense...'I was not quite sure they were not alive, those marble sleepers on their tombs...I was not quite sure Chilperic and Fredegonde would not sit upright before my eyes.'

The following is taken from one part of the interview data with Laura:

And then they had those figures who were dressed up like people. They weren't real, like they were mannequins, but just that in itself. Sometimes you'd look at them and you were just, 'My God, I saw it moving!' I had myself convinced, like these things walked around at night when no one was watching.

In summary, the review of literature in this section provided the conceptual and pedagogical framework forming the foundation for this study and explored components of students' historical imagination. Historical imagination is defined as placing children

within past "actions" or experiences of history through heritage to discern for themselves the thoughts and experiences of people of the past.

The following section reviews the literature that contributed to the design and developed the methodology used to investigate participants' historical imagination.

The use of oral history in this study was developed within insights provided by various scholars that enlarged and expanded the methodological foundation through: (1) a rationale for oral history, (2) memory, (3) participants, (4) conversational interviews, and (5) analysis and interpretation of conversational data. This review of literature is developed below.

Rationale for Oral History

Oral history is the study of a recent past using personal recollections in which participants speak about their own experiences (Henige, 1987). Mehaffey (1984) defined oral history as "recollections and reminiscences of ourselves about our past... as individuals are products of their own personal history and the history of those around them" (p. 471). Wieder (1988, p. 25) reported that "oral history itself creates historical data within the interaction of the interviewer and the interviewee and the historical theme." Lang (1987, p. 204) declared that "'objectivity' in oral history is mythical, all interviewers engage themselves directly in their interviews...." This understanding has prompted oral historians

to enlarge the interpretation of their data beyond the use of triangulation with material documents and to include processes borrowed from hermeneutics (Clark, Hyde and McMahan, 1980).

Macdonald (1988, p. 105) explained the meaning and process of hermeneutics as an intention not to explain in order to control, but rather, to reinterpret to provide for a greater understanding. He also mentioned:

The fundamental human quest is the search for meaning and the basic human capacity for this search is experienced in the hermeneutic process, the process of interpretation of the text (whether artifact, natural world) or human action. This is the search (or research) for greater understanding that motivates and satisfies us (p. 111).

In addition, Macdonald concluded, "We possess instructional methods, which provide a theory-practice dialectic which leads to the expression and interpretation of meaning, and the development of greater understanding" (p. 111).

Oral history forms the foundation for this study. It supports meaning and understanding through participant field trip recollection to stimulate the historical imagination that participants express through conversation. This study is also enlarged through conversational data with the curator who was on site during the field trip. Furthermore, some material data is included, not to triangulate participants' recollections in a formal way, but to enlarge the understanding of experiential learning

expressed through participant recollection. Shulman (1986, In Wittrock, p. 30) pointed out that Collingwood himself would have little difficulty in combining what may appear as two orientations, positivistic and interpretive. This study seeks to provide a recollection of the events through a description or overview of the program of activities offered to participants during their field trip experience. It further seeks to get within the events through the recollection by the historical actors or students themselves through a shared voice. The best means determined by the researcher was through the interpretive processes of hermeneutics. As Shulman (1986, p. 30) explained:

Collingwood would thus argue that it is not only legitimate to combine the positivist and the interpretive perspectives in the same field of study, it is an essential marriage in any truly comprehensive piece of historical (and perhaps, educational) inquiry.

A decade ago, the researcher/teacher taught the participants grade five social studies. As Cornbleth (1982, p. 3) stated, "Classes have histories of their own." In addition, the program of activities in Barkerville offered to these participants a decade ago is no longer available for school groups. In this sense, this study is an oral history developed through the idea of shared voice of students and researcher/teacher. It is also for this reason that the researcher appears in the context of this study and uses the first person pronoun in discussion. However, it is not the intent of this study to

triangulate truth or accuracy in recollection of these experiences but to stimulate expressions of memory and perceptions of participants' field trip experiences.

Memory

Sixteen conversations were explored to reveal how young adults remembered "action" and "artifact within action" during their childhood field trip to Barkerville. As Sutherland (1988, p. 2) stated, "To actually 'get inside' childhood, we should consult the memories of childhood." However, to what extent can an oral historian rely on memories and recollections? Memories are an important primary source. Hammersley and Atkinson (1983, p. 194) explained, "We can only grasp the meaning of our actions retrospectively. Meaning must be reconstructed from memory." Sutherland (1988) related that many written accounts originate with an oral presentation and hence are legitimate bases of evidence. However, rather than determining the accuracy of recollection, the focus in this study is the elicitation of individual recollections as examples of historical imagination.

Furthermore, memories are the only source of how individuals think and feel about the experiences of their childhood. Memory is organized around situational and personal episodes and is shaped by the events that prompt it. Bloom (1990, p. 13) defined episodic memory as the storage and retrieval of personally dated, autobiographical experiences, childhood experiences, details of

conversations, personal time and place. He stated, "A greater per cent of what is listed as semantic knowledge may, in fact, be tied closely to episodic or experiential knowledge." Warnock (1976, p. 17) explained, "In memory, ...our ideas are bound to occur to us in the temporal and spatial order in which their originating impressions occurred." Thelen (1989, p. 1119) further elaborated "that memory is private and individual as much as collective and cultural; it is constructed, not reproduced." Furthermore, "...the construction is not made in isolation, but in conversation with others that occurs in the context of community, broader politics and social dynamics." These understandings about memory had implications for this study as they supported the idea of shared voice constructed through conversations exploring an event of shared memory. As Lummis (1981, p. 111) pointed out memory does not exist as a filing system; "rather, it is reconstructed within the dialectic process of discovery. In effect, what you recall is dependent upon some form of social interaction."

For the purposes of this study, the dialectic process of memory was more important than the need to verify accuracy of participants' recollections. Memory and imagination are closely linked. For this reason alone, the positivistic postulate that memory as "objective representations passively stored simply does not fit the view of memory as a subjective process of active construction" (Thelen, 1989, p. 1124). Active construction was supported by Greene (In Wittrock, 1986, p. 497) who argued "for enhanced

attention to the ways in which young persons tell their own stories or articulate their own lived-worlds which come together in speech and action."

Participants

Munley (1987) reported that asking people to interpret their experiences through in depth interviews and the shaping of meaning are not widely used in evaluations of experiences in informal environments, such as heritage sites. Munley stated that opportunity for innovative investigations and discussion exist to develop insights into object - and experiential-based learning in heritage sites. In order to examine the responses of people whose lives shared similar experiences, I interviewed participants from students taught over a decade ago. In depth conversations were conducted with sixteen participants.

Conversational Interviews

Conversational interviews were used as the major component of data collection for this study. Sutherland's work (1988, p. 16) was used as the framework for the structure of interviews. According to this procedure, the interview begins with a brief discussion of the research project and a list of topics around which the interview would be framed in order to make sense recollections. Sutherland explained that people "recollect childhood scripts through all of their senses." Hence he recommended the use of

open-ended questions with few probes because "to ask too many questions, to follow a schedule, leads to a series of discrete responses that may or may not tell us very much about what the interviewee feels is the reality of his or her childhood experience" (Sutherland, 1988, p. 17). Bogdan and Biklen (1982), even in the unstructured and open-ended interviews, called for measures to ensure that they are "focused around particular topics or guided by some general questions" (p. 136). Goetz and LeCompte (1984, p. 110) stated that it is important to amass "a collection of stories and anecdotes. Stories obtained through conversational interviews enquire about a participant's experience, opinions, feelings and knowledge about the event."

The interactive nature of interpretive research is manifested through the interactive and interconnected nature of data collection and data analysis. Interpretive research begins with the collection of data. The researcher does not engage in the study with a predetermined list of categories to test, and therefore emergent themes, theoretical constructs and propositions are derived from the data (Goetz and LeCompte, 1984). As Bogdan and Biklen (1982) explained in such an approach rough definitions and explanations of specific phenomenon are unfocused until they can be supported, modified or formulated from data collections. Tesch (1987) described the use of theme that researchers employ to focus the data. She included two broad definitions of themes: "something akin to content or topic or statement or fact in a piece of data ... or a

major dimension, major aspect, or constituent of the phenomenon studied" (p. 231). The use of theme in the context of this study is expanded under the following section.

Interpretation and Analysis of Conversational Data.

Hermeneutics provided the foundation for understanding the discourse between individuals during a conversation. Hermeneutics is an interpretative study of the expressions and texts of lived-experiences in an attempt to determine the meaning contained within them. Van Manen (1990, p. 37) stated, "Lived experiences gather hermeneutic significance as we (reflectively) gather them by giving memory to them. Through mediation, conversations, day dreams, inspirations and other interpretive acts we assign meaning to the phenomena."

Hermeneutics provided the interpretative instrument for constructing and understanding the narrative. In this study the conversational data was communicated through the narrative as story. Ricoeur believed that the structuring process of storytelling gives form to experience (Polkinghorne, 1988). The interview lent itself to the expression of former students' stories recollecting "action" and "artifact within action." Therefore, the interview was "conceptualized as a synchronic communication event in which the construction of meaning emerged or unfolded through the interaction of interviewer and interviewee" (Clark, Hyde and McMahan, 1980, p. 30).

Ricoeur's work provided the hermeneutic foundation for interpretation of conversational data obtained through the process of conducting oral history. According to Ricoeur hermeneutic analysis and interpretation of text is not a series of methodological steps to follow for analysis; rather, it is an interplay between understanding and explanation. Explanation develops an analytic understanding (Klemm, 1983, p. 91). Understanding of text is holistic, and explanation is interpretation analytically formulated. One constantly questions the text of the conversational data. In reference to questioning the text, Van Manen (1990, p. 43) cited Gadamer who said, "The essence of the question is the opening up and keeping open the possibilities." The questioning of text also requires a questioning of the researcher to be aware of the inherent bias in the shared experience (Chambers, 1988). Researcher bias is discussed more fully in the context of the study developed in Chapter 3.

The interview is a conversational narrative. The relationship of the conversationalists allowed for a form of exposition - the telling of the interviewee's stories about "action" and "artifact within action." Stories were told about the events and within the events. Truth and accuracy in remembering details of the trip and chronology of the events was not at issue. Instead, at issue was what the participants constructed from memory and understanding of their field trip experience. The intent was not to provide verifiable generalizations, but to provide a means of understanding

recollections and interpretations about a childhood experience involving "action" and "artifact within action." Each participant's experience was different, yet similar and equally valid. Collectively, they added to the understanding and explanation of the phenomenon under study.

The narrative expressed by participants did not rely on formal proofs of reliability in the technical sense. Reliability relied on the details of the shared interaction "to evoke an acceptance of the trustworthiness of data" (Polkinghorne, 1988, p. 177). In this sense, valid experience is construed as that expressed which is well grounded and supportable. In effect, "the ordinary meaning of reliable refers to the quality of dependability of the data and validity refers to the strength of the analysis of data" (Polkinghorne, 1988, p. 176).

The researcher's concept of shared voice speaking to the meaning of historical imagination was reinforced by Van Manen's idea that the "conversational interview method may serve either to mainly gather lived-experience material... or serve as an occasion to reflect with the interviewee of the conversational relation on the topic at hand" (1990, p. 63). Van Manen (1990) further suggested that "reflecting on lived-through experience then becomes reflectively analyzing the structural or thematic aspects of that experience" (p. 78). This study used thematic analysis to interpret the conversational data. This process involved sifting out the themes that were embedded in the text of the discourse. Tesch

(1987, p. 232) expanded the understanding of sifting out themes. Through multiple readings and rereadings of the data sets, researcher attention becomes focused on bounded or delimited composites of the data. She described the highlighting approach to data sets used in this study. Tesch stated, "The researcher looks for statements in the text that are particularly revealing about the experience being described." Bogdan and Biklen (1982) simplified the process by explaining that "analysis involves working with data, organizing it, breaking it into manageable units, synthesizing it, searching for patterns, discovering what is important and what is to be learned, and deciding what you will tell others" (p. 143). In addition, Erickson (1986, p. 147) explained that "during the process of inquiry, a deliberate search for disconfirming assertions is essential." As White (1986, p. 55) proclaimed, "Many of the questions that finally become hypotheses in a study are based on discrepancies that were discovered during data gathering." In this study such discrepancies were indeed found.

This section of the review of literature provided the methodological foundations and interpretation of data for this study. These were developed under the headings of: (1) oral history, (2) memory, (3) participants, (4) conversational interviews, and (5) analysis and interpretation of data.

Summary

In summary, the first section of this chapter reviewed literature that formed the conceptual and pedagogical foundation for this study, and explored the components of students' historical imagination. Historical imagination is defined as placing children within past 'actions' or experiences of history through heritage to discern for themselves the thoughts and experiences of people of the past. In addition, the review of literature provided the methodological foundation and interpretation of data for this study.

Oral history methodology was established as the foundation for this study, and through insights provided from scholars, particularly hermeneutics, the framework for analysis and interpretation of conversational interviews pertaining to "action" and "artifact within action" was addressed.

The following chapter describes the structure and methodological deliberations used to address the question that guided this study. Furthermore, the author's interpretation of the highlighting approach used in this study is more fully developed in Chapter 3.

CHAPTER 3

Methodology

This chapter presents the methodology used to address the question that guided this study: What was the nature of historical imagination constructed from participants' recollections through "action" and "artifact within action" based on an extended field trip to an historic site in the recent past? This chapter presents a rationale for the use of oral history and hermeneutics. The overview of this chapter is presented under headings linking it to the larger review of literature presented in Chapter 2.

Rationale for Oral History

To reiterate, the rationale for methodologically grounding this study in oral history is threefold. This study acknowledges that classes of students have histories of their own and supports the concept of shared voice investigating participants' historical imagination through recollections of an historic field trip. In effect, this study creates historical data about field trip experiences pertaining to student participation in the Barkerville programs. Finally, oral history often investigates the recollections of experiences of older people. This study demonstrates that young adults have memories of events from their shared school experiences. However, it was not the intent of this study to triangulate the truth or accuracy in recollections, but to stimulate

expressions of memory and perceptions of the participants' field trip to Barkerville.

Participants

In depth conversations were conducted with sixteen former students whom i had accompanied on a week-long social studies field trip to a reconstructed historic site. At the time of the trip, the children were ten and eleven years old. The group travelled from home with classmates, their teachers and parent helpers. In order to interview people whose lives shared similar experiences, I selected participants from students taught over a decade ago. During the gathering of conversational data, these children were currently young adults in their early twenties. The participants were selected as they represented an adult group who had moved away from home and the researcher believed that they should be free to sign the release form on their own behalf granting the researcher permission to use their statements.

A former student was contacted, and during our conversation this participant named subsequent students. The students named were contacted according to their geographical availability to the researcher. Subsequent participants, in turn, named other possible interviewees during conversation. In this way a chain of participants to interview developed. An attempt was undertaken, however, to contact an equal number of young men and women to determine if any patterns in recollection were common to gender.

Also, given the gender of the interviewer, the conversational data may have indicated differences between male and female participant recollections.

Participant interviews took place between January, 1991, and July, 1991. Participants were first contacted by telephone. An initial enquiry established the participants' willingness to be interviewed, their availability and location to the interviewer. All participants contacted agreed to be interviewed. These participants were located in British Columbia in the geographic regions of the Okanagan Valley, the Lower Mainland and Vancouver Island.

The former students in discussion with the researcher chose the locations and time for their conversational interviews. Two participants found it convenient to come to the researcher's residence. However, other locations convenient for interviews were participant's homes, eating establishments or parks. The conversation with each participant was sixty to ninety minutes in length. Participants were free to recollect their field trip experiences in any order and were able to return to a topic more than once. The participants were informed that anonymity was guaranteed through the use of pseudonyms. In this study the individual is quoted but is identified only through a pseudonym, which he or she has chosen. The male participants in this study are Bart, Bill, Jake, Matthew, Knox, Daschel, Ted, and Daryl. The young women interviewed are Emily, Sue, Roxanne, Laura, Kassandra, Alexandra, Camille and Tristine. Cornelius, curator in Barkerville

during our visit, provided additional information through conversation. The author of this study appears in conversation as Fanny.

Conversational Interviews and Collection of In Depth Conversations

Before each interview the interviewer explained the nature of the research topic. All participants were asked to and did sign a release form giving the researcher permission to use their words gathered through recorded conversation in this study. Participants were agreeable to the use of a tape recorder for the collection of conversational data. Data gathering with a tape recorder relieved the pressure of attempting to write down everything that was said. In addition, participants were advised that if they wished a statement retracted, it would be eliminated from the transcript. The time and date of each interview was recorded. Participants were given access to the transcriptions of their interview transferral. Finally, participant approval of insertion of transcriptions into text was secured.

In this study, initial conversations were developed around broad questions; such as, "Tell me about your field trip to Barkerville." Often probes followed a particular recollected action by the participants; such as, "Tell me more about gold panning" and "Can you take me into Wendle House?"

The researcher completed the transcription for each interview and initially broke the data into the action site topographies such as

panning for gold or working in Wendle House. The action site topographies were used to bring organization to the data. Initial participants provided stories about "action" and "artifact within action" that were similar yet different. The researcher used the *highlighting approach to place the comments from the transcriptions* for each participant in the context of each action site. The transcriptions for each participant were colour coded referencing each action site mentioned. Individual conversations pertaining to each action site were placed in data sets such as gold panning [young women] or gold panning [young men]. The data pertaining to each action site was organized in this way. In effect, the participants' responses informed the collective recollected action of various sites; such as, attending the trial or panning for gold, and created a context for students' shared voice. Artifacts were contextualized within the action site recollections. Common patterns within each data set were noted and recorded and similar or dissimilar patterns between males and females were identified. This decision made data reduction manageable during the interpretation of data.

The action sites are presented in Chapter 4. The action sites appear in this study as programs offered by the Barkerville staff and programs undertaken by teacher and parents. However, it must be stated at the outset that the participants themselves did not perceive or refer to the recollected action sites as programs. They called them "routines of the town." They remembered being

introduced into the daily "routines of the town" through the characters they met and activities in which they participated.

Although the topic of the field trip generated many memories, this study was bound by the participants' recollections of "action" and "artifact within action." As a result, changes developed in interview questions with subsequent participants. The interviewer's questions became more specific. Less time was spent recording social aspects remembered from the field trip; such as, life in the gymnasium, games played on the school ground upon returning from Barkerville, and the singing and eating during the bus ride. Subsequent recorded conversations focused on participant recollections of various sites; such as, panning for gold, attending the trial, discovering the graveyard, shopping in the general store, working in Wendle House or trekking to Richfield.

As the collection of interview data progressed, the interviewer became even more specific as stories were gathered informing participant "action" and "artifact within action." In this way, additional participants enlarged, reaffirmed or contradicted earlier data gathered. For example, participants enlarged the role of the mannequins when discussing the action site "exploring the townsite." The vivid recollections of the mannequins for each participant reaffirmed the mannequins' importance and presence in different displays. Contradiction was revealed when some participants expressed vivid recollections of their actions in the graveyard whereas others in conversation quickly dismissed the

graveyard activity. In this way the interviewer was guided by emergent patterns that appeared in conversation pertaining to specific "action" and "artifact in action" sites.

At this stage of the data gathering the researcher pondered some of the discrepancies inherent in participant recollection. For example, why did some former students vividly recall one action site whereas others didn't? The researcher speculated if the lack of recollection was tied in some way to the order in which some participants experienced the various action sites. Perhaps a student had participated in an activity on the afternoon of the third day. This recollection might represent an overtired person who had spent three nights sleeping on a gymnasium floor; or perhaps the participants had encountered the action site on the morning of the first day, and their memory was not as vivid in recollection as a result. However, the researcher was unable to construct the times during the week when various participants encountered each of the action sites. Therefore, patterns are not included in this study which may contribute to the understanding of time and sequence and event recollection.

During data gathering, some participants were re-contacted to enlarge upon the emergent themes of experience developed within their conversations. These participants were better interviewees than others in as much as they expressed experiences and reflective understanding of their experiences more descriptively than others. In any case, through informed articulation stressing the elicitation

of historical imagination, themes were revealed through an hermeneutic interpretation of text of "action" and "artifact within action."

The use of theme in this interpretive research study has been extended through Tesch (1987), who defined theme as "brief statements that describe the content of individual units of data text" (p. 231). Tesch enlarged the use of theme to include their use to describe "content or topic or statement or fact - what the data segments are about" or to describe a "major dimension, major aspect or constituent of the phenomenon studied" (p. 231). Researcher attention is drawn to individual descriptions about experience through use of unique themes. Fisher (1983) suggested that patterns are searched for through individual statements and these are then located within the shared themes of the participants' stories edited. Polkinghorne (1988) stated that the researcher searches for underlying patterns across examples of participants' stories. In this way, shared themes emerge when patterns are identified among participants. The highlighting approach was used by the researcher to create themes. Sections of data were highlighted through statements in text that were "particularly revealing about the experience [of historical imagination] being described" (Tesch, 1987, p. 232). Themes were developed within these processes and were used as a means of data analysis and interpretation.

Hermeneutic Analysis and Interpretation of Conversations

Macdonald (1988, p. 105) explained the meaning and process of hermeneutics as an intention not to explain in order to control, but rather to reinterpret to provide for a greater understanding. He further explained "to the extent that we come to know and understand more through the theory-practice relationship we are participating in the hermeneutic process" (Macdonald, 1988, p. 109). Hermeneutic discourse offers a "plausible description while avoiding the direction of generalizable laws" (Dipardo, 1989, p. 8). The following section develops the analysis and interpretation of data through four independent relations that represent an hermeneutic conversation outlined by Ricoeur (Clark et al., 1980, p. 30).

The relationship of interviewer and interviewee.

The researcher had taught social studies to the participants in grade five. This relationship from the past was re-established in order to seek the meaning these participants held for the field trip experiences.

The relationship of the interviewer and the phenomenon

During nine of the years taught, the researcher, along with parents and other teachers, accompanied children to this historic site to create with them concrete learning experiences. The trip supplemented the social studies program of history in British Columbia. Following our trip, personnel employed at the historic

site sometimes requested information about their program offerings.¹ In recollection, the questionnaire posed enquires such as, "Did our programs meet the needs of your curriculum?" and "How did our programs fit the goals of your curriculum?" During the years that our school groups visited the site, the questionnaire, if sent, was usually completed and returned to the site. However, upon reflection this investigator questioned the relevance of the experience to the needs of the children involved. This study provided an opportunity to investigate this initial question within the context of stimulation of historical imagination as expressed through conversations of a common experience, which formed the basis of the relationship between the researcher and the participants' historical imagination.

The relationship of participants and the phenomenon.

As Clark et al. (1980) pointed out, the participant provides the lived-through experience of the past event. The relationship of the participants and the phenomenon constituted the experience expressed reflectively by the participants. Exploration of this relationship with emphasis on "action" and "artifact within action" in turn resulted in the expression of historical imagination.

¹ Cornelius stated questionnaires were used for in-staff program evaluation. The return of the questionnaires by participating school groups was very poor.

The relationship of interviewee and interviewer with the phenomenon.

The conversation between the interviewer and the interviewee about "action" and "artifact within action" provided the text for hermeneutic analysis. As previously mentioned in Chapter 2, Ricoeur's work provided the hermeneutic foundation for interpretation of conversational data. Hermeneutic analysis and interpretation of text is not a series of methodological steps to follow for analysis; rather it is an interplay between understanding and explanation (Klemm, 1983, p. 91). The text of the conversational data is questioned by the researcher. Chambers (1988) explained the questioning of text of the interview data also requires a questioning of the researcher to be aware of the inherent bias in the shared experience. Therefore, one must outline in greater detail the author's participation in the shared event.

From 1977-1986 I accompanied classes of children on the yearly field trip to Barkerville. As mentioned earlier, many teachers and parents also participated. The average group each year, including teachers, parents and children, was about seventy-five people. The organization, involving transportation, accommodation, programs offered and activities for children over time, were similar. However, specific events and individual meanings were unique to each trip.

Thus in the past this researcher, as a teacher, had participated in the trip as an organizer. For teachers and parents present, the

immediate needs of children, such as, safety, accommodation, supervision and attention to logistics, were a preoccupation. Logistical details, such as, spending money, finding lost belongings, drying wet clothing and organizing groups, were distractions from pedagogical objectives and procedures.

Furthermore, the children were divided into small groups and supervised by parents and teachers during their participation in the Barkerville programs. This researcher was charged with overseeing all groups. Both the overseer's function and the emphasis on logistics tended to obscure specific memories of the researcher vis a vis individuals and small groups. Hence, in a very real sense the researcher, during this study, experienced the site visitations for the first time as viewed through the prism of individual student participants.

The absence of specific recollection was revealed during the interviews with former students, who initially believed that the researcher/teacher recalled their individual experiences in Barkerville. Often the conversations started hesitantly as some former students perceived the researcher as the information reservoir for their memories. For example, during our initial conversation participants questioned whether the order of events mattered. Furthermore, some participants added, "Is that right?" at the end of their emergent recollections to which the researcher replied, "I don't know."

Over the course of each interview it became apparent to the participants that the researcher could not recall their personal experiences. At this point in the conversation, each participant became an informant. However, some recollections by different participants activated some of the researcher's submerged memories and together we recalled an event. What meaning emerged from the conversation and how it affected the understanding depended on how both participant and interviewer achieved understanding in conversation.

This study used thematic analysis to interpret the conversational data. This process involved sifting out the themes that were embedded in the text of the discourse. Identifying and formulating a thematic understanding used the selective or highlighting approach (Van Manen, 1990, p. 92-93) to isolate the phenomenon of historical imagination and participants' expressions of understanding within the conversation. The participants' stories of interaction with "action" and "artifact within action" were used as the basis of initial selection and development of emergent thematic statements for each action site topography. Hermeneutic understanding used pattern recognition within the individual statements. These statements were highlighted to form shared themes and to make conclusions about the content of meaning contained in discourse. One searches for key links within data sets. "The analysis of narrative data moves between the original data and the emerging descriptions of patterns" (Polkinghorne, 1988, p. 177).

The researcher used the question posed in this study as a guiding hypothesis. Emergent data may reveal findings which were not considered or framed by the research question. Therefore, negative instances by participants which informed different action sites were noted. These negative instances challenged the patterns that seemed to describe the recollections of shared narratives of participants' experiences of historical imagination. However, rather than conflicting with the patterns for each action site topography, these negative instances provided more insight into these action experiences.

Given the articulation of statements within each conversation pertaining to topographies of "action" and "artifact within action," the researcher returned to specific participants to determine the deeper meaning through conversational discourse. Through follow-up conversations the essence of the lived-through experience of historical imagination was further expressed.

The patterns in gender recollection were also described in researcher observations as data collection and data analysis interacted. However, more often gender differences appeared in retrospect as the researcher developed greater awareness in participant interview patterns and perceptions of field trip experiences. The pattern of gender interaction with participants was both similar and different during data gathering. With little probe from me, the young women informed me of their experiences about their trip in Barkerville. They updated me about their lives

from the time they had left grade five. Initially, the young men seemed to need more probes on my part for them to extend their experiences about the field trip. As a result, I tended to ask them more questions. They did not provide detail to the extent that the young women did. Once the pattern was developed with the young men, however, they too shared more experiential information. Similarly, while they brought me up to date about their lives, the young men also provided me with their perceptions and definitions of themselves in grade five. I found them to be honest and forthright with their recollections.

Conversations were diverse with both genders; for example, if a name came into the conversation during some remembrances of the trip, we wondered aloud as to the whereabouts of the individual. The recollections about former classmates often expanded an experience on the bus or in the gymnasium.

During initial interviews my reflective notes were specific to individuals. For example, as Camille recounted some recollections through patterns of colour, I wondered why I had not realized this preference when she was ten. As Daschel remembered his panning action behind Wendle House, my mind was flooded with concern for his safety and my liability. I originally misunderstood his statement and thought he had been unsupervised near Williams Creek. When Laura recollected the "school marm" at the front of the class in the school house, I wondered silently if she realized it was me and not the teacher from Little House on the Prairie who stood

before her. Similar interactions beyond the conversational data recorded occurred in my memory with each participant and often shared laughter emerged through these divergent conversations. However, the data gathered for this study was bound by "action" and "artifact within action," and, as a result, many participant reflections pertaining to other aspects of the field trip do not appear in this study.

Summary

This chapter presented the methodology used to address the question that guided this study: What historical imagination was constructed from participants' recollections through the text of "action" and "artifact within action" based on an extended field trip to an historic site in the recent past? The methodology of oral history in this study was developed under the following headings: (1) participants, (2) conversational interviews and collection of in depth conversations, and (3) hermeneutic analysis and interpretation of conversations.

The methodology in this study was framed within the foundation of oral history, and rather than triangulate material data the researcher employed processes from hermeneutics to interpret and analyze conversational data. The researcher used the highlighting approach to identify data segments of participants' conversations pertaining to different action sites. Conversations describing the recollected action at each site were reconstructed.

These statements were highlighted to form shared themes and to make conclusions about the content of meaning contained in conversations.

The following chapter provides the context shared by the participants in this study and presents participants' recollections of the field trip.

CHAPTER 4

Revisiting Barkerville: Context and Participants' Recollections

This chapter illuminates the context that is shared by the participants in this study including a description of the programs available to the participants while in Barkerville. Furthermore, the descriptions are enlarged by observations provided by the curator, Cornelius, who supervised these programs during the visit a decade ago. Descriptions of participants' recollections and imaginations in "action" and "artifact within action" conclude the chapter.

Background

A decade ago approximately fifty children, fourteen parents and three teachers travelled to Barkerville by Greyhound bus and private vehicles. This caravan left the Okanagan on a Monday morning and returned the following Friday evening. While on site, the group stayed in the Wells school gymnasium for four nights and participated in learning activities over three days.

Prior to visiting the site, the participants had studied the early history of British Columbia in the grade five social studies program, using The Gold Rush (Neering, 1974) as the authorized text. This text and additional materials provided in advance by the Barkerville staff, supplemented by classroom activities, served as learning materials for the field trip. In addition, a booklet outlining

the itinerary of the trip, student groups, teacher and parent chaperones and student activities accompanied each participant.

Programs

Prior to the trip the children were divided into three groups (A, B and C), which were further divided into small sub-groups (a, b and c). During their stay in Barkerville, these groups alternated through the Barkerville school program staffed by interpreters. For example, on the first day two women dressed in period costume interpreted household activities with the children in The Wendle House¹ program. The household activities involved group A(a) children in the tasks of baking beans and bannock, pumping and packing water, and carrying wood into the kitchen. These interpreters read aloud, told stories and demonstrated sewing in the parlour, and conducted tours of the upstairs of this house. While group A(a) was in the house, group A(b) participated with the miner panning for gold in the troughs and discovered nuggets washed free of dirt and gravel in the Cornish wheel demonstration. Group A(c) undertook a walking tour of Barkerville with the carpenter, who elaborated on the construction of log buildings and emphasized techniques of construction of the period. This group then proceeded to the carpentry shop where they used hand tools in the construction of a chair called the Cariboo tipper. The student carpenters and

¹ Wendle House was built in the 1890s by the Wendle family. It was used for the household interpretation program.

student gold miners switched programs during mid-morning. At lunch time these two groups gathered and consumed the meal prepared by the household group and in the afternoon participated in the program of household activities. The morning household group spent the afternoon as miners and carpenters.

In addition, during the morning of the first day, group B attended the school house, where an interpreter explained to the students about early schooling in Barkerville. Following this conversation, the children participated in activities of penmanship with slate boards and slate pencils, and lessons in reading and arithmetic carried out by the visiting teacher. In the afternoon this group explored the graveyard, where they used biographical data observed on the tombstones.

Collectively, group C, during the first morning at Richfield, panned for gold and explored the townsite of Barkerville. In the afternoon this group attended one of two courthouse trials presided over by an actor portraying the Honorable Matthew Baillie Begbie, Chief Justice of British Columbia. Two separate trials, each lasting two hours, were held for large groups during the three day stay: one was a trial in which the accused, James Barry, was tried for the murder of Charles Morgan Blessing; the other was a dispute over water rights in which one miner attacked another with a shovel and was shot in the hand as a result. The student participants attending the trial portrayed townspeople, and some undertook roles as juror,

accused, lawyer for the defence and lawyer for the prosecution, and witness.

In conclusion, the Barkerville school program provided interpreters for the trial, the school house, and the Wendle House program, which included the household activities, mining and carpentry. Activities in Barkerville which did not involve the interpretation staff encompassed walking along the Cariboo trail to Richfield, a mile beyond Barkerville, panning in the creek at Richfield, visiting the graveyard, and exploring the buildings in the Barkerville townsite. Some of the buildings, such as, the assay office and barbershop, were displays that could be viewed only from the outside whereas the general store and the gold panning gift shop were commercial businesses in which staffs wore clothing reflecting the gold rush era. The children talked with the staffs and purchased various items from the general store and the gold panning gift shop.

Philosophy of the Programs

Cornelius informed us of the intent and philosophy of the Barkerville school program. He had undertaken a great deal of the research to establish the historical facts which influenced the development of the roles played by the characters; such as, the miner and the carpenter.

As Cornelius himself pointed out:

The main philosophy was not so much educational as sensitization [sic]. We wanted them [the students] to think that museums were places where you could go and have a really neat time, and you could roar around instead of the traditional 'don't touch'. That was the primary reason we had the school program. It wasn't really to tie into or link with the educational system or anything like that. It was to give them an experience that they would carry away with them, and they would be the customers of tomorrow. There was close attention to the curriculum, but that was secondary. This was a new type of museum where kids could have access to the buildings and do things in the buildings and go to the cabinetmaker's shop and make a chair and go in Wendle House and make lunch. To us, that's where it was happening.

Participants' Recollections and Imaginations

I will now turn to the participants' recollections of their Barkerville experience a decade ago. My purpose is not to establish how much they remember in comparison to the recollections of curator or teacher, but to elicit their elaborations of their own understanding of the significance of their experience of historical imagination in "action" and "artifact within action." Collingwood used the term 'historical imagination' as "needed for the historian to relive for himself the states of mind into which he enquires" (In Esposito, 1984, p. 21). Historical imagination, used in the context of this study, is defined as placing children within past actions or

experiences of history through heritage to discern for themselves through imagination the thoughts and experiences of people of the past.

The metaphor "Barkerville is a landscape of the mind," as Cornelius described it, was particularly useful in reconstructing this series of recollections. As Cornelius elaborated:

Barkerville is a landscape of the mind...there was a feeling that came with Barkerville that was different. After a hundred odd years you could almost sense that in the air in Barkerville. I honestly think kids could become aware of that like they were going to another place in more ways than just leaving the Okanagan.

Cornelius expressed his belief that the origin of this metaphor is embedded in the harsh physical environment of Barkerville coupled with the futility and frustration of coping with it, especially the severe winters and relative inaccessibility of Cariboo: "You read the miners' diaries back in day one and that was something that was always there."

The participants in this study confirmed Cornelius' intuition that "there was a feeling that came with Barkerville," but the feeling was not described or recollected in terms of harshness or futility. Rather participants described a feeling linking them with an historical past. This insight was explored through the shared voices of participant and interviewer in conversation. The participants' different perception of "a feeling that came from

Barkerville" informed participant engagement in Barkerville one hundred and twenty years after the miners first stumbled into Cariboo in search of gold. In this study Barkerville was a landscape created by many minds in remembrance and imagination.

Indeed, the reader as well will experience this landscape in recollection with the participants through reading transcripts of interviews exploring the students' experiences with "action" and with "artifact within action." The landscape explored will allow the reader to follow the itinerary of the activities on site. The first action site recalled within this landscape was panning for gold.

On site Activities

Panning for Gold

As in the past, the attraction of exploring for gold remained a strong memory for participants. Some recalled the demonstration of the Cornish water wheel and the huge nuggets removed by the miner. As Bart described it, "A whisper went through the group saying it was planted. At first, I thought it was real." The staged argument between the carpenter and the miner was interactively and excitedly recalled with Bart. Initially, neither Bart nor I had recalled this action. It developed jointly through our conversation:

Bart:

I didn't know it at the time, and when those guys staged the claim jumping thing at the sluice boxes there, I thought it was real at first. What an experience! It was very exciting. I thought it was real.

Fanny:

And he took those big nuggets?

Bart:

Yeah, and they had those big nuggets, and he said he stole the nuggets off his claim and stuff.

Fanny:

Oh yeah, and they had a fight..

Bart:

Yeah, and they staged that fight, and I thought it was real at first. So did everybody.

Fanny:

Yeah, that was the carpenter, wasn't it?

Bart:

Yeah! That's right!

Fanny:

Yeah!

Bart:

Yeah, that's right!

Fanny:

Yeah, and you're not supposed to tell anyone?

Bart:

You're not supposed to tell anyone? Oh, right! He came to us.

Fanny:

Do you remember?

Bart:

Okay (shared laughter). Yes, now I remember.

Fanny:

Yeah, I remember too.

Bart:

Yes, that's right. I thought it just happened when we were there. No, he came to us and talked to us about it.

The carpenter had informed some of the children in the small carpentry group that the claim owned jointly with the miner was producing more gold than the miner disclosed. He wanted the children to let him know how many nuggets were recovered in the demonstration. When the children notified the carpenter that the miner had two huge nuggets, he confronted the miner, and an argument ensued between the two men. As Bart recalled, "It was real." This reconstruction illustrated the uniqueness of some Barkerville experiences for various participants. In this example, however, not all the participants were privy to the same information as Bart.

Following the Cornish wheel demonstration, participants panned for gold in the troughs. Although panning took place at the different locations during the week, participants described their recollections in general terms. The action of gold panning was recalled in three places: beside the troughs, or 'sure thing gold';

along the creek; and at the stream. The panning action beside the troughs was recalled in procedural terms. Bart remembered, "He was showing us how to do it right, so we'd find more when we went to the creek." The experience was coloured by feelings of frustration, worry and anxiety of "doing it right." There was a tension created knowing that the gold was in the pan, and a sense of competition was stimulated to avoid missing "the guaranteed find." Many participants made circular panning motions when talking, and often their conversation was interspersed with comments; such as, "Oh, look what I've found!" and "Do you have any gold yet?" Their excited exclamations and louder voices during the interviews gave the recollection a sense of immediacy. It seemed to be happening all over again. The girls' recollected anxiety did not appear as intense as the boys' in panning at the troughs, or 'sure thing gold.' The girls remembered the man's helping by putting his hands on theirs and showing them how to make slow, circular motions with their pans. The participants described the action as swishing. Bill explained it most succinctly: "Swish, swish, swoosh in the sluice. I've still got it." Today almost all participants have the vials or tubes containing their flakes.

Gold panning in the trough, however, differed substantially from panning along the creek and at the stream. After walking the mile long trail to Richfield, the participants panned for gold along the creek. Recollections of panning along the creek revealed both

perceptual differences of procedure from panning in the troughs and differences of recollections of female and male participants.

The young women recalled creek panning only vaguely. Indeed, it was not predominant in most memories. Camille, for example, recalled getting her feet wet while Alexandra remembered that the water was really, really cold. However, Alexandra recalled "thinking people did this for a living, like are they crazy? For what? There's no gold out here." For the girls, trough panning was more civilized and more satisfying. "Along the creek, you think of them [the miners], but it held little glory after doing it for about ten minutes." Tristine's memories, however, tended to complement the boys' recollection of dynamic action and historical imagination. She said, "I thought for sure we were going to hit gold. You think if they can do it, I can do it, too."

Similarly, the boys found creek panning preferable to trough panning. They didn't have to pay. The chance of finding nuggets was alluring and as Daryl pointed out, "This is how the miners did it." In effect, the boys were more engaged by the possibility rather than the "sure" find. For them it appeared that a duality was created by the difference between domesticated and wild gold. Jake recalled, "We wanted to find some real stuff in the creek. We knew it was in the troughs. We became miners ourselves; we could strike it rich and maybe get more." Daryl said, "I like the creek better 'cause that's where it felt like you were actually doing it. It was a different sense than when you were doing it at the trough. It was

here, where they had done it. They weren't in troughs." Ted recalled, "If there was gold there then, there must be gold there now, since gold never stops flowing down the creeks." Matthew believed that there "was no way they could have got it all; even now when I see black sand, I think, 'hm-m-m'..."

Daschel recalled panning along the creek. "I never found nothing [sic], but I kept trying 'cause I thought next time I'm going to find the gold. They were looking for their life. We were looking for 'what if.'" He was also the first participant to reveal that recollections of 'along the creek' were more complex than first thought. Daschel talked about panning 'along the creek' in the free time between programs. During this recollection the question arose as to whether or not Daschel was referring to the fast flowing creek within the townsite. It was not Williams Creek to which he was referring but 'at the stream' behind Wendle House. This stream might be seen as a ditch to an unimaginative and disengaged eye. As Daschel himself declared:

We found that creek in behind the building [Wendle House], and we set up our own little stakes, and we started panning fool's gold. We actually thought it was real. There's a whole bunch of us, and we set up our claims. I had one bigger than anybody else's. We panned until we were stopped 'cause we got into fights about people going on other people's claims. It was more fun. It was real. My claim was about four times too big. I was greedy. We had gold fever. No question.

Jake described the stream as a "pretty small creek, an ideal panning creek." He recalled someone down from him found a huge nugget. "The guy said it was probably worth five bucks. I was surprised. I thought it would be worth more." Bart too remembered "our own claim on the creek." Although most of the boys remembered not finding gold during free time, they qualified their comments with "well, probably little, tiny flakes..." As Daryl recalled, it was "the actual feeling of being there in the actual spot where these people had spent their lives getting rich and losing all their money gambling and dying poor."

In the action of gold panning, how did "the actual feeling" enlarge the experience of historical imagination? Some participants, particularly boys, experienced capturing it for themselves through free time play 'at the stream' and during unstructured panning 'along the creek.'

Attending the Trial

"All rise. Judge Matthew Baillie Begbie, Chief Justice of British Columbia, presiding." These words were spoken by the court clerk who opened each of the trials attended by the children. Neither Cornelius nor I could recall which of the trials was offered on the different days during our trip. Like the participants, we could not be specific. Cornelius believed it necessary to alternate specific trials because at night the children discussed the day's events, and he thought the nightly discussion might hinder the learning experience

for the group scheduled for participation in the trial the following day.

The content of each trial has been forgotten by the participants, and many said, "I know we found him guilty, but I can't remember what we tried him for." However, this discrepancy in recollection did not diminish the action of attending and participating in a trial. In fact, for all but a few, the trial existed as a vivid recollection. Laura remembered it as "almost mixed with fantasy in a way because when we got there, all those people were dressed up, and you were drawn into the history as though it were happening right then with Judge Begbie."

The participants remembered their roles in the trial. Emily, for instance, played an attorney and believed it to be the most interesting part because "I wanted to become a lawyer, and I wanted to be involved in stuff like that." Sue portrayed a labourer who gave testimony as did Alexandra. Cassandra and Roxanne recalled being members of the jury. Tristine remembered being disappointed in not playing a larger role in the enactment, but was excited: "I just sat in the trial because we were pretend people." Bill, Daschel and Jake remembered being in the trial but, like Tristine, served as townspeople and were not directly involved with a larger part. Daryl acted as a blacksmith. Ted and Matthew represented members of the jury. Bart recalled "being the guy on the stand", the claim jumper, but didn't recall his name.

Bart said:

I think I had the smallest part, but I figured I had the biggest part. I only said two words, 'not guilty.' I sat there and looked innocent.

Judge Begbie engaged them all. It was the first time any of them had been involved in the formality of a trial. Bart believed it to be procedurally exactly like a real trial. He explained that Begbie might have done it in "a way that kids would understand it more, but he didn't. He did it so the kids would understand the proper method of a trial and the consequences for the criminal." Alexandra supported him in this perception. She said, "He didn't really talk to us. We were at a trial and that's what he was there for, to be our judge. It was a serious activity. I mean this was real, and we had to act like little adults." The procedural aspects of the enactment were recalled, as some participants had to stand and read from cards.

Some of the participants relived their emotional reactions in recollection of individual performance. Sue was nervous. "We had to go up and sit on the stand. We had to listen; we had to listen a lot. I was one of the first public speaking, so it was hard." Camille agreed: "I was nervous because I had to be up front and talking. I remember 'cause I was so shy, and I didn't like getting up, but we all had to play a part." Daryl recalled standing up and dropping his card twice. He verbalized his recollected agony as "Ughhhhhh!!!" Knox remembered his experience extending beyond anxiety or nervousness

and described it as terrifying. In his words: "You have to stand up and start talking to this guy, and you're just sitting there going "Ughhhhh!!!" All I can remember is just me standing up just totally terrified...got through it all right. It was something else." Others described feeling "impressed", "important", "interested" and "fascinated" in Begbie's presence.

What were the remembered characteristics and descriptions of this judge that engaged these participants? The women described him almost transcendently as "forceful", "powerful", "loud", "mystical", "ominous", "important" and "stern" whereas the men recalled him more realistically as "stern", "scary", "strict" and "gruff". The participants recalled his physical presence: the composite image created was a tall man with a grey beard wearing a white wig, a black robe and black boots. He banged or cracked his gavel. He always carried the gavel in one hand and the book in the other. He was recalled as carrying these items inside and outside the courthouse.

Alexandra remembered:

I mean this was real. You weren't thinking he was an actor; you were thinking he was a judge. Remember he used to walk up and down the street. He was always doing it like he was never not Judge Begbie. He was always him. It was not like we met him as another person.

Roxanne talked with him outside the courtroom. As she described her encounter, "You feel like you are talking to the actual

person." She was also convinced the trial took place over two days when, in fact, it was two hours in the afternoon. Roxanne might have been confused with a number of trials. She participated in one while other groups on the field trip participated in the trial on subsequent days. However, she recalled further, "I remember talking to him about the trial and he said he couldn't discuss it outside the courtroom." Matthew recalled talking to him about some of the cases "like he really knew what happened." Begbie was not recalled as the first Chief Justice of British Columbia who brought law and order to British Columbia. Instead a persistent image was evident in recollection: he was remembered as the hanging judge. Some remembered a hanging tree outside the courtroom. This fictionalized hanging judge, stern, powerful and evoking reminiscences of anxiety, delighted and fascinated most of the participants who were convinced Begbie was real.

Working in Wendle House

"Artifacts within action" were introduced to the participants working in Wendle House. It was here, washing behind the house, cooking and eating inside the kitchen, and sewing in the parlour that artifacts were used by the children. As mentioned earlier, two women interpreted the action inside Wendle House. In this historic site informed by a male past, these women created a female presence.

The dominant action recalled by the male participants was making beans and bannock in cooking pots on a cast iron wood stove. Different descriptions accompanied the beans, such as, "yuk," "ugh," "gross," "not peanut butter and jelly" and "good." Daschel recalled getting water to make the bannock and boil the beans because the kitchen didn't have taps. The males were less affectively engaged within the action of the house than were the females. For example, their recollections of the women in Wendle House, if included, were almost dismissed or objectified in relation to themselves. Bart recalled "making a big fuss that we had to sew 'cause we were guys, and we should be out playing baseball or something like that." Jake remembered, "The lady did a wash on the washboard." He didn't recall participating himself. The boys described the women's costumes as "old eighteen hundreds outfits" or "the women were dressed weird." Of all the males, Knox was the most specific in his description of the women. As he described them:

It was quite unusual 'cause all the ladies actually fit the description of the pioneers. Women today have got their sleek, athletic figures. You look at the ones who portray the ones back then. They were more of a robust type of people. Hardened by the hardships, so to speak.

In the Wendle House some young women, on the other hand, seemed to have found themselves a special niche. They recalled eating beans and bannock and, as with the boys, some liked them and

some didn't. Emily recalled eating from metal plates: "I was so excited - metal plates." Sue remembered sewing a blanket and trying to thread needles. Roxanne and Cassandra remembered scrubbing on the washboard. Roxanne said, "I was scrubbing on the washboard and thinking, 'God, I'm glad we invented the washing machine!'" Cassandra remembered soap "made from scratch. It was white, almost natural; it was just a square." While washing behind the house, "we spotted a dogwood and that's where we learned the provincial emblem." Tristine and Alexandra remembered the tone and feeling of the house that provided them with a sense of belonging.

Tristine informed us:

It was so cosy and it was calm. We were sitting on the floor making our little squares and all in a circle and sewing. That was really nice; I liked that. We got to take our boots off and stay in there. We had time to sit there and do our work, and if something went wrong, she'd say, 'It's okay, we've got time to fix it up.'

Alexandra reminded us that jobs were gender specific:

We were told what men did: they gathered firewood, chopped wood and brought in water while women baked and cooked and cleaned... I wish I could have been back there. I've always liked old things. You know, when I was ten years old, all I wanted to do was grow up and get married. The way it was described to us sounded like the perfect life. I wanted to go back then. It felt like going back in time.

In addition to household activities and roles, female participants described in particular detail the women's clothing. They recalled that women in Barkerville wore caps and aprons in the house and capes and velvet hats throughout the town. They also mentioned that the women wore numerous petticoats with a bustle in the back. Sue reflected, "The clothes were more of an interest to us at that age. We think of the past and what they wore. How awful it must have been in the summer to have to wear all those heavy, heavy clothes!" However, Laura was the only participant who extolled the adventuresome nature of the women of that era. She asked, "What would be the equivalent today, going out and being on the frontier doing something that adventurous? It was completely male dominated." She also recalled wanting to excel in the Wendle House chores.

Laura said:

It was not just sewing or cooking. It wasn't housewifery. This is what they did. They were so organized. There was a lot to do. They still had to be feminine. They had their dresses and this and that. They still had to be women. They still had to be wives. They still had to be mothers, caretakers, nurturers, and yet they had to live in this rough and tumble town with people getting hanged, and the saloons, and the whole fever of gold. I can imagine it's not always that romantic. There's a lot of greed and excitement and danger involved. So they had to live with all of this competitiveness, too.

For the young women the action in Wendle House did not seem to inform them only of the past but also included their own present and future. The comparison between the past and present, in which chores and hard work contrasted with today's labour-saving devices, such as, a washing machine, revealed a greater freedom for them in the present. Laura seemed more realistic in her recollected assessment of the women's life in Barkerville whereas some recalled an idyllically perfect past.

Sitting in the School House.

Miss Busch arrived to interpret the school house story with the children. Emily recalled her name "because the spelling was so different." She also recollected the story told: "They had a wood stove in there, and every morning you had to come early to heat it up so the school wasn't cold on winter days." Matthew continued the story: "Everybody from all different ages were together. It was right from this big (hand motion indicating the size of a six year old) to twelve or fourteen. That was different. One student had to be responsible for putting wood in the stove. It was usually the eldest student."

Participants remembered sitting in bench seats, which they called "pews." They made further comparisons with their own school experiences. The desk tops lifted up, the black boards weren't green, and they used cloth, not brushes, to erase the chalk. Many recalled

writing on slate boards with slate pencils. Some recalled a spelling bee. Others recollected reading from old texts.

What was the action of the school house? What insights were derived from the action? A number of participants related the experience to the television show Little House on the Prairie, a popular program of the day. Alexandra described the school house in recollection, "'cause you could picture it in your mind, and it felt like just going back in time like Little House on the Prairie."

Laura said:

We wrote on slates using those scratchy points, and there's this old school marm there, and we all sat down on these hard benches, and it was just like living in Little House on the Prairie. I mean I loved that show, and I finally got to live it out. Mom making bread and off to school and using those slates... so I was living out a dream of mine.

Camille recollected that one of the ladies from Wendle house also acted as the school house interpreter. "That's how I knew she wasn't real. She played more than one role. She didn't fool me." Emily recalled thinking, "We were little kids in school and imagining how it would be to go through school in that little school house, and only being around so many people, not a huge amount that we were always around." Emily wondered "how it would actually 'feel' trying to come to school every morning in the cold, learning stuff they learned. They weren't so developed back then. The tasks seemed so

simple because the time frame between then and now was so big. People have progressed more since then."

Bart also remembered his surprise at the number of children attending such a school. "There must have been only ten kids there, not a real town for kids. Too bad we didn't have a place like this to go to school; we'd have to go outside." Bill said, "I usually think about the past and how kids used to sit in there." Emily recalled, "We were doing some of the things they were doing." She enlarged our understanding of the meaning of her experience when she mentioned, "It was just like doing it at home and getting totally involved in it."

Camille recalled the teacher's pulling on a bell to call the children. Matthew recollected the strictness of the school: "The teacher was acting really good, like it seemed a lot different. Somebody wore a dunce cap." Knox recalled the dunce cap and wondered if the teacher carried a big switch in her hand. Sue revealed the disengagement of a few of the participants when she remembered laughing in the school house "'cause we knew it wasn't real."

In the recollections of the school house, historical imagination was mixed with memory in an interactive and energetic form as some participants retold their opportunity to role play Little House on the Prairie. For Emily, it was an opportunity to act out her reconstruction of imaginative play at home. The prior knowledge gleaned from both television and play, enlarged upon with

information provided by the interpreter, contributed to the participants' historical imagination within the school house.

Visiting the Carpenter

Cornelius expected that the visit with the carpenter would not evoke many memories for the participants because the carpenter framed his program with the miner and the action of gold panning.

However, the number of participants remembering the experience did not seem to be as important as the recollection of the experience itself.

Bill, Knox, Bart, Tristine and Cassandra remembered the carpenter and his shop. For Bill, it was a recollection of the different ways the log cabins were built. He recalled visiting with Mr. Ent, the carpenter, as they walked through the town finding examples of tongue and groove, dovetail and fan notches used in the construction of cabins. Knox, Bart and Tristine recalled the carpentry shop and the activity of making a chair. Knox remembered the numerous types of hand planes and reflected that "back then everything was done simply, no power tools." He remembered using a plane as did Bart. "We were making those tippers— actually making those chairs in there." Tristine recalled the tools, the tone and the time visiting with the carpenter. "We used a plane. There weren't too many of us in there. It was a dark, little room with a pot belly stove. It was cosy. He was showing us exactly how to do it. If you did something wrong, there wasn't a peep out of him. He understood."

Kassandra remembered the carpenter, not in the context of the chair, but rather in the context of language:

I remember when we went there. We said, "Do you remember the kid from the last group?" He just said, "Kid? No." We'd say, "Like the kids who just came through." He'd say, "No baby goats here." We said, "Kids as in children." He said, "Oh, children, what is this kid thing?" We were so frustrated because we used so much slang. You didn't realize it until you go back and they're talking 1800s. We started to have to talk properly. He didn't relate to kids, but he related to children.

"Artifact within action" indeed contributed to the creation of historical imagination for the participants visiting with the carpenter. In this context language served as an artifact which Kassandra described as "talking 1800s." On the other hand, Knox, Bart and Tristine were stimulated imaginatively by the carpenter's tools and product in their explanations of the care, patience and workmanship in using hand tools to assemble an historic chair used by the miners. Bill, as well, recalled the ingenuity displayed by the different techniques used in cabin construction. The visit with the carpenter represented a unique, personalized past for these participants.

This section concludes the participants' recollections and imaginations of "action" and "artifact within action" provided by the interpretive staff in Barkerville through the school program. The following participant reminiscences pertain to "action" and "artifact within action" offered not through interpreters, but rather through

teacher- and parent- organized activities; such as, discovering the cemetery and trekking to Richfield, and "free time" activities encompassing shopping in the general store and exploring the townsite of Barkerville.

Discovering the Cemetery

Walking in the cemetery and discovering graves was a memorable experience for most of the participants, but a few dismissed the recollection quickly in conversation with such phrases as, "The graves weren't marked well; it was weird," "It wasn't exciting and I found it kind of boring" and "It's not significant to us; that's why I don't remember it." The topic was not pursued with the participants who provided disengaged responses. However, most participants shared more vivid recollections and remembered undertaking a survey of grave markers and a head stone rubbing.

Kassandra explained in these words:

It was the first time I'd ever been to one where you actually had to read tombstones and look at people's names. There were a whole bunch of questions in the book we had to answer. We had to shade a headstone with a blank piece of paper and the print came up. I remember there was a baby that was only a couple of days old. We were, 'Oh, that's so sad,' but we knew from our research that they died young.

Tristine remembered the survey, "like when you're searching out (whispering), *'Let's find the person who was born first or maybe died the longest ago.'*" Bill and Bart recalled finding different graves and making rubbings, which Bart had saved to this day. Alexandra and Daryl remembered too many survey questions, which got in the way of their exploration.

The feelings evoked walking in the graveyard were memorable. Most described it as "eerie", "scary", "spiritual", "strange", "creepy" and "freaky." A number of participants alluded to the weather at the time of the experience. Laura reminded us, "It was daylight and it was damp." Matthew remembered, "The weather was cold. It rained a lot when we were there." Daryl recalled, "It wasn't raining, but it was cloudy." For Roxanne, the graveyard was "darker with lots of trees."

These feelings also created debates about graveyard behaviour. "Should you walk on the graves or around them?" "We couldn't step on any graves or spooky spirits would come and get us." "Don't step on them; there's dead people under there." One recalled wondering "whether or not ghouls were going to pop out in front of you if you step on them."

For Daryl and Laura, who remembered someone accidentally knocking over a gravemarker, the feelings of fear were more predominant. Daryl wondered, "Oh no, what's going to happen to me? A ghost is going to come and haunt me." Laura recalled, "Something severe was going to happen." Sometimes the uncertainty was

handled with humour. Some participants remembered graveyard jokes while others recalled sticking twigs up sleeves to frighten and provoke. Somehow it seemed the Barkerville graveyard was different.

The feelings of difference were explained by Knox:

It's different than most graveyards 'cause you get the feeling that these people have actually made a vital part of history. This isn't any ordinary body. These people actually came up here to make sort of a better life. I guess that was the original intention, but when they got here they found it a more difficult struggle than they thought it would be. Rather than go back to wherever they came from, they stuck it out. I suppose I got a sense of awe. You walked in here and you're walking around to the different graves, and each one had a story behind it. It wasn't a person that had died. They'd actually done something or made a name for themselves while they were there.

Ted recalled:

I always appreciated when you're in there you could think about these people who were actually alive at one time. I remember things from the town. You'd look at pictures and imagine that those people were actually there. They were doing stuff, making the town itself, building the original buildings that were there.

Daryl remembered:

People were buried underneath. A hundred years ago they were living, and they're not anymore. We learned about the people, and then you see some people and you see their graves.

Bart reflected:

They came from all over the world to the gold rush; some died getting there. The ones who hit it rich, like Barker, died poor. They had such a wild and hard life making their own riches and living.

Matthew said:

There was that disease they used to get [cholera], and a lot of people froze to death. They got up in their mines and didn't come out for winter. They had all these nicknames. I don't think anybody went by their proper name. I thought that was neat.

Tristine explained:

I was excited searching out different people. We were pretty awestruck by people from a hundred years back that were born and lived and died there.

Roxanne remembered:

It was neat because some of the important people were there. Being able to see their markers was just like seeing them. We'd been talking about some of the people and then to see, like you put it together. The two are the same person.

Laura recalled:

We're in a ghost town that is real, and the graveyard is real. Actors in the town are playing out and pretending, but this is real. In actual fact, we're in a ghost town and hundreds of people used to walk down these streets. Some of the people who used to walk down these streets are now lying underground where we're making these rubbings and walking...

Kassandra reflected:

We always wondered, there were some that had fences. We wondered if they were big because they got a fence and no one could step on them (joint laughter). 'Hey, he's not supposed to be stepped on...' We knew about the people in the grave site. They weren't just graves; they were people that we learned about. They were actually, 'Oh, remember him? He did this. He lost his fortune.' We had done research on Cariboo Cameron. Then all of a sudden we saw his tombstone. We went, 'Hey, this is his last resting place.' You kind of felt you knew him from start to finish.

How did the cemetery contribute to an understanding of past actions or experiences of people in the past? Situating participants in the cemetery to discern for themselves the thoughts and experiences of others from the past seemed to inform this study of the participants' understanding and explanation of past actions and experiences. Possibly there were reasons for this stimulation.

First, more freedom for discovery existed within the cemetery. The opportunity for participants to talk and interact with one another in a less structured way was present in this activity. They recollected debate, conversations, jokes and discomfort about their presence in a graveyard. Second, the site was unfamiliar to participants, and yet the markers evoked empathy with specific people who had lived and died at Barkerville. The students perceived a connection between the present and the historic dead, which, to the participants, were manifested through imaginations of ghosts, spirits and ghouls. Furthermore, the graveyard contained the remains of characters beyond the ordinary who had experienced struggle and adversity. These people, moreover, had become personalized through stories and nicknames. The participants 'knew' them. As Cassandra reminded us, "They weren't just graves; they were people we learned about." Also, the graveyard provided connections to prior knowledge as the Barkerville programs interacted with school preparations prior to the field trip. In effect, the graveyard represented a connected past and present. Indeed, the participants used the present tense in their recollections

of the cemetery. Their affective engagement was more easily recaptured through the intense feelings the experience held for them. The participants found an outlet for their own imaginations connected with this site.

Trekking to Richfield

The mile long trek to Richfield to pan for gold along the creek evoked memories particularly for Emily, Ted, Camille and Tristine. These recollections informed about the elusive aspect of feeling associated with historical imagination.

As an example, Emily recalled:

Walking on the trail sort of felt like I was part of history. I was happy to be there because I was experiencing something that not everybody would be experiencing. All the things we had done in school just added to it, how the town was, how old it was and how it was so active. I was interested in what we were learning about at the time, so it just made it so much easier for me to try and imagine how I would actually feel to be back in that time. I heard so many stories from my grandparents, too.

Ted offered a recollection similar to Emily's but did not express himself as well. For example, he disclosed neither his dreamings nor his imaginations.

According to Ted:

There was a road we walked up that was at the far end of town, and it came down very sharply. The road was curved on the side of that mountain. That road is the thing I remember most. I remember a bend in the road. I thought about that all the way along. I was dreaming or something. Of course, I'd never say.

Camille might well have enlightened us of Ted's undisclosed dreams as well as her own when she said:

I remember too, when we walked on that pathway. I remember thinking years ago the men I was reading about walked on this pathway. I walked in the same place they did.

Tristine's recollection provided the detail the previous participants had not recalled, for it seemed the trek to Richfield involved more than walking where others had travelled in the distant past.

As Tristine expressed it:

When we were walking up that road to go to the river and see all those mines, we were peeking in the mines by ourselves. We were kind of awestruck, taking pictures. You've never seen anything like it before. You've heard about it, but you've never seen it. Looking in, you're not sure what you're going to find, but you're hoping you'll find something interesting. I'm picturing myself there, looking into the mine.

...I can see rain falling down. It's muddy. I'll always remember the excitement and the fact I'm seeing it for the first time. You've almost got expectations. One thing I noticed when I was in that situation, I was always thinking what did these people experience? You think what their reaction might have been because you're in that same situation. It's kind of hard to explain. What did these people experience? I'm experiencing this, but what did they experience?

The trek to Richfield amounted to a unique experience for these participants. It involved the action of walking on a path, albeit within a large group. For Emily and Tristine, in particular, their remembrances informed this study of the vivid experience of historical imagination. Tristine introduced the action of "peeking," which seemed to create anticipation and engage recollection. Perhaps specific feelings were reactivated through an interplay between the word "peeking" and images that "peeking" evoked.

Shopping in the General Store

"When you're that age, everything is pickles and candy," recalled Daschel. Others agreed: "Everything you could possibly want to buy was in the general store. There was more stuff than we'd ever seen, different stuff. They had jaw breakers, pop guns, barrels full of pickles, Chinese yo-yos and a clown bank that ate coins." The jaw breakers or gob stoppers were most memorable. Knox spoke for everyone when he recounted his astonishment: "They were the size of my fist. They were like a pool ball. They went all

the way down to marble size." The store seemed dark and filled with a mixture of smells: musty and coffee and candy smells. Candy sticks produced recollections of root beer and cinnamon. Candy sours were present, but no chocolate bars or smarties. Daryl recalled, "You get a sense that it was old. You got the feeling that the building was actually there. I remember wishing I could have been there." Jake agreed, "You actually went in; it was kind of real."

They recalled that the storekeeper wore an apron and had receding hair; he served his customers patiently. Laura recollected the lesson the storekeeper taught her when he folded a piece of brown waxed paper into a bag. She guessed that he must have learned the origami-like folding from the Asians who worked in Barkerville. She placed him within the historical context of the site, but she also realized that the bag-folding had been a lesson taught. Participants recollected the store filled with sacks of flour, cornmeal, shovels, picks, axes and pans. In the middle sat a large wood stove that one could walk around. Outside the store a new boardwalk was under construction and Jake remembered, "That's what it probably looked like back then. You remember seeing old buildings, but you never picture them new, really."

How did the participants experience the general store? It produced a mixture of remembrances of new and old, real and unreal, surprise and fascination interspersed with items which provoked sense recollection. The general store created an episodic, sensory past within the participants' childhood. The relationship of their

present recollection to past experience travelled further in memory to the more distant past of Barkerville during the gold rush. Even today the participants' recollections of gob stoppers and Chinese yo-yos in this historic context did not seem misplaced to them.

Investigating the Townsite and Meeting the Mannequins

A number of buildings and displays provoked participants' recollections when discussing their exploration of the Barkerville townsite. The participants revealed the recollected energetic action of exploring the townsite through such words as "peeking," "sneaking," and "creeping". Most notable were their memories of the mannequins that inhabited the displays of certain buildings. Alexandra, Laura and Matthew provided a general overview of participant action recalled while investigating the town of Barkerville.

Alexandra recalled:

You'd stop and look in windows and they had displays. Even though you couldn't get into all of them, you could look through the windows. You'd picture in your head what would be going on. If I was here or if they were still here, this is what they'd be doing. I remember free time was great 'cause you'd walk up and down the street and look at it by yourselves. We'd sort of go into our heads. That was what the free time was so good for because it wasn't that you just went to the general store. That's when you could just imagine. Like your whole imagination went.

...Well, for me, I remember walking down the street pretending that I was a hurdy-gurdy girl and about how men used to be so courteous to ladies. Meeting outside the general store, we'd tie our horses there and sit outside and chat for a little while. Picturing the school house how it would be, and going to church on Sunday. That was a big one because it was such a beautiful church for a service for such a makeshift town. That was obviously a big deal for those that went. If there were women going to church, sort of Sunday reference here. Just an older more courteous society where women wore dresses; they didn't wear blue jeans. Their hair was done.

Laura remembered:

We went to each of them and sometimes we were really loud, but other times we were just quiet. No one said anything. You just looked and listened. There was no noise, but then you thought if you really listened, you'd hear something, or you'd really be drawn into it. Everyone wanted to experience it because we were here, and the detail was so good. We wanted it. This was our adventure, and we all wanted something to happen.

Matthew offered this recollection:

We stayed off the street. We were in the back expecting to find something, peeking in all the back windows and not seeing anything, but expecting to see somebody walking around.

Many respondents provided detailed recollections of the reconstructed action and artifacts inside specific buildings.

Camille remembered the claims or assay office:

There were bars and the guy was behind there. There was no one in there when we went in. We locked. You couldn't get to him; you just dealt with him through the bars. There was a bar-like screen, but he could talk to you, and you could reach in and pass your gold. It brought it to life. I could see them going into the claims office. I could imagine them staking their claim, their horses being outside and them standing around. I remember the paper. I think they had it posted on the window, so you could see what a claim looked like.

Matthew also remembered the assay office display:

It was just a desk. You stood in front of the desk. There were a bunch of numbered shelves. I think when I was in there a lot of people even felt like, should you tell the guy you found the gold, 'cause if you do, I mean, he's as crooked as anything. He's going to tell somebody you found the gold, and he's going to go up there and try and knock you off and take your gold and start mining. I wonder how many people actually took any gold there, other than newcomers that learned later on. You don't tell anybody what it was like. Should I tell this guy or will he actually give me what it's worth? I mean, how do you know? You're just a miner.

For Daryl, the saloon provoked specific recollections:

It's got a bar, and I can see 'cancan' girls dancing. There's some old drunk guy up there like Billy Barker dancing with them. I don't know why, but I've got that picture in my mind. Can't you imagine if you ever had all that gold? Some struck it rich like that. It was almost like I was just peeking in sort of. Like I was at the back, it's not like I was in there. I guess I'll always have my picture of it. That saloon, I'm not sure if I just pictured it in my mind or I saw it. But to me, as you're walking up the town, it's always right around the middle on the left hand side, almost across from the general store.

Emily remembered the hat shop, which in her recollection contained a mannequin:

I remember the whole scene in the hat shop. There was this lady and the hat maker was discussing [stops herself]. Well, she was in the seat, and he was trying to convince her what hat to buy. That's how it seemed. There were all the hats out there. How they set up everything in the store looked like there was still business. It wasn't just neat and clean. There was disorder in the shop.

Some participants recalled the dentist's office. Sue explained in these words:

When you go through the dentist shop, that's what really gives you the feeling because they look more realistic. The guy was extracting a tooth, and the guy's in pain and sort of yelling. It sort of brings you back to the present and makes you think of the real dentist.

Tristine recalled:

I remember seeing the dentist [display] where it said "Remove your teeth," and basically it was the old plier method. I remember the tooth guy because I hated going to the dentist, and when I saw that they removed it with pliers, I was kind of scared. I'm sure there was an old type chair, and the equipment was really crude (laughter). I think there might have been a dummy in there getting his tooth pulled.

Roxanne remembered:

The dentist was pulling a tooth on one of the guys in the dentist shop. He's putting a string over his tooth. I was glad it wasn't me. I thought he must have been in pain. The look on his face was pain. I just remember thinking, I'm glad it's not me in there, and that things were different back then. The way they do that now is different from the way they used to do that. It seemed a lot of the things they did were very backward.

Jake reflected:

I remember the dentist and the statues or fake people. He was pulling a tooth. He had on the wall outside, "Guaranteed no pain No pain pulling teeth." He gave them a bottle to numb the pain. It seemed pretend-like with the dentist and the people in there. There were bars on the windows. It seemed like you're not supposed to go in. It's just all made up; but the other buildings, like the school, that was real.

Daschel remembered:

There were mannequins in the window of old people dressed up. The dentist there had a gold tooth. We wanted to get in there and see that. We couldn't. I remember standing there watching the gold tooth, wondering if it was real gold or not, thinking if we could get it.

Laura believed:

They looked real in what they were doing: that dentist with the awful drill, and those coloured bottles all over the place. That guy's face and legs are all screwed up, his legs are apart. You could see every muscle, all just tense. I could feel that. Thank God for my dentist and gas.

Bart remembered the mannequins in the drug store:

They had those papier mache` people, or they were wax because they looked quite real. He was selling something to some kid. He was standing at the counter. They had a caged-off area where they had wax people in the stance of selling something to somebody. They had an old piece of gold on the counter. That's what they were using for money. Everybody thought that was neat. We were scheming a way to get in there, to grab the gold and see if it was real.

The barber shop was memorable for Roxanne:

I remember the barber shop. They had papier mache` characters sitting there, and they're talking to the barber. There's a guy getting his hair cut. I remember seeing the little things you put shaving cream on with and the straight blade or razor.

Why were the mannequins dominant in the memories of the participants? Perhaps the time spent with the mannequins relative to other experiences during the field trip warrants closer examination. The limited time available for "free time" investigation, compared to the more structured morning and afternoon programs with the Barkerville interpretation staff and the teacher-and parent-guided activities, might have given their exploration a sense of urgency. However, during our conversation Laura offered this insight into her memory of the mannequins:

Even though they may not look exactly real, you could see there were people like this. It had the details there, so you could go a step further. Because in the back of your mind there's always reality. These people are playing a part. You get swept away in it, but still in the back of your mind you know that these people go. They leave the road, go past the church, go past the museum and go out, and these people [the mannequins] always stay. The mannequins are always in there when no one else is. What really went on? All the hustle and the bustle and all the people and all the feelings and all the ideas and everything is in the core of that street and all those houses, and it's there, and those shops have seen it all. You know, if they could only speak, they could really tell us.

The descriptive recollection of the mannequins by the participants in this study encouraged a further inquiry in conversation with Cornelius. As curator during our visit, he enlarged the understanding of the role of the mannequins in the displays. However, Cornelius recollected a different perception of the mannequins:

It goes back to 1958, and they were creating early displays, and they wanted to enliven them a bit, and it was the absolute bane of our existence in Barkerville. These mannequins, these frozen mannequins in the buildings to those of us who worked in Barkerville in the late 1970s, the early '80s, the mannequins were an embarrassment, and they were the absolute worst type of museum depiction. The role was to try to put bodies in the buildings, and of course there is no way you can staff them all, so that's how they chose to do it. To us anyway it's interesting because when you look at those of us who were there when I was there in '79, '79 was the first time Barkerville had a real curatorial staff. There had been good curators there before, but they were all kind of on the periphery. So we had a conservator, we had a school program person, we had a cataloguer. We were all sort of the new breed of museum people, so the mannequins were a terrible embarrassment to us. There was also a sense on our part even though we hated them it came from our predecessors, and a lot of good things had come from the predecessors. We thought, well, we can tolerate them. Oh, it was hard to swallow sometimes! I mean they were frozen in such awkward positions. There was the one up at Billy Barker's shaft with his arms out like this (gesturing), and it had been out there in the weather so long and he'd lost all his fingers, so we began to say, "This is the miner who lost his fingers in a knife fight" (joint laughter). You know, for us the school program was where it was at; that's really what was going on in the museum field. There were a lot of historic sites that were beginning to do that type of interpretation. For us it was a really valid sort of thing, much more so than the mannequins.

The participants' recollection and discussion of the mannequins appeared to contrast with the expectations for the "living" museum program created by the interpretation staff and supported by the activities organized by the teacher. No one prepared, interpreted, guided or taught the children during their "free" investigation of the townsite, yet their remembrances of the actions of the mannequins within various sites were manifested as clearly as such actions as panning for gold, attending the trial, or discovering the graveyard. The participants recalled more detail about the mannequins and the sites which housed them. These particular memories shone vividly in comparison with the lack of detail evident in their recollections of the trial or the carpentry shop.

Cornelius aptly described the mannequins as "frozen in such awkward positions." To adult viewers they remained static. Young students, however, created action and emotion in the mannequins' sites. They perceived the mannequins to embody memorable characteristics; such as, the ability to talk, sell items and experience pain. Matthew, for instance, questioned the assayer's trustworthiness. Apparently the mannequins also provided an opportunity for the students to compare the past with the present. For example, the emotion of pain evoked through the dentist display created an interactive comparison with the participants' own experience at the dentist. They did not recollect actual pain but rather the anticipation of imagined pain. Through powerful feelings

the participants identified and imagined another aspect of the past lives of the people studied. Further, as Cornelius' predecessors may have understood, the participants' imagined reality of the mannequins added life to the context of particular sites. As Sue said, "The people were pretend, and we were pretend people. The mannequins were real." The interplay between the participants' recollected perception of real and unreal created an opportunity for them to feel or imagine life in the mannequins.

Laura and Camille provided further insights into the meaning and understanding of their experiences while investigating Barkerville and meeting the mannequins which had precipitated historical imagination.

Laura mentioned her understanding in the following words:

I think it would be hard to find someone who wasn't touched because of the way the whole town worked. Everyone who was there played the part. You lived it even though it was uncomfortable and seemed like a game at first. You used to ask the shopkeepers. You used to test them to see if you could make them slip up. But they didn't slip up, and so you think, okay, I'm going to play too. When we first got there, it was all sort of odd 'cause I'd never been in that sort of situation. It was so real, so three-dimensional. Here are these buildings; here are these people. Everything was there. It wasn't in a book or being read to you or your own imagination. You were helped out so much that you were able to expand even further than you had before. When you got there, a lot of these details were already taken care of, and so it aided you in getting bigger thought out of it, deeper.

Laura continued:

Once you got over being uncomfortable or excited, you started sponging it up. It seemed to happen quite quickly though. We went through a transition of events when we went home [school gym]. That's why that street is so important to me. It's like you go through your own little doorway. You're into it. I guess you make your comparisons more easily. I really remember that and that feeling. Sometimes I don't remember a lot of details, but I remember how I felt. You feel like an adventurer yourself. This discovering could be so personal. This is how you're feeling - (whispers). *Am I the only one? Maybe I'm the only one who's really getting sucked into this. Maybe I'm the only one who is so attuned to this place that I'm the only one who's feeling this. I bet you if I keep on feeling this way, all of a sudden I am going to go back.* Sounds strange, doesn't it? But things in the shop, the mannequins, will start to move. That sort of hoping and just being outdoors, the wind or whatever. There was just that fantasy and magic and anything could really happen. That's the feeling left over, that I really did go back. I felt the same wind that those people felt. I slogged through the same mud. I was walking up the steps that they were walking. It was just a different time, but it really wasn't that long ago. You get a connection almost with these people, even the people who aren't famous, the regular people who were up here trying to earn a living or seeking the gold or just wanting to be a part of Barkerville. You feel them around you.

Camille articulated her understanding:

I was on my own. That's a big part of it, too. I remember it because it wasn't the lecture type. They weren't taking us up with a leader saying, 'This is what happened here and here'. We got to go on our own, and we got to look. That's why those feelings were neat because no one was there. You were sneaking in and exploring on your own. You got so involved in following the routine of the town; you start to believe. I remember touching some of Billy Barker's equipment and thinking he actually held this. You've got to touch it to see it. I tried to imagine what he was really like, what kind of person he was.

How did investigating the townsite and meeting the mannequins advance an understanding of historical imagination? Similar characteristics remembered by participants who discovered the graveyard, panned for gold along the creek and on the stream, and trekked to Richfield seemed present in their reflected action of exploring the town and meeting the mannequins. Each participant, more specifically expressed by Laura and Camille, emphasized such attributes as freedom, imagination and unstructured time. Small group discussion created by huddles of children peeking inside and sneaking behind buildings perhaps activated their sense of mystery, power, laughter and adventure. Subsequent comparisons between the categories of action encapsulating the findings of this chapter are presented in the summary discussion.

Summary of Findings.

The summary of thematic findings developed through the presentation of data of "action" and "artifact within action" reveal the stimulation of participants' historical imagination in a variety of forms. For example, more specifically for the male participants, panning for gold created memories of freedom, play, anticipation and possibility. On the other hand, for female participants, who recollected a comparison between female roles in the past and the present, the Wendle House cooking, sewing and washing dominated. However, considering the multiple roles of women in Barkerville, their comparisons seem more idyllic than realistic. Furthermore, all participants experienced feelings of anxiety, delight and fascination as they remembered the imagined reality of Judge Begbie, but the women envisaged Begbie more transcendently than the men, who portrayed him more realistically. Moreover, in the school house historical imagination appeared interactively through remembrances of comparative play from home or prior knowledge obtained from the popular television program Little House on the Prairie.

"Artifacts within action" seemed most predominant in the recollection of the use of unique tools and language provided by the carpenter. This action category, although not as memorable for a majority of participants, revealed the personalized vividness of historical imagination. This unique personalization again displayed itself in the action of trekking to Richfield, which included recollected actions of "peeking." The participants' remembered

actions of "peeking" and "sneaking" also surfaced in discovering the graveyard, which provoked more opportunity for participants to engage in historical imagination than in previous categories.

Other identified attributes underlying historical imagination in discovering the graveyard manifested themselves through participants' remembered interaction and response encompassed through the following: freedom of discovery; student discussion, including jokes, personalized stories and nicknames of the historic dead; intense feelings about the unknown, including the supernatural; and participants' prior connections with the past and present energetically reinforced through the interplay of program and school preparation. The participants' recollections of the action of shopping in the store contributed to the uniqueness of having shared unexpected sensory discoveries through small group interaction and freedom from the constraint of time. The remembered interactions with historic role players, such as, the storekeeper in Barkerville, created a perceived duality between real and unreal for the participants when they recalled investigating the townsite and meeting the mannequins in various buildings and displays. The participants' "free time" exploration of the buildings, particularly those that contained mannequins, provoked vivid recollections and imaginations. The detail recalled about these sites is more prevalent than in previously discussed action sites. Furthermore, the participants remembered more artifacts within the context of these sites than in prior topographies.

The mannequins and site investigation provided a greater contextualization when participants described historical imagination. Also, attributes similar to those discussed within the action site of discovering the graveyard also prevailed in the participants' recollections of investigating the town and meeting the mannequins. Such characteristics as the freedom to discover the unknown, expressed through "peeking" and "sneaking," perceived freedom from time constraints and adult supervision, interaction with friends, anticipated possibility, and multiple opportunities for re-enactment, role play, pretending and imagining perhaps contributed to the participants' remembered vividness and reconstruction of the actions of Barkerville's historic characters. Most importantly, participants described the remembered action and vividness of historical imagination most often as "the feeling."

Summary

This chapter provided background information, including program philosophy and description, and participants' recollections and imaginations pertaining to "action" and "artifact within action." The data, which were obtained through in depth conversations, were presented within the landscape explored by the participants as they moved from site to site reminiscent of the field trip. The following chapter will interpret recurrent themes and attributes of historical imagination as revealed from examination of participants'

recollections and describe participants' reconstructed understanding of the meaning of the field trip over time.

CHAPTER 5

Interpreting Historical Imagination and Meaning

In Chapter 4, the reader experienced Barkerville as a landscape of many minds in recollection through the construction of participants' comments and of interviews exploring students' experiences with "action" and "artifact within action." The stimulation of participants' historical imagination was explored and discussed within the context of the different action sites.

In this chapter participants' meaning of their field trip experiences enlarge the landscape through discussion of their understandings. The researcher's discussion employs the first person, as the concept of shared voice speaking to the meaning of historical imagination includes the researcher/teacher's reflective understanding.

Through recollections of their own stories, participants re-experienced the Barkerville field trip as a narrative. In addition, the participants recalled the interpreters' re-enactment of characters from the past. For example, Kassandra remembered, "These people were characters out of the books you'd read about." Knox recalled "actually taking part in it" and Emily explained, "The story wouldn't be told without the actual characters that helped make it happen." Participants also included the original inhabitants in the story of Barkerville through the stimulation of historical

imagination. When recollecting similar circumstances experienced by historical figures, historical imagination was embedded in participants' comments about their meaning and understanding of the field trip. For example, Tristine explained her understanding: "You think what their reaction might have been because you're in that same situation." Description of participants' feelings, images and experiences expanded meaning and understanding as participants weaved their own stories into the stories of Barkerville and "the routines of the town."

In Chapter 4 examination of "action" and "artifact within action," participants' articulation of historical imagination were expressed again and again as "the feeling." Furthermore, "the feeling" was expressed in terms of participants' "feelings of emotional involvement," "the actual feeling" connecting participants with an historic past, and finally "feelings for their school group." In this section, the reader will explore these three references to participants' feelings through the theme "recollecting feelings."

Recollecting Feelings

Feelings of Emotional Involvement

During conversations participants described feelings of emotional involvement; these contributed to their understanding and meaning of the field trip. Their feelings of emotional involvement, such as, those described during their recollections of the trial or the

graveyard, nurtured these recollections and made the experiences intellectually meaningful to them. There was an interplay between their understanding and explanation of their field trip recollections. An interpretation of "feelings of emotional involvement" is illuminated through four underlying references: free time play, provocation, the supernatural, and interaction. For participants, some action sites evoked more than one underlying reference.

Free time play experienced by students revealed that traces of historical imagination were recollected in actions precipitating anticipation, possibility, discovery, adventure, curiosity, role-playing, and pretending. Free time play was associated with gold panning along the creek and at the stream. Participants also recalled free play while walking on the Cariboo wagon road, visiting the general store and exploring the townsite. Free time play was experienced by more participants during less organized activities bound by time constraints, such as those conducted by the interpreters, teachers and parents.

In addition to free play, provocation evoked historical imagination for the participants. The provocation of the gold miner/interpreter prompted feelings of anxiety, anticipation and concentration, which in turn stimulated historical imagination. Knowing the gold was in their pans waiting for discovery through their action of panning stimulated feelings of anticipation and possibility. It also precipitated the memory of the gold miner helping them achieve their goal. In addition to the provocation by

the miner beside the troughs, the re-enactment of the claim jumping provoked Bart's memory of the reality of the fight between the miner and the carpenter. This stimulation was evoked in memories of some young men who recalled playing "claim jumping" on their own claims by the stream.

Judge Begbie provoked and stimulated participants' historical imagination through a sense of mystery, fascination and power. In his presence individuals recollected feelings of nervousness, agony, anxiety and terror. One might imagine that Matthew Baillie Begbie evoked similar feelings in the historical figures who actually appeared in his courtroom. However, participants also described themselves feeling impressed, important, fascinated and interested in the presence of Begbie. These feelings in turn stimulated imaginations of the judge as a powerful, loud, ominous, mystical, important, strict and gruff person.

Provocation stimulated Kassandra's historical imagination when she recalled the carpenter's misunderstanding of her use of the word "kids." The incongruity between "children" and "kids" was reconstructed by Kassandra in the context of "talking 1800s."

Similarly, the mannequins provoked participants' historical imagination, which included attributing human emotions and motivations to the dummies. The sites which housed mannequins seemed to invite or provoke participants into the action in two ways: through a comparison with their own childhood experiences, such as, a visit to the dentist, or through historic imagination of

their own participation in an historic past. Perhaps their recollected participation with "artifacts in action" connected them closely with the mannequins portrayed in action with artifact.

In the graveyard, the supernatural heightened the participants' feelings of emotional involvement. Participants described these feelings as "strange", "frightening", "eerie", "scary", "spiritual", "creepy" and "freaky". However, these feelings also stimulated participants' historical imaginations about the lives of the men and women whose gravemarkers were examined. Participants felt a familiarity associated with the occupants in the graveyard through the interaction with prior knowledge obtained from school and on site. For example, Cassandra made reference to her research about Cariboo Cameron; Matthew remembered their hardships; Bart recalled the circumstances of Barker's death; and Roxanne remembered the classroom discussions about some of the occupants of the graveyard.

Interaction among themselves as well precipitated feelings of emotional involvement. Participant recollections of small group discussions, including children's laughing, joking, whispering, peeking and sneaking, contributed to participant interaction of the past with their present. Imagining and interacting with an historical past were most vividly re-created when the participants explored the graveyard and when they expressed feeling engaged through peeking and sneaking while exploring the townsite in the presence of the mannequins. An interplay existed for the students

between belief and disbelief, reality and unreality, and past and present.

The elements of free play, provocation, the supernatural and interaction, embedded in memory and constructed through conversation, stimulated participants' historical imagination and student engagement through emotional involvement, such as recollected anticipation or anxiety. Emotional involvement is recognized by scholars, such as, Watts (1972), Newmann (1986, 1990) and Egan (1990), who support personal engagement with social studies topics. Newmann believes student engagement is created when they study few topics in depth. He also explains that there should be greater interaction between the teacher and the students to promote student engagement.

Although teachers and parents did accompany the participants on this field trip, their presence and the roles they performed were distant in student recollection. In this study the participants' memorable learning experiences originated through the stimulation of historical imagination through interaction with the interpreters, other students, and "action" and "artifact within action." Moreover, participants' school preparation assisted in this process of stimulation. However, as Wolf (1986, p. 17) indicates, "What people gain in information units is not nearly as important as what they gain emotionally - how connected they become to the object, the exhibit, or its interpretation." Feelings of emotional involvement seemed to stimulate participants recollection of "the actual

feeling," which they describe more explicitly as a connection to historical figures from the past and their belief of the reality of the existence of historical others. "The actual feeling" seemed to be linked to empathy and intuition, and in this way it is separate from feelings of emotional involvement, which seemed related to recollections of feelings; such as, anxiety or nervousness.

The Actual Feeling"

In discussing their feelings about their Barkerville experiences, participants often used the term "the actual feeling." I came to understand that participants used this term to describe the feeling which connected them through historical imagination to their affective and intellectual engagement with the past. It is the essence of their understanding of things historical or an associated sense of the past as real. Participants used this term when they understood historical inferences made from recollections of response to actual or real historical information. Historical inferences had been constructed, and in this way their knowledge became insight into the meaning of the experience. It emerged as "the actual feeling" or perhaps as intuition linking them to their childhood understandings of being in the real place shared by historical figures. It remains connected in memory with their reconstructed reality. The contextualization of "the actual feeling" was different for each participant, but a common nuance of feeling united the participants in a shared separateness.

Daryl recalled that he had experienced "the actual feeling of being there in the actual spot where these people had spent their lives getting rich and losing all their money gambling and dying poor."

Emily wondered "how it would actually 'feel' trying to come to school every morning in the cold, learning stuff they learned."

Knox believed, "it's different than most graveyards 'cause you get the feeling that these people have actually made a vital part of history."

Sue surmised, "When you go through the dentist shop, that's what really gives you the feeling because they look more realistic."

Roxanne, in recollected conversation with Begbie, explained, "You feel like you are talking to the actual person."

Alexandra remembered Wendle House because "it felt like going back in time."

Jake and Daryl experienced the feeling that the general store was actually there.

Matthew believed, "The use of actual names made it really feel like you were wrapped up in the whole thing and you were actually back in that time."

Tristine commented, "The way everything was done, it was kind of like you were really there, really at the original trial, just that feeling."

Laura shared her insight into "the actual feeling:"

That's the feeling left over, that I really did go back. I felt the same wind that those people felt. I slogged through the same mud. I was walking up the steps that they were walking. It was just a different time, but it really wasn't that long ago. You get a connection almost with these people, even the people who aren't famous, the regular people who were up here trying to earn a living or seeking the gold or just wanting to be a part of Barkerville. You feel them around you."

Camille informed the study why "actual feelings" described by Laura and others are important to the construction of meaning: ..."That's why those feelings are so neat because no one was there. You were sneaking and exploring on your own. You got so involved in following the routine of the town, you start to believe." The reality of the belief that Barkerville and the story of its inhabitants had existed in the past, and through participation the students experienced or shared in the past was described through historical imagination.

Whenever students alluded to the development of historical imagination, friends were not named in their recollections. In conversation participants often said, "I was alone." Some participants explained, "We were alone," but did not name their friends in this context. However, this declaration appeared as a contradiction because in conversation participants knew they had not been alone although they could not name the friend who might have accompanied them. Most often these young adults mentioned

only one or two friends in recollection. Friends were significant, especially when participants were involved in a free time activity; such as, shopping in the general store or exploring the townsite. Participants' recollections of feelings for their peers were not dominant in the remembrances of "action" and "artifact within action." However, when asked to reflect on their meaning of the trip, some participants spoke of a closeness with their classmates. This closeness seemed in contrast to the feelings described as "feelings of emotional involvement" and "the actual feeling."

Feeling Closeness With The Group

In the data presented in Chapter 4, participants did not express a feeling of closeness with the group when recollecting "action" and "artifact within action." However, in discussion about the meaning of the field trip, "feeling one with the group" was expressed as memorable by a number of the participants, particularly the young women. Their experiences were recalled through explanations of what happened during this time in their lives. Many of these young adults have not heard from the other participants since elementary school. Some have not seen these friends since high school. A few keep in contact today. Nevertheless, in their recollections a closeness exists.

Bart was the only male who described his recollections of others through feelings:

It is one thing we all had from that era. It was all just a lot of fun. It had to be if you remember it so well years later, and it's basically the only thing you remember from that time period. The most powerful thing is the fact that it is still so fresh in a person's mind-how many years later? Whereas basically nothing else from that time is going on in a person's life at age eleven. Everything, of course, seemed major, but nothing in later life when you think back is a major thing. It's sort of not something you explain; it's a feeling. If there's anything that kids at that time in their life like, [it] is to be with everybody. All stay together, do everything together.

Sue explained, "Everyone got all together, it seemed like friendship." Camille described her experience as "special because we got to go together and we're all so close. It's something in common we all can relate to." Laura said, "We thought we spent a lot of time with each other at school and recess, but this took it another step." Tristine interpreted her connectedness with peers in these words: "You always felt like you needed someone there to be with you if you're exploring a new place 'cause you weren't sure where you were. It was all so new, and you wanted someone to be with you to almost help you out." Alexandra remembered the meaning of her adventure: "Independence from your parents even though you don't really like it. Like you're scared of it and you do get lonely, but the independence. 'Wow! I'm big enough to go away'. It was just adventuresome. It was just something different."

Alexandra's comment was shared with others who recalled the trip as being their first away from home for an extended time. The understanding that these young women in the study, rather than the young men, recalled a feeling of closeness with peers from the past may be significant. However, to explore the meaning of this difference is beyond the scope of this study. The participants shared a common past through their field trip to Barkerville. Perhaps for these participants this affective association helped them construct historical imagination expressed through images of peers from the past in the context of Barkerville. Recollected images from the field trip were shared in conversations. The images precipitated remembrances and stimulation of historical imagination as participants enlarged and described the meaning and understanding of their field trip. The theme "creating images and pictures" explores their meaning and understanding.

Creating Images and Pictures

The recollected images represented by a television program, artifacts, books and peers a decade ago stimulated the participants' understanding and explanation of their historical reconstructions today. Images included recollected comparison of action sites in Barkerville with the television program Little House on the Prairie. The images and pictures of Barkerville constructed by some participants during conversation helped them explain their meaning of the field trip. Furthermore, some

participants also compared the images of their experiences in Barkerville to their recollected school preparation, which included reading. The comparisons of school learning with experiences in Barkerville rendered more meaningful historical information and effected a change in imagined historical representation. Such a change occurred when the participants' anticipation of the historical environment interacted with the reality of their experience. In other words, knowledge was enhanced through learning in the context of Barkerville. In conversation participants explained the visual comparisons they made remembering discussions in school with the reality of the field trip. For example, Daryl stated, "When someone tells you something, you picture it, and it's that way until you see it."

Alexandra described the school house, "'cause you could picture it in your mind, and it felt like just going back in time like Little House on the Prairie." In the context of exploring the townsite, Alexandra explained, "You'd picture in your head what would be going on. If I was here, or if they were still here, this is what they'd be doing."

Reflecting on her experience in the graveyard, Roxanne stated, "Being able to see their markers was just like seeing them. We'd been talking about some of the people and then to see, like you put it together. The two are the same person."

In conversation Tristine said, "I'm picturing myself there, looking into the mine. I can see rain falling down; it's muddy. I'll

always remember the excitement, and the fact I'm seeing it for the first time. You've almost got expectations."

The knowledge obtained in school through reading, activity and discussion was extended through "artifact in action" in Barkerville. Emily explained her understanding of how the trip extended her school experience, which did not seem visual enough for her in comparison to Barkerville. She affirmed, "You don't get a lot out of reading through a book. You can't visualize what actually is going on, but when you see what was there, how people lived, and you know how the town was, you get to know a bit more."

Similarly, Bill related the experience of Barkerville to learning in school when he explained his comparative understanding of the trip: "It expands your mind. You get the visual because when you're learning it in school, it's just on paper; but when you're there, you're in it. It's a lot more interesting."

However, Daryl remembered constructing visual representations of Barkerville through reading and comparing them to his experiences in Barkerville. He maintained: [the trip]

helps you understand it better. You create those pictures in your mind in history in the classroom. You'd be back there and think about what it would be like. You go up there and it's not just pictures in your mind. You know what it was like and how they lived. You get to experience it. You can read about it in a book, but it's totally different when you go.

Kassandra also appeared to make comparisons between her visualizations developed in school and her recollections of Barkerville images.

Kassandra explained her understanding:

I think it was an exciting trip. I think it was a really good learning experience 'cause you learned it all paperwise, theorywise; then you actually got to go and live with it. These people were characters out of the books you'd read about. It was really neat to be there and actually visualize 'cause it's a lot different like from reading. You can visualize it and from actually being there.

When Daschel discussed the meaning of his reconstructed historical experience, he also compared his school knowledge with the field trip. In recollection the field trip enabled him to utilize his imagination. He also found a usefulness for his experiential information through application. Daschel explained:

I learned from the classroom, but I didn't understand it until we went to Barkerville. It was just knowledge; it had no actual application until we went to Barkerville and we saw this stuff. You used your imagination. When you go to a place like Barkerville, you see stuff you aren't going to see. The good thing was it tied in with everything we were learning in school, so it made it easier, and it helped me out in college too because I can remember stories about Begbie. We learned about him in first year college with Canadian history, and I could still remember stuff in grade five that I used in my reports.

Images and pictures created representations for these participants and helped them reconstruct their school and field trip understandings in explanation. Some participants relied more heavily on the visual presentation through heritage, which linked them to their formative understanding of Barkerville. Others compared their pictures of Barkerville with their images constructed through reading. The comparative differences were made memorable through an interaction of historical imagination and their experiences. Therefore participants' recollections of their experiences and historical imaginations are more fully developed within the theme "experiencing the past."

Experiencing the Past

Barkerville and its interpretative staff created an environment for experiencing action from the past for participants, who in recollection constructed historical imagination. For example, as a miner along the creek, Daryl imagined, "It was a different sense than when you were doing it at the trough. It was here, where they had done it. They weren't in troughs. I thought for sure we were going to hit gold." Daschel reconstructed panning at the stream: "We had our own little stakes; we started panning fool's gold. We actually thought it was real. We had gold fever." Moreover, during the trial participants experienced past actions of people before them. Laura described that they were "drawn into history as though it were happening right then." Alexandra recalled, "We were attending a real

trial." In Wendle House, the interpreters themselves linked participants with experiences of others from the past. Knox explained, "You look at the women who portray the ones back then. They were more of a robust type of people. Hardened by the hardships, so to speak." The interpreters' clothing also created an opportunity for experiencing the past. Sue explained, "We think of the past and what they wore. How awful it must have been in the summer to have to wear all those heavy, heavy clothes." Furthermore, in Wendle House the artifacts used in the action of household tasks created, particularly for female participants, recollections which extended their identification with others from the past. Similarly, the artifacts within the action of the school house, such as, writing on slate boards with slate pencils, reading from old texts, and sitting in old desks contributed to the participants' association with people from the past. In addition, reminiscences that the "teacher pulled on the bell... somebody wore a dunce cap... and the teacher carried a big switch..." stimulated participants' historical imaginations. Moreover, in the carpentry shop participants relived experiences from an historical past. As Bart discerned, "We made those tippers, actually making those chairs in there." Also, throughout the site, but more specifically from the carpenter, language as an artifact was re-created from the past. Cassandra understood, "You didn't realize it until you go back and they're talking 1800s."

Living in similar realities and routines stimulated participants' understanding and imagination of people's historical experiences. In addition, participants' historical understandings of sites, such as, the graveyard and the wagon road to Richfield, were created through their experiencing the past. Laura explained, "The graveyard is real. Some of the people who used to walk down these streets are now lying underground where we're making these rubbings." Walking on the Cariboo wagon road stimulated historical imagination in a comparative form. For example, Tristine remembered "...thinking years ago the men I was reading about walked on this pathway. I walked in the same place they did. I was always thinking, 'What did these people experience?'"

How did participants' encounters with the programs and "action" and "artifact within action" contribute to their understanding and meaning of "experiencing the past?" The following conversations enlarged this understanding.

Knox shared this reflection of his experience:

Well, due to the way the whole trip was set up, it was like going through a time warp, actually going back into there. You were actually there taking part in it. They paid particular attention to the authenticity just to create the overall effect. The characters did a good job.

Laura described her insights:

But now when I look back at it, that's what I label it as: it's a trip and time, through the element of time. You see it, and you see how people lived, and it just isn't words coming at you out of a page, and you're not getting tested on facts and figures type of thing. It's people's lives and how they lived.

Matthew clarified his understanding about his experience:

It showed us how hard life was and how easy we have it now. I think it's good to know. I mean from a book you learn it, but you don't know what it was like. But I think we learned what it was like and why there's people here. Basically, if it wasn't for the gold rush, there wouldn't be all these imports. You know, European people or whatever coming over to live here. You really got wrapped up in it. It made a difference going. They had the characters doing it, and they actually played the character.

Ted illuminated his unique experience in these words:

I like to read facts. I remember the preamble before we left was just great. I loved everything about reading about how much gold they found, where they found it, how much they made. I wanted to know everything about it. I like to remember all about the people, the history of the people. I like to know how much money they made, how deep the gold was. I like to know how they found it, whether they got it in a sluice box or a pan or a mine shaft, but just the history, the aura about what was so special about the place.

Emily described the meaning the trip held for her:

I got to learn a little bit more about it. The actual characters that were there helped make it happen. If there wasn't a Judge Begbie, teacher, ladies of Wendle House, there wouldn't really be a Barkerville. You'd just be walking through it and seeing what happened, but the story wouldn't be told. It's better for the students too 'cause they get to understand for themselves.

Active involvement of these participants in their own learning created a sense of community for them through "knowing the characters" in the narrative of Barkerville. Active participation also empowered students through the construction of their own similar but different personalized understandings. The linking of cognitive and affective reflection through their memorable experiential learning sustained their episodic understanding and the meaning of their field trip adventures.

Camille offered these understandings about her trip:

Take it away from the text book, like study it, but make the story interesting and tell little stories about it. Actually, we went into what we had talked about. It came to life.

Tristine contributed these words in conversation about the meaning of her experience:

Well, just to read it, you usually just read about it from a book, and you get someone else's description of the whole thing; but when you're there, you're in it. You're seeing it for yourself, and you're describing it for yourself, and you may see different things that might not have been important to the person that wrote the history but are more important to you. You're right into it, so you can experience it for yourself, not hearing someone else's description. The stuff in class helped us to understand the whole situation.

Kassandra described her meaning of the experience of the trip:

I thought it was a really neat learning experience 'cause you always remember it. It ties in. You build up all year. It was an historic town. It was everything you learned about and read. I think we were almost into the past the way they talked and the way they dressed. Everything was 1800s. You didn't have a chance to be back in the 1980s until you went back to the school, like the gym. So I think you were almost made to go back into the past because each day you got to do a different activity and learn about a different character. You knew about the gold rush, but that was the 1800s. This is the 1980s; like no town is going to have the original buildings and they're not going to be wearing these clothes. You went there and you kind of went, "They are!" (laughter). There are no cars, there's horses. You had to rewind and go back. There wasn't any television and there wasn't a digital radio. Everything was authentic. If it wasn't authentic, it was built to be authentic. You went into it. You knew all the characters from back then, and that's who they were. Judge Begbie was the Judge Begbie that you read about, like three months prior to that (laughter).

...Everything we did was a part of it. Even on our spare time we had our booklet, which was the past, and if you went to the candy store, it was buying five-cent candies. Everything was incorporated, and you went into the past. Like you wanted to, which was the first step, and everything else around helped you some more.

Roxanne recalled the meaning of her trip:

Out of all the things I did in school, I probably remember more from that trip and about history and about the way they did things compared to now. You see the differences. You're actually right there. It shows you exactly what it's like and it's a fun way of doing it. There you had more freedom. It was things that were really learning experiences, the openness, the outdoors, talking with your friends, not an adult there. It seemed like women didn't have as many important roles. The men were all in the shops: barbers, dentists. It was kind of like you knew back then that women were just in the home and had kids. I knew right from the start I could do whatever I wanted to do and be whatever I wanted to be. It was the past.

All participants recreated experiencing the past through examples and extensions recalled from their field trip adventures. Some compared these to their school preparation. Participants' vivid recollections and re-creations of personalized learning evident in interview data described the stimulation of historical imagination. Historical imagination and recollection were stimulated through an interactive comparison and construction with feelings, images and experiences. The affective engagement of

students in the past helped them reconstruct their knowledge and descriptions of their understandings in the present. The areas of cognitive and affective learning interacted in the process of participant construction of meaning. The meaning of their experience was enriched through a variety of artifacts which contributed to their historical imaginations. Emily included her insight into her construction when she said, "It's better for the students, too, 'cause they got to understand for themselves." Other participants, particularly Tristine, reinforced Emily's insight when she commented, "You're right into it, so you can experience it for yourself, not having someone else's description." Roxanne alluded to "someone else's description" which, at the time, she recalled not sharing when she remembered, "It seemed like women didn't have as many important roles. The men were all in the shops: barbers, dentists. It was kind of like you knew back then that women were just in the home and had kids. I knew right from the start I could do whatever I wanted to do and be whatever I wanted to be. It was the past."

Roxanne's comment caused me to consider the cumulative data provided, in part, by Laura, Tristine, Alexandra, Bart, Knox and Daschel. The different gender patterns in some action site recollections contributed to findings generated from data. The difference in gender recollection, when it occurred, required the author to question more fully the role of historical imagination and her generic use of the words "children" and "people" contained in the

definition. In questioning and keeping open the text of interview data, the following question emerged: What was presented for female children to imagine, and whose thoughts and experiences were available for them to discern? As a result, women's past emerged as a reference within the theme "experiencing the past."

Women's Past

Participants often used the word "people" to describe the population studied. However, women's roles were more narrowly defined than men's in the reconstruction of Barkerville of the 1860s. The writer realized that the interpretive roles reconstructed for the school programs seemed gender balanced. Two women in Wendle House and the woman teacher interpreted programs for the children. In addition to these women's roles, the carpenter and the miner interpreted common male roles from the past. Judge Begbie was significant as an historical figure, yet interpretive programs for children did not place undue emphasis on famous men.

Furthermore, the girls took part in all roles presented to them and perhaps were not limited in role opportunities. They were miners at the trough, but unlike the young men they had difficulty recollecting panning for gold along the creek. The female participants were carpenters, members of the town during the trial, or protagonists active in the trial as a lawyer, defendant or witness. For example, Emily enjoyed her role as a lawyer and felt her role was important. Sue recalled being a labourer during the trial. The

young women recalled their experiences in the graveyard but did not mention any female occupants. Moreover, it initially seemed that the lack of multiple roles of women within the larger context of Barkerville narrowed the boys' understanding of women of the past more than the girls'. Few male students in comparison to the females recollected the action, the artifacts, or the women of Wendle House.

In reflection, the limitation for the girls seemed to appear in the present as they confronted the roles of women presented from the past. Given the limited recollections of the boy's memories of Wendle House and the representation of male roles depicted in displays in Barkerville, it appeared the girls had to seek out "people" about whom to imagine and with whom to identify. As Roxanne pointed out, "It seemed like women didn't have as many important roles. The men were all in the shops: barbers, dentists... "

Nevertheless, Emily remembered the woman buying a hat and the detail in the millinery display. Alexandra recreated her imaginative pretending at being a hurdy-gurdy girl walking down the streets of Barkerville. She imagined the courtesy shown to ladies during that time. Furthermore, Alexandra incorporated the church and its importance into the lives of women in Barkerville. Cassandra recalled the detail of the women's homemade soap used while washing behind Wendle House. Sue, along with other female participants, remembered the detail of the women's clothing. Tristine and Alexandra described the tone and unhurried activities of

Wendle House. Laura wondered about the adventuresome nature of the women in a community characterized by male dominance. Laura believed that the roles of women within the household were important and meaningful. She did not see them as diminished; rather, she found them challenging and wanted to perform the household tasks well. Furthermore, she questioned the possible realities of Barkerville women's past.

At the time of the trip, women's roles were limited on site and within the school materials, yet some female participants imaginatively extended them within the context of the historical period reconstructed. Therefore, Cornelius was asked about the women in Barkerville.

Cornelius:

Barkerville is a masculine place, always had been. That's because [of] the domination of numbers. Certainly anybody who looks at the history of Barkerville sees that there were as many strong ladies in the Cariboo gold rush as in any other aspect of society during that whole era. There were the Fanny Bendixons; there were the Mrs. Wendles. If you look at the business people in Barkerville, there were an awful lot of independent ladies running their own businesses: Catherine Austin.

Fanny:

When I look back now, together did we emphasize any of that?

Cornelius:

We didn't as much as we could have because it's something that grew on me in awareness. What I brought to Barkerville was a passion for research, for finding out the way it really was, and by the time I left, I had mined all of that stuff pretty well certainly not to completion. What had come out of that mining was the fact that it was a place where ladies could be free, do their own thing, to run their own businesses and to be citizens. The more formal Victoria society didn't have that at all; and you're right, our school program emphasized that to a very minor degree although that theme was carried inevitably. The ladies we got to do the Wendle House program were strong, strong ladies and were much stronger in personality than the men because the men were a different sort of type that we hired; so whether the children picked up on that or not, they would have come away, I would hope, with a strong sense of the strength of ladies in the Cariboo. But no, there was no sort of conscious effort to push that theme at all. And there could have been and should have been, maybe, because it certainly is one of the things [in] my research, no question about it.

This study did not seek to evaluate the programs offered a decade ago, nor to critique Barkerville's historical representation. Cornelius himself recognized the predominance of men in Barkerville's reconstruction. This predominance was not surprising in view of societal views on gender issues in the 1950s when Barkerville was reconstructed as an historical site. In fact,

Roxanne's comment was not provoked through remembrance of the interpreters of Barkerville but rather by the roles represented by the mannequins. However, in spite of the atmosphere of male dominance at Barkerville, some young females reconstructed historical imagination to place themselves within the historic context of Barkerville. Some of their recollections incorporated images and descriptions of the use of artifacts while others came from a television program. Some of their recollections relied on imaginative pretending during site explorations. In this study, the young women recollected little difficulty placing themselves in the past, albeit as women.

In reflection, the writer speculated as to what the young women might have imagined if the historical site reconstruction were based on recent findings, alluded to by Cornelius, which emphasize the role of women in the past. This theme also created a reflective examination of prior practice in the teaching of social studies. The researcher's more recent work with children in another heritage site had enlarged the context of female roles. In her work with children at O'Keefe ranch, for example, female students were encouraged to investigate archives, which included letters and documents created by women. Furthermore, historical dramatizations and role plays of women's suffrage had included young girls as female protagonists from the past (Green and Nicol, 1985).

However, in this original site visitation it was clear that male participants were not attuned to reflect upon women's roles in Barkerville. As Bart pointed out when he recalled his experience in Wendle House as "making a big fuss that we had to sew 'cause we were guys, and we should be out playing baseball or something like that." Similarly, the female participants constructed comparisons between the miners' actions and themselves but did not imagine themselves as miners panning along Williams Creek. Camille provided an example in her recollection of the assay office display. She attempted to imagine herself presenting her gold to the assayer and also imagined the men gathered outside the display whereas Matthew imagined and identified himself as a miner who had brought his gold to the assayer. Examples such as those provided by Camille and Matthew illuminated the data which emerged through gender recollection and provided greater insight into participants' field trip experiences and historical imaginations. Gender recollection emerged from the interview data as a significant construct underlying the author's generic definition of historical imagination. The findings pertinent to gender recollection are presented in the summary discussion.

Summary of Gender Recollections and Historical Imagination

Participant recollection and historical imagination stimulated within the context of the school house created actions for both males and females to discern for themselves through imagination

the thoughts and experiences of former children of Barkerville. Some participants compared their experiential understanding based on their use of artifacts within the school house. Some participants expanded their thoughts on the school house through an interactive and comparative engagement with popular culture; they likened their experiences to those represented on the television program Little House On The Prairie. Females' and males' historical imagination was stimulated by remembering themselves in the context of time and place.

Historical imagination stimulated within recollection of the action of gold panning along the creek or at the stream, however, afforded male participants more opportunity than female participants to discern the thoughts and experiences of people from the past. Males identified with the experiences of miners and their historical representation. In effect, the males in this study recalled imagining themselves as "them." As some said, "We became miners ourselves." At the time of the trip, some male participants extended their understanding through childhood play, and this activity helped them reconstruct their action during interviews. The female participants did not recollect imagining themselves as miners. The females recalled panning beside the trough where the man helped them become more skillful in panning, but no females recollected panning at the stream behind Wendle House in free time play with the male participants in this study. Also, few females remembered gold panning along the creek. The young woman who actually

recalled the action along the creek did so in a comparative way. As Tristine said, "If they [miners] can do it, I can do it too."

This similarity of constructed historical imagination seemed reversed for female and male participants in their recollection of the action in Wendle House. Although the jobs were gender specific, most males did not imagine the thoughts and experiences of people from the past within this action site. The male participants did not recall masculine actions in this site. On the other hand, the males that did recall the site constructed imagination within the action of the household in a comparative form. For example, Knox compared women today with his recollected image of the robust pioneer women of the past. Bart recalled his own experience and articulated his lack of gender identification within the interpretive reconstruction in Wendle House. The gender differences identified by the males were in contrast to the specific details of female recollections and imaginations of the "actions" and "artifacts within action" in Wendle House.

Different patterns in gender recollections surfaced in the action of the trial. For example, male participants described Matthew Baillie Begbie more realistically using such words as "stern" and "strict" whereas the females tended to define him more transcendently remembering him as "mystical" and "ominous." In recollection, female and male participants seemed equally engaged through their anxiety in Begbie's presence. However, how males and females described Begbie was different. Perhaps this discrepancy is

related to an understanding of the underlying structure of power which Begbie represented. The perception of power as defined by males and females in participation and recollection of field trip learning experiences, such as, mock trials and historical representation, warrants further investigation. The young women who participated as protagonists in the trial did so as men from the past (see appendix A). In effect, all participants depicted in this historical representation of the trial were male characters.

In contrast to the findings of the aforementioned sites, no apparent differences surfaced in gender recollection of shopping in the general store. Gender differences were not demonstrated in exploration of the graveyard or exploring some specific displays in the townsite. One of the reasons for this lack of gender difference could be that role playing was not employed during investigation of the graveyard. The graveyard was constructed by participants as reality as opposed to fantasy of male and female people of the past. Although participants did not allude specifically to women buried in the graveyard, it contained people in a broader definition than implied through gender exclusion embedded in the trial. In the graveyard, participants were freer to imagine the past lives of the occupants within the greater context of the town and surrounding geography of Barkerville. Prior learning from studying about those who participated in the gold rush contributed to the reality of their understanding.

Juxtaposed with participants' interactive reality of the graveyard site was the participants' uncertain reality/unreality of the mannequins in the displays. This juxtaposition also contributed to the reality of the participants in the townsite who imagined themselves as characters in the past. For example, transcriptions reveal gender recollection was similar when participants compared their childhood knowledge with the reconstruction of others' past experiences in the dentist and the barber sites. In effect, at the time of exploration, the mannequins in these displays brought the students back to the present as they imagined themselves living in the townsite. However, the pattern of gender recollection and historical imagination was dissimilar when participants encountered townsite displays which were not in their childhood experiences, such as, the assay office, the saloon or the millinery shop. When participants recalled these sites, their reconstructions and imaginations in conversation seemed more fully engaged and descriptive.

Summary

Chapter 5 discussed the interpretation of participants' historical imagination and meaning of their field trip to Barkerville. One theme which framed the discussion in this chapter was recollecting feelings which encompassed three references: feelings of emotional involvement, "the actual feeling" as an expression of historical imagination, and feeling closeness with the group.

Equally important to recollecting feelings, images and pictures and experiencing the past were themes framed from the stimulation of historical imagination to illuminate the meaning and understanding participants expressed in reflection. A reference encompassed within "experiencing the past" was women's past which emerged from data through patterns underlying gender recollection.

Participants remembered Barkerville as a wonderful backdrop for their memorable experiences, imaginations and recollections. Most memorable recollections of these experiences involved the activities and orality of childhood play: sneaking, peeking, laughing, joking, debating and scheming. Participants in a variety of ways expressed the meaning the trip held for them. Their meaning consisted of interaction among feelings, images and experiences that appeared in conversation as remembrances, perceptions and imaginations (Polkinghorne, 1988). There appeared to be an interplay among feelings, understanding and explanation expressed by the participants. In reflection their experiences deepened their understanding of history represented through the reconstructed heritage site. Their understanding of school knowledge, when coupled with their concrete learning experiences and mixed with historical imagination, extended the meaning the trip held for them. This observation strengthens Bloom's (1990) understanding that "few approaches used to explore cognitive and meaningful learning have considered aspects of cognition other than semantic knowledge, which is memory of general concepts, principles and their

associations. A greater percent of what is listed as semantic knowledge may, in fact, be tied closely to episodic or experiential knowledge" (p. 13). This chapter revealed some of the experiential learning from the past is indeed used in their construction of meaning today. Although a decade has passed since these participants experienced "action" and "artifact within action" in Barkerville, the duration has not dampened their cognitive and affective engagement with their initial response to historical information. Moreover, the durability of knowledge has not been addressed in the informal learning environments of museums and heritage sites (Munley, 1987).

In the light of the above, attention should be addressed to the special nature of learning in heritage sites. Similarly, like the experiences provided for students in Barkerville, heritage sites may be less concerned about teaching specific facts and more intent on creating environments that enable individuals to gain an insight into the reconstructed world that surrounds them.

Participants in this study were ten and eleven years old when they undertook their adventure to Barkerville. Watts (1972, p. 93) concluded at this stage, "Your aim is to give them an historical experience and to leave them a little better equipped to deepen it the next time they encounter the topic." Some female participants contributed examples of deepening the topic by extending the role of women in Barkerville through historical imagination within the theme "experiencing the past." However, it appeared only Laura and

Roxanne critically reflected on the representation of women in Barkerville. Today, however, few participants are critical of their experiences or the socio-political representation offered through the grade five program of studies and the field trip extension.

The concluding chapter of this study will feature a review of the study, a summary discussion of the findings and conclusions, recommendations for research informing pedagogical practice and the author's reflections.

CHAPTER 6

Summary, Recommendations and Reflections

Chapter 6 is divided into six sections: (1) a review of this study, (2) background and significance of the study, (3) a summary discussion of the findings and conclusions of the study, (4) gender recollection and implications for social studies, (5) summary of recommendations for pedagogical practice and future research, and (6) the author's reflections.

Review of the Study

The purpose of this study was to investigate through the vehicle of oral history, recollected historical imagination of sixteen participants in "action" and "artifact within action" precipitated by a field trip to Barkerville a decade ago. Historical imagination was defined as placing children within past actions or experiences of history through heritage to discern for themselves the thoughts and experiences of people of the past (p. 5). This study developed the concept of shared voice, defined as the interactive memory of former students and teacher, who explored recollections, which stimulated historical imagination, meaning and understanding of a childhood field trip to an historic site (p. 10).

In effect, this study involved two areas of exploration: to elicit participants' elaborations of their understanding of the significance of their experience of historical imagination in "action" and "artifact within action" and to develop the concept of shared voice of former students informing a teacher through conversational interviews about their field trip experiences.

Background and Significance of the Study

Much of the empirical research on teaching history has investigated concepts, strategies and content considered necessary for children's historical understanding. Some research on teaching history to children has investigated Piaget's stages of development and children's ability to understand history. For example, Hallam found children studying history topics reached the stages of development outlined by Piaget some three years later than those outlined for children's understanding of mathematics and science (Zaccaria, 1978). However, more recent research in teaching and learning history has investigated the use of narrative sources for children (Downey and Levstik, 1991). In addition, some scholars such as Newmann (1988; 1990) and Hickey (1990) advocated the use of role playing, mock trials and historic dramatizations to engage children with historic topics. Scholars have also elaborated on the importance of field trip studies to historic sites to promote student engagement, experiential learning and active involvement with historical topics (Watts, 1972; Cuthbertson, 1986; Martin, 1987;

Myers, 1988) However, little has been written about the stimulation of historical imagination through the process of field trips. Armento (In Shaver, 1991, p. 189) encouraged social studies researchers "to find new ways to study the role of such constructs as teacher caring, imagination, identification and role taking in social studies." In addition, Cornbleth (1985) suggested that social studies would benefit from research which addressed three dimensions: contextualization, interaction and sensitivity to participants' conceptions about their learning. The contextualization of a social studies topic within the narrative structure of recollection has been demonstrated in this study. As Connelly and Clandinin have stated, "In understanding ourselves and our students educationally, we need an understanding of people with a narrative of life experiences. Narratives are the context for making meaning of school situations" (1990, p. 9). In this study the concept of shared voice, developed through narrative conversations, furnished a form of discussion about past learning experiences concerning a specific topic in social studies. This study created an opportunity for former students to speak to their educational experiences and their understanding of the meaning of those experiences. Their recollections and understandings in turn precipitated reflections on teaching practice by the researcher/teacher. These reflections were examined in light of Cornbleth's comment that interpretive studies serve "to reorient ourselves to the best way to portray and interpret

the contexts, interactions and participant conceptions of classroom phenomena" (1982, p. 10).

A Summary Discussion of the Findings and Conclusions of the Study

The question that guided this study and contributed to its design was the following: What was the nature of historical imagination constructed from participants' recollections through "action" and "artifact within action" based on an extended field trip to an historic site in the recent past? Furthermore, as an extension of these contexts, patterns of gender responses in participant recollection were also examined. Indeed, gender recollection emerged as a significant construct underlying historical imagination. Hopefully the findings and conclusions of this study will contribute to an understanding of appropriate approaches to the teaching of history to children. The findings and conclusions of this study are discussed within the review of literature.

To reiterate this debate discussed in Chapter 2, some scholars argued history is learned by children through stories, music, art and drama whereas other scholars view history learning by children more experientially through discovery, inquiry and response to historical data. As mentioned previously, there exists in the literature pedagogical controversy about the utility and appropriateness of teaching history to children. Some scholars recommend that history not be taught to children until they reach formal operational thinking. However, Portal (1987) described the

current research on teaching and learning history as emerging from a Piagetian straight-jacket. He recommended that a history curriculum for children be designed and taught based upon their interests and understandings. Similarly, in addition to the recommendation for a literature based approach to teach history to young children, the Bradley Commission (1988) has endorsed an elementary history curriculum in which children study family and local history. This recommendation was supported by Downey (1986) who specified, "...history based on the experiences of real children will be closer to the truth than fiction that is dependent upon the imagination of adults." Furthermore, Levstik (1990, p. 328) has demonstrated in her recent study using literature with grade five children that "the world constructed through literature may be more motivating, more exciting, and more memorable than the prose in a social studies text, but it is still a world viewed through a particular set of social, political and moral constructs." It is apparent from the above discussion that controversy about the teaching and learning of history for children continues. However, the pedagogical discussion is expanded in this thesis to provide children with experiential learning beyond the use of literature or discovery to include additional forms of narrative construction for children. Most importantly, this discussion elaborates upon field trip experiences to heritage sites. Koran, Longino and Shafer (1983) found participants prefer narrative or story structures in these settings over learning isolated facts and concepts. Cromley (1986)

explained that interpretations and stories presented in heritage sites develop for participants the daily texture of life from the past. Sidford (1974, p. 33) found the vividness of such personal experiences in heritage sites "adds detail to the visitors' basic conceptual understanding and helps give them a clearer sense of 'what it was like to live back then.'"

Studies on learning history through a visit to a heritage site have not investigated participants' recollected learning (Munley, 1987; Loomis, 1987; Donald, 1991). As such, this study contributes a number of findings and conclusions about such learning.

First, in this study, participants were questioned about the meaning of the trip a decade after the trip took place whereas some studies investigate participants' factual learning while on site (Munley, 1987). Second, the amount of time spent on site during their visit was not short in duration and hurried in execution. In studies of museum participation, visits often represent an afternoon away from school (Cuthbertson, 1986). The participants in this study spent a week away from school activities, and they recalled having free time to explore the site on their own. Their free time exploration may have contributed to a reduction in "the novel field trip environment" defined by Falk (In Kool, 1985, p. 80-81). Falk, moreover, found that "in novel, unfamiliar environments, students pay more attention to their setting than to their appointed learning tasks." Participants in this study alluded to the novel environment. However, they explained that after visiting the site for a number of

days, they became accustomed to it. In fact, they became familiar with the characters and the townsite of Barkerville through participation and exploration. Third, as children, their on site learning was active through their own participation in re-created action, such as, gold panning. In addition, these participants entered into a number of historical displays, such as Wendle House and the school house, and were actively involved with "artifact in action." In recollection, these objects have created and nurtured their childhood memories. MacKenzie (1985, p. 36) stated, "Objects open the world up to the investigation of a child. In fact, they provide the basis for lifelong learning." Objects have significantly contributed to participant recollection and historical imagination a decade after their experiences with them. Cuthbertson (1986, p. 85) also explained that "it is this individual contact with the past that can allow people to share personally in history, and without that level of involvement, all history is story telling." The participants recalled the history of Barkerville and their field trip learning as a story that was told by the characters they met in text and in interpretation. The foundational knowledge learned in school was compared, explained and extended by their experiential knowledge gleaned on site. In recollection, the "routines of the town" blended the programs together, and the students themselves recalled being characters of their own actions in an historical context. Fourth, the participants viewed individual exhibits, such as the barber shop, assay office, saloon and millinery shop, which were contextually

congruent within the larger setting of the townsite. Moreover, inhabitants, such as the storekeeper and the mannequins, were contextualized within the buildings of the townsite.

Initially, the writer was surprised by the common pattern of participant recollection of the mannequins. However, some insight was revealed when Laura stated:

The mannequins are always in there when no one else is. What really went on? All the hustle and the bustle and all the people and all the feelings and all the ideas and everything is in the core of that street and all those houses, and it's there, and those shops have seen it all. You know, if they [mannequins] could only speak, they could really tell us.

A decade later, it seemed the mannequins have maintained their unreal reality for the participants. Like the other participants, Laura was aware that the mannequins were wax or papier mache' dummies, yet somehow they remained real in the context of the participants' original site discovery. Perhaps the mannequins provoked recollections of exploration and childhood conversations constructed about the mannequins. In summary, this study investigated recollected learning in which participants' week long field trip learning included a reduction in "the novel field trip environment" through participation and exploration with "action" and "artifact within action." Participants recollected their experiential

leaning through their own understanding of the reality of Barkerville and its inhabitants from the past.

In reflection, what was the foundation for participants' reality of Barkerville? Prior to their field trip a decade ago, students studied the gold rush. The curator had forwarded pre-program materials for preparation and use by the teacher. Some of these materials were incorporated into the student booklet (See Appendix C). This study did not explore participants' recollections about school preparation including activities and readings. However, these were alluded to in participants' conversation. Student preparation using these sources are mentioned to indicate the importance of preparing students beforehand with knowledge about the gold rush. These materials supplemented the recommended text, The Gold Rush (Neering, 1974). Bart recalled his understanding of the importance of prior knowledge based on his school preparation:

I think it made everything quite realistic because we knew about it before we went. Like if you go and visit somewhere like a historical place and you don't know about it until you are there; you read the signs that they have there and that's when you learn about it. You hardly pick it up at all. If you're going to go to a place like that and you do know about it it's a hundred per cent better.

Cornelius recalled how well prepared the children were for their trip to Barkerville:

The kids came on the first day and it was neat because we saw how knowledgeable they were. They'd been prepared. They knew their stuff and one of my interpreters said the town had burned down in 1867. Well one of your kids put up his hand and said, "No, it was 1868." From that point on I could use that on the interpreter and say you better know your stuff by day one or we're in trouble. If they came away with a really good program and not too much criticism about the historical knowledge I knew I was okay for the rest of the period [six weeks of programs].

As much as the participants were prepared with historical knowledge prior to the trip, in the context of this study, some also recollected historical fiction based on a favourite television program at the time. However, upon closer examination, the context of this stimulation contributed to historical imagination constructed from experiences in the school house. In this way, these participants linked this additional source of prior knowledge to explain and extend the meaning and understanding of this "action" site.

Similarly, Barkerville provided experiences for participants, which were nested in the narrative telling of people's lives from the past. Moreover, historical imagination was provoked through recollection of these narrative experiences. Their narrative experiences were also activated through feelings of emotional engagement and of being in the past. The memorable historical learning through interpretation programs was embedded in emotion and easily recalled. Often, during conversation, it seemed as if the

participants were back in Barkerville. The images of themselves engaged with others, such as, the Wendle House ladies, the gold miner or Matthew Begbie, evoked images of the interpreters in recollection. Participants recalled their emotional states: anxiety in the trial, possibility beside the troughs, fear and uncertainty in the graveyard and anticipation on the trek to Richfield, which, in turn, provoked sensory recollection and historical imaginations of the past. Their affective engagement with an historical topic presented in the larger context of Barkerville made their historical learning more meaningful.

In addition, participants' affective engagement was also linked to recollections of peers from the past participating in different "action" sites. A teacher had joined this age-related group of children, and the context developed in school when learning about the gold rush was the function of the participants' interaction. The recollections of interactions on site with peers from the past contributed to their learning of an historical topic and stimulated their historical imagination. Their on site discovery and inquiry situated in the larger narrative of Barkerville was stimulated through students' recollected exploration of the townsite and their childhood discussions and play. In this way the study reinforced their former teacher's understanding of the importance of children's friendships while on field trips. The small groups designed for participant involvement in the Barkerville school programs had been determined with the children prior to the trip. The focus of the field

trip, however intellectual and cognitive in design, assisted the teacher to realize the importance of students' being with friends. Children within these classes continued in similar groupings beyond the classes shared with this particular teacher. The Barkerville trip formed part of their collective memory of their school experiences.

How does this study contribute to research on pedagogical practice of social studies? The research on pedagogical practice of social studies is marked by few interpretive studies which investigate the construction of participants' understanding. More often social studies education is informed through position papers, arguments and philosophical pronouncements (White, 1986; Fraenkel, 1987; Cornbleth, 1989; Shaver 1991). Moreover, much empirical research on pedagogical practice has investigated students' conceptual attainment, development of skills, and analyses of social studies textbooks. Finally, teacher use of textbooks persists in the teaching of social studies and is cited in many analyses of social studies education (Goodlad, 1984; Apple 1990; Newmann, 1990; Shaver, 1991). As a result of this research, active engagement in student learning is encouraged and recommended by some social studies scholars (Egan, 1988; Newmann, 1990). For example, Brophy (1990, p. 392) stated, "Providing opportunities for children to encounter history in a subjective context that engages their emotions as well as their intellect should be an effective way to teach them history or, at least, to introduce them to it." This study demonstrates that the participants' subjective context indeed

engaged them with a historical topic introduced to them during grade five. However, research that demonstrates participants' meaning of engaged learning, rather than the organizational practice of such learning, seems isolated and confined to recommendation for teachers of secondary students (Newmann, 1990). This study described the recollections of students' active learning of an historical topic in an informal environment.

Furthermore, this study included the episodic and experiential recollection through the interpretation of participants' meaning of their field trip. A greater understanding of an historical topic introduced to children in elementary school revealed that some participants did not include attributes of the topic through examples of their understandings comparatively constructed from their later learning in high school. Their learning seemed to remain contextualized in the formative foundation of episodic and experiential understanding created in their pasts as elementary students. As Emily said, "It's better for students, too, 'cause they got to understand it for themselves." Tristine agreed, "You're right into it, so you can experience it for yourself, not having someone else's description." This episodic learning is perhaps more memorable as participants' were active in the construction of meaning.

In as much as this study did not predetermine categories for investigation, gender recollection as a construct was specifically addressed during the investigation of participants' historical

imagination. However, the few female participants who questioned gender depiction within the historic context of Barkerville displayed their reconstructed understandings about a woman's place. They provided contradictory assertions and provoked the researcher's closer questioning of the data. The underlying gender assumptions embedded in engaged learning were made more apparent through participant recollection and teacher reflection. As such, it is concluded that historic accounts available through archival collections, including those on women of Barkerville, find their way into interpretation programs, mainstream curriculum materials and documents for children.

In summary, children's historical learning in Barkerville and participant recollection of their learning contributed findings to the debate in the philosophical and pedagogical practice of teaching history to children in an experiential environment. Participants were able to discover and inquire about historical information presented to them in action sites, rich in artifact and framed in a narrative context. In effect, they remembered being characters of their own actions, created by an interpreter and stimulated through historical imagination. Similarly, in sites that did not provide an interpreter and included free play, such as peeking and sneaking, participants were afforded the opportunity to construct an understanding of their historical knowledge, which in turn stimulated historical imagination and included recollections of the "actual feeling."

Furthermore, this study reinforced the concept of learning expressed by Whitehead that encouraged children's romantic participation as learners. Participants' vivid recollections and re-creations of personalized learning were evident in the interview data. Their historical imaginations and recollections presented an interactive construction with feelings, images and experiences. The affective engagement of students in the past helped them reconstruct their knowledge and descriptions of their understandings in the present. The areas of affective and cognitive learning interacted in the process of participant reconstruction of meaning. The meaning of their experience was enriched through a variety of artifacts, and these contributed to their historical imaginations. As Ricoeur (1989, p. 4) pointed out, "Images are spoken before they are seen." During conversations images were constructed; they enlarged the participants' descriptive recollections. Participant construction of image seemed more elusive in text than in conversation. It seemed easier to hear such construction in participant conversation than to see it printed in text. The transcripts prompt their voices in the researcher's reconstruction and recollection. One example of an image constructed and embellished through conversation was the masculine representation denoted by a few females, but not by males in recollection. Thus, gender recollection emerged as a significant construct underlying historical imagination.

Gender Recollection and Implications for Social Studies.

For the researcher/teacher this study, through reflection of earlier pedagogical practice, unearthed underlying nonconscious gender assumptions contained in examples of student engagement --role play, mock trial and historic dramatization-- as revealed through some female participants' reflective and imaginative reconstructions. These participants' experiences of recollected active and engaged learning were enlarged within the context of this study. This study reinforced Armento's suggestion that researchers find new ways to study imagination and role taking in social studies. The underlying gender assumptions embedded in the content of active learning, engaged learning or informal learning are in need of greater social studies research. As mentioned earlier, engaged and active learning is advocated by scholars to enhance student understanding through their own participation. However, to advocate such learning as an alternative to the use of worksheets and textbooks might include an examination of the content of the event in which students are actively engaged. Such studies should help teachers gain an understanding of nonconscious gender assumptions constructed through curriculum practices, content and representation through the generic use of "people," which may be narrowly defined as "male people." Tomm (1989, p. 127) stated the issue in these terms: "Include the voices of women as a significant way to add women's history rather than women to history." For example, women's voices were included through interpretation in

Wendle House, and in turn, stimulated female recollection to extend women's roles in Barkerville through historical imagination.

Teachers might question the number of times girls assume male roles from an historical past because no women were present in the event being portrayed. Therefore, it is recommended that the period of British Columbia history studied as the gold rush portray women in active and multiple roles. For our students in the intermediate grades, we should not continue the practice of women's historical exclusion through the practice of assumed inclusion through historical mock trials and historical dramatization. All the young women in this study took part in experiential learning during the mock trial as historical males. As educators we have choices: (1) we can depict other events; (2) we can develop historical fiction about the historical event; or (3) we can write in the female voice for children through historical documentation of the event portrayed. "...Unfortunately, very little of this scholarship [women's history] is finding its way into history classrooms" (Sheehan, 1991, p. 286). It is recommended that we write in the female voice for children given the comments by Cornelius, former curator of Barkerville, and the findings on the use of narrative cited previously by Downey and Levstik (1991). The increased inclusion of women's pasts will contribute to the imaginative lives of young girls. Including materials and multiple role representations of women through their presence in historical documentation is important for both female and male understanding of the past.

In summary, the socio-cultural reality of Barkerville was underplayed through materials and research available to a teacher, an interpreter and a curator a decade ago. Watts (1972, p. 72) emphasized, "Women have not had a good press in history, and the range of stories about women, suitable for any particular age-range and which provides the teacher with sufficient material, is quite limited." Perhaps this pedagogical practice is more prevalent than many assume when two decades later Egan (1990, p. 163) explained, "It seems the social pressures through most of culture's history have encouraged middle class male imaginations to locate a sense of self that anticipated power and multiple opportunities. Such pressures persist and our literature and institutions tend to support them."

All those involved in the creation of activities for children did not design children's experiences in ignorance but perhaps with unexamined assumptions. A decade ago material available for interpretation reflective of the historic period reconstructed seemed to assign limited roles to women and multiple roles to men, perhaps not predominantly nor intentionally within the school programs. The role of the hurdy gurdy girl in Barkerville was implied but not developed through interpretation. In essence, however, historically, women in Barkerville were in a minority. The biographical information present on the gravemarkers had not been researched more fully as background or interpretive knowledge. A decade ago, cognizant of the age of the children involved, the

curator, interpreters and teacher, in effect, worked within the existent historical materials available through publication and interpretation, which did not afford sufficient emphasis to the role of women. The findings pertinent to gender recollection, however, do not diminish the importance of experiential learning. It must be remembered that few female participants provoked the researcher's awareness of the generic definition of historical imagination. For many participants the gender depiction through content and representation did not emerge as a remembrance or consideration.

Recommendations for Pedagogical Practice and Future Research

This study has illuminated the discussion of the value of experiential or active learning. History taught to children through participation with "action" and "artifact within action" demonstrated participants' affective and cognitive engagement with a historical topic a decade after the experiential learning took place. Participants extended personal references and identified original impressions and experiences exploring a social studies topic. Participants' historical response was evident over time and utilized in the active construction of meaning through vivid recollections, which employed historical imagination to explain and extend their historical understandings. The constructs most evident underlying historical imagination were interaction, free play, provocation, the supernatural and engagement. Furthermore, gender was a significant construct. Therefore, the following recommendations for

pedagogical practice and future research are based upon the findings and conclusions drawn from this study informing the teaching and learning of history based upon a field trip to an historic site.

- 1) It is recommended that the concept of shared voice be developed to enable teachers to understand the meaning of their prior practice.
- 2) It is recommended that children's historical imagination and understanding be developed through the use of "action" and "artifact within action."
- 3) It is recommended that the interactive nature of learning through children's response to artifact be investigated more fully.
- 4) It is recommended that heritage site personnel provide opportunities for small groups of children to explore the site on their own.
- 5) It is recommended that teachers planning for field trips to historic sites prepare the children with background knowledge and understanding.
- 6) It is recommended that teachers include opportunities for childhood play when visiting heritage sites including sneaking, peeking, laughing, joking and debating to develop children's active construction of historical imagination, meaning and understanding.
- 7) It is recommended that underlying gender assumptions embedded in the content of active learning or engaged learning in social studies such as mock trial and role play, be investigated more fully.

8) It is recommended that the female voice be developed from historical documents for children studying about Barkerville and the gold rush.

9) It is recommended that the development of children's social understanding be investigated more fully through field trip experiences.

Researcher/Teacher Reflections.

I undertook this qualitative study, in part, to discover what young adults might tell us about informal learning through their field trip recollections. The definition of historical imagination was developed for this investigation. I speculated as to what data might emerge to provide a greater understanding of "action" and "artifact in action" and experiential learning. I returned to former students to find the meaning of their recollections and historical imaginations based upon their field trip to Barkerville. Through a shared voice of participants informing a teacher of these childhood recollections, I questioned what historical imagination might be stimulated.

The discernible pattern that forced me into personal recollection of prior practice of teaching history to boys and girls a decade ago was the emergent curriculum of exclusion of women's full depiction in content and representation. In the development of my own pedagogical practice during these ensuing years, I had expanded the representation of historical events to include the role of women in our history.

In conclusion, this study represented the participants' interactive memory of Barkerville with their former teacher. initially, the experience a teacher shares with students and historical imagination was captured by Eliot (1943):

Time present and time past
Are both present in time future
And time future contained in time past.

The progression of children through the grades seems linear. However, the progression of children through a teacher's life is circular as the past is woven into the future. Their present informed my past. Our past informed our present. Together we explored the stimulation of historical imagination in "action" and "artifact in action."

This historic field trip was taken a decade ago to expand the program of studies and to help children think about the past through their own participation in reconstructed experiences. In this way it was thought that children would understand the lives of the people studied. The books, films, activities and discussions in school provided them with some knowledge and understanding about Barkerville and the gold rush. However, nothing in school compared to their search for gold flakes on site, Matthew Begbie being portrayed as a real character, the soap made by the daily work of women, the tone and feeling of Wendle House, or the comparison of

their own lives with those of children in the school house in Barkerville. The carpenter's skill and his use of hand tools or the miner's skill finding "colours" in his pan prompted excitement and possibility. The interpreters' invitation to the children to have a try in developing these skills themselves allowed them to experience the past through direct contact with artifacts. The children were most responsive to the invitations to participate, and once their curiosity was aroused through "action" and "artifact within action," they were eager to learn more about the lives of people who demonstrated such skill in the past. They searched for historical evidence throughout the town. The field trip provided them with an abundant record of non-written material in this re-created context of the past. In recollection, historical imagination was stimulated as they created their own narrative constructions of re-enacting the past. They experienced "the actual feeling" of their own response to their understanding of an associated sense of the past as real.

Collectively, these participants remembered a unique experience shared together in childhood. Barkerville remains a special setting in which cognitive, affective and sensory learning happened in a holistic way. This experiential learning contributed to their recollections of feelings, images and experiences.

Csikszentmihalyi (1990, p. 134) perhaps captured the meaning of the participants' field trip experience with his understanding of the teaching and learning of history:

All too often we are inclined to view history as a dreary list of dates to memorize, a chronicle established by ancient scholars for their own amusement. It is a field we might tolerate, but not love; it is a subject we learn about so as to be considered educated, but it will be learned unwillingly. If this is the case, history can do little to improve the quality of life. Knowledge that is seen to be controlled from the outside is acquired with reluctance, and it brings no joy. But as soon as a person decides which aspects of the past are compelling, and decides to pursue them, focusing on the sources and the details that are personally meaningful, and recording findings in a personal style, then learning history can become a full-fledged flow experience.

The study was bound by "action" and "artifact within action." Choices were made as data was broken into manageable frames and themes: to enlarge an understanding of historical imagination based on a topic studied in social studies through recollections of a field trip, to interpret material gathered through oral history conversations, and to discuss the interpretation of historical imagination and the meaning of participants' experiences.

There were other participants beyond those in this study who accompanied these adventurers to Barkerville. These other Barkerville travellers serve to remind us that this study was one small recollection of the collective experiences of a field trip. Eliot (1943) understood:

What might have been and what has been
Point to one end, which is always present.
Footfalls echo in the memory
Down the passage we did not take
Towards the door we never opened.

Summary

Chapter 6 furnished a review and summarized the findings of this study which were organized and presented within the conceptual and pedagogical framework of the study. Participants' historical imaginations were embedded in experiential learning comprised of feelings, images and experiences and reconstructed in narrative conversation recollecting "action" and "artifact within action." Gender findings about the recollected roles of women, stimulated through a few participants' recollections and historical imaginations, contributed insight into the prior practice of teaching history to children. The findings in this chapter included *recommendations for further research and reflections of the author.*

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Appendix A
Transcript of Trials

Transcript of Trials

Some of you are now going to take part in an actual court trial that took place in Judge Begbie's court over 100 years ago in July of 1867. (Because the trail to Richfield is impassable due to snow at this time, we will be using a building here in Barkerville; but as you know, Judge Begbie would hold his court almost anywhere and today you will be the people who were actually involved in that trial -- the prisoner and the witnesses who gave evidence, while the rest will be the people of Richfield, Barkerville, Camerontown, Antler Creek and other places close by. You have left your usual work for the day to attend Judge Begbie's court. He will need a jury to listen to the witnesses' stories and decide if the prisoner is guilty or not. Think of what you might have been doing that day if you had lived here 100 years ago. You are a miner, a wagon driver, a merchant, a hotel keeper, a carpenter, a blacksmith, a baker -- or something else?

Decide what you do, where you live, where you came from, how you got to Barkerville in 1867. Be ready to listen to the evidence of what happened at Beaver Pass and why James Barry is on trial for murder -- it is big news in Barkerville and all the Cariboo today -- July the first, 1867.

Please leave 2 front rows empty.

My Name is Henry Fitzgerald.

I am Chief Constable for Cariboo. On September 27th, 1866, I went with Mr. Cox the Magistrate to a place about half a mile below Edward's ranch where the wagon road meets the old trail. There we examined the remains of a man---he had been shot in the back of the head. We found a pencil case and a sheath knife both with the initials C.M.B. on them and a drinking cup with the name C.M. Blessing scratched into the bottom. We left instructions for the remains to be decently buried and returned to Richfield. There we searched the records of the miner's licences for the last two years but could not find the name of Blessing. Later, while investigating this case, I talked to a hurdy gurdy girl who showed me this pin. She said that the prisoner---James Barry---had given it to her one night in the saloon in the summer of 1866. The man Barry had left Williams Creek in great haste on the day that the body was discovered. I dispatched Constable Sullivan after him.

My name is John Smith.

I am a miner in Cariboo. When I was travelling the road from Quesnelmouth to Barkerville in May of 1866, I met the dead man, Blessing, at 13 Mile House. While we were there he showed me, and some of the others at the Roadhouse, a gold nugget a bit bigger than a dime mounted on a stickpin. When you held it the usual way---with the point of the pin down---it didn't look unusual, but when you held it upside down it was really like the side profile of a man's

face. Once you saw it you wouldn't easily forget it. Later in the summer of 1866, I saw the same pin again---one of the hurdy gurdy girls from Williams Creek was wearing it. The pin in Court today is the same one.

My name is Frederick Dibble.

I too am a miner in Cariboo. One evening in the summer of 1866---I don't remember exactly what day it was---I was in one of the saloons on Williams Creek. I was drinking with the prisoner there ---James Barry. Some of the time we were dancing with the hurdies. Barry was wearing a gold nugget pin and during the evening one of the hurdies kept asking Barry to give it to her. He thought about it a bit and finally he gave it to her. It was the same pin Chief Constable Fitzgerald had here today. I would recognize it anywhere.

My name is Wellington Delany Moses.

I am a barber in the town of Barkerville. I became friends with the murdered man, Blessing, when we travelled together from New Westminster to Quesnelmouth. There we were joined by the prisoner James Barry. I decided to stay in Quesnelmouth a day or so. Barry and Blessing went on together without me. Blessing said he would meet me at Van Winkle or Williams Creek. When I travelled up to Barkerville I asked about Blessing and Barry on the way. At the 13 Mile Roadhouse they told me that they had been there on May 30th. John Elliot said he'd passed them on the road about a mile and a half

from Edward's the same day. When I came through Van Winkle, Blessing wasn't there. They told me Barry had arrived alone on May 31st. Barry had told them that Blessing had fallen behind with sore feet. Blessing was not in Barkerville when I arrived there. Barry was here doing odd jobs in the sawmills and mines. He seemed to be spending a lot of time and money in the saloons. When we had met him at Quesnelmouth he only had a little money and Blessing had quite a bit. I met Barry in Dixon's shop and asked him where my friend was. He said, "Your friend? Who was he?" I said, "The man you left that morning from Quesnelmouth." Barry said, "Oh him, I haven't seen him since that day. I left him behind on the road---he had sore feet and couldn't travel." I asked him again some days later and he got angry and said he didn't care about Blessing and he wasn't his caretaker. In September when the body was found and I heard the name I went to the Magistrate and told him I was suspicious of Barry.

My Name is John Sullivan.

I am a Constable in Cariboo. On the 2nd of October I received a warrant for the arrest of James Barry for the murder of Charles Blessing. I left the same day and arrived at Soda Creek on the 3rd. I found out that the prisoner was already on the stage and had taken a ticket to Lytton. I had Mr. Spalding telegraph to Mr. Sanders at Yale to arrest Barry should he get that far. I also telegraphed to Lytton. I went straight through to Yale and on the 8th of October the

prisoner was handed over to me by Mr. Sanders. I started back the same day with Barry in custody. On the way up I asked him if he had a pistol and he said he had sold it on his way down for \$5 to Dutch Bill the packer at Wallace's roadhouse. I asked if he recalled the name of the man he travelled with on the road to Barkerville and he said he didn't recall. Mr. Sanders had told me that Barry had given a false name when arrested at Yale. I asked Barry why he had done this. He said he didn't know that it was a Constable and only did it for a joke. I delivered the prisoner Barry to Richfield jail.

My name is James Barry.

It is true I walked some of the way from Quesnelmouth to Barkerville with a man called Blessing, but he got sore feet and didn't want to go on at my pace---so I left him behind and came up to the Creek alone. I carried his pack quite a way for him when he was having trouble with his feet. He was grateful and gave me the gold nugget pin as a gift. I didn't steal it from him. I wouldn't be wearing it around and giving it away if I had, would I? The only reason I got angry with the barber when he kept asking about Blessing was because I didn't know where he was either and i'd already told him that. I left the Creek because pals of mine had a job for me in Victoria if I could get there right away. That's why I left in a hurry. I am not guilty your Honour. That's all I have to say.

Some of you are now going to take part in an actual court trial that took place in Judge Begbie's court over 100 years ago in August of 1868. (Because the trail to Richfield is impassable due to mud at this time, we will be using a building here in Barkerville; but as you know, Judge Begbie would hold his court almost anywhere and today you will be the people who were actually involved in that trial -- the prisoner and the witnesses who gave evidence, while the rest will be the people of Richfield, Barkerville, Camerontown, Antler Creek and other places close by. You have left your usual work for the day to attend Judge Begbie's court. He will need a jury to listen to the witnesses' stories and decide if the prisoner is guilty or not. Think of what you might have been doing that day if you had lived here 100 years ago. You are a miner, a wagon driver, a merchant, a hotel keeper, a carpenter, a blacksmith, a baker -- or something else?

Decide what you do, where you live, where you came from, how you got to Barkerville in 1868. Be ready to listen to the evidence of what happened at Red Gulch and why James Knight is on trial. It is big news in Barkerville and all the Cariboo today --August 2, 1868.

Please leave 2 front rows empty.

My name is Hopson P. Walker.

I am the Crown Prosecutor. Here are the details of the case: A dispute arose concerning a ditch of water which had been used by Jesse Pierce for his claim at Mosquito Gulch. As you all know, water is necessary for all gold mining. On July 23rd, James Knight with his brother Henry Knight and Julius Franklin, turned the water into a new ditch to bring water to their claim on Red Gulch. Jesse pierce tried to stop them. He pushed James Knight down and kicked him. Then He left. Later he came back with fifteen men. He began to shovel dirt into Knight's ditch. Then the trouble started. James knight pulled a gun.

My name is John Matthews.

I am a miner at Mosquito Gulch. I saw James Knight pull a revolver from his belt and aim it at Jesse pierce. It was cocked. Some of the boys grabbed Knight and Jesse Pierce hit him on the head with a shovel. Then Pierce dropped the shovel and grabbed the pistol. Bill Williams said, "I'll get the pistol." Pierce let go of the pistol and it went off. I saw Knight's hand on the trigger.

My name is William Williams.

I am a miner at Red Gulch. I saw Pierce hit Knight on the head with a shovel and also on the chest. I saw Pierce grab the muzzle of the pistol and kick Knight several times. I ran up and caught hold of the pistol. I told Pierce to let go of the pistol and I would get it. Knight

said he would give the pistol to me if they would let go of him. I had both hands on the pistol and Pierce had one hand holding the muzzle when it went off. I may have set the pistol off, not Knight. I don't know whose hands the pistol remained in after it went off.

My name is Jesse Pierce.

I am a miner at Mosquito Gulch. When I saw James Knight pull out his pistol, I ran up and hit him over the head with a shovel. Knight was held by someone. I threw the shovel down and grabbed the pistol with one hand. As I let go, the pistol went off. The bullet passed through my hand between the thumb and the forefinger.

My name is Benjamin Springer.

I did not see the start of the trouble, but just as I approached, the pistol went off. Immediately after I saw the pistol in the hands of Williams.

My name is Julius Franklin.

I am James Knight's partner in a mining claim. I saw Knight point the pistol at Pierce. Then he lowered it. I saw Pierce strike Knight twice with a shovel. I saw Pierce kick him. Pierce's hand was on the muzzle when the pistol went off. I don't know who had the pistol after it went off.

Judge Begbie: "The evidence is sufficiently clear to warrant the bringing in a verdict of guilty for assault, but that is not the charge. You are therefore confined to a case of felony and unless you are satisfied that the pistol was fired while in the hand of Knight, you cannot find a verdict of guilty. We do know that Knight had his hand on the pistol even at the time of its discharge, you might find him guilty."

Not guilty: Judge: "Young man, you may consider yourself lucky that you have escaped and I would advise you in the future to leave your pistol at home."

Appendix B
List of Interviews

List of Interviews

Laura	1991-01-13
Bart	1991-02-28
Emily	1991-04-21
Sue	1991-04-25
Camille	1991-04-27
Daryl	1991-04-28
Bill	1991-05-11
Jake	1991-05-14
Knox	1991-06-01
Kassandra	1991-06-03
Roxanne	1991-06-05
Daschel	1991-06-06
Alexandra	1991-06-11
Matthew	1991-06-11
Tristine	1991-06-12
Ted	1991-06-13
Cornelius	1991-06-26

Appendix C

Barkerville Student Booklet

Barkerville

It can be said that the gold rush of 1858 led to the development of British Columbia. It was that magic metal "gold" that lured men and women from comfortable homes around the world to the colony of New Caledonia. Why are you going to Barkerville? A question asked of these many people before you is now being asked of you. There is not the gold present in the creeks to make you rich. But there is an experience to be shared with your friends, your chaperons and your teachers that will bring you life long richness. You will learn what it was like to be an early miner as you will have to share and cooperate with everyone. You will have to rely on others to help you. You will see buildings and taste life as an early miner in Barkerville. You will learn first hand about justice and Judge Begbie. You will walk in a graveyard and read the headstones of the miners whose lives you have studied. It will be more fun and more memorable if you do the following.

- 1) Come prepared with things on the list.
- 2) Be prepared for the cold.
- 3) Let yourself go back in time Don't wish for more comforts while there; you'll have them when you get home.
- 4) Listen politely and courteously to the people at Barkerville. We are their guests. We are not to eat 'junk' food as it did not exist 150 years ago.

5) Have fun, take pictures, write in your booklet so you will have a record of events to share with others when you get home and in the future.

Barkerville Diary

In Barkerville 1862-1880 people did not have radios, telephones or televisions. They communicated with each other by letter, newspaper and visits. Everybody kept a diary to recall events as letters took many months to arrive at their destinations and replies took even longer to return. Family and friends many miles away wanted to know about the journey to Barkerville, life in Barkerville, weather, events and people. Include similar information in your diary. You can share this with your family and friends when you return home. Years later, you can look at your diary and recall our trip.

Monday

Tuesday

Wednesday

Thursday

Friday

The best part of my trip was

Wendle House

Household Tasks

Explain what you did and what you learned while at Wendle House.

Early Tools

Draw and describe the use of the tool you chose while in the carpentry shop.

Gold Panning

Explain how you pan for gold. Did you find gold?

Gold Rush Ideas - Barkerville or Bust

1. Write a newspaper headline or caption telling about gold being discovered by Billy Barker.
2. You have just opened a store in Barkerville. Write an ad telling everyone about your new business.
3. A claim jumper has been brought to trial. You are a witness. Explain what you will tell the Judge.
4. List ten early buildings and tell something about each one you have selected.

School House Program ¹ *

The spelling book used in the Williams Creek School at Barkerville in 1880 had the following words handwritten in the margin.

fuse	company	monitor	riffle
timber	surface	dynamite	claim
lease	gravel	reservoir	stake
tunnel	hydraulic	shovel	drain
sluice	notice	prospect	flume

tailings

We can see that these words are all about mining. The teacher of the time, Captain C. Phinney, dictated the words for memorization.

Study the word list carefully. Practice writing the more difficult words on your slate. Be prepared for a Spelling Bee. Be prepared to stand, repeat the word given to you and spell it correctly. If you are eliminated from the Spelling Bee, you must write the word correctly on your slate five times.

Use the museum, the town, your brain and the gold rush studies at school to answer the following questions.

1. When was gold discovered here?
2. Who found it?
3. What year was the Barkerville fire? How did it start? How much of the town did it destroy?

¹ The information marked with an asterisk was provided by the curator and staff of Barkerville. The activities were designed by the teacher/researcher.

4. How were food and supplies brought from the coast? Why was it so expensive? How long did it take for equipment, supplies, food etc. to arrive from the coast?
5. Do you think the miners expected to settle in Barkerville once they found their gold? Tell why or why not.
6. Who upheld the law? Why was the Cariboo so free of crime during the gold rush?
7. Why are the sidewalks raised in the town of Barkerville?
8. Why are the saloons so small? Why are there no saloons in Chinatown?
9. What are the hooks for on the outside wall of the theatre?
10. What was the Chinese custom regarding their dead?
11. Tell about the hurdy-gurdy girls.
12. Tell about John Bowron.
13. Tell about Washington Moses.
14. Why did men often die young in Barkerville?
15. Why did Barkerville decline?

Find The Meaning For The Following Words

colours

tailings

fool's gold

kerosene

bullion

flour gold

carat

restoration

Sir Matthew Baillie Begbie (1819-1894) Biography *

It is interesting to know that one feature of the Cariboo Gold Rush that made it very different from the California Gold Rush was the lack of violence. This fact is remarkable because there were only a handful of constables to police the Cariboo. There were many thousands of armed miners mining gold by the ton. What prevented the violence among them?

The main reason for the almost peaceful nature of the gold rush lay in the character of Matthew Baillie Begbie. Begbie was 39 in 1858 when Sir E.B. Lytton, British Colonial Secretary, appointed him the first judge for the newly created Colony of British Columbia. Begbie had been an all round athlete at university as well as a singer and musician. He drew well, knew several languages and could write shorthand. He was interested in drama, cards, chess and mathematics. He was a good looking man with black hair, tinged white at the temples, a Van Dyke beard and moustache waxed to sharp points. He stood over six feet tall and was extremely powerful, both in physical stamina and temperament. His physical strength was perhaps his greatest asset in the early days of his appointment. The only transportation was by foot or horseback. Many times, after a day in the saddle, wet and chilled by mountain storms his only shelter would be a tent.

Among the mining communities Begbie came to represent law and order. He always carried his robes and wore them whenever he held court. His courts were held in stores, tents, cabins and

schoolhouses. As a judge, Begbie's decisions were prompt and decisive. These decisions brought about many heated discussions throughout the colony. His stern, fair and quick justice seemed to meet the needs to the young colony as the law was usually honoured and obeyed throughout.

In Victoria, where he was a popular figure, Begbie played the piano and sang in St. John's Church choir. He held tennis parties and dined every Saturday with clergymen friends.

Begbie was appointed Chief Justice of the United Colony of British Columbia in 1870. When British Columbia joined confederation in 1871, Begbie became the new province's first Chief Justice. He died in Victoria in 1894. Obituaries were unanimous in their praise for his contribution to the growth of British Columbia.

The Trial of James Barry, Charged with The Murder of Blessing

Blessing, 33, came from a wealthy Boston family. He had a gold nugget in the shape of a human head. The jeweller who mounted it on a stick pin put the nugget on upside down. While on the way to Barkerville Blessing became good friends with the barber, Washington Moses. In Quesnel, the two friends met a gambler named James Barry. Barry showed quite a bit of interest in the stick pin and the roll of \$20 Bank of British Columbia notes Blessing had in his possession.

1. What happened to Blessing?
2. How did he die?

3. Who had the stick pin?
4. Where was Blessing's body found?
5. Where was Barry captured?
6. Who gave evidence at the trial?
7. Who was the judge at the trial?
8. What was the result of the trial?
9. What role were you given during the re-enactment of the trial?
10. Describe your experience during the "Justice" part of the program.

Murder on the Trail to Barkerville

Jack Donovan was killed on a lonely trail five miles from Richfield at 3:30 a.m. March 17, 1872. Shorty Malone, Andrew LaPoint, Hank Rogers, Joe Johnson and Red Freeman were arrested a week later in Clinton and questioned. Each of these men made four simple statements, in each case, three are true and one is false. One of these men killed Jack Donovan. See if you can figure out who it is. Support your answer.

REMEMBER, ONLY ONE STATEMENT IN EACH GROUP IS FALSE.

Shorty said, "I was in Kamloops when Donovan was murdered. I never killed anyone. Red is the guilty man. Joe and I are friends."

Hank said, "I did not kill Donovan. I never owned a gun in my life. Red knows me. I was in Soda Creek the night of March 17th."

Andrew said, "Hank lied when he said he never owned a gun. The murder happened on St. Patrick's Day. Shorty was in Kamloops at the time. One of the five of us is guilty.

Joe said, "I did not kill Donovan. Red has never been near Richfield. I never saw Shorty before. Hank was in Soda Creek with me the night of March 17th."

Red said, "I did not kill Donovan. I have never been near Richfield. I never saw Hank before now. Shorty lied when he said I am guilty." Who is the murderer on the trail to Barkerville?

Who was the Thief?

In Barkerville on Monday, March 3, 1861 three men and their wives were entertained at the home of friends. After the guests left the owners of the house found that a valuable gold nugget had been stolen. One of the six guests was a thief. See if you can find out who it was.

1. The spouse of the thief lost at cards that evening and paid the debt in gold dust.
2. Because of arthritis crippling his fingers, Mr. Cameron could not hold the horse's reins when in a buggy.
3. Mrs. Mason and another female guest spent the entire evening working on a quilt.
4. Mr. Mason accidentally spilled a drink on Mrs. Graham when he was introduced to her.

5. Mr Cameron gave his wife half of the gold dust he won to make up for her loss.

6. Mr. Mason had helped the thief white wash the fence that day.

Who is the thief?

Who is the Murderer? Who is the Victim?

Late one night in Kelly's Saloon, four men Bert, John, Ron and Harry were playing cards. A quarrel broke out during the game and, as a result, one of these men shot and killed another. From the facts below see if you can find out who was the murderer and who was the victim.

1. Bert will not tell about his brother's guilt.
2. Harry just got out of jail on the day of the murder, having served a three day sentence for drunkenness in a public place.
3. Bert had helped Ron, crippled in a mine cave in, to the game at Kelly's Saloon, beside John's shack.
4. Ron had met Bert's father once while in 100 Mile House.
5. John is about to give evidence against the murderer whom he dislikes.
6. The murdered man had eaten dinner and danced the night before at Wake Up Jake's. He ate with one of the men who did not attend the weekly town meeting with John.

Who is the murderer? Who is the victim?

Name the Cariboo Gold Rush Town

My first letter is in miner, also in gambler but not in men.

My second letter is in Indian, found there twice.

My third letter is in packers but not in trader.

My fourth letter is in roadhouses and hotel but not in restaurants.

My fifth letter is in farmer but not in rancher nor miner.

My sixth letter is in Cariboo and Simon but not in Fraser or Thompson.

My seventh letter is in keepers three times.

My eighth letter is in danger and also trader but not in actor.

Justice Word Search

MAEJUSTICE
BARRYRUJD
OEDGUJENKF
BUIIDOMLFC
GNISSELBLN
QCYGZTRAIL
BMJHMURDER
EIBGEBKACO
HIYNOLOCTB
COURTHOUSE
SQT CIDREVO

This is a word search to review words learned during the trial. Matthew Begbie was a judge or magistrate in the colony of British Columbia. One famous trial held in his courthouse was the case of Barry charged with the murder of Blessing. As a judge, Begbie had to wear a robe during the trial. He carried it with him wherever he went. He often would get angry at the jury if he didn't think their verdict brought justice to the new colony of British Columbia

The Chinese of Barkerville *

Did you know that over one third of all the miners in the Cariboo region were Chinese? Many came from California. Many came directly from China. The Chinese settled in Barkerville bringing their proud culture and heritage with them. They kept their language, customs and traditions. At times they suffered criticism and discrimination but they stayed, forming an important part of the community of Barkerville. Most of the Chinese buildings in Barkerville have not yet been restored or furnished with displays. Hopefully this will be done in the near future.

1. Can you name four Chinese businesses in Barkerville?
2. Give two reasons why the Chinese section of Barkerville is separated from the main townsite.
3. Find and copy an example of Chinese printing. Translate it.

Your Barkerville Biography

You live in Barkerville. Choose your job or occupation from the list below. Use the following directory for your name.

miner	hurdy-gurdy girl	lawyer	doctor
storekeeper	judge	librarian	merchant
blacksmith	dressmaker	washerwoman	minister
carpenter	teacher	own choice	

Outline your story by including the following information.

1. My job is
 2. I chose this occupation because
 3. My place of business is
 4. An exciting thing that happened to me
 5. An unhappy experience I had
 6. Take time to plan your story. Search out information to help you.
- Remember, you don't have to use only written information. Talk to the Barkerville staff, look at the buildings and the displays in the museum. Remember to use capital letters, proper punctuation and correct spelling.

Barkerville Section of the Victoria Directory (1869 Third Issue) *

Alder, H	Saloon Keeper
Adams and Pearcey	Tinsmiths
Amm and Christie	Blacksmiths
Blanc, Louis	Photographer
Bank of B.C.	Agent: C.S. Jones, Clerk: W. Fraser
Bank of British North America	Agent: C. Grant.
Beak, G.M.	Butcher
Barnard Express Office	
Bendixon, Louis	Saloon
Bruce and Mann	Contractors
Byrnes, Geo.	Bowling Alley
Cariboo Sentinel	Editor: Robert Halloway
Campbell, A.C.	Blacksmith
Chipp, Dr.	Drug Store
Cohen and Hoffman	Clothing and Drygoods Store
Coulon, Mme.	Laundry
Conio, M.	Saloon Keeper
Davison, M.	Merchant

DeNouvien and Kurtz	Merchant
Dodero, C.	Merchant
Duprett, Mary	Saloon Keeper
Fitch	New England Bakery
Flynn, T.	Baker
Fritz from Lillooet	
Funck, Mrs.	Saloon Keeper
Government Assay Office	
Grunbun and Co.	Merchants
Harper and Co.	Butchers
Holt and Burgess	Carpenters
Hough, Joseph	Eldorado Saloon
Hudson Bay Company	Merchants: J.A. Graham, Chief Factor J. Wark, Chief Trader Hugh Ross, Clerk
Harney, Geo.	Barber
Johnson, A.	Shoemaker
Kerr and Son	Brewer
Kwong Lee and Co.	Merchants
Langdon, W.	Tailor and Saloon Keeper
Lewis, H.	Barber
Lipsett, Robert	Saloon Keeper
Malamond, M.	Carpenter
MacPherson, A.	Watchmaker
Manetta, P.	Merchant
Moses, W.	Barber
McCallum, C.	Merchant Tailor
Nathan, Mrs.	Saloon Keeper
Nott, John	Carpenter
Oliver, N.	Shoemaker
Ord, Miss Eliza	Saloon Keeper
Pagdon, Frank	Saloon Keeper
Parker, Mrs.	Boarding House
Patterson and Goodsen	Restaurant
Pandola, A.	Merchant
Pearson and Bro.	Tinsmith
Rennie, W.	Bootmaker
Reynard, Rev. J.A.	Episcopal Church
Ritchie, J.D.	Carpenter.
Shaldon, Miss A.	Boarding House

Shepherd, G.L.	Shoemaker
Sterling	Saloon Keeper
Strouss, C.	Merchant
Taylor, J.P.	Drug Store
Thompson, J.S.	Agent
Tibbs, Rebecca	Laundry
Todd, J.H.	Merchant
Van Volkenburgh, B.	Butcher
Vignolo, A.	Brewer
Walden, C.	Wood Dealer
Wheeler, W.	Dancing Master
Wickham, J.	Commission Merchant
Wilde, L.	Shoemaker
Wolff and Morris	Clothing Store
Wilson, Miss F.	Saloon Keeper

Barkerville Cemetery Study *

Starting at St. Saviour's Church the road to the right or west of the Church leads gradually up the hillside towards the cemetery. This road was the last section of the Cariboo Wagon Road which entered Barkerville from the opposite or south end of town. The road crosses the top of a huge pile of tailings or waste material from the Shamrock Mine. The road continues, climbing gradually past the site of the Royal Cariboo Hospital to the Barkerville Cemetery.

The Cemetery consists of a modern section (still in use) and an historic section. The historic section provides a wealth of information about Barkerville's population, where they came from, occupations, how and when they died. The Barkerville section of the Victoria Directory 1869 contains the names of people and businesses in Barkerville in 1869. Use the directory to see if you can find any of the graves of the people listed.

1. Select at least 15, preferably 20 markers in the historic section of the graveyard.
2. Record information from the markers, using the chart below.
3. Complete the chart and questions.

NAME	ORIGIN	BIRTH	DEATH	AGE	INFORMATION
------	--------	-------	-------	-----	-------------

1. How many markers were selected?
2. How many different shaped markers were noticed?
3. List the different materials used to make grave markers.
4. What is the date of the oldest marker in your survey?
5. How many children's markers were found?
6. What was the age of the oldest person in your survey?
7. What was the age of the youngest person in your survey?
8. Is there any evidence of disease or epidemic? If yes, tell what.
9. List some of the countries from which people came.
10. List some causes of death.
11. Copy the most interesting epitaph you found.
12. Name the gravemarkers you found of the people listed in the Barkerville section of the Victoria Directory.
13. Find and write the name of the Gold Commissioner and County Court Judge.
14. Describe your feelings about being in the cemetery.

15. Draw the most interesting gravemarker you found.
16. On the blank piece of paper on the next page in your book, make a rubbing of any unique or different designs or interesting features on a gravemarker.

The Barkerville Museum

A history museum is not just a building where you go to see old things. In order for there to be a museum, there first has to be a collection of things from the past. The most interesting of these items are put on display in a way that tells how people used to live.

1. Go around the museum and find five artifacts sitting on the floor or hanging on the walls and tell what each was used for.
2. Sometimes models are used in museums so that people can see what very large things used to look like. Find a model in the museum and describe it.
3. Another way museums explain about the past is by telling life stories of people who lived many years ago. Can you find an example of this in the Barkerville museum? Name the person and tell about his life.
4. Museums also use photographs to show how people used to live. Choose two photographs in the museum and look at them closely for detail. Explain what you have learned from the photos.
5. Explain: The town of Barkerville is a museum.
6. I was surprised to find out
7. I was really impressed with

8. Some of the materials used in the displays were

9. I really understood what it was like to live so long ago when I saw

10. The part I liked best was