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Race, Reason, and Regulation: British Columbia's Mass Exile of Chinese 'Lunatics' aboard the *Empress of Russia*, 9 February 1935

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On the afternoon of Saturday, 9 February 1935, the Canadian Pacific ocean-liner *Empress of Russia*[1] set sail on its regular journey westward across the north Pacific from Vancouver to Hong Kong. Among its more than 200 passengers were sixty-five male mental patients. All were Chinese-born and had been interned in British Columbia's three psychiatric institutions located in Port Coquitlam, New Westminster, and Saanich.[2] Decked out in new clothes ordered for the occasion and closely tended by employees of the three hospitals, the patients must have left a singular impression on observers stationed at the Vancouver docks, as one by one they boarded the ship and disappeared into their segregated quarters. For most, this was the finale of a journey that had begun many years before when, as young men of aspiration, they had boarded a steamer in Canton or Hong Kong, bound for the unthinkable prospects of the awaiting *gumshan* (gold mountain).[3] For all, tragedy, turmoil, or the sheer relentless grind of lives gone awry conspired to fracture these visions and usher them into the confines of the province's asylum system and, ultimately, onto the decks of the *Empress*. This return voyage across the mid-winter Pacific took twenty-four days. At its conclusion, the men's welcome home from their bleak Canadian sojourn, and the harvest of their untold travails in the frontier world of British Columbia, was a brief ferry trip across the Canton River under armed guard and their collective consignment to the Honam Municipal Hospital for the Insane.

This chapter chronicles the more than thirty-year campaign waged by provincial and federal authorities that culminated in the exiling of these sixty-five mentally disordered immigrants. Enlisting a variety of archival sources, I explore the intersecting modalities, practices, and rhetorics of state and medical officials that led to the mass deportation of these sad and damaged men. Against the context of themes raised elsewhere in this book, I chart the coalescence of institutional regulatory practices around prevailing notions of mental and racial normality in early-twentieth-century British Columbia. I show how government officials and psychiatric practitioners

actuated widely circulating public discourses that idealized the essential male citizen as productive, autonomous, white, and sane. I reveal the awesome powers that fuelled state projects aimed at pacifying, containing, and ultimately ejecting those who violated governing norms of citizenship. While the sixty-five Chinese mental patients represented just one small sector of the province's population, their encounters with social control, law, and the state were emblematic of wider relations between British Columbians and the sociopolitical order that enveloped them.

The 'prohibition' of insane Chinese, I argue, was just one manifestation of a sweeping exclusionary impulse that dominated British Columbian politics and culture during the early part of this century. The authorized intolerance of 'lunatics' and 'Orientals,' and the movement to eradicate both through strategies of institutionalization and transportation, were nourished by prevailing currents of hereditarianism, mental and moral hygiene, social eugenics, eurocentric xenophobia, and the deepening fiscal crisis that descended on the province during the Great Depression of the 1930s. Amid this general climate of racial, moral, and economic insecurity, and absent stable conceptions of citizenship and entitlement around which to organize resistance, these sixty-five Chinese psychiatric inmates were convenient targets for advocates and practitioners of deportation. Their mass banishment signifies the power of dominant ideologies of race and reason that were hegemonic throughout Canadian and British Columbian public life during the early part of this century. These ideologies debarred those who deviated from requisite standards of sanity, docility, and racial purity.

Exclusion, Deportation, and the 'Oriental Question'

The first Chinese immigrants to British Columbia came from the Sze-Yap (Canton delta) region of Guangdong province. They arrived in Victoria harbour from California in the spring of 1858, during the early stages of the Fraser River gold rush. By the early 1860s an estimated 6,000 to 7,000 Chinese were in the colonies. The point of departure for most arrivals soon shifted from California to Hong Kong and Canton. Increasing numbers of sojourning *hua qiao* (overseas workers) sought escape in the new world of *gumshan*.[4] They left behind generations of economic hardship, the devastation of colonialist wars, political oppression from the Qing dynasty of the Manchus, and the staggering carnage of the Taiping rebellion. As the newly confederated province's economy diversified, gold gradually gave ground to coal, timber, and iron rail. Many of the original Chinese prospectors and fortune-seekers remained to work in primary resource industries, to serve as domestic labourers, and in many cases to establish their own merchant ventures, shops, and businesses. Another 17,000 Chinese workers arrived as contract labourers between 1881 and 1884 to construct the Onderdonk section of the Canadian Pacific Railway. Although many of these workers

returned home when the work dried up or when their living conditions surpassed tolerance, by the 1891 census there was a relatively stable population of 9,129 persons of Chinese heritage in British Columbia, comprising just over 9 percent of the province's total citizenry of 98,173 souls.[5] As communities consolidated, support systems were nurtured and organizations emerged. Chinatowns became a feature of urban and town life in fin-de-siècle and early-twentieth-century British Columbia. By 1921, following another wave of immigration, the Chinese population had climbed to 23,533. In comparative terms, however, they had now made up only 4.5 percent of the province's total 524,582 residents, and only 573 Chinese residents had actually been naturalized as Canadian citizens.[6]

Over the past two decades, much has been written about the early Chinese experience in the colonies and province,[7] about their social organizations and contributions to British Columbian culture and economy,[8] and about the lingering legacy of sinophobia that has irreversibly contoured the province's history.[9] Throughout the late nineteenth and early twentieth century, the Chinese 'bachelor workers' laboured at the most arduous of physical employment at a wage often less than half that of their white counterparts. For many, the first Canadian experience was a stern interrogation by an immigration official or physician, the demand for payment of a capitation tax, and in many instances a subsequent internment in a fortified 'detention hospital' to be followed by expulsion on the next available ship.[10] Those admitted led spartan lives, economizing to pay down debts that had been accrued in underwriting their passage and provisions, and to support families left behind in China. With the exception of the small coterie of wealthy merchants like Lee Chong and Yip Sang, who could afford the onerous transportation costs (and, after 1885, the capitation tax imposed by a succession of federal acts regulating Chinese immigration),[11] they inhabited a virtually unigendered society.[12] They typically lived communally in the all-male rooming houses that sprang up in the burgeoning Chinatowns around the province, or in shacks and bunkhouses in the farm districts and frontier hinterland. Many found some solace in voluntary associations or the cultural pursuits that they had imported with them to Canada. Isolated and despondent, a few turned to opium, alcohol, or prostitution to anesthetize their desolation. Virtually everyone worked.

Suspended between two worlds, the immigrants' attenuated links to China, for those who were literate, were confined to the ebb and flow of correspondence, and, if finances allowed, to sporadic return visits to marry or father a child. They were denied the most rudimentary of Canadian citizenship rights,[13] excluded from many occupations and activities,[14] and ultimately, with the passage of the exclusionary Chinese Immigration Act on 1 July 1923, severed almost entirely from their families and heritage.[15] That they survived and eventually thrived in the midst of rising tides of

sinophobia, nativism, and exclusionism – and despite three generations of legal disenfranchisement and economic disadvantage – was no small testament to the durability and resilience of British Columbia's Chinese communities. It was also indicative of the capacity of Chinese organizations[16] to mobilize politically and economically[17] and to carve out terrains of influence in their decades-long struggle for the acquisition of citizenship rights.[18]

From the vantage point of the province's white majority, however, the 'yellow peril' was a virulent racial plague that had invaded the unsuspecting Western colonies and threatened to decimate the good works and dilute the blood of its British forebears. From the first decade of their arrival in the 1850s, the Chinese, like their Japanese and South Asian counterparts, were the subjects of a xenophobic backlash that would persist over the course of generations. From the 1870s to the Great Depression, a procession of nativist groups such as the Anti-Chinese Association,[19] the Asiatic Exclusion League,[20] and the White Canada Association[21] agitated in efforts 'to oppose the terrible evil of Mongolian usurpation of our lands, thus dispossessing our own flesh and blood and congenial races ... and to avoid the possibility of failure ... of our obtaining the happy result of British Columbia and the Dominion of Canada for the white man.'[22] Riots against the Asian communities of Vancouver broke out on 24 February 1887[23] and, most notably, on 7 September 1907.[24]

As politicians, reporters, community associations, and labour groups joined the 'anti-Oriental' throngs, 'John Chinaman' came to be increasingly reviled as a parasitic class of degenerated, unassimilable underlings. The preface to a provincial executive order-in-council passed in 1883 was typical: '[The Chinese] are injurious to a young community, and they trade almost exclusively among their own people, send all their earnings to Asia, introduce loathsome diseases and demoralizing habits, put the authorities to constant expense in endeavouring to suppress crime among them, and in granting charitable aid to their sick and infirm.'[25] They did 'not, in any sense, measure up to the standard of citizenship necessary for the development of this country.'[26] 'Instead of entering into the citizen life of the country,' they had 'grouped themselves together in the worst part of Canadian cities and become festering sores.'[27] No less a progressive than J.S. Woodsworth wrote in 1909 that 'our nonassimilable elements are clearly detrimental to our highest national development, and hence should be vigorously excluded.'[28]

Throughout these decades, a litany of royal commissions and investigations, inspired by the swirl of public rhetoric, undertook inquiries into Chinese immigration.[29] The provincial legislature ushered forth a barrage of restrictive legislation, much of which was subsequently judged by Parliament or the courts to have contravened the BNA Act. The laws that did survive scrutiny imposed heavy restrictions on the capacity of Chinese

immigrants to participate in the polity and economy of British Columbian society. The most draconian measures were the series of federal Chinese Immigration Acts, prompted by the lobbying of BC politicians, that enacted the only head taxes in Canadian history ($50 in 1885, $100 in 1901, and $500 in 1904). On 1 July 1923,[30] with the passage of the Chinese Immigration Act, the country commenced a twenty-two-year epoch of near-unconditional prohibition against Chinese immigration.

Against the grain of these multiple privations, abuses, and interdictions, it is not surprising that some of those within the Chinese-born community simply did not prevail. Nor is it a revelation that those who fell by the wayside became the targets of especially fervent efforts to secure their segregation and removal. Chinese immigrants who descended into dependency on the province's public assistance system during its formative years, who trespassed against criminal laws, or who drifted into carceral and psychiatric institutions, became multiple pariahs. Superimposed on their racial subalternity were their perceived transgressions against accepted cultural and legal standards of self-reliance, conformity, and reason. Dependent, defective, delinquent, and diseased Chinese inmates of British Columbia's hospitals and prisons in the late nineteenth and early twentieth century occupied the lowest echelon of the province's citizenship structure – a social hierarchy that was organized around race, gender, and social class, and within which one's civil and political value was grounded in attributes like autonomy, compliance, purity, morality, health, (re)productivity, and rationality. When even the most tractable and sane of Chinese failed to measure up, the mad, bad, and feeble-minded among them were seen to breach all apparent thresholds of state, professional, and public tolerance.

As chronicled below, the small number of pitiable and generally inoffensive Chinese patients who were housed in British Columbia's mental institutions during these years provoked a quite extraordinary round of efforts by state and medical authorities to secure their expulsion from the province. This story transcends the lives of these few dozen patients and the handful of bureaucrats, politicians, and physicians who colluded to orchestrate their expulsion. It penetrates and helps to decode the contradictory tangle of traditions, preoccupations, ideologies, and laws around and through which the very ideas of civility, entitlement, and citizenship were being constructed in a transitional British Columbian state. It also exposes the ultimate fate awaiting those who were deemed to have failed.

'Shovelling Out' the Chinese Mental Patients

The groundwork for the expulsion of the sixty-five Chinese psychiatric patients was laid decades before the *Empress of Russia* departed for Hong Kong on 9 February 1935. The first recorded internment of an 'insane' Chinese inmate in British Columbia dates back to 15 August 1866, when A.M.[31] was

reported by Colonial Constabulary superintendent Chartres Brew[32] to have died in the New Westminster 'lunatic prison.'[33] A.M. had been 'sentenced to jail as a dangerous lunatic' by Justice of the Peace O'Reilly five years before, on 8 June 1861. Following the 1872 inauguration of British Columbia's first asylum, located on the grounds of the former Songhees First Nations reserve in Victoria,[34] Chinese men (and occasionally women) soon become fixtures in the province's psychiatric system. The first Chinese patient to be institutionalized (and twelfth overall) was C.H., a miner living in New Westminster, who entered the Victoria Asylum on 2 November 1872.[35] By 1882, four years after the provincial asylum was relocated to its permanent site in New Westminster,[36] thirteen Chinese inmates had been admitted (among 185 in total). At the turn of the century, Chinese accounted for ninety-eight out of 1,069 admissions, and comprised twenty-six of 258 inmates detained on 31 December 1900.

Persons of Chinese heritage continued to drift into psychiatric settings in relatively steady numbers, but rapidly declining proportions, throughout the subsequent decades. The 509 Chinese (including nine women) who entered hospitals from 1872 through 31 March 1936 were a minority among the growing number of patients originating from Europe and North America. In 1885 there were four Chinese admissions, representing a full 33 percent of the total (twelve); the nine Chinese entering in 1900 comprised 8 percent of the 113 persons hospitalized; and by fiscal year 1935-36, nine Chinese admissions registered only 1.3 percent of the 679 souls who joined the ranks of the province's three mental institutions[37] during that twelve-month period. Similarly, while the total number of hospital beds continued to mushroom (doubling every ten years until 3,180 persons were confined on 31 March 1936), the Chinese population stabilized at between sixty and seventy inmates following the First World War, and remained relatively fixed until the mass deportation of February 1935.[38]

Virtually from the first appearance of 'celestials' in their establishments, medical superintendents, in concert with other state authorities, commenced a campaign to segregate Chinese patients from white patients and to reduce their numbers. As early as 1886, asylum superintendent R.I. Bentley lamented the prospect 'that this undesirable class should be such an expense to the country,'[39] and in the following year proposed that 'separate apartments' be constructed for the eighteen Chinese then in residence.[40] Bentley's successor, G.F. Bodington, in 1899 characterized the presence of twenty-five Chinese patients as 'incredible' and implored his superiors to expel them:

> None of these patients pay for their maintenance, and though some of them work in the gardens and grounds and laundry, yet they are not all able to work at all, being too much broken down in body and mind, and in the main the most of their maintenance falls upon the revenues of the

> Province, and is a heavy burden upon the taxpayer. When lately in England I took the opportunity, under the auspices of the Government, of obtaining legal opinion as to the possibility of returning some at least of these men to China, and it would seem, 'prima facie,' that it is a practicable step. I think the subject ought to be pursued and further enquired into ... It certainly seems to be a hardship upon the taxpayers of this Province that they should be compelled to maintain these decrepit and unprofitable Chinese lunatics for such prolonged periods, some of them, even as I have pointed out, for nearly a quarter of a century![41]

During these early years, an occasional Chinese patient would be excluded or deported in an individual and seemingly haphazard manner. One such case involved W.F., whom officials returned on 8 May 1890, in the company of his brother, after his release from BC Penitentiary on the grounds of insanity.[42] Another individual was unceremoniously sent back on the same ship that had delivered him to Vancouver in 1902.[43]

But it was during the administration of Charles Edward Doherty (1905-15 and 1918-20) that a more concerted effort gained momentum for the total ouster of Chinese patients. In 1909, Doherty was the architect of a collective 'repatriation' of thirty-four Chinese and Japanese inmates aboard the Canadian Pacific vessel *Mont Eagle*, at a cost of $1,513, which was borne by the provincial government. They conveyed the Chinese contingent ('some thirty' altogether) to the port city of Shanghai.[44] Frustrated by restrictions in the federal Immigration Act that debarred the deportation of those immigrants who had already established domicile in Canada,[45] Doherty resorted to an imaginative, if clandestine and frankly illegal, strategy. According to a 1930 letter from Deputy Provincial Secretary P.D. Walker to W.G. Egan, federal deputy minister of immigration and colonization, the patients were accompanied by two attendants (who signed on as members of the ship's crew rather than as government employees). Following disembarkation at Shanghai harbour, they were placed in detention and later 'presumably released in a body or in groups upon different dates.' Walker added that 'the whole matter was unofficial' but justifiable nonetheless on the grounds that 'the addition of thirty feeble-minded Chinamen to the enormous population of Shanghai would hardly be noticed.' In the wake of later developments in deportation policies and the vigilance of Chinese authorities, this escapade was never duplicated. In any event, 'nothing more was heard of the matter.'[46]

Upon his return from overseas service, and amid the currents of anti-Orientalism that were swelling to a fever pitch in British Columbian white society, Doherty once again took steps to deport Asian patients. A census conducted in October 1919 revealed the presence of nineteen Chinese inmates in the Public Hospital for the Insane, and forty-six in the Essondale

branch institution in Coquitlam. A.L. Jolliffe, then controller of Chinese immigration, contacted Consul for China Yih. Yih subsequently visited the hospitals, in the company of a Chinese doctor, in the second week of December 1919. As Jolliffe declared to Doherty, the consul was 'desirous of having [the patients] interviewed with the view of ascertaining whether their relatives in China are prepared to take care of them.'[47] Seemingly, the consul was less than impressed with the doctor's proposition, with the conditions he witnessed at the hospitals, or both. Whatever his private sentiments, he took no further action. In the 1920 *Annual Report*, Doherty simply declared that 'the question is now under the consideration of the Chinese Government and pending their decision is in abeyance.'[48]

By the time of A.L. Crease's assumption of the medical superintendency in 1926, the national 'immigration crisis' had reached a crescendo. Over the next decade (fiscal years 1925-26 through 1934-35), no fewer than 35,228 persons would be deported from Canada – 5,056 for medical causes[49] (of these, about half involved insanity or 'feeble-mindedness').[50] In British Columbia, mental patients were being 'repatriated' at a rate of about fifty per annum.[51] Across the province and country, agitation mounted in favour of banning immigrants and excluding Asians and other 'unfit' aliens.[52] The time seemed ripe for rekindling the crusade to sweep out the 'Chinese lunatics.'

On this occasion, efforts originated with Provincial Secretariat officials in Victoria. In communications between provincial authorities and federal immigration officials, it became increasingly clear that the Immigration Act domicile requirements would have to be circumvented in order to effectuate the repatriation of these patients – some of whom had been resident in Canada for three decades and longer. This was to be accomplished by securing the consent of the prospective deports – a dubious business, given the reputed mental deterioration of many among their number. Yet, revealingly, the question of informed consent appears never to have surfaced. After consulting with the Commissioner of Immigration office in Vancouver, Essondale Bursar Gowan Macgowan reported to P.D. Walker that 'the shipping of these Orientals could be accomplished with very little trouble and could be so arranged that it would be impossible for them to get back into our country ... providing the men do not object to going home and we are willing to pay their transportation.'[53] This intelligence was evidently enough to move Provincial Secretary White to direct hospital authorities to 'proceed at once to arrange for the deportation of as many Chinamen as possible,' adding that 'perhaps you may have some Japanese who may also be deported.'[54]

Plans for the mass expulsion coalesced in early 1928. Macgowan, harmonizing deliberations on behalf of the hospitals, received word from immigration authorities that the hospital should 'have a memorandum signed by each Chinaman to the effect that he is anxious to return to China,

providing the Government will supply the transportation.' Declining to obtain estimates from rival companies like the Blue Funnel or Robert Dollar Line ('as a controversy over the business might create so much publicity that the arrangements would be completely spoiled'), Macgowan secured an undertaking from J.J. Forster, general passenger agent for the CPR Steamship Company, at a cost of $75 for steerage one-way per patient and $450 for a second-class return per attendant. Perhaps by happenstance, Seto More,[55] the Chinese agent for Canadian Pacific, was also president of the Vancouver branch of the Chinese Consolidated Benevolent Association (CCBA).[56] Further, the colonial government in Hong Kong, in reply to Forster's inquiry, declared its willingness to cooperate, provided that the patients be proven harmless, that all expenses be paid, and that background documents be provided on the origins of all deportees.[57] On 31 January 1928, representatives of the CCBA visited Essondale on invitation and interviewed twenty-eight of the sixty-five patients[58] who would later be deported (nineteen of these were declared fit for travel and, according to the ward notations, 'acquiesced' to the proceedings).[59]

But the government's plans were soon slowed. Chinese organizations and officials once more refused to fall into convenient lockstep with the advancing scheme. Mary K. Tsze, director of the Society of Chinese Social Workers, wrote to Crease in March 1928 questioning the very rationale of the plan. In response, Crease suggested rather stiffly that all the Chinese patients were leaving of their own volition, adding that 'naturally, a man prefers freedom.' Further, he intimated, with no apparent basis in fact, that officials were enlisting the cooperation of relatives from China in the removal of all deports.[60]

Matters dragged on for more than a year and, when Chunhao H. Pao, the Chinese consul, finally communicated with Walker (now deputy provincial secretary) on 30 July 1929, the news was not encouraging. 'While unwilling ... to disappoint you,' he wrote, 'and regretting to make any arrangements at the present time I earnestly hope that some of these inmates can recover themselves. Again I wish to point out that there has been no mental institutions established for the care of this class of people in China. However, in spite of these circumstances I will refer this matter to my government for consideration and disposition.'[61] Nothing further transpired, despite overtures in December 1929 by Walker to Pao's successor, Hsiki Chow.[62] The project seemed hopelessly mired in diplomatic limbo.

But the redoubtable P.D. Walker was not prepared to abandon the campaign. On 30 June of the following year, the Provincial Secretariat issued an order-in-council[63] empowering the province to dispense with the Chinese patients. Following discussion in cabinet,[64] Walker floated inquiries to W.G. Egan in Ottawa with intentions of securing the federal government's

compliance in the venture. In fielding queries from Egan about the status and condition of those in question, Walker revealed that he was not above concocting a few fabrications of his own, claiming that 'all the 56 patients can be safely returned to their relatives; none of them require institutional care although some are aged and senile.' As in other contexts, Walker continued to underscore the institutional and fiscal benefits to be reaped from jettisoning these charges. He also relayed a proposal from Crease to the effect that the patients be exchanged for a more suitable cohort of Chinese immigrants whose head taxes might be waived.[65] But he was still far from sanguine about the prospects of securing the future cooperation of Chinese officials:

> It is clear to me that neither the Chinese Consul nor the Chinese Benefit [sic] Society are disposed to assist: neither party will refuse but they are unmistakenly opposed to giving any aid in the repatriation of these lunatics ... Mr. Seto More ... stated that there was only one Institution in China for mental cases, and that this was quite unavailable, and that sane Chinamen would be afraid to have these men living or working with them ... he made it abundantly clear that it was not the intention of the Benefit Society to bestir themselves in the matter.[66]

Over the course of the next four years, Walker renewed his efforts on a sporadic basis, enlisting the assistance of various other figures including Granby Farrant, supervisor of the Colquitz Mental Home in Saanich,[67] and James Gordon McKay, superintendent of the private Hollywood Sanitarium in New Westminster and former acting medical superintendent of BC mental hospitals. McKay, along with Crease, was considered the most influential psychiatrist in the province.[68] By the end of 1932, the Depression had deepened, asylum enrolments had escalated, and the pressure from Walker's political mentors had intensified. Walker voiced his desperation in a letter addressed to McKay, noting that the latter had 'given the matter a great deal of thought' and was 'probably the best man qualified to judge whether there is any possible avenue which we can explore with a view of getting rid of these fellows':

> The Minister[69] brought forward again the question of the deportation of Chinamen. He feels that every effort has not been exhausted to get rid of these men. We outlined what had been done, and our failure to find any loophole. That it would be in the public interest to get rid of sixty-five or seventy of these Chinamen is not arguable, and I can't help feeling that we should be justified in taking any reasonable steps to secure that object ... I should like to put them on a boat, send them over to the other side and put them off there, but I can't see how even with the utmost care this could be

> done without it becoming known. Do you think it within the bounds of possibility that we could take such action without the fact getting around to local Chinese?[70]

But it was not until late 1934, more than fifteen years after Charles E. Doherty's initial inquiries into the matter, that the log-jam was finally broken. In December of that year, Crease once again ordered a full inventory of the institutionalized Chinese patients[71] (lists were also compiled of all Italian and Jewish inmates). In preparation for the long-anticipated departure, Walker and Crease coordinated efforts with Canadian Pacific agents, the federal Department of Immigration and Naturalization, and the Department of Labour (not coincidentally, the latter, through its Employment Service Branch, was in the process of engineering a mass repatriation to Canton of 152 unemployed Chinese residents of British Columbia who were on social assistance).[72] Fred W. Taylor, the division commissioner of immigration in Vancouver, synchronized activities on behalf of his own department. To prevent their return to Canada, authorities avoided formally 'registering out' patients under sections 23 and 24 of the Chinese Immigration Act.[73] They arranged passage with Canadian Pacific for the 9 February 1935 sailing of the *Empress of Russia*, and secured the services of attendants Mackie, Legg, and Coutts from Essondale, and Logan from Colquitz, to manage patients on the trans-Pacific voyage. During the first five weeks of 1935, officials readied patients, purchased new clothing, conducted medical inspections, and completed paperwork. All these preparations advanced without any evidence of consent from Chinese authorities.

The *Empress of Russia* Deportees

Profiling the Chinese 'Lunatics'

Who were these sixty-five men who so obsessed the province's medical and political establishment for such a long period of time? For many British Columbians, the Chinese patients were a faceless rabble, warehoused behind institutional walls and disconnected from British Columbian society by what were seen as their racial, linguistic, and mental inadequacies. A perusal of surviving Essondale records offers a far different picture. The hospital files reveal much about their individual and collective characters, about the quality and organization of their existence before and during hospitalization, and about their relationships with their compatriots, the outside world, and the organizational authorities and machinery with which they became entangled.[74] However threadbare these medical files were in contrast to those of white inmates – and however refracted by the rationalities of psychiatric interpretation – they still offer a rare and potent glimpse into the lives of these Chinese patients, and into the regulatory forces that

eventually brought them together on the deck of the *Empress of Russia* in February 1935.

Among the sixty-five Chinese inmates destined for deportation, four had entered hospital prior to the turn of century, five during the first decade of the 1900s, nineteen in the second decade, eighteen in the 1920s, and twenty between 1930 and 1934. The two longest-detained patients were originally admitted in 1888. The average length of institutionalization was 13.8 years, with a minimum hospital confinement of five months and a maximum of forty-seven years. Eight patients had one previous hospitalization each, two had been committed twice, and one had three prior admissions. Only seven of sixty-four men had a previous criminal conviction, with one of these registering two, and three 'several' convictions.[75]

Of the forty-eight patients for whom these details were recorded, the average age at admission was thirty-nine years and, at deportation, fifty-one years. Twenty-six of these were over the age of fifty, six were above sixty years, and four were beyond their seventieth birthday when the *Empress of Russia* left port in 1935. Twenty-two of the men were married, twenty-two were single, and two were widowers (the status of another eighteen was listed as 'unknown'). Eighteen were registered as having children (eight with more than one), while twenty-five were known to be childless. Among their ranks were twenty-two general labourers, eight cooks, five farmhands, and four cannery workers; other occupations included mill work, mining, railway work, tailoring, restaurant work, and storekeeping. Twenty-five men had been employed at the time of committal, and thirty-five were without work.

Of sixty-four men for whom records survive, twenty-six (41 percent) were admitted from Vancouver, twelve (19 percent) from Victoria, five (8 percent) from New Westminster, three (5 percent) from Nelson, sixteen (25 percent) from another site on the mainland, and one each from elsewhere on Vancouver Island and Texada Island. Fifty-eight admissions were as a consequence of ordinary committal,[76] three represented prison transfers,[77] two were 'urgency committals,'[78] and one was an order-in-council transfer from the BC Penitentiary.[79] In twenty-three cases, the agent responsible for committal was a municipal police officer or jailer; for twelve other patients it was a BC Provincial Police officer, for nine a friend, for six an employer, for five a relative; three were committed by a medical doctor or hospital administrator, and three more by a prison or penitentiary warden. Forty-five men experienced police and/or jail contact as a prelude to the hospital admission,[80] sixteen did not, and for two there were no details.[81] Whereas thirteen patients committed a prior act of violence (ten during the course of events leading up to admission), for the majority of forty-eight, no prior violence was mentioned in the medical files. Three of the sixty-four men had attempted suicide.

Twenty-three of the Chinese inmates were confined exclusively at Essondale, two at the Public Hospital for the Insane, twenty-six in both, and thirteen in some other combination of Essondale, PHI, Colquitz, and/or Vernon.[82] Perhaps reflecting more their homogenization in the eyes of physicians than their lived experiences of disorder, all but five of the Chinese patients ($N = 53$) received a label of dementia praecox[83] or some variant. Four were diagnosed as manic depressive and one as suffering from general paresis associated with advanced venereal disease.

Mental treatment was a rarity for these men. For fifty-four there was no record of any form of therapeutic intervention. Six were noted to have been prescribed mild sedatives, two underwent cabinet or steam baths for opium addiction, one was given lead and opium, and one was infected with malarial blood for 'treatment' of syphilis. Thirteen men committed at least one assault while in hospital (with four involved in 'several' or 'many' assaults), four were victims of violence (one by an attendant), one made multiple suicide attempts, and eight made a total of fourteen attempts to escape. At discharge in February 1935, the attending physician described thirty-one of the inmates as 'unimproved,' twenty-nine as 'improved,' and three as 'recovered.'

Journeys to the Asylum

Like the countless thousands of their compatriots who had emigrated to British Columbia in the sixty-five years spanning the great gold rush of 1858 and the 1923 federal exclusion law, these Chinese mental inmates led lives of quite extraordinary forbearance and resolve. Immigrants landing in psychiatric settings tended, like so many other impoverished migratory labourers in late nineteenth- and early-twentieth-century British Columbia, to subsist on the periphery of the social order, marginalized by their race, language, and mentality, pursuing work where it might materialize, and endlessly subject to the vagaries of a capricious economic climate. Caught between two worlds, with roots and family in China but their only prospects for advancement in the fickle new world of the gold mountain, they laboured when work was available, paid off their debts, sent money home when they could, and returned to marry or father children if finances and opportunity allowed. Their belongings were few, typically comprising a small cache of funds and sundry personal effects.[84] Loneliness and the grinding routines of labour inexorably wore down these men. As their worlds crumbled en route to the asylum, many became estranged even from their own communities, friends, and family. In case after case, itineracy, privation, and censure was followed by a descent into madness, and the ultimate deportation.

A.H., hospitalized in 1897, had received a head injury in an explosion in a Vancouver Island coal mine, after which he turned to opium. He was

picked up by police after being found 'wandering about the outskirts of Victoria in a semi-nude condition and unable to give an intelligent explanation of his conduct.' According to presiding PHI physician J.G. McKay, the psychosis of C.W. had 'extend[ed] over a period of twelve months or more' during which 'he has been wandering from one town to another throughout British Columbia and the North West Territories.' L.D. had been living in a shack near Nanaimo prior to his 1922 admission, 'living on refuse' and having 'no desire for work and no ambition.' Like him, M.S.H., was housed in dilapidated quarters near New Westminster in May 1928, when he was picked up walking aimlessly around the colony farm grounds. It was four in the morning, on a clear night, and M.S.H. was said to be carrying an open umbrella. For C.L.L., breaking a Bank of Montreal window in downtown Vancouver at the height of the Depression in August 1932 ensured his arrest by police and at least the prospect of food and shelter.

For other men, conspicuous incidents of violence or longstanding conflicts with the surrounding community precipitated their journey to hospital. Arriving in Vancouver in 1912 at the age of thirteen, W.Y.Y. spent sixteen months in school before gaining employment in a Chinese restaurant, where he worked for the next two years. Around 1916 W.Y.Y. moved north to Prince Rupert, where he worked for the next five years in a local cannery. In the summer of 1921 he left his job and travelled back to Vancouver for a holiday. While on board the SS *Camosun* on 16 August 1921, W.Y.Y. attacked and seriously wounded another Chinese worker with a knife. He was apparently responding to unforgiving voices in his head, and, was 'scared he [the knifing victim] was going to throw me into the sea.' W.Y.Y. was charged with attempted murder and detained at Oakalla Prison Farm. After four months in detention, he was certified to the PHI on 29 December 1921 on the grounds that he 'shows terrible fear at [the] sight of any other Chinamen,' 'masturbates all night,' and 'goes for days without effort at feeding himself.' W.Y.Y. was transferred from the PHI to Essondale on 10 January 1922 and confined in hospital for the next thirteen years, until his inclusion in the mass deportation.

Born in the Hoiping District west of Canton in 1889, C.S. was married with a one-year-old son when he first came to Canada in 1910. After working in a laundry for three years, he returned briefly to his family before returning to British Columbia prior to the First World War. He settled in Victoria, where for more than a decade he was steadily employed as a mill-worker. When the Depression came, C.S. was relegated to intermittent manual jobs and was soon destitute. By 1931, persecutory ideas began to dominate his thinking. He saw 'the faces of sick people' reflected in others' eyes and became convinced that members of the Victoria Chinese community were conspiring to do him harm. By this time he had no permanent home and was sleeping on the streets. He began posting signs around

Victoria's Chinatown, 'calling the people to law and order and to look after the sick.' When a resident pulled down one of his notices, C.S. ran after him brandishing an open razor. Police were summoned and C.S. was certified by Drs. G.F. Aylward and Richard Felton, with the assistance of interpreter J.M. Jiggs, on 8 May 1931. Asked 'Are you crazy?' by Essondale physician G.A. Minorgan, C.S. responded in the negative. Attempting to describe his situation in fractured English, C.S. was able to report only that 'I was sweeping in the beer parlour. Not much good job, not much money ... Another man he take piece of paper and him throw it away. Him no likee me.'[85] Practitioners diagnosed C.S. with dementia praecox and confined him at Essondale, where he remained until his deportation nearly four years later.

A large number of individuals and organizations became participants in the melancholy dramas that propelled these Chinese patients into the province's psychiatric system. Members of the white community often responded with indignation and fear to the presence of 'Orientals' and other racial outsiders who had entered, uninvited, into their world. 'Insane' persons who presented a direct threat of harm, who disrupted social routine, or who otherwise ruptured acceptable margins of tolerance were seen to be out of place, time, mind, and order. Particularly when the security and sensibilities of 'women and children' were ostensibly at stake, authorities seldom hesitated to intervene. L.S.T., for example, was picked up by police and certified in April 1934 on the grounds that he 'roams the streets, raps on doors and stares at women when they answer the knock, frightening them.' M.G. was described by Dr. John H. Carson of Vancouver in April 1920 as 'a vagrant ... and in his wanderings all over town he is a nuisance and even in Chinatown – and has been a menace to women on the street.' When the attending physician in Kamloops certified A.S. in 1903, he reported: 'I have frequently noticed this man on the streets and know that he has caused much annoyance and fright to many ladies and children. He attends church every Sunday night and sits and laughs all through service. He wandered about the streets in the evening and at night, following girls and women and laughing.' For some like F.B., aggressive, obstreperous, or bizarre conduct led to their ostracism by the Chinese community on which they had depended for security and support.

On the infrequent occasions when they were permitted to participate in the commitment process, the Chinese patients, as well as their acquaintances and family, offered insights into the context and conditions of their conduct that had eluded officials and the wider community. In October 1930, Y.W. was questioned by G.A. Minorgan about his reasons for attempting to drown himself in the Nass River in Arrington. Y.W. attributed his condition 'to long hours and lack of sleep.' C.B.S., of Texada Island, was reported by the Powell River BC Provincial Police detachment to have 'r[u]n

amok and attacked other Chinese.' According to his friends, C.B.S. had 'received bad news by letter and was much worried, and that last night he ran out, sparsely clad, and spent the night in the woods.' In another case, in 1916, S.A.D. attacked a man on a Vancouver street with a rubber club. As the victim said, S.A.D., who was married with a son in China, was likely inflamed by 'money trouble' or 'home sick[ness].'

The poignancy of their troubled lives, and the quiet desperation of their failed dreams of autonomy and wealth, are evident in the pages of these institutional records. Many 'paranoid' Chinese patients felt sheer terror and dread when confronted with a hostile world with which they could no longer cope. Fantastical delusions, in some cases, came to dominate their thoughts. N.Y. was 'arrested in a [Victoria] theatre [on 2 October 1924] because [he was] screaming and jumping about saying people were trying to kill him.' In December 1932, L.Y. of Ashcroft 'had locked himself in his room for a couple of days armed with a carving knife, keeping others at bay.' Following the death of his closest friend, seventy-year-old T.B. of Revelstoke lapsed into the conviction 'that Japanese were trying to kill him.'[86] He was arrested and removed to Essondale on 5 December 1932, after having 'locked inmates of the house in their rooms and threatened to kill himself with a butcher knife.'

Amid lives of destitution in a nearly unigendered world of 'bachelor husbands' and single male labourers, dreams of prosperity and conjugal stability were a source of both comfort and pain for these Chinese patients. Frequently, the boundaries of hope and madness became blurred. C.W., when admitted from Victoria in March 1913, was steadfast in his conviction that he owned several banks and that 'all kinds of money was at his disposal.' W.Y. insisted that he was an emperor in China. T.P., certified in Pitt Meadows on 2 August 1921, had 'ideas that he owned the farm on which he was working and that his father was the King of England and that he was a prince.' Leading up to his arrest and hospitalization on 10 June 1924, C.Y.G., an unmarried cook aged thirty-seven, could not be shaken from the idea that a wealthy Chinese widow was preparing to marry him. After he attempted to enlist the assistance of the Chinese consul and Vancouver Mayor Owen in arranging the wedding, police were brought in and he was taken into custody.

For still others, the prelude to institutionalization was a sorry decline into an abyss of degradation and despair. The hospital became a final stopping point in the unwinding of a life gone wrong. Born in China in 1879 and emigrating in 1897, T.C. worked in canneries and the fishing industry until his twenty-year addiction to opium and his ravaged physical condition brought him to Essondale. In early June of 1919, he was been found wandering aimlessly in Port Coquitlam. In 1910, L.G. was a farm labourer

on Lulu Island. He gradually fell into an internal oblivion, crawling through the fields after cattle until his employers summoned authorities. C.C. sank into a morose stupor in 1915 and begged to die as he lay on the floor of his jail cell, drinking his own urine. Locked up in the Vancouver police jail in November 1926, W.W. was reported to have been constantly masturbating and eating his semen until physicians were convened and he was shipped off to Essondale and, ultimately, to Canton.

The Experience of Mental Institutionalization

Life in the province's mental institutions was a dreary accumulation of repetitive routines, mundane labour, and multiple privations. From the 1890s until the First World War, most of those who were eventually deported were segregated in a ward reserved for Chinese inmates at the New Westminster PHI. Even after the majority were moved to the racially mixed confines of Essondale, following its opening on 1 April 1913, the inmates were still largely cut off by language, culture, damaged thoughts, and the intolerance they encountered from hospital staff and other patients. Their daily cycles of labour and rest were only occasionally interrupted by contact with friends, family members, and groups like the Chinese Consolidated Benevolent Association (CCBA). In this pretherapeutic era, where institutional treatment was scarcely in evidence, the Chinese patients were almost never the subjects of rehabilitative measures. To the medical authorities and attendant staff, the Chinese were an amorphous crowd of alien faces, bizarre in their habits, and potentially dangerous. Their value was measured mainly by their level of docility and willingness to work.

Vignettes yielded from the medical records, even when filtered through the lens of occidental and professional sensibilities, offer some sense of the quality of life inside the hospital wards during the early part of this century. The world of the asylum was largely bereft of energy, pleasure, or hope. With the passage of year upon year of cheerless routine, patients deteriorated still further.

W.B.S. was admitted to the PHI on 18 September 1924. He was thirty-one years old. A month later he was moved to Essondale, where his worsening condition necessitated his transfer to the Chronic Building. The ward physician documented a typical day for W.B.S. in the ward notes dated 30 March 1925: 'This patient ... at times will walk around the room on his hands and feet. He has silly outbursts of laughter and also will start singing without any apparent cause or reason. He follows either one or the other of the Chinamen around the ward, going every place he does and at his heels on very frequent occasions.' J.S.C. spent endless months at Essondale during the late 1920s and early 1930s, sitting in a chair and facing the wall. Anxieties about the fate of their families in China dominated the thoughts of many of the men. Still others simply abandoned all pretence of engagement with

a world that was foreign to them. During his thirty-one years of uninterrupted hospitalization, A.H. gradually lost all interest in conversation and work and, according to the notations of resident physician Byrne, 'spends his time squatting ... in a typical Oriental attitude ... on a bench in his stocking feet with his slippers on the floor in front of him. He smokes innumerable cigarettes, smiles when spoken to, but makes no attempt to answer questions.'

For those who had not fully relinquished their connection to the surrounding world or their will to engage, there was work to do within the hospital. Virtually from the inception of the province's mental hospital system in the 1870s, the division of patient labour was rigidly organized by race and gender.[87] Chinese inmates were given menial laundry and kitchen work that other male patients sought to avoid. Women patients were not considered strong enough to do the work. When demand was high and reliable workers scarce, the Chinese workers were highly coveted by officials, as indeed they were beyond the hospital walls.[88] Moreover, the capabilities of Chinese patients as labourers were often a pivotal index in their medical and moral evaluation by administrators and physicians.

Patients who deferred to authority and demonstrated industry could win special privileges and small kindnesses. Those who were considered low risks to the safety of others might be granted parole, and allowed some freedom of movement in the hospital wards and grounds. First interned in the PHI in February 1905, A.S.F. was described as 'a splendid worker.' He was among the first PHI patients to be transferred to Essondale when it opened on 1 April 1913. Subsequently, he spent more than two decades working in the gardens and fields, in exchange for which he was permitted to fish and trap in the nearby river. C.Y.G. passed countless hours studying English with the help of a white patient. Good workers could sometimes reap benefits from their labours. L.D., for example, was granted the special privilege of working outside the Colquitz grounds, although after serving in Supervisor Granby Farrant's married quarters for two years he was promptly reintroduced to the ward after Farrant accused him of becoming 'dirty in his habits and ... rather overbearing in manner.'

The structural and symbolic web of existence inside the province's psychiatric hospitals was a complex, mediated, and constantly mutating tangle of rules and rewards, compliance, repudiation, and resistance. On the one hand, Chinese patients were subject to a litany of regulatory controls effected through the use of sedatives, seclusion, and physical restraint; the withdrawal of work, leisure, and grounds privileges; and transfer to less coveted or more restricted wards or buildings, or to another hospital like Colquitz, with its prison-like structure and maximum-security environment. On the other hand, once interned, the Chinese inmates were treated more as social 'junk' than 'dynamite,' to enlist Spitzer's useful metaphor.[89] For doctors and

attendants, deficiencies of reason and race combined to drain these men of social relevance or threat, so much so that extraordinary measures of control were seldom required. At the mundane level of everyday routine, the Chinese inmates were mostly just ignored. Their files are scanty, typically meriting only three or four brief annual notations from attending physicians. Little reference was made to their individual attributes, or to their prior lives and contacts outside the institution. Herded together in wards and work 'gangs,' homogenized and depersonalized, subjected to racial epithets and occasional attacks by white patients and even attendants,[90] by the third and fourth decades of the twentieth century the Chinese patients were almost forgotten within the sprawling public mental health system.

The 'foreign' appearance of Chinese inmates and the impediments of language made communication between the inmates and hospital staff difficult. For their part, doctors sometimes expressed intolerance when describing the ethnic attributes of their Chinese charges. While physicians might acknowledge the linguistic disadvantages experienced by Chinese-speaking patients,[91] the Cantonese language was often dismissed as a pseudo-tongue or expression of some unseen pathology. W.Y.Y., for example, was noted by attending physician A.M. Gee in 1925 to be 'constantly jabbering in his own tongue,' and S.A.D. displayed, according to Dr. E.J. Ryan, 'a marked tendency to carry on a conversation in Chinese.' 'When an attempt is made to gain [M.G.] in conversation,' complained J.G. McKay on 1 May 1920, 'he merely answers in Chinese.'

For those who had attained some command of English, however, their words of resistance could sometimes be powerfully expressive, as with M.K. who, in his verbatim interview with G.A. Minorgan, protested, 'Me not crazy, doctor,' or C.L.L. who, to Minorgan's suggestion that 'this is a good place to have a rest,' responded, 'Not for me.' Some complained about the quality of food or the severity of work, and others demanded to be released.[92] Those men who were unable to speak English sometimes tried to escape, or to injure themselves or others. L.B., less than a month after being admitted, ran away on 17 January 1921 in an ill-fated quest for freedom. Another inmate, C.C., repeatedly tried to kill himself by fashioning a noose from knotted sheets and slashing his wrists with glass shards. Between 1915 and 1920, during C.C.'s incarceration, hospital staff responded to his suicide attempts by giving him heavy doses of sedatives and putting him in restraints. Still others vented their helplessness and rage in acts of violence. In January 1924, physicians described W. as 'impulsive and aggressive' and 'continually attacking someone on the ward.' According to A.L. Crease in 1916, C.W. harboured 'a great dislike for the Doctors and Attendants, and will have nothing to do with them, and when approached will resort to violence.' Transferred to Colquitz in 1919, he continued to bear resentment,

as noted by Supervisor Farrant some four years later in December 1923: 'Whenever he sees me he becomes excited, shakes his fist at me and makes grimaces.' C.W. remained locked in a cell on the Colquitz West Ward for more than a decade, until officials arranged his deportation from Canada.

Only a few, atypical Chinese patients were the beneficiaries of social support from outside the institution. Associations such as the CCBA made occasional representations on behalf of individual patients, and physicians periodically solicited their help for contacting relatives or meeting special needs. Following their general inspection of facilities and patients in January 1928, CCBA officials asked to be apprised whenever a Chinese patient without friends was admitted to hospital. There is some evidence that hospital administrators attempted to comply, as in the case of M.S.H., a sixty-year-old homeless and friendless man whom physicians certified from Maillardville in May 1928.

On other occasions, friends or family might enlist lawyers[93] to intervene on the behalf of patients. While these white professionals may have commanded more attention than the Chinese who hired them, there is no record that such action resulted in a response from medical authorities. One such case involved G.O.L., who lost his life savings on a failed restaurant venture in 1929. Six months after G.O.L.'s admission, Medical Superintendent A.L. Crease received a letter dated 27 September 1929 from J.H. MacGill, a Vancouver attorney, that sought to 'inquire as to the prospects of the release of this unfortunate.' As MacGill wrote: 'The man is said to be over 50, with a wife and some children in China, dependent on him and they are suffering for lack of support by the father. I think one of his friends here [has] been doing a little towards taking care of the dependants, but they would greatly appreciate any information which you can give as to his chances of release.' In his response on 2 October, Crease was noncommittal, reporting only that 'he may be visited by his friends any afternoon between the hours of 2 and 4:30. If he is returned to China, he will need escort.' There is no record of any further correspondence or action on behalf of the inmate.

Above all else, the power of medical professionals over the Chinese inhabitants of Essondale, Colquitz, and the PHI was marked by one overriding fact – namely, their ability to remove immigrant patients from the hospital rolls by deporting them. In case after case, and even as plans for the 1935 mass deportation were unfolding, physicians worked with state authorities to arrange for the removal of individual patients. As early as 1907 there is evidence that Medical Superintendent C.E. Doherty petitioned F.C. Blair of the Immigration Branch to have C.L. expelled.[94] Subsequently, hospital officials routinely contacted the Immigration Branch (later department) upon the arrival of every new Chinese patient. Controller of Chinese Immigration A.E. Skinner and his successor, F.W. Taylor, were in regular

communication with Essondale during the 1920s and early 1930s, gathering background knowledge on patient origin and status that would nullify Canadian domicile status. Immigration investigators provided data that found their way into medical files for later use.[95] For their part, doctors could operate as intermediaries, extracting information from patients and others that would establish grounds for deportation.[96]

Ironically, the patients' language barriers and mental impediments, which so severely disadvantaged them in their dealings with British Columbian officials, also protected them from efforts to probe into their histories and establish anomalies that would justify expulsion. Moreover, despite the concerted efforts of officials, the political and legal obstacles to deporting Chinese patients in the years preceding the *Empress of Russia* venture strictly limited the number of successful 'extractions.' Indeed, of the 542 legal repatriations of British Columbian mental patients reported between 1921 and 1936, only fifteen of those repatriated were of Chinese origin.

During the winter of 1934-35, however, the legal and administrative impediments to the expulsion of the sixty-five Chinese patients were overcome. As chronicled below, provincial authorities and medical professionals finally succeeded in returning their charges back from whence they came.

The Voyage 'Home'

On Friday, 8 February 1935, just after four o'clock in the afternoon, fifty inmates from Essondale and another five patients from the PHI arrived under escort at the Vancouver docks. They were stowed in cramped steerage quarters, which were partitioned off from other areas of the ship and furnished with double-decked, metal-framed beds. On the following morning, Deputy Provincial Secretary P.D. Walker inspected the ship. He was accompanied by James H. McVety, general superintendent of the British Columbia Offices of the Employment Service of Canada,[97] and a contingent of Canadian Pacific and immigration officials.[98] Under the command of Captain Herbert James, the *Empress of Russia* set sail with its 200 passengers (several hours late, owing to fog)[99] at 1:10 p.m. The ship stopped briefly in Victoria harbour at 6:20 that evening to pick up Vancouver Island passengers, including Attendant Daniel Logan of Colquitz and ten patients who had been confined in the Saanich institution.[100]

Officials conveyed news of the sailing to the public with much fanfare. Provincial Secretary G.M. Weir, in particular, garnered much political capital from the occasion. The press trumpeted his proclamation that the deportations would save the province hundreds of thousands of dollars. 'Mental Patients Repatriated,' declared the 11 February issue of the *Victoria Daily Times*: 'The sixty-five Chinese ... are now aboard the C.P.R. liner *Empress of Russia*, bound for their homeland ... Dr. Weir explained that as far as British Columbia was concerned, the arrangement was a good one, both

financially and otherwise. Care of the patients is estimated at about $450 a year each, so the full saving on this account would run about $20,000 to $25,000 a year ... Furthermore, the removal of these patients will allow more room for other cases with which the institutions are overcrowded.'[101] In its 13 February issue, the *Columbian* pronounced that the total savings might reach half a million dollars. Moreover, reporters intimated that additional deportations of 'Chinese lunatics' were sure to follow.[102] So too were repatriations – through the efforts of Labour Minister George S. Pearson aimed at 'sav[ing] large sums in relief doles' – of 'a large number of Chinese who are on relief in this province,' and who were, according to the reporter, 'eager to return to their home land.'[103]

Meanwhile, in Hong Kong, Department of Labour Officer John Moriarty had entered negotiations for acceptance of the sixty-five 'lunatics' by the Guangdong Government at Canton.[104] Arriving in Hong Kong on 21 January 1935, Moriarty was informed, to his initial consternation, that 'no Chinese mental cases are accommodated in the colony, all being sent to the Canton municipality and paid for on a monthly basis.' The regulation of insanity was strictly a local affair in southeast China, with authority in the hands of the mayor and municipal government. With British Vice Consul Cameron as an intermediary, Moriarty entered into protracted negotiations involving a number of meetings with the Cantonese mayor and other officials, during which it became evident that a sizeable cash prepayment would be a precondition for any favourable outcome. Ultimately, the local authorities accepted Moriarty's offer of $5,000 HK (subsequently paid on 27 February) to assist in the refurbishment of a building for 'mental indigents' being run by an American missionary in Canton, along with (ironically) a $200 head tax for each returned patient to be furnished 'on delivery.' The British Consul General submitted a formal request on 4 February, and an affirmative response from Dr. C.T. Teng, commissioner of public health, was mailed to Moriarty on 11 February but not received until two full weeks later (seventeen days after the *Empress of Russia* had set sail from Vancouver).[105] While the patients were en route, Moriarty enjoined the Hong Kong chief of police to arrange a permit for their transfer by launch from the CP liner at Kowloon to a river steamer docked on the other side of the harbour.[106] For the last leg of the journal to Canton, Moriarty managed to secure the entire aft section of a steamer owned by the Hong Kong Macao Steamboat Company, but only after being turned down by other steamship companies that feared they would lose business if they took the inmates aboard.[107]

The voyage itself was uneventful. According to a log compiled by Chief Attendant Mackie,[108] there was little commotion and the sixty-five patients seemed generally resigned to their fate. Only one of their number protested, refusing food and showing that 'he strongly resents being taken away from

Vancouver.'[109] Otherwise, the twelve-day passage between Victoria and the first landfall at Yokohama passed without incident. The journey was marked mainly by the discomfort of heavy seas and the routine of life on board ship. Following quarantine inspection in Yokohama, the *Empress* docked at Kobe, Nagasaki, and Shanghai before arriving in Hong Kong on 1 March. At 8:30 that morning, Moriarty and George Costello, a Canadian Pacific agent, met the ship. Later in the afternoon, attendants led the patients in parties of ten, accompanied by a phalanx of Hong Kong police, to the ferry *Cormorant* for transfer across the harbour to the river steamer *Lung Shan*. Chief Attendant Mackie described conditions on board the steamer as 'not up to any occidental standard.' But at least, he added, security had been amply provided for: 'The patients quarters ... were safely barred in a compartment by themselves ... Double gates (guarded by an East Indian policeman) ... kept us locked in our enclosure ... The patients rested with their clothes on, reclining in deck chairs with an oriental cover, their parcels of underwear were used as pillows. A member of the harbour police visited about every half hour during the night.'[110]

Early in the morning of Saturday, 2 March 1935, the final leg of the patients' journey 'home' began. By mid-afternoon they reached Canton, where Moriarty and Costello (who had travelled ahead by train) and British Vice Consul Cameron were on hand to supervise their transfer into the control of the Cantonese Bureau of Public Health. During the deboarding of the patients, Moriarty observed that 'the Chinese authorities were taking no chances against violence and had on hand some twenty policemen, armed with clubs, whips, chains, handcuffs, etc.' According to Moriarty, these police appeared 'far from being mentally normal.' In contrast, he characterized the patients as 'most docile and all well behaved' and praised the four Canadian attendants for being 'experts at their job' and 'show[ing] great tact and patience in the face of a howling native police force.'[111]

Dr. Fang Chung Kwong, director of the Honam Municipal Hospital for the Insane, accompanied by a number of 'male nurses,' took charge of the deportees. They then shuttled the party by boat to their new institutional quarters across the Canton River. Officials at the mayor's office signed the appropriate documents, and Costello paid the $13,000 HK ($200 per head) to C.T. Teng.[112] Moriarty noted that 'the Chinese and other officials were very disturbed over the lack of information regarding the patients[113] and seemed to be under the impression that I knew all about the cases and refused to supply details.' At Fang's invitation, Moriarty and Mackie inspected the hospital, which was described by the latter as 'only up to an oriental standard.'[114]

In light of the many problems encountered during the course of the entire venture, the British Consul General asked Costello to wire his Vancouver office directing that CP 'not ... accept any more insane patients from Canada

for the present.' Mackie and the other three attendants returned to British Columbia on the next available CP liner, and Moriarty left Hong Kong on 25 March 1935, with a brief stopover to consult the Canadian legation in Tokyo regarding the prospects of deporting Japanese patients.[115] In its entirety, the operation had cost the provincial government a sum total of $16,989.41 in Canadian funds.[116]

Back in British Columbia, the repatriations were not without controversy. The Chinese Consul in Vancouver dispatched a formal protest to Provincial Secretary G.M. Weir, 'stating that he would feel entitled to have these Chinamen returned to British Columbia at any time within two years.' However, in a letter to McVety, Walker asserted that 'this could [not] be done as the Immigration authorities would not allow it.'[117] For his part, McVety opined that 'the Consul's nose is out of joint because he had nothing to do with the movement or their money. I don't blame him,' McVety continued, 'so much as a couple of local born "Chinks" of the Yip family[118] who are employed in his office.' McVety concurred that 'the policy of ignoring [the Consul] was apt,' particularly in view of the fact that 'the news of the movement is gradually circulating around and I have received many compliments on its success.'[119]

In the main, this general tone of self-congratulation seems to have typified official and public response to the whole affair. Later in the year, Walker and McVety again joined forces to arrange for the deportation of 'some Hindus,'[120] incurring a professed 'further saving in the neighbourhood of $20,000.'[121] Over the next three years, the two men combined in abortive efforts to arrange a similar mission involving Japanese inmates, to the point of conducting a census of the province's mental institutions,[122] and making overtures to BC Attorney General Gordon Sloan[123] and the Hon. Robert R. Bruce, then Canadian minister to Japan.[124] These efforts made absolutely no headway amid rising international tensions in the Pacific, along with Bruce's insistence that they must communicate directly with the External Affairs Department in Ottawa.[125] Nevertheless, Walker and McVety were officially recognized for their involvement in the deportations. For their efforts, each received a special dispensation from Civil Service Commissioner A.N. Baker, on the recommendation of Weir, 'for special services in arranging the repatriation of Orientals from the Mental Hospital to China and India.'[126]

Denouement

As for the patients themselves, little more is known. Apart from the few scattered observations made by their official escorts before and during their voyage 'home,' there are no surviving accounts of the fates that awaited them in the Honam asylum or beyond. Nor is there account of their individual or collective responses to being removed from British Columbia's asylums and sent to Guangdong province. Given their advanced age, some

doubtless expired within a few months or even weeks of arrival at the Canton institution. Others would have languished indefinitely, discarded by their adopted country, aliens in the land of their birth, and seemingly beyond the help of overseers, family, and friends. Perhaps a few managed to resume lives in the villages and fields from which they had long ago departed in search of the elusive *gumshan*. At least one of the sixty-five, L.C., returned to Canada, only to be readmitted to Essondale at the age of fifty-two in November 1949.[127]

While there are no accounts of any further mass repatriations, individual deportations of patients from British Columbia's and Canada's mental hospitals continued (and indeed continue to the present day).[128] By the 1937-38 fiscal year, however, the province reported only eight such cases. Thereafter, the psychiatric *Annual Reports* ceased publishing deportation statistics altogether. These trends paralleled the general decline of deportation numbers across the country during the mid- and late-1930s.[129]

As with other regulatory projects and practices recounted in this book, the state's banishment of 'insane' and 'alien' people reflected wider political, economic, and moral concerns. When the deportation of 'insane' aliens was no longer a priority, authorities moved on to other programs of control and discourses of justification. The exclusionist impulse, which reached its zenith around the time of the *Empress of Russia*'s sailing, began to exhaust itself as the Depression dragged on. The Second World War loomed and the more pressing concerns of domestic disorder and international conflict increasingly dominated the public consciousness of British Columbians and other Canadians. The practice of the medical prohibition of 'unfit' immigrants may have fallen victim to its spectacular success (and excess), with nearly 58,000 removals over the preceding three decades, declining immigration rates throughout the 1930s, and the growing resistance of other countries to welcome back, without compensation, Canada's steady stream of deportees.

In the end, there is no disputing that the interwar wave of deportations receded less out of humanitarian fears about its devastating impact on the lives of those affected, than because a shifting political and institutional environment had rendered expulsions ineffectual and obsolete as a primary mode of state population control. Radical transformations in the provincial, national, and global order, originating in the crises of the Great Depression and the build-up to the Second World War, had a dramatic impact on national immigration policy. These changes were also felt by disciplines such as psychiatry, which had come to depend on the international trade in lunacy as an integral means of regulating the inhabitants of its institutions.

Following the Second World War, however, state and medical authorities once again began to display their awesome genius for adapting to new

institutional and cultural conditions, and for modifying their regulatory powers and practices in the wake of social change. As the populations of British Columbian and Canadian mental hospitals began to swell beyond tolerance from the late 1940s through the 1970s, new strategies needed to be (re)invented. Embracing the lessons of history, public officials returned to the timeworn practices of refusal and exclusion. This time around, however, deinstitutionalization and community care became the operative agendas of mental health policy. They would remain so for much of the late twentieth-century. In the process, the ocean-going steamers of earlier decades were supplanted by the more parochial conveyances of police wagons, hospital vans, and public transit. Displaced patients from throughout the province and across the country were fated for consignment not to foreign lands from whence they came, but to the inner-city landscape of welfare hotels, joblessness, drugs, violence, dependency, and despair.[130] But that is another story.

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Notes

1 The CPR transcontinental service to Asia went into operation in June 1887. By 1891, the first three *Empress* luxury liners, the *China*, *India*, and *Japan*, were plying the Pacific leg of the 'all-red route' linking the nations and colonies of the British Empire. The *Empress of Russia* was commissioned before the First World War and by 1914 was renowned as 'the pride of the trans-Pacific fleet' (Margaret A. Ormsby, *British Columbia: A History* [Vancouver: Macmillan, 1958], 381). See especially Robert D. Turner, *The Pacific Empresses: An Illustrated History of Canadian Pacific Railway's Empress Liners on the Pacific Ocean* (Victoria: Sono Nis Press, 1981).

2 This was not the first time that the *Empress of Russia* was used for the mass repatriation of Chinese men. In the fall of 1919, the federal government returned nearly 6,000 'coolies' to China via British Columbian ports. The men had been enlisted to work in Europe during the war. They returned to China aboard the CP *Empresses of Russia*, *Japan*, and *Asia* and the *Mont Eagle*. See National Archives of Canada [hereinafter NAC]. Marine Branch Records. RG 42, IIB1, vol. 255, file 37467. Frank McConnell (Chairman, Board of Steamboat Inspection) to A. Johnston (Deputy Minister of Marine and Fisheries), 19 September 1919.

3 Anthony B. Chan, *Gold Mountain: The Chinese in the New World* (Vancouver: New Star Books, 1983), 31-33.

4 Ibid.
5 Edgar Wickberg, ed., *From China to Canada: A History of the Chinese Communities in Canada* (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1982), 296; Jean Barman, *The West Beyond the West: A History of British Columbia,* 2nd ed. (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1996), 363.
6 Wickberg, *From China to Canada*, 304. For overall statistics on Chinese immigration to Canada between 1886 and 1931 see 'Memorandum from Superintendent of Immigration,' 30 October 1917; W.D. Scott (Chief Controller of Chinese Immigration) to L.C. Christie (Legal Adviser, Department of External Affairs), 4 April 1922; William J. Egan (Deputy Minister for Immigration) to A.L. Jolliffe (Commissioner, Department of Immigration and Colonization), 31 March 1931 (all in NAC, Immigration Branch, RG 76, vol. 474, file 729921).
7 Denise Chong, *The Concubine's Children* (Toronto: Penguin, 1994); David Chuenyan Lai, *Chinatowns: Towns Within Cities in Canada* (Vancouver: UBC Press, 1988); James Morton, *In the Sea of Sterile Mountains: The Chinese in British Columbia* (Vancouver: J.J. Douglas, 1974). See also notes 3 and 6 above.
8 Donald Avery, 'Canadian Immigration Policy and the "Foreign" Navvy, 1896-1914,' in *The Consolidation of Capitalism: Readings in Canadian Social History*, vol. 4, ed. Michael Cross and Gregory Kealey, 47-73 (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1983); Tamara Adelman, 'A Preliminary Sketch of Chinese Women and Work in British Columbia 1858-1950,' in *Not Just Pin Money*, ed. Barbara K. Latham and Roberta J. Pazdro (Victoria: Camosun College, 1984), 53-78; Gunter Bareiss, 'Chinese Immigration, Chinese Stereotypes, and Chinese Labour,' *Canadian Ethnic Studies* 19 (1987): 14-34; Chee Chui Clement Ng, 'The Chinese Benevolent Association of Vancouver: A Response to Local Conditions' (MSW thesis, University of Manitoba, 1986); Peter S. Li, *The Chinese in Canada* (Toronto: Oxford University Press, 1988); Wing Chung Ng, *The Chinese in Vancouver, 1945-80: The Pursuit of Identity and Power* (Vancouver: UBC Press, 1999); Jin Tan, 'Chinese Labour and the Reconstituted Social Order of British Columbia,' *Canadian Ethnic Studies* 19 (1987): 68-88.
9 Kay J. Anderson, *Vancouver's Chinatown: Racial Discourse in Canada, 1875-1980* (Montreal and Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1991); Constance Backhouse, *Colour-Coded: A Legal History of Racism in Canada* (Toronto: Osgoode Society, 1999); Elizabeth Comack, '"We Will Get Some Good Out of this Riot Yet": The Canadian State, Drug Legislation and Class Conflict,' in *The Social Basis of Law: Critical Readings in the Sociology of Law*, ed. Stephen Brickey and Elizabeth Comack, 67-89 (Toronto: Garamond, 1986); Patricia E. Roy, 'British Columbia's Fears of Asians, 1900-1950,' in *A History of British Columbia: Selected Readings*, ed. Patricia E. Roy, 285-99 (Toronto: Copp Clark Pitman, 1989); Patricia E. Roy, *A White Man's Province: British Columbia Politicians and Chinese and Japanese Immigrants, 1858-1914* (Vancouver: UBC Press, 1989); W. Peter Ward, *White Canada Forever: Popular Attitudes and Public Policy toward Orientals in British Columbia* (Montreal and Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1978).
10 In 1908, a federal 'detention hospital' was opened on Ontario Street in Victoria. The hospital was for the confinement of prospective immigrants from China on medical grounds, or because they were unable to pay the $500 capitation tax. The building was known by local Chinese as Chu-tsai-uk (pigpen). David Chuen-Yan Lai was able to preserve and translate several of the wall writings etched by inmates of the 'hospital.' Among them is the following:

> I have always yearned to go to the Gold Mountain.
> But instead it is hell, full of hardships. I was
> Detained in a prison and tears rolled down my cheeks.
> My wife at home is longing for my letter,
> Who can foretell when I will be able to return home?
> I cannot sleep because my heart is filled with
> Hate. When I think of the foreign barbarians
> My anger will rise sky high. They put me in jail
> And make me suffer this misery. I moan until
> The early dawn,
> But who will console me here?

David Chuen-Yan Lai, 'A "Prison" for Chinese Immigrants,' *Asianadian: An Asian Canadian Magazine* 2 (Spring 1980): 16-19.

11 An Act to Restrict and Regulate Chinese Immigration, Canada, Statutes, 1885, 48-49 Vict., c. 71; An Act Respecting and Restricting Chinese Immigration, 1900, 63-64 Vict., c. 32, 215-21; An Act Respecting and Restricting Chinese Immigration, 1903, 3 Edward VII, c. 8, 105-11. On 1 September 1885, the federal Department of Customs assumed responsibility for administering the original act and William Parmalee became chief controller of Chinese immigration (and, seven years later, deputy minister of trade and commerce). In 1908 F.C.T. O'Hara succeeded Parmalee. In 1910 the Immigration Branch of the Department of the Interior took over for Chinese immigration regulation and W.D. Scott became chief controller (he was later succeeded in turn by Percy Reid and A.L. Jolliffe). The Immigration Branch (within the departments of the Interior (1892-1917), Immigration and Colonization (1917-1936), and Mines and Resources (1936 onward)) retained its jurisdiction over the act until its eventual repeal in 1947 (C.S., 11 George VI, c. 19). NAC. *Ethnic Index. Chinese Immigration Records, 1885-1953*. See also Helen Gregory MacGill, 'Anti-Chinese Immigration Legislation of British Columbia, 1876-1903,' (BA essay, University of British Columbia, 1925); John A. Munro, 'British Columbia and the "Chinese Evil": Canada's First Anti-Asian Immigration Law,' *Journal of Canadian Studies* 6 (1971): 42-51; Kenneth Munro, 'The Chinese Immigration Act, 1885: Adolphe Chapleau and the French Canadian Attitude,' *Canadian Ethnic Studies* 19 (1987): 89-101.

12 According to the 1911 census, the Chinese population of British Columbia that year consisted of 18,799 men, and only 769 women. See Roy, *A White Man's Province*, 269.

13 The province disenfranchised persons of Chinese heritage in 1875 via the British Columbia Qualifications and Registration of Voters Act, 1875, 35 Vict., c. 26, s. 22. The nation followed suit in 1920 with the Dominion Elections Act, S.C. 1920, 10-11 George V, c. 46, sec. 30 (g). See H.F. Angus, 'The Legal Status in British Columbia of Residents of Oriental Race and Their Descendants,' *Canadian Bar Review* 9 (January 1931): 1-12. At the municipal level, the Vancouver Incorporation Act, 1921, s. 8, ss. 8, specified that 'no Chinaman, Hindu, Japanese, or Indian shall be entitled to vote.' See Tom MacInnes, *Oriental Occupation of British Columbia* (Vancouver: Sun Publishing, 1927), 161.

14 Among other restrictions, 'some acts prevented Chinese Canadians from buying land or diverting water for agricultural purposes. In 1884, a $15 licence fee was levied to deter Chinese miners from prospecting for gold. Two years later ... British Columbia forebade the hiring of Chinese for all but a few jobs ... Chinese [were banned] from those professions for which citizenship was necessary – law, teaching, and pharmacy, chief among them. Laws also prevented Chinese shopkeepers and cafe owners from hiring white women' (Chan, *Gold Mountain*, 13-14).

15 An Act Respecting Chinese Immigration, 1923, 13-14 George V, c. 38.

16 On the history of Chinese Canadian interest groups like the CCBA, see Chuen-Yan Lai, 'Chinese Attempts to Discourage Emigration to Canada: Some Findings from the Chinese Archives in Victoria,' *BC Studies* 18 (Summer 1973): 33-49.

17 On the Chinese labour movement, see Gillian Creese, 'Organizing against Racism in the Workplace: Chinese Workers in Vancouver before the Second World War,' *Canadian Ethnic Studies* 19 (1987): 35-46.

18 See, for example, Tan, 'Chinese Labour and the Reconstituted Social Order of British Columbia.'

19 *Petition from Anti-Chinese Association*, 12 April 1880, British Columbia Sessional Papers [hereinafter BCSP], 1880, Third Session, Third Parliament, 43 Vict.

20 Howard H. Sugimoto, 'The Vancouver Riots of 1907: A Canadian Experience,' in *East Across the Pacific: Historical and Sociological Studies of Japanese Immigration and Assimilation*, ed. Hilary Conroy and T. Scott Miyakawa, 97-126 (Santa Barbara, CA: American Bibliographical Center, 1972), 120.

21 Ward, *White Canada Forever*, 136. In a pamphlet published in March 1931 and titled 'British Columbia's Oriental Problem,' the association wrote that 'the nations which have contributed most to world advancement, stable government and what we now term civilization, have been the western nations of Europe, whose blood has never been mixed with either

African or Asiatic ... We ask that the immigration laws be changed so as to prohibit the entry into Canada of any alien who is not capable of being assimilated by absorption or whom we do not wish to absorb.' British Columbia Archives and Records Service [hereinafter BCA], NWp 325.711 W589.

22 Petition from the Anti-Chinese Association.

23 Patricia E. Roy, 'The Preservation of the Peace in Vancouver: The Aftermath of the Anti-Chinese Riot of 1887,' *BC Studies* 31 (1976): 44-59.

24 Comack, '"We Will Get Some Good Out of this Riot Yet"'; Sugimoto, 'The Vancouver Riots of 1907.'

25 Order-in-Council from W.J. Armstrong, Provincial Secretary, BCSP 1883, First Session, Fourth Parliament, 46 Vict. 345-46.

26 Henry Herbert Stevens (MP for Vancouver Centre), 'The Oriental Problem: Dealing with Canada as Affected by the Immigration of Japanese, Hindu and Chinese,' n.d., BCA, NWp 325.71 S844, 20.

27 Reverend John Mackay, 'Asiatic Influx Fast Becoming Grave Problem,' *Vancouver World*, 17 July 1919, NAC, RG 76, vol. 474, file 729921.

28 J.S. Woodsworth, *Strangers Within Our Gates* (Winnipeg: Frederick Clarke Stephenson, 1909), 278.

29 *Royal Commission on Chinese Immigration*, Sessional Papers of Canada [hereinafter SPC], 1885, no. 542; *Royal Commission on Chinese and Japanese Immigration*, SPC, 1902, no. 54.; *Report on Oriental Activities Within the Province*, BCSP, 1926-27, Third Session, Sixteenth Parliament, 17 George V, BB1-24.

30 Until enfranchisement finally arrived in 1947, Dominion Day was annually recognized by the Chinese Canadian community as 'Humiliation Day' (Wickberg, *From China to Canada*, 157-58).

31 Names of all patients and prisoners referenced in the study are initialized to protect confidentiality.

32 On the career of Chartres Brew, see Lynne Stonier-Newman, *Policing a Pioneer Province: The BC Provincial Police, 1858-1950* (Madeira Park, BC: Harbour Publications, 1991).

33 BCA, Vertical Files, F192-12, 1823.

34 See generally Gerry Ferguson, 'Control of the Insane in Early British Columbia: Care, Cure, or Confinement,' ch. 2 this volume.

35 BCA, GR 1754, box 1, vol. 1. For a brief history of another Chinese patient admitted in 1875, see David J. Davies, 'The Case of Ah Fook, the Woodcutter,' *BC Medical Journal* 28 (December 1986): 824-25.

36 The Victoria Asylum closed its gates in 1878, and all its patients moved to the newly opened Public Hospital for the Insane (PHI) that occupied the slopes overlooking the Fraser River in New Westminster. The PHI, later renamed Woodlands School, specialized in cognitively disabled populations until its closure in 1996. See Richard A. Foulkes, 'British Columbia Mental Health Services: Historical Perspectives to 1961,' *Leader* 20 (1966): 25-34; Val Adolph, *In the Context of Its Time: A History of Woodlands* (Richmond, BC: British Columbia Ministry of Social Services, 1996).

37 These were the PHI, along with the Provincial Mental Hospital in Port Coquitlam (which opened on 1 April 1913), and the Provincial Mental Home, Colquitz (the province's institution for the criminally insane, located in Saanich on Vancouver Island; responsible for confining men considered too disorderly or dangerous for hospitalization elsewhere). See Robert Menzies, 'The Making of Criminal Insanity in British Columbia: Granby Farrant and the Provincial Mental Home, Colquitz, 1919-1933,' in *Essays in the History of Canadian Law*, vol. 6, *British Columbia and the Yukon*, ed. Hamar Foster and John P.S. McLaren, 274-312 (Toronto: University of Toronto Press and the Osgoode Society, 1995).

38 See *Annual Report of the Mental Hospitals of the Province of British Columbia*, BCSP, 1919 to 1936.

39 *Annual Report on the Asylum for the Insane*, BCSP, 1886, 441.

40 R.I. Bentley would subsequently resign in disgrace after an 1894 Royal Commission report documented his negligence and abuse of patients. See BCA, GR 482.

41 G.F. Bodington, *Report on the Asylum for the Insane*, BCSP, 1896-97.

42 BCA, GR 2880, Case #361, 8 May 1890.
43 G.H. Manchester, *Annual Report*, 1902, BCSP, 3 Ed. 7, E7.
44 P.D. Walker, Chief Clerk to J.L. White, Deputy Provincial Secretary, BCA, GR 542, box 21, file 5.
45 Immigration Act, SC 1906, c. 93. The 1906 act had designated as deportable anyone deemed 'feebleminded, idiotic, epileptic [or] insane.' The law underwent further revisions in 1910 and 1919, by which time, under s. 3(1), 'idiots, imbeciles, feeble-minded persons, epileptics, insane persons, and persons who have been insane at any time previously' were included in twenty classes of prohibited people. The time of residency needed to establish domicile under the 1906 act was three years. The 1919 legislation raised the requirement to five years. Robert Menzies, 'Governing Mentalities: The Deportation of "Insane" and "Feebleminded" Immigrants out of British Columbia from Confederation to World War I,' *Canadian Journal of Law and Society* 13, 2 (1998): 135-73. See generally Barbara Roberts, *Whence They Came: Deportation From Canada, 1900-1935* (Ottawa: University of Ottawa Press, 1988).
46 P.D. Walker to W.G. Egan, 25 July 1930, BCA, GR 542, box 21, file 5.
47 A.L. Jolliffe to C.E. Doherty, 5 December 1919, BCA, GR 542, box 21, file 5.
48 *Report of the Medical Superintendent for the Fifteen Months Ending March 21st, 1920*, SPBC.
49 Roberts, *Whence They Came*, 44, 46.
50 *Papers of the BC Royal Commission on Mental Hygiene*, 14 July 1926, BCA, GR 864, box 1, file 2.
51 *Annual Reports of the Mental Hospitals of the Province of British Columbia*, 1925-26 to 1934-35 inclusive, SPBC.
52 William Byron, 'The Menace of the Alien,' *MacLean's Magazine* 32 (1919): 31-32, 86-98; W.A. Carruthers, 'The Immigration Problem in Canada,' *Queen's Quarterly* 36 (1929): 517-31; W. Burton Hurd, 'The Case For a Quota,' *Queen's Quarterly* 36 (1929): 145-59; R.M. Lower, 'The Case against Immigration,' *Queen's Quarterly* 37 (1930): 557-74. See generally notes 9, 10, 12, and 21.
53 Gowan Macgowan to P.D. Walker, 17 November 1927, BCA, GR 542, box 21, file 5.
54 Walker to Macgowan, 18 November 1927, ibid.
55 Seto More (Seto Ying-shek) was a prominent scholar and activist in the Vancouver Chinese community. During the first decade of the century he was a founder of the radical Vancouver youth group Chi-chi She, dedicated to the overthrow of the Qing regime. Later, he was involved in the Chinese Nationalist League, an arm of Sun Yat-sen's opposition Kuomintang party. In 1923 he was at the forefront of Chinese Canadian efforts to repeal that year's federal exclusionary legislation (Wickberg, *From China to Canada*, 76, 104, 140).
56 On the history of the Chinese Consolidated Benevolent Associations, refer to Chuen-Yan Lai, 'The Chinese Consolidated Benevolent Association in Victoria: Its Origins and Functions,' *BC Studies* 15 (Autumn, 1972): 53-67; Ng, 'The Chinese Benevolent Association of Vancouver.'
57 J.J. Forster to Gowan Macgowan, 25 January 1928, BCA, GR 542, box 21, file 5.
58 The other thirty-seven were interned at the Public Hospital for the Insane or Colquitz, or had yet to be admitted as of 31 January 1928.
59 BCA, GR 2880 (patient files). It is noteworthy that the CCBA officials also judged nine of the future deportees to be mentally and/or physically unfit for repatriation. Throughout this chapter, all direct quotations from patients' clinical records are yielded from this GR 2880 collection, which comprises all BC psychiatric cases closed by death or discharge until 1942.
60 A.L. Crease to Mary K. Tsze, 3 March 1928, ibid.
61 Chunhow H. Pao to P.D. Walker, 20 July 1929, ibid.
62 On this instance Walker was rather more forthcoming, confessing that 'except in one or two cases, there are no relatives who would take care of them, nor can I ascertain if there are Institutions in China to which they could be sent.' He advanced the idea, though, that the patients might be of economic benefit on the other side: 'possibly some of these men could be employed by Chinamen on Truck Farms or otherwise. The patients I have in mind are "queer" but are not in any sense of the word dangerous, nor a menace to their associates.

Whether such a scheme is practicable I do not know, but I should like to have your opinion.' Walker to Chow, 19 December 1929, BCA. GR 542, box 21, file 5.

63 Order-in-Council #808, 30 June 1930, BCA, GR 542, box 21, file 5.

64 'BC Will Ask China to Care for Her Mental Patients Confined Here,' *Vancouver Daily Province*, 3 July 1930, 17.

65 Walker seemed to overlook, or perhaps conveniently disregarded, the fact that the head-tax system had been repealed with the passage of the 1923 federal exclusion law. See, inter alia, Anderson, *Vancouver's Chinatown*, 139.

66 Walker to Egan, 25 July 1930, BCA, GR 542, box 21, file 5.

67 Menzies, 'The Making of Criminal Insanity in British Columbia.' Farrant, for one, was an exuberant accomplice in these deportation ventures. As he noted to Crease on 16 December 1932, 'I have a few [patients] that I could dump and would be pleased to give you particulars on these cases,' BCA, GR 542, box 21, file 3.

68 Among other involvements, McKay was a long-time activist for sterilization of the 'feeble-minded,' and a founding member of the British Columbia Board of Eugenics in 1933. See Angus McLaren, *Our Own Master Race: Eugenics in Canada, 1885-1945* (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1990), 105.

69 S.L. Howe was the Conservative Provincial Secretary at the time.

70 Walker to McKay, 2 December 1932, BCA, GR 1665, box 8, file 2.

71 Earlier censuses were carried out on 19 October 1919, 14 November 1929, and 24 July 1930. BCA, GR 542, box 21, file 5.

72 This collective deportation took place on 29 December 1934 aboard the *Empress of Asia*. The majority of those expelled were 'people of advanced age' who had allegedly 'agreed voluntarily to return.' They were 'drawn mainly from Vancouver and Victoria, with some from up-island points' ('Chinese To Be Sent Home: BC Gov't Pays Fares of 150 Now On Relief,' *Vancouver Sun*, 28 December 1934).

73 Those Chinese who had established domicile and registered out were allowed to return within two years of leaving Canada. This period was extended to three years by PC 308 on 6 February 1919. 'Memorandum to Dr. Skelton,' NAC, Department of External Affairs, RG 25, vol. 1803, file 1936-729.

74 On the impact of institutional case files on historical research see Franca Iacovetta and Wendy Mitchinson, eds., *On the Case: Explorations in Social History* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1998).

75 Information was missing for one patient.

76 Under s. 6 the province's original Insane Asylums Act of 1873 [36 Vict., c. 28, amended in 1893], committals were based on the certificates of two 'duly qualified medical practitioners' and verified by a magistrate or justice(s) of the peace. This procedure remained relatively intact following the passage of the 1897 Hospitals for the Insane Act [61 Vict., c. 101), which was renamed the Mental Hospitals Act [hereinafter MHA] in 1912. The legislation did not undergo any further overhauls until 1940. See BCA, *Ministry of Health Administrative Outline*, n.d.

77 Provincial prisoners typically entered hospital from Oakalla and other prisons and jails under MHA certificate (ibid.), whereas BC Penitentiary inmates were transferred, with or without certificates, as 'order-in-council' patients under s. 53 of the federal Penitentiary Act [RSC 1906, c. 147].

78 In 1897, legislators had added provisions for the temporary emergency committal of persons under the authority of a single medical certificate, when a second physician was not available (BC Mental Hospitals Act, s. 13).

79 Orders-in-council, denoting authorization by the executive council of the province (usually accompanied by a signature from the attorney general and premier) were required for patients hospitalized as not guilty by reason of insanity or unfit to stand trial under the federal Criminal Code, and for those tranferred from penitentiaries as insane. See Menzies, 'The Making of Criminal Insanity in British Columbia.'

80 Five of the men were charged with criminal offences: one with murder (he was later pardoned), one with attempted murder, and three with vagrancy.

81 This was far above the norm. As Davies reports, for a sample of patients committed in 1910, 1919-20, and 1929-30, the percentage of precipitating police contacts was 46 for men and 9.4 for women. Megan Jean Davies, 'The Patient's World: British Columbia's Mental Health Facilities, 1910-1935' (MA thesis, University of Waterloo, 1989), Table A.

82 The branch institution in Vernon, BC, operated between 1904 and 1913. See BCA, GR 1754, box 13, vol. 17; GR 542, box 24, file 1.

83 Emil Kraepelin's category of dementia praecox entered the medical lexicon in 1896, characterized by 'a peculiar and fundamental want of any strong feeling of the impressions of life,' and embodying such symptoms as 'listlessness, vacancy, and withdrawal.' As the twentieth century unfolded, dementia eventually gave ground to Eugen Bleuler's concept of schizophrenia, first presented in 1911. See, inter alia, Elaine Showalter, *The Female Malady: Women, Madness, and English Culture, 1830-1980* (Harmondsworth, UK: Penguin, 1985).

84 The inventory of personal belongings in the possession of C.G., institutionalized on 1 August 1930, was typical: 'Case 45c, 1 Watch (Broken), 1 Bunch keys ring and chain, 1 Pocket Knife, 1 Fountain pen, 1 Nail clippers, 1 Eversharp pencil, 1 Mirror, 1 Pair Tweezers, 1 Immigration receipt, 1 Watch chain, 2 Identification cards, 1 Bundle correspondence and receipts, 1 Bank book C.I.B.C., 2 - 1c stamps, 1 Pair cuff links, 2 off cuff links, 2 B.C.E. Tickets, NP 1 Wallet, 1 Note Book, 3 Collar studs.'

85 The physician evidently deemed it appropriate to represent the patient's Cantonese accent in his verbatim report.

86 Perhaps not coincidentally, Japan had invaded Manchuria in September of the previous year.

87 On the gendered division of labour inside the provincial mental hospitals, see Dorothy E. Chunn and Robert Menzies, 'Out of Mind, Out of Law: The Regulation of "Criminally Insane" Women Inside British Columbia's Public Mental Hospitals, 1888-1973,' *Canadian Journal of Women and the Law* 10, 3 (1998): 1-32; Megan Barker Davies, 'The Women Beyond the Gates: Female Mental Health Patients in British Columbia, 1910-1935,' in *Canadian Research Institute for the Advancement of Women, Women and Well-Being*, 53-64 (Montreal and Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1990); Mary-Ellen Kelm, 'Women and Families in the Asylum Practice of Charles Edward Doherty at the Provincial Hospital for the Insane, 1905-1915,' (MA thesis, Simon Fraser University, 1990).

88 In a 1933 letter to Medical Superintendent A.L. Crease, Colquitz Supervisor Granby Farrant requested a transfer of patients to his institution. 'I would like to especially emphasize Orientals,' he wrote, 'that would be suitable to work in the Laundry, as we are down to the last ditch, changing different patients around to do the work, they only last a few days. If I cannot get sufficient manual labour the only alternative will be to put in machinery.' Farrant to Crease, 23 January 1933, BCA, GR 542, box 21, file 3.

89 Steven Spitzer, 'Toward a Marxian Theory of Deviance,' *Social Problems* 22 (1975): 638-51.

90 On the morning of 7 October 1919, patient L.P., aged thirty-five and confined at Essondale for less than a month, was discovered by A.L. Crease to have 'an ecchymosis above the right eye, a bruise on the left elbow, a bruise and marked tenderness over the tenth and eleventh ribs of the left side [and] a large bruise over the stomach.' When questioned about the occurrence 'the patient pointed to the two chairs occupied by the Night Attendants.' In his version, recorded in an 'unusual occurrence report,' night attendant G.R. stated: 'I saw Patient L.P. jump out of bed and pick up his bedside chair and attack Att C. I went to his assistance and helped to take the chair away from him and get him back into his bed. There was no unnecessary violence.' The files reported no subsequent disciplinary action.

91 On 17 November 1922, Dr. E.C. Benwell observed of S.K. that 'this patient on account of his poor knowledge of English may appear more demented than he really is.' Years later, on 2 January 1930, Dr. B.H.O. Harry voiced his consternation that the same patient still 'speaks poor English in spite of the fact that he has been here for ten years.'

92 In so doing, however, patients risked having their demands construed as indicative of pathology, as with C.Y.G. who, after nearly four months of involuntary confinement at Essondale, was depicted as 'extremely delusional believing that this is a prison and he wants to be let out.'

93 By virtue of being disenfranchised and thereby excluded from voters' lists, Chinese British Columbians were barred from the practice of law, along with other professions like teaching and pharmacy for which citizenship was a prerequisite. See H.F. Angus, 'The Legal Status in British Columbia of Residents of Oriental Race and Their Descendants'; Chan, *Gold Mountain*, 14.

94 F.C. Blair (Immigration Branch) to C.E. Doherty, Case File, C.L., 3 July 1907, BCA, GR 2880, box 18.

95 On patient J.L., A.E. Skinner offered the following details to A.L. Crease on 26 May 1930:

> I beg to refer you to your letter of February 11th last reporting [admission] to your Institution of a Chinese named J.L ... From information obtained by my Investigating Officer, and after a considerable search, I have verified the original entry of this party. He entered Canada at this Port ex the S.S. *'Empress of Russia'* 18 December 1922, and was duly admitted on the 29th idem under the name of J.G.F., upon payment of Head Tax, as the son of C.S.N. (J.S.N.) ... It will thus be seen that this young man has a legal residence in Canada of over seven years, not withstanding the fact that he is believed to have made a visit to China in the meantime; and consequently he would not be deportable.

96 Skinner wrote to Crease on 4 February 1929 regarding patient M.H.S.: '[He] has been several times questioned by my officers relative to his original entry to Canada, but his condition prevents any accurate information in this matter being obtained. It would be appreciated should any Chinese visit him at Essondale that you obtain their names and addresses and forward same to this office so that they can be questioned by my officers with a view to obtaining from them the history of his arrival and residence in Canada.'

97 McVety was also a former labour politician and a prominent member of the Oriental exclusion movement in British Columbia. 'Memorandum for Dr. Skelton,' 20 March 1936, NAC, RG 25, vol. 1803, file 1936-729.

98 Walker was nothing short of elated. 'The Chinese patients sailed as scheduled,' he reported to Crease. 'I inspected their quarters ... and found them quite comfortable and satisfactory. The patients themselves appeared to me to be happy and entirely undisturbed. The only inconvenience was the fact that in order to reach the toilet patients have to be taken outside their own quarters, but the distance is very short. The port-holes are not large and Mr. Mackie informed me that only one patient was conceivably small enough to escape in that manner.' Walker also relayed to Crease the plaudits that had been emanating from high places: 'I might say for your private information that, in conversation with the Premier [Thomas Dufferin Pattullo] this morning about other matters, I mentioned the subject of the repatriation of the Chinese, and he expressed his appreciation and satisfaction at what had been done.' Walker to Crease, 11 February 1935, BCA, GR 1665, box 8, file 3.

99 'Liner Delayed by Fog in Harbor,' *Vancouver Daily Province*, 9 February 1935, 28.

100 W. Mackie, *Record of Voyage to China*, BCA, GR 1754, vol. 21, box 16.

101 *Victoria Daily Times*, 11 February 1935, BCA, GR 144, book 4.

102 'Insane Chinese Sent Back Home,' *Columbian*, 13 February 1935, BCA, GR 542, box 21, file 5.

103 '65 Insane Chinese Are Returned Home,' 12 February 1935, ibid.

104 The Guomindang (or Kuomintang) party, by now under the leadership of Chiang Kai-shek (successor to Sun Yat-sen), had risen to power in 1928. The party maintained its precarious hold on southern China through the 1930s, as local warlords continued to oppose its rule in provinces like Yunnan and Sichuan, and as Japan came to dominate much of the north after its invasion of Manchuria in 1931 and China itself in 1937. See Chan, *Gold Mountain*, 133-34; Wickberg, *From China to Canada*, c. 12-14.

105 The letter, declaring that the 'terms of agreement between Mr. John Moriarty ... and us, have been approved and authorized by the Mayor' and that 'we are instructed to take the sole responsibility of handling the case,' was mistakenly forwarded to the wrong hotel by the British Consulate in Canton. As Moriarty later recalled, 'The apparent slight on my part, to one of the most important Chinese officials with whom I had to deal, came

near wrecking the whole of my negotiations.' In the interim, news of the breakthrough had been cabled to Vancouver on 7 February, just two days prior to the *Empress's* sailing, although the ship had actually reached Shanghai before written confirmation arrived. *Report of John Moriarty, Chinese Investigator*, Vancouver, BC, 9 April 1935, BCA, GR 542, box 21, file 5.

106 The police chief, a member of the Hong Kong Governor's Legislative Council, further agreed that the patients could remain on board the steamer overnight, 'in direct contravention to the antipiracy laws of the colony, by which no passenger or Oriental member of the crew is allowed to be on a river steamer until one hour before sailing.' Ibid.

107 There was apparently a widespread belief that 'to have any contact where mentally defectives were, or had been, would transfer the "bad joss" to them or their family.' Ibid.

108 W. Mackie, *Record of Voyage to China.*

109 Ibid., 22 February 1935.

110 Ibid., 1 March 1935.

111 *Report of John Moriarty, Chinese Investigator.*

112 This was in addition to the $5,000 HK advance payment made earlier in purported support of the US missionary's facility.

113 Their case files and registry notations were retained at Essondale.

114 W. Mackie, *Record of Voyage to China*, 2 March 1935.

115 Although Moriarty later claimed to have conferred with Canadian Ambassador to Japan Herbert M. Marler (*Report of John Moriarty, Chinese Investigator*), he was met in fact by Marler's assistant, Langley, who offered no assistance in convincing Japanese officials to accept deported psychiatric inmates. 'Memorandum for Dr. Skelton,' NAC, RG 25, vol. 1803, file 1936-729.

116 James H. McVety to Gowan Macgowan, 10 May 1935, GR 542, box 21, file 5. These expenditures included, inter alia, the Canadian Pacific passages and incidentals of $4,249.95, a payment to the provincial government's Relief Department of $1,783.22 (probably in connection with Moriarty's involvement in the deportation of the 152 relief cases), the $8,740.50 ($18,000 HK) disbursement to the Canton Bureau of Public Health, ferry hiring, river steamer charter, Hong Kong police escort, Moriarty's hotel, and other bills, and $230.85 ($500 HK) in payments 'to Chinese officials for special services' (i.e., bribes).

117 Walker to McVety, 6 March 1935, BCA, GR 1665, box 8, file 3.

118 As noted above, Yip Sang (Yip Chun-Tin) was one of the most influential pioneer merchants in late nineteenth- and early-twentieth-century Vancouver. He co-founded the Chinese Board of Trade in 1896 and his family remained prominent throughout the subsequent decades. Yip's daughter Susan was among the first Chinese to enrol at the University of British Columbia in 1914-15. Anderson, *Vancouver's Chinatown*, 78; Wickberg, *From China to Canada*, 21, 95.

119 McVety to Walker, 7 March 1935, BCA, GR 1665, box 8, file 3.

120 Apparently no record remains of this operation but, based on the estimated magnitude of the 'savings' (one-tenth the amount attributed to the Chinese removals), it probably involved the exile of six or seven Sikh immigrants (who were routinely misrepresented as 'Hindoos' in popular and official culture of the time).

121 G.M. Weir to A.N. Baker, 23 March 1936, BCA, GR 1665, box 8, file 3.

122 According to Medical Superintendent E.J. Ryan (Crease had since been elevated to the position of general superintendent and provincial psychiatrist), there were nineteen male and twelve female Japanese patients in late 1938. Ryan to Walker, 27 November 1938, BCA, GR 497, box 4, file 7.

123 McVety also exhorted state officials to deport unemployed Japanese immigrants (noting in spring 1935 that there were 280 Japanese 'mendicants and agitators' on relief in British Columbia) and to emulate the United States in eliminating domicile altogether. J.H. McVety to Gordon Sloan, 15 April 1935, NAC, RG 25, vol. 1803, file 1936-729.

124 Bruce had earlier served as British Columbia's thirteenth lieutenant governor between 1926 and 1931 (Ormsby, *British Columbia*, 538).

125 Bruce to Walker, 8 January 1937, BCA, GR 497, box 4, file 7.

126 Weir to Baker, 23 March 1936, BCA, GR 1665, box 8, file 3.

127 East Lawn Clinical Records Unit files, Riverview Hospital. L.C. was readmitted to Essondale from Kelowna, where he had been picked up by police after being found lying naked in a parked car. On this occasion L.C. was diagnosed with general paresis (secondary to syphilis) and schizophrenia. He spent only ten weeks in hospital before dying of bronchopneumonia in January 1950.

128 'Outlook Called Grim for Schizophrenic Man Deported to Scotland,' *Vancouver Sun*, 31 May 1997, A7.

129 Roberts, *From Whence They Came*, 38. In British Columbia, the number of Chinese deportations across all categories was thirty-eight in 1936-37 and eighteen in 1937-38. A.L. Jolliffe to W.A. Carruthers (Chairman, The Economic Council), NAC, RG 76, vol. 474, file 729921.

130 See for example Phil Brown, *The Transfer of Care: Psychiatric Deinstitutionalization and its Aftermath* (London: Routledge, 1985); John Lowman, Robert Menzies, and Ted Palys, eds., *Transcarceration: Essays in the Sociology of Social Control* (Aldershot, UK: Gower, 1987); Shulamit Ramon, ed., *Psychiatric Hospital Closure: Myths and Realities* (New York: Chapman and Hall, 1992); Sue E. Estroff, *Making It Crazy: An Ethnography of Psychiatric Clients in an American Community* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1981); Michael Dear and Jennifer R. Wolch, *Landscapes of Despair: From Deinstitutionalization to Homelessness* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1987); Diana Ralph, *Work and Madness: The Rise of Community Psychiatry* (Montreal: Black Rose Books, 1983); Thomas Szasz, *Cruel Compassion: The Psychiatric Control of Society's Unwanted* (New York: Wiley, 1994).