TO: Vancouver City Council

FROM: General Manager of Community Services

SUBJECT: Historical Discrimination Against Chinese People in Vancouver

RECOMMENDATION

A. THAT Council adopt the attached “Preliminary Research on Historical Discrimination Against Chinese People in Vancouver” report which provides context and background for the initiative. (Appendix 1: Preliminary Research on Historical Discrimination Against Chinese People in Vancouver)

B. THAT Council adopt Recommendation #1 of the Historical Discrimination Against Chinese People (HDC) Advisory Group that requests a public acknowledgement and a formal apology for past legislation, regulations and policies of previous Vancouver City Councils that discriminated against residents of Chinese descent. (Appendix 2: HDC Project Overview & Recommendations)

FURTHER THAT Council adopt the draft apology text (in English and Chinese) prepared by the HDC Advisory group as the basis for Council’s public acknowledgement and apology subject to any changes that Council may request or subject to the final text being approved by the General Manager, Community Services. (Appendix 3: Draft Apology)

C. THAT the apology in its Chinese version be delivered in a dialect that was spoken by early Chinese residents, as they were the ones most affected by these legislation, regulations and policies.

D. THAT, pending Council’s approval of Recommendation B, Council direct staff to organize an Acknowledgement and Apology event.
E. THAT Council receive the Historical Discrimination Against Chinese People Advisory Group’s Recommendation #2, including the twelve priority actions, and request a staff report back on the feasibility, scope, staffing and resource requirements in implementing the Recommendation and Priority Actions. (Appendix 2: HDC Project Overview & Recommendations)

F. THAT Council offer thanks to members of the Historical Discrimination Against Chinese People Advisory Group for their significant and enduring contribution towards the initiative. (Appendix 4: HDC Advisory Group Members)

REPORT SUMMARY

This report summarizes the Historical Discrimination Against Chinese People in Vancouver initiative (HDC) that took place between 2015 and 2017. Based on the Council motion adopted in 2014, the initiative followed three objectives:

1) Conduct research into the laws, regulations and policies of previous Vancouver City Councils that discriminated against the people of Chinese descent in the City of Vancouver from 1886 to 1947;
2) Consult with the Vancouver Chinese community, historians and Chinese community organizations on the research findings; and
3) Report back to council with recommendations on steps and actions in support of reconciliation, including a public acknowledgement and formal apology.

The initiative was guided by an Advisory Group tasked with overseeing the research, the community consultation process and identifying recommendations.

Based on the research and public consultation, the Advisory Group identified twelve priority actions, including: making a public acknowledgement and formal apology; strengthen relations with the community through education, dialogues, and stronger social and cultural programming; and conserve, commemorate and enhance the living heritage (from the historical past to present day) and cultural assets of the community. Given the unique and central role of Chinatown in the history of the city and the Chinese community, the Advisory Group also proposes that the City apply for a UNESCO World Heritage Site designation for Vancouver Chinatown.

COUNCIL AUTHORITY/PREVIOUS DECISIONS

In 2014, Council reaffirms commitment as a City of Reconciliation by adopting the City of Reconciliation framework and commitments to the Truth and Reconciliation Commission’s recommendations.


In 2016, Council adopted the New Start Strategy of the Vancouver Immigration Partnership, including the action on addressing historical injustices.
CITY MANAGER’S/GENERAL MANAGER’S COMMENTS

The HDC initiative is a significant civic initiative and provides an important opportunity to learn a lesser known part of the history of our city. Although the discrimination and the sufferings of people at that time were difficult to imagine in the context of today’s more open and progressive society, the impact can still be felt among some of the descendants and families of those early Chinese residents, who suffered from family separation, economic hardships and social isolation. The key learning from the initiative is to ensure that this history will not repeat and we remain vigilant in upholding the values of equity, justice and well-being for all.

The Advisory Group’s recommendations reaffirm Vancouver as a city of reconciliation in which diverse communities can share and learn from the past, collectively address current challenges and plan for a better future for all.

REPORT

Background/Context

The history of Chinese people coming to BC dates back as early as 1788 when men from southern China came as ship’s crew with early British explorers to the Nuu-Chal-nuth territory, on what is now known as Vancouver Island. (Appendix 1: Preliminary Research)

Over the next two centuries, more Chinese people settled in BC. In 1901, Chinese was approximately 10 percent of BC’s total population (14,885 of 149,709). In 1931, due to the Head Tax and exclusionary immigration policy, the number of Chinese residents in Vancouver was 11,533, about 5 percent of the total population. That number dropped to 5,427 in 1941.

Today, based on the 2016 Census, over 170,000 residents of Chinese ethnic origin (or one in three of the total population) live in the city of Vancouver. This underscores the importance of this initiative to the many residents who have deep roots in the history of the city.

Three Phases of the HDC Initiative:

Phase One: Research & Information Gathering

During Phase One, a summary of historical legislation, policies and practices and other related archival material reflecting discrimination towards Chinese residents was compiled based on historical records dating between 1886 and 1947. Information was retrieved from the City Archives, Library, media and academic sources. Further, a review of federal, provincial and local government apologies and other related reports was conducted. The federal government made an apology on Chinese Head Tax in 2006, and the Province of BC also made a formal apology on past discrimination against the Chinese in 2015. In BC, the City of New Westminster is the only municipality that has made a formal apology on past discrimination, in 2010.

The following definition of “discrimination” was used for the purpose of the research: “Legislative or systemic bias against a group of persons of a specific ethnic origin, with a view
of depriving them of or substantially hindering their exercise of rights and freedoms enjoyed by others in the community”.

**Phase Two: Developing Strategies and Building Resources 2016-2017**

**HDC Advisory Group**
For Phase Two of the initiative, Social Policy, with support from the City Manager’s office, convened an Advisory Group of Chinese and non-Chinese experts and community leaders to help guide the rest of the HDC process. Other City departments and staff were also involved in supporting the process, including: City Archives, Vancouver Public Library, Corporate Communications, and Law.

Members of the Advisory Group, comprised of retired judges, former City Councillors, community elders and advocates, historians, veterans and their descendants, joined the Advisory as individuals with the knowledge and interest in the topic, and as active volunteers in community affairs. The group held five meetings in total.

**Research Findings in Four Key Areas**
A small working group was formed with the mandate of reviewing and providing input into the research. These members (Professors Henry Yu and Jean Barman, and Mr. John Atkin) contributed significant expertise and knowledge towards the completion of the final research document.

The preliminary research identifies four thematic areas as follows:

1. **Voting Rights: Between 1886 and 1948, Chinese residents were barred from voting in Vancouver municipal elections.**

   City Council disqualified the Chinese from voting in 1886, the year the City was incorporated. This loss of voting rights meant the Chinese could not run for public office, study for or practice in some key professions, and own properties in some areas of the city.

   During the two world wars, the Chinese volunteered to fight for Canada; after the wars, concerns were voiced by both Chinese veterans and non-Chinese leaders about the government policy of ‘recruitment without enfranchisement’. This eventually led to the granting of voting rights by the provincial and federal governments to all Canadian-born Chinese in 1947 and 1948 respectively. The City of Vancouver, after some delay, granted municipal voting rights to the Chinese in 1949.

2. **Exclusion from immigration: The City of Vancouver advocated for discriminatory immigration policies, including the Head Tax.**

   The City of Vancouver repeatedly lobbied the federal government to pass discriminatory immigration policies, including adopting formal legislation to exclude the Chinese from immigrating to Canada. Together with other anti-Asian groups, the City lobbied the federal government to increase the Head Tax levied on the Chinese from the original $50 in 1885, to $100 in 1900 and $500 in 1903. Anti-Asian political agitation and racial violence culminated in a big riot at Brighouse Estate near Coal Harbour in 1887 and again in Chinatown in 1907. These riots occurred with the knowledge and sometimes presence of
the City Mayor and Aldermen. Other groups such as the Japanese were also targeted during these riots.

In 1923, when the Head Tax proved ineffective to stop the Chinese from coming, Vancouver’s Mayor and Council passed a motion advocating that the federal government legally barred ‘Asiatics’ from entering Canada. In the same year, the federal government enacted the Chinese Immigration Act, better known as the Chinese Exclusion Act. From 1923-46, fewer than 100 Chinese immigrants were allowed to enter Canada.

During this period, the separation between mostly men in Canada and their wives and children in China created deep social isolation and anguish in both communities. In 1931, 11,533 Chinese lived in Vancouver, about 5% of the total population. By 1941, that number had decreased to 5,427 or 2% of the total population. The Chinese Exclusion Act was finally repealed in 1947 but the impact of this legislation on the men and their families was devastating and long lasting.

3. **Restricting livelihoods:** City by-laws, licenses, and formal labour regulations were used to constrict Chinese livelihoods in industry, business and labour. Chinese were barred from civic employment from 1890 until 1952.

Following the removal of voting rights, the City excluded Chinese from being employed by the City in 1890. As well, the City imposed anti-Chinese clauses in contracts, at times on reluctant and unwilling contractors, to restrict Chinese access to business and employment. For example, this clause was found in a contract with Rogers BC Sugar: “he nor they (the company) will at any time, employ any Chinese labor in and about the said works”. (City By-law 94 passed on March 17, 1890)

As a result of the loss of voting rights, Chinese were also denied the right of entry into professional associations such as law, pharmacy and medicine, which was further extended to other areas of employment in the municipality such as nursing, retail, and banking. The first Canadian Chinese professionals were only able to start their practices in the mid-1960s.

In 1914, the City introduced measures to license vegetable peddlers, most of whom were Chinese. Vegetable peddling was one of the key areas where the Chinese were allowed to conduct business and in which they flourished. The City started imposing a peddling levy of $50 in 1914 on vegetable peddling which was raised to $100 in 1919. As a result of these fees, the number of Chinese peddlers during those years was significantly reduced.

In 1916, the Board of License commissioners excluded Chinese workers from all liquor-licensed premises. Other attempts to restrict Chinese livelihoods include the occasion in 1923 when Council considered the discriminatory measure of confining Chinese businesses to some areas of the City. This restriction was not passed due to the objection of the City Solicitor, Mr. Edward F. Jones, who stood up to oppose.

Other allies also stood up for the rights of Chinese residents. On another occasion, Vancouver Alderwoman Helena Gutteridge supported the City Solicitor James B. Williams in opposing Council’s discriminatory policy on restricting trade license to ‘Orientals’. In 1949, the Vancouver District Trades Council wrote to City Council to urge for the restoration of voting rights to the Chinese.
4. Segregation in housing and public space: A primary goal of anti-Chinese organizers.

City policies and practices included various attempts at segregating the Chinese in schools, public spaces like public swimming pool and other public areas including residential housing areas, hospitals, and even cemeteries. Because of restrictions at local cemeteries, Chinese residents had to be returned to China for burial.

In 1914, a resolution to remove Chinese and Japanese children from schools was brought to Vancouver City Council. The City Solicitor, John Gilmour Hay, opposed the resolution and it was not enacted.

In 1928, Chinese children and their parents were barred from the only public swimming pool in Vancouver, the Crystal Pool, except for one day of the week and this segregation remained in place until 1945.

A Municipal Act in 1919 enacted by the provincial government forbade Chinese restaurants from employing ‘white waitresses’. When the City started enforcing the Act strictly in 1937, white waitresses held a public march outside City Hall in opposition. These low income women were ignored by City Hall and lost their livelihoods as a result of the City’s action.

Chinese were also restricted from renting or owning properties in certain residential areas, and had to receive treatments in the basement of hospitals.

Drafting of Apology

As per Council’s directive, the Advisory Group also engaged in the drafting of an appropriate apology to be used in the public acknowledgement. A small working group (Eric Wong, Will Tao and Prof. Henry Yu) was formed to research on the typology of government apologies. The group prepared a draft apology which was eventually adopted by the Advisory Group.

One guiding principle of the draft apology was to make clear references to key past events and actions of discrimination, which are the primary reasons for the apology and the basis of a public acknowledgement of past injustices. Concrete examples are provided in the four thematic areas, and the roles taken by previous City officials in supporting or promoting discriminatory and racist legislation and policies enacted by other levels of government towards the Chinese.

The apology also pays tribute to the resilience shown not only by Canadian Chinese, but by all groups, including First Nations and Aboriginal communities who have inspired all for the process of reconciliation to take positive actions for all communities to confront and eliminate discrimination and social injustices.

Phase Three: Community Engagement and Recommendations

The third and final phase of the initiative is to share the preliminary research findings and gather input from interested public through a series of community forums.

Three community forums were held: May 17th, 24th, and 27th 2017. The forums were promoted through bilingual advertisements, social media, City’s e-channels and networks, general
community promotion and the Advisory Group’s networks. (Appendix 5: HDC Posters) Media coverage included interviews by Chinese print media and radio. With this initiative, the City also launched its first bilingual webpage in English and Chinese (www.vancouver.ca/historical-discrimination)

The first two forums were held in English while the last forum was conducted mainly in Cantonese. Bilingual staff and facilitators were present at all meetings to assist those who need language support. Bilingual resource materials were also developed to accompany the forums, including storyboards (Appendix 6: HDC Storyboards) which are display boards using historical photos and short texts to illustrate the four thematic areas of the research.

Close to 180 participants attended the three forums, with a good mix of Chinese and non-Chinese participants and people of all ages. Participants were encouraged to provide verbal or written comments.

54 potential actions were identified through the forums. They are sorted into the following areas of interest:

- Identifying ways to commemorate the history and contribution of the early Chinese immigrants;
- Recognizing the central role of Chinatown;
- Creating awareness among the general public and the younger generation;
- Working with public institutions and governments on reconciliation projects;
- Acknowledging past discrimination and offering an apology especially to the early Chinese residents and their descendants.

In October, the Chinese Benevolent Association (CBA) hosted a community forum inviting the City to present research findings and provide an update on the initiative. Key Chinese Canadian clan associations were present to provide feedback and their recommendations are included in this report.

Advisory Group’s Recommendations

Based on the community forums and public feedback, the Advisory Group met to review, discuss and prioritize the potential actions. As a result, twelve recommended priority actions were identified. A detailed summary of the actions are included in Appendix 2. The following are highlights from the summary and include small additions to reflect City staff’s internal discussions:

RECOMMENDATION #1: Acknowledgement of Past Discrimination and Offer of a Formal Apology

The Advisory recommends for Council to acknowledge that racial prejudice and discrimination against Chinese Canadian residents was commonplace in the history of the city and City officials used the legal powers of the City to discriminate against the Chinese, resulting in much suffering of the Chinese community. In support of true reconciliation, City Council will offer a formal apology to the Chinese community especially to the early immigrants and their families.

Further, the Advisory Group recommends that Council adopt the draft apology prepared by the Advisory Group. The apology would be delivered in English and
Chinese, and the Chinese version of the apology could be delivered in a dialect spoken by the early Chinese immigrants.

**RECOMMENDATION #2**

**Strengthen Relations with the Chinese Canadian Community through Legacy Actions**

Recognizing the significance and impact of this apology and confirming the values of a just and inclusive community, the Advisory Group recommend Council adopt a range of legacy actions, both short and long term, which will raise awareness of historical discrimination towards the Chinese, give life and sustenance to the apology, and ultimately strengthen relations with the Chinese Canadian community in Vancouver.

There are three recommended areas with twelve priority actions:

**Area A: Initiate and Sustain the Legacy**

A1. That Council establish a Legacy Working Group comprised of community representatives and staff, to oversee and report back on the implementation of the proposed legacy actions.

**Area B: Educate & Outreach** - this priority action focuses on reaching out to Vancouver residents, both Chinese and non-Chinese, to engage them in this initiative through education, dialogues, and stronger social and cultural programming:

B1. Publish HDC research and related materials as a legacy document
B2. Work with schools to develop curricular materials
B3. Enhance cultural programming and walking tours in Chinatown
B4. Create or designate cultural space for story-telling
B5. Strengthen Communication and Cultural Competency
B6. Convene Public Dialogues on Anti-racism
B7. Create annual scholarships for students
B8. Provide Input to Civic Assets Naming

**Area C: Conserve, Commemorate & Enhance Living Heritage and Cultural Assets** - this priority focuses primarily on Chinatown, with the following key actions:

C1. Initiate a process towards a UNESCO designation of World Heritage Site for Chinatown.

Vancouver’s Chinatown continues to be the vibrant centre of an evolving and enduring culture, with valuable living heritage of Chinatown and its people, as well as its tangible and intangible characteristics of unique universal value. The Advisory recommends that the City work with community groups, businesses, and other levels of government to apply for Chinatown’s inclusion on Canada’s Tentative List for World Heritage Sites. If this step is successful, the work should continue towards the nomination of Chinatown for the inscription on the distinctive UNESCO World Heritage Site List.
If successful, the designation of Vancouver Chinatown as a World Heritage Site will be a first for Chinatowns in Canada and North America, and will mobilize communities and diverse sectors to work together on an important and groundbreaking initiative. The designation will bring prestige and honour to Vancouver, and reinforce the idea of reconciliation guiding the development of an important area of the city.

To implement this action, the City will need to:
1) Establish a UNESCO working group dedicated to this priority action;
2) Consult with the Federal and Provincial Governments on the feasibility, timeline and resource requirements for such an application and seek their support;
3) Consult with other successful applicants for their advice and learnings;
4) Consult with Vancouver Chinatown community groups, organizations and businesses to identify interest and gather feedback;
5) Consult with international cultural organizations such as World Cities Cultural Forum for their advice and learnings;
6) Report back to Council on the feasibility, scope, timeline and resource implication in submitting an UNESCO application.

**C2. Create a Chinatown Living Heritage & Cultural Assets Management Plan to support the UNESCO process**

This action will serve as the blueprint for actions to support the UNESCO application, to address both the tangible and intangible living heritage and cultural assets of Chinatown. The action will require a high level coordination of existing and emerging City policies and initiatives including:

- Chinatown Vision
- Chinatown Neighbourhood Plan
- Downtown Eastside Plan Implementation
- Chinatown historical buildings initiatives
- Creative City Strategy
- Heritage Planning for Chinatown
- Housing Vancouver Strategy (new)
- Single Room Occupancy Revitalization Action Plan
- Keefer Memorial Square redesign proposal
- Northeast False Creek and False Creek Flats planning processes
- Support to Chinatown’s traditional and necessary retail
- Social and cultural programming in Chinatown

**C3. Support Keefer Memorial Square redesign**

The Advisory supports a redesign of the Keefer Memorial Square and reimagining it as a future gateway to Chinatown as part of the NEFC planning and development process. The City may consider the installation of a new plaque based on the HDC initiative and the apology, or the commissioning of public art to commemorate the history of early Chinese Canadians.
Implications/Related Issues/Risk

Financial

As per Recommendation #1, pending Council’s approval, the Community Services department will provide funding, of up to $10k, for the Apology event with funding from the Welcoming and Inclusive Communities initiative;

As per the Advisory Group Recommendation #2 (Priority Actions A1, B1 to B8, and C1 to C3), pending Council’s approval, staff will report back on the feasibility, scope, staffing, resource and funding requirements for implementation of the priority actions.

Human Resources/Labour Relations

As per Recommendation #2 (Priority Actions A1, B1 to B8, and C1 to C3), pending Council’s approval, staff will report back on the feasibility, scope, staffing and resource requirements for implementation.

CONCLUSION

With the completion of the preliminary research on historical discrimination against the Chinese, there is overwhelming evidence that discrimination did exist in the past and that it caused great sufferings to the early Chinese residents in Vancouver.

Yet, despite the discrimination and sufferings of people at that time, many fought and spoke up against injustices. The various City Solicitors who opposed the discriminatory policies of Council, the Alderwoman Helena Gutteridge who advocated for equal rights for all, and the working women who protested Council’s treatment of the Chinese businesses, are important reminders of individual courage and perseverance in the face of injustice and adversity. Ultimately, the Chinese who volunteered to fight for Canada convinced the government that they deserved the same rights as everyone else.

The HDC initiative has also identified new ideas and actions which the City and the community can work together on in support of building stronger and more resilient communities. The proposed legacy actions will contribute towards a sustainable and inclusive vision of the city.

Although the HDC initiative addresses a specific historical issue affecting one ethno-cultural group in the city, the basis of reconciliation must start by engaging all communities in the conversation, by sharing and learning from our common past, by addressing our current challenges, and by celebrating a more promising and equitable future for all.

* * * * *
Introduction: Historical Background of Anti-Chinese Discrimination in British Columbia

Men from southern China came along with the earliest non-indigenous migrants to what later became British Columbia, for instance as carpenters and ship’s crew on-board former British naval officer John Meares’ private expedition from Macau in 1788 to (unsuccessfully) establish a trading fort in Nuu-chal-nuth territory on what is now known as Vancouver Island. When large numbers of migrants came from around the globe as part of the gold rushes to British Columbia in the late 1850s and 1860s, Chinese were a significant proportion of the arrivals, and many remained as labourers, miners, farmers, shop owners, and merchants even as the majority of adventurers looking for gold had moved onwards. Chinese in British Columbia helped develop much of the agricultural and small business infrastructure in the interior of British Columbia, as well as in the two main ports of Victoria and New Westminster. Connected to well-organized networks that linked them all around the Pacific region to the developing Australian colonies, Hawaii, the Caribbean, Latin America, the United States, and to established economies in Southeast Asia and China, the Chinese in British Columbia were effective at establishing themselves quickly in new places as productive and entrepreneurial arrivals. Their ability to thrive often led to mutually beneficial arrangements with indigenous peoples as well as to other migrants (in particular in colonial societies in Southeast Asia), but at other times their efficiency and their tendency to out-perform European migrants led to conflicts.

During the late 19th century in the Australian colonies, in the western United States, and in British Columbia, many ambitious migrants began sharing and using the ideal of white supremacy* as an effective tool for politically organizing newly arrived European migrants. With the confederation of British colonies into the Dominion of Canada in 1867, including the joining of British Columbia in 1871, anti-Chinese agitation increasingly became a powerful political tool in British Columbia. Enfranchising only those migrants who could qualify as “white” was a particularly effective, and widely emulated mechanism for exclusion and scapegoating in political decision-making. Before Confederation, early Chinese residents in the colony of British Columbia could purchase land and property, and voted in several elections. After becoming a province in 1871, however, one of the first items on the agenda of the newly formed provincial government was to pass legislation to take away the right to vote from “native Indians” and “Chinese.” Disqualification from the provincial franchise removed the Chinese from representation at different levels of government and allowed anti-Chinese legislation and policy to be passed.

*Note: The term “white” is historical in usage, for instance as used by Premier Richard McBride (Premier of BC 1903-1915) in referring to a “white man’s province.” The category of who counted as “white,” however, was malleable, and organizers using the politics of “white supremacy” could also promote other forms of discrimination and exclusion, for instance around religion, gender, and sexuality. When the Ku Klux Klan organized in Vancouver in the 1920s, for instance, it used anti-Asian rhetoric and demanded the separation of “whites” from “Chinese,” “Native Indians” and “blacks,” but also explicitly targeted Jews and Catholics. However, the benefits of white supremacy could expand to include European migrants in ways that were not available to those considered non-white. European migrants who were not British Protestants—for instance Jews, Irish Catholics, and Ukrainians—could become more generically “white” by learning to speak English with the proper ‘accent,’ changing their names to be less overtly ‘ethnic,’ and hiding outward indications of non-Protestant religious beliefs.
without heed for electoral consequences from the disenfranchised. The legislation also provided a mechanism for the exclusion of Chinese from professions such as law, pharmacy, and dentistry by using the standard of voting rights as a basis for inclusion. The disenfranchisement of Chinese Canadians and the building of legalized racism and exclusion at multiple levels of government continued for the next 75 years (half of Canada’s history at its 150th anniversary this year). After a long struggle lasting three-quarters of a century, the franchise was finally and completely reinstated to Chinese Canadians in 1947, with the last franchise, the municipal one, granted by the City of Vancouver in 1949.

A preliminary survey of legislation, policies, and practices implemented by the municipal government of Vancouver reveals that there were four broad areas in which the statutory power and governmental practices of City officials were applied in discriminatory ways against residents of Chinese ancestry. These four areas may be summarized thematically as policies and practices bearing upon:

- Voting (the exercise of the franchise)
- Exclusion (immigration and settlement restrictions)
- Restriction of livelihoods (employment, business and commercial enterprise)
- Segregation (restrictions in housing and the use of public and private space)

1. VOTING

Disqualifying the Chinese

Legislative documentation reveals how the provincial government disqualified persons of Chinese descent from voting in the provincial election in 1872, and from running for office in the provincial government and voting in municipal elections in 1876. The City of Vancouver (hereafter ‘the City’) confirmed the provincial veto on the Chinese right to vote in municipal elections in 1886. The provincial government further specified the denial of the provincial franchise to “naturalized and Canadian-born subjects of Chinese (and Japanese) origin” in 1895.

A Vancouver newspaper presented an alternative view from a reader who had worked at an election regarding the right to the franchise for British subjects who happened to have Chinese ancestry:

“If all other aliens who are British subjects are allowed on the voters’ list, why not the Chinamen?...the stand against the Chinese British subjects is indefensible, and they should be granted the franchise the same as other aliens…” (Vancouver Daily Times, Letter to Editor, 1919).

Politicians and private groups continued their opposition to enfranchisement of Chinese and Japanese. That the status of what it meant to be a British subject of Chinese ancestry, including whether born in Canada, should create a distinction was contested and never conclusively made clear. This ambiguity impacted many aspects of identity and everyday life of Chinese Canadians, especially as those born and raised in Canada began organizing socially and politically to assert their inclusion and belonging in Canadian society. This was evident when the Attorney-General made his statement in 1940 to disarm “the enemies...Chinese and Japanese.” C.E. Louie responded:

“I am one of the hundreds of Canadian-born Chinese, of military age, and glad of the privilege of fighting and dying for Canada. Although my parents are naturalized British subjects for 35 years and myself born in Vancouver, I am not allowed to vote. Second, although I possess registered firearms for hunting, I must surrender them by September 30, 1940. The government’s reason, I am an alien. Third, Canada adopts conscription, therefore I am drafted into the Canadian army. The government’s reason, I am a British subject.” (Anderson, 1991, p. 171)

Such reports in the English language media, although generally rare, provided the perspective of those who had been disqualified from belonging within the
political system, as they were being labeled “aliens” who were ineligible to vote. An ambiguous yet perpetual category of not-belonging, being Chinese meant being an “alien” even if the person had been born and lived in Vancouver their whole life, and even if they were willing to fight, and die, for Canada.

During the First World War, both Chinese Canadians and Japanese Canadians had volunteered and served in the armed forces. After the war, Japanese Canadian military veterans asked for the right to vote, struggling until 1931 to finally receive the right to vote from the B.C. provincial legislature. Because of this, several branches of the Canadian Armed Forces at the beginning of the Second World War created a policy of turning down both Japanese Canadians and Chinese Canadians volunteering for service, in order to prevent them from demanding the right to vote after the war. However, many Chinese Canadians found ways to join despite these policies, and during the war many Chinese Canadian men and women like C.E. Louie served. The English language media reported more and more often voices from the Chinese community questioning conscription without enfranchisement. Chinese Canadian veterans, including many who had become officers and leaders, were particularly vocal in asserting the inequity of the willingness of Chinese Canadians to sacrifice their lives for the country even as they were being denied the same rights as other Canadians. By 1945, approximately 600 Chinese Canadian men and women had served in the armed forces.

In 1947, the BC government finally granted the franchise to all Canadian-born residents and citizens in BC of Chinese origin. The federal government followed in 1948, enfranchising all British subjects by birth or naturalization. The City of Vancouver, however, cited “difficulties” such as distinguishing Chinese names and “look-alike” faces, and refused to grant the municipal franchise to Chinese Canadians. Only in 1949 did the City finally concede and recommend without dissent the removal of the disqualification from the Municipal Elections Act.

Removing the franchise was a direct way to facilitate the passage of legislation that could limit, control and exclude people of Chinese ancestry from receiving the same privileges and rights as others. Political exclusion paralleled measures that created social exclusion and the denial or limitation of access to resources, including the ability to enter Canada. Anti-Chinese organizers and political leaders used a number of tools, ranging from political lobbying for immigration exclusion keeping new Chinese migrants from landing, to violence and intimidation to harass or physically remove those already in British Columbia. In the winter of 1885-86 workers organizing around white supremacy used vigilante violence to attack Chinese workers who had been hired to help clear land for the newly developing City of Vancouver. In the face of this overt use of racial violence, which was also being used in the United States and the Australian colonies as a powerful political tool, the Chinese community organized petitions for justice and the workers received compensation for their losses, soon returning to work.

Intense lobbying from the provincial government of British Columbia and by anti-Chinese organizations led to the discriminatory Chinese Head Tax of 1885, a payment only the Chinese were forced to pay upon landing. Modeled upon the similar Chinese Poll Tax passed in New Zealand in 1881, anti-Chinese organizations in the United States, the Australian colonies, and in Canada often shared ideas and techniques on how to organize around white supremacy. Legislation for immigration exclusion was one tool, and organizing unions around white supremacy in order to drive Chinese workers out of industries such as mining, logging, and manufacturing was another. Exclusion from the vote, immigration exclusion, and exclusion from labour unions were all tools for re-ordering society around those who belonged and deserved access to resources such as land and jobs because they were “white”, and excluding those who did not belong because they were deemed non-white, being initially in 1872 “Natives” and “Chinese” but eventually also referring to others similarly considered non-white, including other “Orientals.”
Trade unions and organizations using anti-Chinese slogans portrayed Chinese workers, who were often already working in mines and logging camps up and down the west coast of the U.S. and Canada, as latecomers who were taking jobs away from “white” workers, often themselves recent migrants from Britain, Ireland, and Europe. By the 1890s, techniques for anti-Chinese organizing were being extended to target others in British Columbia such as those coming from Japan and India, under a broader category of “Oriental,” “Asiatic,” or “Asian” exclusion. Anti-Asian agitators resorted to mob violence in 1907, organizing several days of riots that attacked Chinese and Japanese residents and businesses in Vancouver, in particular those in the Chinatown and the Powell Street area. The 1907 violence was often referred to as the “Chinatown Riot” because, while much of the property damage was being inflicted by rioters on Chinese-owned businesses on Pender Street, the Japanese Canadian community had the time to arm themselves and prevent more extensive damage to the Japanese businesses and homes near Powell Street.

English language newspaper accounts of the 1907 riots seldom reflected the perspectives of those targeted by the riots. Researcher Woan-Jen Wang observed how Chinese language newspapers reported differently than English language newspapers about anti-Chinese legislation and violence. For example, Wang cited a notice distributed by the Chinese Benevolent Association (CBA) to the inhabitants in Chinatown around September 8, 1907 which was printed in The Chinese Daily:

“If any of you go back to your original work places and your employers are not willing to hire you and hire others instead, please report to the CBA and we will negotiate for you.”

Wang further noted that “the CBA actively organized Chinese Canadians to parry the often violent tactics used by anti-Asian organizations, part of a long term strategy to remove Chinese workers from jobs and replace them with white workers.”

The contrast in perspectives between English and Chinese language newspapers reflects a gap that still exists in perspectives on Vancouver’s history, one that is the legacy of the legal exclusion of Chinese and others that was also reflected in the exclusion of their perspectives on what was happening to them. In contrast to English language newspapers and historical accounts that have depended upon them as sources, Chinese language papers based in Vancouver such as The Chinese Times often extensively reported the attempts of Chinese Canadians, and of organizations such as the Chinese Benevolent Association (CBA) that had specifically been created to contest and overturn anti-Chinese legislation, including the denial of voting rights around which so many other exclusionary policies were built. The CBA and other associations organized resistance to violence such as the 1907 riots, and also long term resources to fight the almost continual passage of anti-Chinese measures. The aftermath of the vigilant violence in 1907 again led to petitions for justice from the targeted communities in Vancouver, and eventual compensation from the Canadian government to both Chinese and Japanese businesses for property damage.

Despite the success of Chinese Canadians in organizing for just compensation, the effectiveness of anti-Asian political agitation and racial violence in shaping legislation and policy was clear. The 1907 Vancouver anti-Asian riots, which had actually begun a week before as organized riots targeting Punjabi Sikhs in Bellingham, brought together an array of anti-Asian organizations, as well as labour unions within the Vancouver and District Trades Labour Council (100 years later, the present-day Vancouver District Labour Council formally apologized for their role in organizing the 1907 riots), and many local politicians hoping to benefit from anti-Asian organizing. The next year, following lobbying from the provincial government and many local political leaders in Vancouver, the federal government passed exclusionary legislation curtailing or cutting off further migration from Japan (the Hayashi-Lemieux Gentleman’s Agreement of 1908) and India (the Continuous Journey Regulation of 1908), and eventually after many more years of lobbying, the Chinese Immigration Act of 1923 that ended further Chinese immigration. Known more descriptively as the Chinese Exclusion Act, the 1923 legislation
effectively kept the Chinese out of Canada for a quarter of a century (fewer than 100 Chinese were able to enter Canada legally during that time), while provincial by laws facilitated deportation and repatriation when opportune.

The Chinese Head Tax

Although the Chinese Head Tax and the Chinese Exclusion Act were federal acts of legislation, many provincial and federal anti-Chinese laws would not have been passed without lobbying and strong political support from the City of Vancouver, often including the Mayor and Alderman (now referred to as Councillors).

Lobbying in Vancouver for increasing the limiting effect of the Chinese Head Tax by raising the amount from the original $50 set in 1885 to the much more prohibitive $100 in 1900 and $500 in 1903 was the direct result of lobbying from anti-Chinese and anti-Asian organizations in Vancouver, including the Klu Klux Klan. The membership of one such association, the Anti-Chinese League, included the Mayor, several Aldermen and ex-Aldermen and Members of Parliament. The League had lobbied for a head tax of $500 (equivalent to nearly two years of wages as a labourer) as early as 1896. Despite an earlier warning from the City Solicitor that the City should not interfere with Chinese immigration because it was beyond City jurisdiction, Council endorsed the Anti-Mongolian League’s immigration petition in 1897, and in 1900 the City corresponded officially with the provincial government seeking concerted efforts to pressure the federal government “to exclude all Mongols, especially Chinese.”

The Chinese Exclusion Act

Between 1923 and 1947, as a result of the Exclusion Act, very few Chinese were able to enter Canada. Families could not reunite, and those already in the country grew older with no prospect of children and wives joining them from China. The Chinese Canadian population overall in Canada declined by half, from 45,000 in 1923 to just over 20,000 in 1947. As spelled out in the Canadian census, the number of Vancouver residents born in China fell from 11,533, or 5 percent of the total population, in 1931 to 5,427, or 2 percent, in 1941. In the darkest period of Chinese Canadian history, the Exclusion Act caused immense suffering and despair. One Chinese Canadian quoted in an English-language newspaper, observed that even after exclusion was finally repealed in 1947, the 1923 Act’s devastating effects would continue. Thinking about so many of his fellow immigrants who had entered Canada alone as young men before 1923, he lamented that many like him “…will grow old here…” on their own (News Herald, Jan 28, 1947). His prediction would unfortunately come true. Even as late as the 1970s, Vancouver’s Chinatown still contained elderly Chinese men who had never been able to marry or have children because of the Exclusion Act, living out their lonely days in single resident rooms.

3. RESTRICTIONS OF LIVELIHOODS

Even as the small number of Chinese Canadian families who were able to form in the period before 1947 provided a small measure of hope for the future, anti-Chinese legislation continued to create obstacles designed to handicap Chinese Canadians in all aspects of their lives, including their economic livelihoods. Many courageous individuals both before and during the Exclusion period continued to struggle for equality and just treatment, but municipal legislation and policy implementation
in particular had deep and broad effects on the everyday life of Chinese in industry, businesses and labour. Specifically, the City used by-laws, licenses, formal labour regulations on work hours, and prohibitions of right of entry into professions to target Chinese. Where formal legislation could not be enacted, the City could support and enforce anti-Chinese clauses in contracts as well as use informal methods to constrict the livelihoods and the everyday lives of Chinese residents in Vancouver.

Business Contracts and Employment Clauses

In the area of commerce, anti-Chinese agitators focused on targeting Chinese businesses and workers almost immediately after the founding of the City of Vancouver. Anti-Chinese petitions urged supporters to pledge never to employ or deal commercially with Chinese. Although Chinese labourers had been crucial in helping the City of Vancouver fight fires in 1887 in the panicked period after the Great Fire had destroyed much of the infant city, the municipal government of Vancouver formally excluded Chinese from being employed by the City in 1890.

All City contracts after 1890 contained a clause that prohibited contractors to use any Chinese labour. The full force of the municipal government’s statutory powers, as well as its ability to negotiate commercial leases and land grants, was used to implement this ban. City By-law 94 (revised and passed March 17, 1890) relating to the Establishment of a Sugar Refinery in the City of Vancouver set out the City’s objectives for a sugar refinery. The indenture between Rogers and the City laid out the terms of the contract with the last line stating that “…he nor they [the company] will at any time, employ any Chinese labor in and about the said works.” The City made a similar demand of the Hall Elevator Company in 1906.

Anti-Chinese organizers made recurring assertions to justify their agitation against the employment of Chinese workers, contending that the Chinese were the cause of lower wages and that they represented unfair competition to more deserving “white” workers. Using racial scapegoating of the Chinese, and by the 1890s also of other Asian workers, as a way of demanding higher wages, but only for whites, many labour unions used white supremacy to organize some workers at the expense of others. Some labour organizers, in particular socialists who saw the damage that using racism would cause in dividing rather than uniting workers, disagreed with the strategy of using the tools of white supremacy and anti-Chinese politics. One newspaper contributor named Cymra noted that demonizing fellow workers obscured the larger struggle for better pay, and observed that it was because Chinese labourers were so hard working that they were resented:

“...the ‘Chinaman’ is objected to not because they are idlers but because they are workers...we must not forget that they are not the cause of poor wages but the victims...Their disappearance will not solve the wage problem...” (Cymra to Editor, Daily World, July 6, 1896).

Using Licenses and Levies to Restrict Chinese in Trade and Employment

The City extensively used by-laws and municipal trade licenses to restrict Chinese businesses and to limit or handicap employment opportunities for Chinese in Vancouver. Common commercial activities for this discriminatory targeting included laundries, pawnshops, restaurants and the selling and peddling of vegetables. Archival records document by-laws from 1893 that limited the boundaries within which laundries could operate. Although the word “Chinese” was never used in the by-laws, the presumption that the effect of these restrictions would fall overwhelmingly upon Chinese businesses became apparent when the restrictions were lifted in 1908 when non-Chinese Alderman Donald Malcom Stewart applied to open a laundry outside the by-law boundaries. The tactic of passing by-laws and city ordinances that did not explicitly name Chinese as the target, and yet were known to have an inordinate effect on Chinese businesses, was used at other times as well. City records, for instance, document by-laws from 1893 that limited the boundaries within which laundries could operate. Although the word “Chinese” was never used in the by-laws, the presumption that the effect of these restrictions would fall overwhelmingly upon Chinese businesses became apparent when the restrictions were lifted in 1908 when non-Chinese Alderman Donald Malcom Stewart applied to open a laundry outside the by-law boundaries. The tactic of passing by-laws and city ordinances that did not explicitly name Chinese as the target, and yet were known to have an inordinate effect on Chinese businesses, was used at other times as well. City records, for instance, document by-laws for early closing hours in 1914. Chinese merchants contested and petitioned Council that the by-law unreasonably targeted Chinese communities whose workers never finished work before the stores
Targeting areas of commerce where Chinese were already highly successful was a common discriminatory strategy that belied the claims that Chinese were “unfair competition”. Often, it was the very efficiency and productivity of Chinese Canadians in industries that they had themselves helped create that led anti-Chinese organizers to appeal to the government to restrict or handicap them as competitors. Vegetable peddling, for example, was a successful livelihood for many Chinese that was one part of the vertically integrated local produce economy that Chinese Canadians had created throughout Vancouver and British Columbia. Chinese market gardens, sometimes known also as truck gardening, was an industry that Chinese immigrants created almost everywhere they went around the Pacific region. Almost all cities that developed in Australia and California, for instance, had extensive networks of Chinese farms that grew vegetables, flowers, berries and other produce for market, with Chinese “trucking” or distributing what was grown to a widely dispersed network of grocery or corner stores. City Historian Shirley Fitzgerald remarked in her history of Sydney, Australia, that few of its residents realized that the Chinese had “fed” Sydney for much of its history.

Vancouver, as well as Victoria, was no different. Throughout Vancouver’s history, Chinese market gardens (the term “garden” rather than “farm” is a rough translation of the term 菜園 that was commonly used to describe the vegetable farms) grew and distributed local produce, with two distribution companies, H.Y. Louie Co. and Jim Koo Co., both longstanding features of the local agricultural industry. Vegetable peddlers who would carry fresh produce door to door were one of the innovations that Chinese migrants created, along with corner grocery stores and fresh produce markets. As with many forms of livelihood created by Chinese entrepreneurs in Vancouver, their very success became the target for discriminatory measures. In September 1908, the Vancouver Daily World noted that the courts had upheld the conviction of a Chinese vegetable peddler who was arrested under the Market By-law for selling vegetables before 10:00 am on a market day.

In 1914, for instance, Alderman Edward McMaster introduced measures to license peddlers, to control their location and hours, and to impose a $50 levy on them. These measures had specifically been designed to harass and restrict Chinese and paralleled many similar measures in other industries that targeted Chinese precisely because they were seen to be successful and threatening and therefore considered “unfair” competition. In 1916, in another example, the Board of License commissioners excluded Chinese workers from all liquor-licensed premises such as restaurants.

Archival records document how the Chinese Consul, after appeals from the Chinese Benevolent Association, protested multiple times throughout 1915 to 1919 that many of the by-laws, unfair trade licenses and levies deprived the Chinese of their means of livelihood even when they had already “paid the sum of Five Hundred Dollars to enter this country at the stipulation and acquiescence of your Government” to come here to live and work. When the peddling levy was raised to $100 in 1919, he protested that the action was “unlawful, impracticable, unobservable and unreasonable.” Chinese peddlers took strike action and in 1920 sent Council a petition with 5,000 signatures from clients. Council subsequently retracted but local non-Chinese business owners who organized under the Vancouver Retail Merchants’ Association and Vancouver Chamber of Commerce exerted enough political influence on Council to retain the $50 levy. The levy succeeded in cutting in half the number of Chinese peddlers in 3 years, from over 300 before 1915 to 152 in 1918.

The attempts to restrict the vegetable trade continued with Alderman Patrick Gibbons asking the City solicitor for options on how to cancel licenses of Chinese vegetable peddlers. Gibbons said in a January 1923 Daily World interview that “the idea is to eventually get rid of the Orientals altogether.”

**Vigilantes and Unwritten Law of No Access**

Informal methods designed to restrict and control
Chinese businesses and workers reinforced or even extended the City’s formal efforts. English-language newspapers reported in 1919 how “vigilantes” organized by the Retail Merchants’ Board of Trade had been hired to watch over the Chinese and to report all law-breaking such as late closing hours to the police. Newspaper stories also reported Council’s longstanding “unwritten law” against leasing market stalls to Chinese in the City market. An archival report from the City’s Market Clerk in January 1935 suggesting ways to improve the City Market mentioned the objective to “control oriental development in Retail trade and correction of unfair trade practices, hours of operation, (and) … peddling.” City health inspectors focused on Chinese stalls in their rounds, and even when they were not able to find infractions the racial targeting of Chinese in the carrying out of official inspection duties reflected a longstanding informal practice of using municipal powers to harass and intimidate Chinese in commercial activities that lasted well after the end of formal discriminatory legislation. Health and hygiene inspections in particular developed from the beginning of the 1890s as an informal means for the targeted regulation and restriction of Chinese businesses and residents in their activities, ending only a century later when Chinatown barbecue meat merchants finally succeeded in highlighting the informal discriminatory practices that had commonly shaped the enforcement of city regulations.

The rhetoric of “unfair” economic competition and “filth” and “vice” was a powerful form of propaganda to justify the implementation of legalized racism. A letter from a contributor to a newspaper emphasized the bad habits of the Chinese and questioned the possibility to assimilate them:

“…[not only about] being a competitor with the white wage-earner…[but] do they [the Chinese] assimilate with the white man as good citizens… on the contrary, they are found herding together in dens of filth and infamy…” (Crosby to Editor, Daily World Vancouver, Aug 4 1896).

Beyond the City of Vancouver’s powers to pass statutes, by-laws, and legislation, the power of the municipality to selectively enforce statutes was one of the primary means by which Chinese were singled out for harassment. “Cleaning up” Chinatown was a common justification for frequent health inspections. City Health Inspectors began visiting the area in the 1890s and designated it a special problem, and in 1900 Council minutes documented that the City assigned a Special Medical Officer to do medical rounds in Chinatown. Media reported how the Inspectors cited many by-law infractions in the lodgings, often nestled, it was claimed, between gambling houses and opium dens. In a news report, an Inspector described horrid and unsanitary conditions and termed the overcrowding “the worst fire trap.” He explained to Royal Commissioners in 1901 that the Chinese people were simply hard to teach as they were “generally durtier than whites.”

Another problem for the Chinese and Chinatown was the rigorous inspection routines of the medical health officer who regularly condemned buildings and business premises as unsanitary, or in contravention of the law. In doing so, he failed to note the lack of City services such as sewers, despite petitions from the community.

Barriers to Professions & Voices of Opposition

Chinese livelihoods were restricted in many ways. They were barred from the professions of pharmacy, dentistry, and law because they did not have the right to vote, and this professional barrier extended de-facto to employment in banking, department stores, medicine, and nursing. English language news articles in the period after the First World War highlighted how these restrictions in employment implemented throughout the period before 1947 worked in practice. Many areas of employment did not see their “first” Chinese until well into the 1960s, when provincial equal opportunity and anti-discrimination legislation was passed and enforced in British Columbia.

The numerous attempts at City Hall to constrain the livelihoods of Chinese and other “Asiatics” and “Orientals” were not always successful. At times, the failure of anti-Chinese and anti-Asian measures was the result of organized contestation and resistance.
from Chinese merchants and residents. Other times non-Chinese who believed these measures were unjust and discriminatory refused to support their passage, or the proposed legislation went beyond the jurisdictional powers of the municipal government. Often, the failure of such measures was due to a combination of these factors. The period before 1947 showed a continual political struggle between those whose goal was to use the powers of the municipal government to target Chinese residents, and those who continuously challenged these attempts, sometimes successfully, but were oftentimes unable to stop their implementation. In 1919, for instance, Alderman Joseph Hoskins tried to confine all “Asiatic” businesses to a well-defined given area of the City, paralleling attempts in other jurisdictions in the United States, Australia, South Africa and Europe to create ghettos or racially segregated areas. The City Solicitor, James B. Williams, informed Council in 1923 that the City did not have the power to restrict “Orientals” to any particular part of the City. In 1937, Alderman Halford Wilson motioned that no licenses be issued to “Orientals” without being first approved by the City’s properties, licenses and claims committee. In his report, the City Solicitor, Donald Edgar McTaggart, considered Council’s motive as a form of discrimination and could not recommend it. In 1938, Wilson’s motion to amend the City Charter to limit issuance of trade licenses to persons of “Asiatic extraction” to a stipulated quota of 5 percent was passed by the entire Council except for Alderman Helena Gutteridge. The bill did not get provincial approval. One year later, Wilson’s same motion passed Council a second time, and again could not pass the provincial legislature.

Although Alderman Gutteridge’s lone voice was not the reason why the discriminatory motion was never implemented, she joined other non-Chinese Vancouverites over the years in speaking out – even if in futility – against what they saw as unjust and unfair treatment of citizens of Chinese ancestry in Vancouver. The story of anti-Chinese discrimination in Vancouver cannot be dismissed as a mere product of racism at the time, as if considering racial discrimination as a norm during the period explains and justifies why anti-Chinese measures were so often successfully implemented. Voices such as that of Alderman Gutteridge, and of labour leaders who spoke out against the use of white supremacy to organize unions, are a reminder that even amidst the widespread application of racist justifications for using the power of municipal government, many stood with Vancouver’s Chinese community in contesting and at times defeating discrimination.

4. SEGREGATION

Segregation of the Chinese became a primary goal of anti-Chinese political organizers, justified by charges that the Chinese were “filthy” and “dirty.” Asserting that Chinese communities had low hygiene and moral standards and were “vice centres” of filth, opium dens and brothels, anti-Chinese organizers used rhetoric learned from and common among white supremacist activists around the globe. The exact same language was used to describe Chinese in Victoria, B.C., San Francisco, and in Sydney, Brisbane, and Melbourne, as well as to describe Jews in Europe in the late 19th through the mid-20th century. Anti-Chinese political appeals also used other common tactics besides impugning the hygiene of Chinese and the threat of their efficiency as workers and their commercial productivity. One of the most powerful tools was an appeal to sexual threats to “white women”.

Protecting White Women and Children

Appealing to the duty of “white men” to protect white women and children showed up again and again as the rationale for City by-laws and policies, and anti-Chinese activists opportunistically used spectacular crime cases appearing in the news to pressure political leaders to pass legislation for which they had already been lobbying. The murder in the spring of 1914 of Clara Millard, allegedly by her Chinese house servant Jack Kong, provided just such an opportunity to further goals of implementing residential and schooling segregation.

Earlier attempts in California and in Victoria, B.C. to segregate Chinese children in public schools had been challenged and often defeated through the resistance of both Chinese Canadian organizations and non-Chinese allies. The utility of rhetorical appeals that justified such segregation in order to
“protect” white women and children from the threat of Chinese remained powerful however. A resolution was brought forward to Council to remove Chinese and Japanese children from schools in 1914, the same year as the Millard murder because:

"...In the opinion of this Council, such association of the two races must result in a condition detrimental to the future welfare of our children who have nothing to gain, either mentally or morally, by daily association with Orientals." (Council minutes, Vol. 20, 8 April 1914, 122)

Despite the City Solicitor’s report that the Vancouver School Board had no authority to bring in segregation, it decided to pursue segregation although eventually without success. Chinese language media, in contrast to English language media, investigated and reported that only 4 out of 34 school principals thought that Chinese students were a hindrance to white students’ achievements. The focus on segregation also generated newspapers stories that examined broader segregation practices, reporting that Chinese children, like their parents, were barred from the Crystal pool on English Bay which opened in 1928 and was segregated until 1945.

The assertion that white women and children needed protection from Chinese, and that it was the duty of white men and the government to protect them, became a common tool for justifying the segregation of Chinese. In 1919, after years of lobbying from moral reformers who considered the mixing of Chinese with white women and children to be immoral and a dangerous threat, the provincial government responded by passing the Municipal Act in 1919 for the protection of white women, in particular targeting Chinese restaurants that employed white waitresses. At first the Act was not strictly enforced in Vancouver. The sensational case in 1931 of the murder of a white waitress working in Chinatown, however, created the opportunity for anti-Chinese proponents to demand the protection of white women.

City police constables vigilantly enforced the Act in Chinatown restaurants employing white waitresses, and between 1935 and 1939 a newly passed restaurant by-law granted more power to health inspectors to shut down restaurants. Many of the women employed as waitresses, often young Irish migrants, protested the Act, testifying before Council that their Chinese employers treated them well and that the legislation would deprive them of their livelihood. The waitresses held a public march outside City Hall, at the same time that the Chinese Benevolent Association and other Chinese Canadian organizations prepared law suits arguing that the Act was discriminatory.

Archival records between 1937 and 1939 document the City’s cancellation of licenses and the subsequent legal disputes as restaurant owners fought back. Newspapers reported how the City canceled three out of eight Chinese restaurant licenses without notice and did not renew their liquor licenses, using the justification of their infraction of the 1919 Municipal Act.

Racial segregation in Vancouver was accomplished through multiple means, sometimes with the explicit use of municipal powers, and at other times with the indirect support of City officials. One of the most effective tools for the segregation of workplaces was to exclude Chinese from many professions, making them accessible only to whites. Other tools aimed at the segregation of public spaces such as pools and commercial spaces such as restaurants and movie theaters, often using informal mechanisms such as “Whites Only” signs, or occasional acts of vigilante violence that inflicted physical harm on a Chinese citizen as a warning to others to stay clear of particular neighbourhoods or communities. Although less explicit than City ordinances and by-laws, these informal measures enjoyed the implicit support of the City, which often reinforced their effects through the discriminatory application of City services and policing. A Chinese restaurant might be the target of continual harassment through frequent health inspections, for instance, while a non-Chinese owned restaurant was free to pursue their commercial interests without interference, which included displaying a “Whites Only” sign.

Segregating Public Spaces

In the words of a speaker at the Vancouver Board of
Trade’s Special Oriental Immigration Committee in 1921, segregation was necessary because of the...natural repugnance inherent in the soul of our people to fraternize with the Oriental.”

Justifications for segregation were consistently offered by anti-Chinese activists who blamed the Chinese for being “clannish”, keeping to themselves, and unwilling or unable to “assimilate” with Canadian society. At the same time, rhetorical fears about the “threat” of Chinese to whites, and the desire of whites not to mix with non-whites were used to build support for new policies. Claims of the “non-assimilative nature” of the Chinese people could be made alongside assertions of their inferiority, their immorality, and the need to protect whites from their threat.

The practice of segregation was enhanced by policies that contained the Chinese within demarcated boundaries that would make it easier for the City to enforce the divide. Kay Anderson, who wrote about Vancouver’s Chinatown, argues that the segregating and restricting of Chinese people into geographic and physical areas began with the City’s founding in the 1880s. The visibility of Chinatown as a distinctive neighbourhood meant that it was a primary focus for attempts to create and maintain a divide. A large advertisement in the newspaper in 1902, for instance, drew attention to the seeming expansion of Chinatown, calling on City fathers to take municipal action to stop the spread of the Chinese. Differential application of City policies to Chinatown was a hallmark of not only health inspections, but also sanitation and City engineering services and the use of funds for services such as parks, streets, and other public amenities.

Segregation was considered a desirable goal, justified as a way to contain and control the presumed threat of the Chinese. The City’s Clerk informed a Clerk in Calgary in 1910 that “segregation of property and residence” was “not a problem in Vancouver” as the Chinese were mostly confined to one district of the City, Chinatown. Only a fraction of Chinese residents lived and worked in Chinatown, despite the common perception, and stated desire, that the Chinese could be confined there. Many Chinese servants worked and lived in Shaughnessy, for instance, and yet the cooks and house servants who were there 24 hours a day and 7 days a week never belied the idealization of Shaughnessy as a “whites only” neighbourhood. In a similar way, the presence through most of Vancouver’s history of Chinese-run grocery stores, farms, laundries, and other businesses dispersed throughout Vancouver and also Point Grey and South Vancouver which were separate entities up to 1929, did not counteract the goals and desires of anti-Chinese organizers for the racial segregation of the City. For many of those desiring segregation, it was property ownership and the implication that Chinese residents would be equal in status to white residents of an area that defined belonging and exclusion. Servants did not count. Ratepayers’ Associations passed resolutions in 1914 calling for the prevention of property ownership by Chinese in Vancouver and throughout BC during the war. In 1921, the Board of Trade was expressing alarm at Chinese businesses seeming to branch out of their assigned quarters. The encouragement of this sentiment and fear of “Oriental encroachment” by anti-Chinese and anti-Asian activists was particularly powerful in arguments for segregation and racial hierarchy in residential areas.

A landmark segregation case caught media attention in 1941 when a young Chinese Canadian couple tried to buy property in West Point Grey. Council minutes recorded representations from various white community leaders and associations in Vancouver who had mobilized and canvassed hard to prohibit the sale in order to enforce what the newspapers called a “ghetto plan”. Aldermen Halford Wilson and Henry DeGreaves headed a proposal that “Council appoint a special committee to draft a by-law that would prevent ‘Orientals’ from being either tenants or owners in areas other than ‘their own localities.’” Alderman Henry Corey subsequently advised delegation members to use “clauses”, “gentlemen’s agreements” and “unwritten rules” wherever statutes could not be enacted.

Not all Vancouverites agreed with the justifications for segregation. One community member was indignant at “...every possible method of harassing
and embarrassing…” the law-abiding Chinese couple wanting to settle in West Point Grey. He wrote:

“Yet the City fathers fly into a paroxysm of rage and terror at the very thought that this unoffending couple should have purchased a home in a district where only impeccable British folk should dare to reside. They suggest the passage of legislation to create a sort of Chinese ghetto where all these despised Orientals should be herded regardless of social standing, education, and degree of culture…” (Wright, News Herald, Feb 5, 1941).

University of British Columbia authorities confirmed to the media it strictly adhered to an “equal treatment” policy for all students, including Chinese, Japanese and Indian students, and noted that the benefits of such equal treatment in academics could be promising for other areas of civil life. UBC economics professor Henry Angus was an outspoken critic of anti-Asian legislation, including the removal of Japanese Canadians in 1942.

Media reported that the Chinese Consul protested emphatically the drafting of a Chinese zoning by-law as “prejudicial and discriminatory”. Real estate agents, however, continued to use written “clauses” or “covenants” preventing a homeowner from selling to Chinese and other non-whites, and often the unwritten rules of “gentleman’s agreement” designed to keep out Chinese from whites only residential areas. The Supreme Court, however, found these racially discriminatory clauses totally unenforceable. Eventually, the Real Estate Board abolished the use of the clauses in 1956. The covenants however remained in place in the City until the late 1970s.

The segregation of space was effected even for the sick, the destitute and the dead. When a few Chinese were admitted to the City Hospital in the 1890s, criticism of their being allowed to use the Hospital made it into official City correspondence. For much of the early history of Vancouver General Hospital, the Chinese were treated only in the basements separately from other patients, leading to protest from critics such as Nellie Yip, a prominent suffragette and midwife who had been born in the Maritimes and married into the prominent Yip family of Vancouver. Although unsuccessful in changing many segregationist practices, she challenged hospitals and other City services for their unequal treatment of Chinese and others considered non-white. Yip ended up delivering several generations of Chinese Canadian babies as a community midwife.

Segregation led to the creation of separate medical facilities that would serve the Chinese such as Mt. St. Joseph Hospital, or basement clinics housed in the buildings of Chinese clans and associations. Four Missionary Sisters of the Immaculate Conception from Montreal arrived in Vancouver in 1921 and began setting up makeshift wards, dispensaries and later a small hospital to care for the Chinese, especially abandoned and destitute old men. Segregation of spaces also placed the burden of financing medical care on to the Chinese community. During the Depression, City records show that any costs for the care of sick and infirm Chinese had to be borne by the Chinese community itself.

During the Depression, 1931-1935, archival records document a two-tier system whereby Chinese on relief were fed at soup kitchens contracted out to a church-run Chinese mission. A petition to the Mayor and Premier described the conditions at the soup kitchen as “inhuman” and “menacing.” In contrast, white residents on relief in Vancouver were issued coupons with which they could purchase necessities and food at restaurants. Chinese restaurants, however, were not allowed to redeem relief coupons. The Civic Relief Officer explained the rationale for the two-tier system: “We can never expect Orientals...to become self-supporting as long as they are getting more on relief.” The use of the term “more” was not in reference to the amount that “white” residents received – Chinese and others considered “Oriental” already received less – but derived from an implied judgment that Chinese should not receive “more” than they deserved.

Between 1934 and 1936, the BC Government repatriated several hundred destitute elderly and sick to China, reckoning that the repatriation costs would be lower than the costs to maintain them in British Columbia. The emphasis upon calculations of cost and expense were not incidental to efforts to racially
Segregation was an everyday fact of life for Chinese in work, in housing, in commerce, in sickness, and, even in death. Archival records show that in 1890, the municipal cemetery in Vancouver, Mountain View, maintained separate areas for those of Chinese, Jewish, Japanese, and indigenous ancestry; however, in the peace of death, separation was not the same as the legally sanctioned racial segregation experienced in daily life. Separate areas were common in cemeteries all around British Columbia and around North America and the Australian colonies, and many communities commonly requested for their members to be buried together and proudly maintained and improved their sections. The Chinese in Vancouver built an impressive funerary burner that was visible from all parts of the grounds and the Jewish community erected a wrought iron fence and gates around their section. Because of the common practice of the disinterment of remains for the transport of bones for reburial in home villages in China, the City did institute fees for the cost of disinterments by the Chinese community, but on the whole, discriminatory legislation seems to have been limited by respect for the dead.

The Dismantling of Legal Segregation in Vancouver

How did this intricate system of legalized racism and segregation end? From the first moments that anti-Chinese organizers had begun to build the legal structures of racial discrimination in Vancouver, Chinese Canadians had organized in response to legally contest and push back politically against discrimination at times in alliance with others.

In 1943, Vancouver Parks Board Commissioner Arnold Webster, a member of the CCF party (Co-operative Commonwealth Federation), challenged the City to “reconcile an act of racial discrimination... in Vancouver with the principles of Canadian democracy in defence of which we are engaged in the present war” (Vancouver Sun, 1943). Long standing practices of the Parks Board in racially segregating Vancouver, such as the policy of keeping residents of Chinese ancestry from use of the Crystal Pool, seemed to Webster and others to contradict the ideals of democracy being touted in the war against Nazi Germany and Japan.

Newspapers reported that a young Chinese Canadian recently conscripted into the army had also protested not being allowed into the Crystal Pool. A number of Canadian-born Chinese such as Quan and Ernie Louie, sons of produce distributor H.Y. Louie, saw volunteering for military service as an opportunity to prove that Chinese Canadians did not deserve to be treated as second-class citizens. Both Quan and Ernie Louie had been star athletes in school and among the few Chinese Canadians able to attend the University of British Columbia. Proudly wearing military uniforms gave them the sense that they had the right to walk into places that had been informally off-limits to Chinese. Fighting and potentially dying for a country that would not let them vote or swim in the same pool, or relegated them to the balconies of movie theatres, created a powerful symbol of hypocrisy and injustice. Quan Louie would pay the ultimate sacrifice, killed in combat over Germany as a Royal Canadian Air Force bombardier in 1945.

Quan Louie’s brother Ernie and other veterans such as Douglas Jung and Roy Mah returned from the war determined to change society. They organized along with non-Chinese political allies to lobby for the franchise to be returned to Chinese Canadians, not just veterans such as themselves. When Arthur Jung registered to vote after returning home from the war, he received a letter from the City of Vancouver explaining that despite being a military veteran, he would not be allowed to register. Even after the right
to vote federally was regained by Chinese Canadians in 1947, and in municipal elections Vancouver in 1949, Chinese Canadian veterans were still excluded from the Canadian Legion and from numerous clubs and social associations.

By the 1940s, many labour organizations had been persuaded by those among their ranks who argued against the use of white supremacy and racism as a strategy for organizing workers. Some unions within the Vancouver District Trades Council, which had helped organize the 1907 anti-Asian riot, now repudiated white supremacy and formally began to organize Chinese and other non-white workers. Newspaper accounts in 1943 reported how organized labour movements had helped to gain pension rights for wives and children of Chinese workers in some industries. In the same year, the news reported how the City’s longstanding unwritten law in the City market was undone when approval for a rental stall was granted to a firm of Chinatown fish dealers.

The struggle of Chinese Canadians and their allies to dismantle and rescind decades of anti-Chinese laws and policies would itself take years and even decades, even after the right to vote was regained in 1947. An 1890 clause prohibiting Chinese labourers from working at the City cemetery was repealed in 1950, and the City finally hired its first-ever Chinese employee in 1952.

Social practices often turned around one small incident and one brave challenge at a time. Vivian Jung, a young student teacher who needed to obtain her swimming lifesaver certificate in order to become a teacher, was not allowed into the Crystal Pool with her group of fellow student teachers. Her instructor and fellow students protested, and said that they would not enter the pool unless Jung was also allowed entry. With that stand, the long-standing colour bar at the City’s only public swimming pool finally ended in 1945. Vivian Jung eventually became the first Chinese Canadian teacher hired by the Vancouver School Board to teach in the public school system in Vancouver (details of Vivian Jung’s story can be found in the film Operation Oblivion).

Despite the dark histories of discrimination towards Chinese people in Vancouver, Vancouver’s Chinatown has developed and continues to be the vibrant centre of an evolving and enduring culture. It is a place that speaks to important historical themes in Canada relating to urban immigration and settlement patterns, the formation of cultural identity through community organizations, and the expression of social and cultural history through a specific vernacular architecture that is characteristic of the neighbourhood.

Unlike many historic Chinatowns in North America, Vancouver’s has not lost its connection to the local community nor been reduced to a tiny remnant of its former self. There has always been a Chinatown in Vancouver. Chinatown is closely tied to the development of Vancouver’s original commercial core as one of the two formative communities but enjoys a distinct stature in part because of its historic associations with early Chinese settlement in British Columbia and Canada. With growth came influence. Vancouver’s Chinatown merchants and entrepreneurs played an ever more important role in the development of British Columbia in many industries. Vancouver’s Chinatown has been and continues to be extensively studied and written about by academics from around the world studying urban geography, community organizing tactics, culture, immigration and racism.

Acknowledgments

An initial draft of this research was prepared by a research consultant; the draft was subsequently reviewed and revised by a working group comprised of Professors Henry Yu and Jean Barman and by Mr. John Atkin. The final draft was reviewed and approved by the Project’s Advisory Group (See Appendix 2).

We thank the working group for their significant contribution to the research document. We also thank the HDC Advisory Group for their guidance and support to the project.
Appendix A: About the Research

On May 27, 2014, the City Council of Vancouver directed staff:

“...to conduct research into the laws, regulations and policies of previous Vancouver City Councils that discriminated against the people of Chinese descent in the City of Vancouver from 1886 to 1947...”

This document summarizes the process and preliminary research findings over the last two years. Staff initiated consultations with academic and community-based historians and researchers, Vancouver City Archivists, and others who are knowledgeable about Vancouver history. These consultations identified a number of priority issues and areas for preliminary research. A project consultant was engaged to carry out the preliminary research and to provide support for the initial phase of examining historical discrimination against people of Chinese descent in Vancouver. The preliminary research findings were reviewed by the Project’s Research Working Group, which provided detailed commentary and additional materials. The Project’s Advisory Group approved the final draft.

One of the priorities identified for research was to compile a comprehensive list of legislation, policies and actions carried out by City officials that implemented discriminatory practices against residents of Chinese ancestry in Vancouver. The preliminary research findings were organized into four main themes as a way to provide an accessible and clear framework.

- Voting
- Exclusion in immigration
- Restriction of livelihoods
- Segregation

Preliminary Research Process

- Initial consultations with subject experts identified important issues and historical documents for the research;
- With guidance from archivists and historical researchers, the City of Vancouver Archives (CVA) was searched for relevant archival material;
- Historical newspaper records held at the Vancouver Public Library (VPL) were searched for media coverage of newsworthy events that may have reflected discriminatory policies and practices targeting people of Chinese descent within the period 1886-1947;
- A brief review was conducted of federal, provincial, and municipal initiatives that recognized historical anti-Chinese legislation and discrimination including the following:
  - Government of British Columbia Apology for Historical Wrongs, report and process, 2014
  - City of New Westminster Apology for Discriminatory Policies towards the Chinese community, 1860-1926, report and process, 2010
- A chronology of discriminatory legislation, policies, and practices by the City of Vancouver was compiled from:
  - Historical formal government records: Legislation, Acts, City minutes and/or correspondence, government reports and other official records and documentation available at the City of Vancouver Archives
  - Historical newspaper articles accessed on-line
- A draft of the preliminary research was reviewed and vetted by a Research Working Group, which provided detailed commentary and additional materials;
- A list of ‘Further Readings and Resources’ was compiled based on recommendations from the Research Working Group and other resources used for the research.
Appendix B: Advisory Group on Historical Discrimination Against Chinese People in Vancouver

HONORARY MEMBERS:
Maggie Ip 葉吳美琪
Howe Lee 李悅後
The Honorable Randall Wong (retired BC Supreme Court Justice) 黃星翹(退休卑詩省高等法院法官)
Bill Yee (retired Provincial Court Judge) 余宏榮(退休卑詩省法院法官)

Members:
Eric Wong 黃亮彪
Fred Kwok 郭英華
Fred Mah 馬清石
George Ing 吳英超
Grace Wong 黃麗珠
Hayne Wai 韋業慶
Helen Lee 李麗芳
Henry Tom 譚樹康
Henry Yu 余全毅
Jean Barman
John Atkin
Queenie Choo 周潘坤玲
Sid Tan 周明輝
Terri Mew
Will Tao 陶維
William Ma 馬威廉
Appendix C: Further Readings and Resources


Atkin, John (2009), Chinatown National Historic Site: Application for National Historic Site Designation, City of Vancouver.


Chinese Canadian Stories Collection, University of British Columbia, (some materials available online). http://ccs.library.ubc.ca/en about.html


City of Vancouver Archives (1886-1949). Dockets, By-laws, Council Minutes, Correspondence and Committee/Mayor/Special subject files.


Ling, Sarah Wai Yee (2016). All Our Father’s Relations (film).


Vancouver Public Library. “Chinatown Stories”, http://thisvancouver.vpl.ca/Chinatown_stories


Project Overview & Recommendations

For the first sixty years of the City of Vancouver’s history (1886 to 1947), racial prejudice and discrimination against Chinese Canadian residents was commonplace. Through Vancouver City’s Council motions, bylaws and other restrictive measures, the Chinese community (and other similarly affected communities) suffered the painful consequences of lawful discrimination. Although Chinese workers of the time contributed to the economies of the city, they were increasingly seen as a threat to the rest of the population.

In 2014, City Council passed a motion directing staff to:

1. Conduct research into the laws, regulations and policies of previous Vancouver City Councils that discriminated against the people of Chinese descent in the City of Vancouver from 1886 to 1947;
2. Consult with the Vancouver Chinese community, historians and Chinese community organizations on the research findings;
3. Report back to Council with recommendations on steps and actions in support of reconciliation, including a public acknowledgement and formal apology.

In 2015-2016, City staff carried out initial consultations with local historians and others with lived experience and knowledge of the issues. In 2017, an Advisory Group comprised of community leaders, historians, veterans and their descendants was formed to guide the rest of the process and recommend next steps.

Four areas where City policies and practices were applied in discriminatory ways against Chinese residents were identified through preliminary research:

1. Voting rights and Citizenship
2. Exclusion from immigration
3. Restricting livelihoods in the areas of industry, business and labour
4. Segregation in housing and public spaces

The City had hosted three community forums in May 2017 to inform interested public and stakeholders on the preliminary research findings, to gather feedback on potential steps and actions in support of reconciliation and to prevent discrimination from taking root in the future. A final report will be presented to City Council in the fall of 2017.

This process provides an important opportunity to learn about a lesser known part of the history of our city. While valuing the progress that has been made, the process serves as a reminder of the need to remain
vigilant in upholding our values of equity, justice and well-being for all.

Based on the process outlined above, the HDC (Historical Discrimination Against Chinese People) Advisory Group identified the following recommendations for Council’s consideration:

**RECOMMENDATION #1: Acknowledgement of Past Discrimination and Offer a Formal Apology**

That Vancouver City Council recognise and acknowledge that racial prejudice and discrimination against Chinese Canadian residents was commonplace in the history of the city and City officials used the legal powers of the City to discriminate against the Chinese, resulting in much suffering of the Chinese community. In support of true reconciliation, City Council will offer a formal apology to the Chinese community especially to the early immigrants and their families.

Further, the Advisory Group recommends that Council adopt the draft apology prepared by the Advisory Group as the basis for a formal public apology and acknowledgement. The apology would be delivered in English and Chinese, and invited audience to the apology should include Chinese Canadian war veterans, early Chinese immigrants and their descendants and other impacted individuals. The Chinese version of the apology could be delivered in a dialect spoken by the early Chinese immigrants.

**RECOMMENDATION #2: Strengthen Relations with the Chinese Canadian Community through Legacy Actions**

Recognizing the significance and impact of this apology and confirming the values of a just and inclusive community, the HDC Advisory Group recommend Council adopt a range of legacy actions, both short and long term, which will raise awareness of historical discrimination towards the Chinese, give life and sustenance to the apology, and ultimately strengthen relations with the Chinese Canadian community in Vancouver.

The recommended legacy actions are in three areas:

**Area A: Initiate and Sustain the Legacy**

A1. That Council establish a Legacy Working Group comprised of community representatives and staff, to oversee and report back on the implementation of the proposed legacy actions, including Area B and C (Priority Actions B1 to B8 & C1 to C3) below.

**Area B: Educate & Outreach – this area focuses on reaching out to all residents in Vancouver and has eight priority actions:**

B1. Publish HDC research and related materials as a legacy document

That the City publish a legacy document comprising of the preliminary research on ‘Historical Discrimination Against Chinese People in Vancouver’, highlights of the engagement process with the public through the community forums, the formal apology adopted by Council, and the final recommendations approved by Council. The document should be reader-friendly, bilingual, illustrated with historical photos and materials, and can be shared on the City’s HDC bilingual webpage. Further, the document should be made available at Vancouver public libraries, to help inform Vancouverites about the initiative and the research.
B2. Work with schools to develop curricular materials

Based on the legacy research document and other materials gathered, the City will reach out to Vancouver schools and teachers to suggest developing curricular materials specific to historical discrimination against Chinese in Vancouver and to incorporate these materials in their teaching. (Please also see B4 and B7 below)

B3. Enhance cultural programming and walking tours in Chinatown

That the City invest in cultural programming with a focus on Chinese Canadian history and culture, such as the existing Chinatown History Windows Project. Further, the City can partner with community organizations interested in establishing and enhancing more robust and ongoing walking tours in Chinatown to ensure the content and accuracy of the heritage, history and culture of the Chinese people in Vancouver as conveyed through these tours;

B4. Create or designate cultural space for story-telling & other activities

That a specific cultural space be created or designated in Chinatown to highlight the history and contribution of the Chinese in Vancouver. This may include establishing a story-telling centre, which will gather, document and disseminate stories of Chinese living in Vancouver. The stories should also reflect the interaction between the Chinese with other communities, and relationships with First Nations people.

A storytelling space can serve as a destination and a base for educational Chinatown field trips developed for students as per Recommendation B2 above. Other use of the cultural space may include social, cultural and recreational programming for Chinatown seniors, community workshops, and cultural/performing arts events with a focus on local Chinese Canadian culture.

The City will also explore the use of and access to underutilized cultural spaces in the Chinatown area and propose strategic collaboration with key organizations in the Chinatown area for enhanced use of these spaces.

B5. Strengthen Communication and Cultural Competency

That the City develop more robust communication strategy in reaching out to diverse cultural communities including addressing translation and interpretation needs; and in particular, with Chinese speaking residents who require language support. It is also recommended that the City deploy staff who demonstrate cultural competency in their work to assist with the implementation of the legacy actions.

B6. Convene Public Dialogues on Anti-racism

To promote intercultural understanding and prevent discrimination, the City will work with community partners and other levels of government to continue conduct public dialogues in developing anti-racism strategies, policies and procedures.

B7. Create annual scholarships for students

That the City seek corporate sponsorships of $5,000 per annum to help establish annual scholarships for students who wish to do further research on the history of the Chinese in Vancouver, or undertake projects which will enhance the implementation of the HDC legacy actions. The awards will be adjudicated by the Legacy Working Group and can be announced at the City’s annual commemoration of the International Day for the Elimination of Racial Discrimination, which is March 21st.
B8. Provide Input to Civic Assets Naming

The Legacy Working Group can provide input to the Civic Assets Naming Committee and the Park Board’s Park Naming Committee in identifying appropriate and relevant names for the public realm based on the history and contribution of the Chinese in Vancouver.

Area C: Conserve, Commemorate & Enhance Living Heritage and Cultural Assets

This area will focus primarily on Chinatown, particularly in the conserving, commemorating and enhancing of the living heritage and cultural assets of the neighbourhood, with three priority actions:

C1. Initiate a process towards a UNESCO designation of World Heritage Site for Chinatown

Despite the early histories of discrimination towards the Chinese, Vancouver’s Chinatown continues to be the vibrant centre of an evolving and enduring culture, a neighbourhood with a living heritage as manifested in the myriad of social, cultural and economic activities and engagements by local residents and as a destination point for visitors to the city. To value and celebrate this living heritage of Chinatown and its people, it is recommended that the City will work with community groups, businesses, and other levels of government to apply for the distinctive UNESCO World Heritage Site designation for Vancouver Chinatown.

In line with the designation of Vancouver Chinatown as a National Historic Site by the Federal Government in 2011 and as a Historical Site of Significance by the Province of BC in 2014, the successful designation of Vancouver Chinatown as a World Heritage site will be a first for Canada and North America. The effort will mobilize communities and diverse sectors, both public and private, to work together on an important and ground-breaking initiative. A UNESCO designation will bring tremendous prestige and honour to Vancouver. The ultimate goal of the application, focusing on using heritage conservation as a way of managing the pace of change and linking the past to the future, will be to achieve long term ‘Sustainable Conservation and Development’ for the whole community.

The process, guided by the Legacy Working Group, can start with consultation with stakeholders and related groups to determine feasibility and scope for such an application:

I. Establish a staff group to work with the Legacy Working group on this application;
II. Consult with the Federal and Provincial Governments on the feasibility, timeline and resource requirements for such an application and seek their support;
III. Consult with applicants who have experiences or were successful in their applications to UNESCO for similar designation, e.g. Kaiping county in Southern China;
IV. Consult with Vancouver Chinatown community groups, organizations and businesses to identify interest and gather feedback;
V. Report back to Council on the feasibility, scope, timeline and resource implication in submitting an UNESCO application.

C2. Create a Chinatown Living Heritage & Cultural Assets Management Plan to support the UNESCO process

Complementing the above, the Legacy Working Group will work with City staff in developing a Chinatown
Living Heritage and Cultural Assets Management Plan, which will also serve as the blueprint for actions to support the UNESCO application, to address the tangible and intangible living heritage and cultural assets of Chinatown, as defined by the Federal and Provincial governments and UNESCO. The successful implementation of this plan will further develop, enhance and sustain the Chinatown area as a global destination heritage site.

This action will require a high level coordination of existing and emerging City policies and initiatives, including Chinatown Vision Implementation, Heritage Planning, Chinatown Historical Buildings initiative, Keefer Memorial Square redesign proposal, the aligning of Chinatown to the Northeast False Creek and False Creek Flats planning processes, support to Chinatown’s traditional and necessary retail and the provision of social and cultural programming in Chinatown. Further, there should be a focus on using an economic development approach, which is an important consideration for UNESCO, as it will bring about balanced and desirable economic outcomes for the neighbourhood in the long term.

C3. Support Keefer Memorial Square redesign

The Advisory supports a redesign of the Keefer Memorial Square and reimagining it as a future gateway to Chinatown as part of the NEFC planning and development process. A new reimagined space will provide a better context for additional installations of new commemorative plaques, markers or monuments. In the context of the HDC initiative, Council may also consider a new installation of a plaque based on the HDC initiative and the apology, or commissioning a public art work to commemorate the history of early Chinese Canadians.
Draft Apology For Historical Discrimination against Chinese People in Vancouver

The Advisory Group on Historical Discrimination Against Chinese People or HDC Advisory Group assisted with the development and drafting of the text below. The text has not been adopted by Vancouver City Council.

“I rise today to acknowledge and address a dark and difficult period of our past. For the first half of the City of Vancouver’s history, racial prejudice and discrimination against our Chinese-Canadian residents was commonplace. And yet for those seventy years, rather than standing up against the injustice of racism, many of our elected officials including mayors and councillors used the legal power of the City to enact and expand laws targeting the Chinese. Through Council motions and through the everyday effects of by-laws and licenses and legalized racism, the Chinese community of Vancouver suffered the awful consequences of lawful discrimination. I rise today as the Mayor of Vancouver to recognize and to take responsibility for the suffering and indignity endured because of this historical injustice.

I give just a few examples of how the City of Vancouver put its power behind discrimination and racism:

• In voting: From the first moments of our incorporation as a City, Vancouver took away the legal right to vote: “No Chinaman or Indian shall be entitled to vote in any municipal election for the election of a Mayor or Alderman” (April 6, 1886). Full voting rights, a cornerstone of our democracy, were not granted to Chinese-Canadians until 1949.

• In immigration: The City of Vancouver lobbied the Federal government to pass racially discriminatory immigration policies, including the formal exclusion of Chinese: “That in view of the local economic situation, particularly unemployment, the Federal Parliament now in Session, be requested by wire, to make an immediate inquiry into the increasing number of Asiatics reaching this Port and that we urgently ask for Legislation during this Session debarring Asiatics from Canada. CARRIED. Signed: Mayor Tisdall.” (March 13, 1923). Soon after this motion, the Federal government of Canada enacted the Chinese Immigration Act, known informally as the Chinese Exclusion Act. For the next 25 years, fewer than 100 Chinese immigrants were legally allowed to enter Canada, splintering families and creating unspeakable suffering within Vancouver’s Chinese community.

• In employment: Through its contracts and grants, the City of Vancouver excluded Chinese from being employed by the city or by those doing business with the city. The City’s contractual arrangement with some private companies to not employ Chinese is an example of exclusion of Chinese within employment. No Chinese person was employed by the City of Vancouver until 1952, and it was not until the 1960s that Provincial legislation made racial discrimination in employment illegal.
• Barred from property ownership: Numerous measures were taken to segregate the areas where Chinese were able to live and to earn a livelihood. City by-laws restricted where Chinese could own and run businesses. Housing covenants were used to prohibit Chinese residents from purchasing property. Although these clauses are no longer legally enforceable, many remain even today on legal titles, a reminder of how racial segregation in housing and business shaped our city's neighbourhoods and communities.

• In leadership: The elected officials of the City of Vancouver used their role as leaders to sow the seeds of intolerance that emboldened individuals and groups to embrace and act upon anti-Asian discrimination. Whether by explicitly encouraging anti-Chinese sentiments, or by silently allowing racial hatred and violence to continue, too many of our predecessors stood by rather than stood up to racism.

I rise today to express the abhorrence of the citizens of Vancouver for those actions and inactions of the City between 1886 and 1949.

I rise today to recognize and repudiate how such acts stigmatized and dehumanized the Chinese Canadian community of Vancouver. I further recognize and sincerely apologize for the cruel impact of legislated civic discrimination on Chinese Canadian individuals and families in Vancouver. I rise today to vow that never again will the City of Vancouver stand by while any one of its citizens is the target of racism and discrimination. Never again will we stand aside to allow free rein to those who would divide us.

I rise today to acknowledge the darkness and suffering that anti-Chinese policies and legislation caused, and to vow that never again will Mayor and Council stand aside in the face of racism. We will stand up to those who would use racial discrimination to divide us, and we vow each and every day to challenge and combat intolerance, to be vigilant against the rise of prejudice and discrimination. This is our responsibility in light of our dark history. This we owe today and tomorrow to those who suffered the effects of the legalized discrimination of yesterday. This debt of shame incurred in our past we pay forward so that no citizen of Vancouver will ever suffer again the indignity of racism and prejudice.

I rise today to formally apologize to the Chinese community in Vancouver and to all Canadians of Chinese ancestry for the discriminatory legislation directed against the Chinese in Vancouver by its elected officials and civil servants from 1886 to 1949. On this day, on behalf of City Council and the City of Vancouver, I sincerely apologize for past injustices and their harmful effects, and commit to ensuring that similar unjust practices are never again allowed to fall on any group or community.

Today, Vancouver is a diverse city with a global reputation for celebrating our cultural differences. Our city's reputation is not merely symbolic; it lives each day in the deeds of individual citizens and civic employees who demonstrate principles of equity and fairness, who treat their fellow citizens, including our newest arrivals, with respect and acceptance. The City of Vancouver owes much to the Chinese community and to all immigrant communities. Along with our First Nations and urban Aboriginal communities, many have unfairly had to struggle to overcome racism and discrimination, and yet through their actions have made our society more just and fair. The struggle to make Vancouver an inclusive, resilient and vibrant city will continue. We recognize that even during the darkest days of racial discrimination and prejudice, there were those brave enough to stand up against injustice. When a student teacher who happened to be Chinese-Canadian was barred from entering the Crystal pool in the early 1940s, her colleagues stood firm that they would not swim unless she was allowed to swim. Through every day acts of firmness and resolve, our City has become a better place, and will continue to become a better place for all of our citizens.
I ask all Council members to join me in vowing this day that never again will racism and discrimination reign in the City of Vancouver. Let us all rise in defense of the principles of equity, inclusion, and equal access for which we stand today and in all the days to come.”

Pronouncement on RECOMMENDED ACTIONS: (another speaker from Council)

What does an apology mean? Apologizing to a community for past injustices is a reconciliation process. This process allows the community to learn from the mistakes of previous generations, and in doing so, consolidate and embrace our firm beliefs and values of being a just and inclusive community. We recognize attitudes and biases can run deep. Learning from past mistakes is a humble step and reminder of ever-present challenges.

Through the process of reconciliation we consolidate and embrace our firm beliefs and values of being an inclusive community, one that embraces our collective human rights and prepares us to be proactive in preventing discrimination. To ensure that this official apology is not confined to being simply words on paper, the City of Vancouver has instructed the HDC Advisory Group to identify meaningful actions for the short and longer term for City’s consideration, actions that would give life and sustenance to this apology, not simply to repair past wrong doings but to prevent injustice from ever occurring again.
FROM EXCLUSION TO CITIZENSHIP: HISTORICAL DISCRIMINATION AGAINST CHINESE PEOPLE IN VANCOUVER: HDC INITIATIVE

歷史性歧視溫哥華華裔政策道歉文本草稿

(此道歉文本草稿是由『歷史性歧視華裔政策』顧問委員會協助撰寫，並未經由溫哥華市議會審批)

“本人今日發言承認並聲明溫哥華市過去曾經經歷一段黑暗及艱辛的日子。在本市前半段的歷史中，華裔居民受到種族偏見及歧視的個案比比皆是。然而在該段六十多年的歲月之中，不少包括了市長及市議員的民選官員，不但沒有發聲反對由種族主義造成的不公義情況，他們反而利用市府的法定權力去制訂及延伸針對華人的法例。華裔居民因為市議會的動議、附例和牌照所授予的權限而蒙受這些法定歧視政策帶來的傷害。今日我以溫哥華市長的身份發言，就過往的不公義對華裔居民造成的痛苦和令他們失去尊嚴表示歉意和承擔責任。

以下是一些溫市政府如何將權力用在散播歧視及種族主義的例子：

・投票權：溫哥華在正式建市之後隨即褫奪了華人的合法投票權：『中國人或印第安人均沒有資格在任何市選中投票選出市長或市議員』(1886年4月6日)。華裔居民直至1949年才獲授予被視為民主基石的全面投票權。

・在移民方面：溫哥華市政府曾遊說聯邦政府去通過充滿種族歧視的移民政策，包括正式排除中國移民：『有見及本地的經濟情況，尤其是失業問題，故通過以電報要求聯邦政府，就愈來愈多抵達這口岸的亞洲人數目進行緊急聆訊，力求在這屆會期中通過法例禁止亞洲人進入加拿大。動議獲得通過，並由 Tisdall 市長簽署。』(1923年3月13日)。在市議會通過此動議後不久，加拿大聯邦政府便為《華人移民法》立法。在隨後的25年期間，獲准合法進入加國的華裔移民只有不足100人，此舉除了拆散無數家庭之外亦對溫哥華的華裔社群帶來無法形容的痛苦。

・在就業方面：溫哥華市政府透過合約和撥款，令華裔居民無法受僱於市府或其他與市府有生意往來的人士。在職業上排斥華裔的一個例子，就是市府與一些私人公司在合約中上規定不得僱用華人。此情況一直延續至1952年，才首次有華人受僱於溫市政府，而到了1960年代省政府的法例才將職業上的種族歧視定為不合法。

・禁止擁有物業：市府採取了無數措施將容許華裔人士居住及謀生的地方加以隔離。市府的附例亦規定了華人只可以在某些地方擁有及經營生意。房屋契約亦被用來阻止華裔居民購買房產。雖然這些規條今日已不能被合法地執行，但不少仍然可以在地契上找到，這提醒了我們有關居住及營商上的種族隔離政策如何對本市的社區造成影響。

・帶頭行動：溫市的民選官員利用他們作為領袖的身份散佈歧視的種子。此舉令其他個人及族群更明目張膽地推崇及進行反亞裔的種族歧視行為。無論是公開鼓勵反華情緒或對種族仇恨和暴力保持緘默，我們的上一代對於種族主義很多時都是視若無睹，沒有加以譴責。

本人今日發言聲明對溫哥華市民在1886至1949年期間的所作所為或無動於中的態度深表痛心。
本人今日發言聲明確認並反對此等辱及鄙視溫哥華華裔社群的行為，對那些曾經受到由合法歧視所造成的痛苦影響的華裔居民及家庭，本人再次確認及誠懇道歉。本人今日立誓溫市政府在市民遇上種族主義及歧視時永遠不會再次袖手旁觀。對那些想將我們分隔的人，我們永遠不會讓他們得逞。

本人今日確認當年的反華裔政策和法例為社區帶來了黑暗和傷痛，我立誓市長和市議員在面對種族歧視時永遠不會再次袖手旁觀。我們會挺身對抗那些企圖用種族歧視來分隔我們的人，並立誓每日每天都會對歧視行為展開挑戰和對抗，及時刻警醒以防止偏見與歧視滋長。由於這段黑暗的歷史，我們有責任這樣做，對那些當年曾受到合法歧視的人，我們有所虧欠，同時亦需要就這筆以前欠下的羞辱之債而作出行動，才能使溫哥華華裔居民永遠不會再次因為種族主義和歧視而受到屈辱。

就溫市民選官員及公務員在1886至1949年間制訂針對本市華裔居民的歧視性法例，本人今日向溫哥華的華裔社群及所有華裔加拿大人作出正式道歉。在今日，我代表溫哥華市議會及市政府為過去的不公義及其造成的傷害誠懇地道歉，並承諾會確保類似的不公平行為永遠不容發生發生在任何個人或社群身上。

今日的溫哥華是個多元化的城市，我們以擁護多元文化而譽滿全球，本市享有的並非只是象徵式的榮譽，而是生活在每個市民及奉行平等和公平原則的市府職員每天的工作之中，他們以平等、尊重及接納的態度對待包括新移民在內的大眾市民。溫哥華市對華裔社群及其他移民族群有所虧欠，他們與本地原住民及市區原住民社群一樣，不少都要經歷一番掙扎才能戰勝種族主義和歧視。然而他們的行動令我們的社會變得更公平和公義。

將溫哥華打造成一個包容、堅毅及充滿動力的城市這個努力將會持續下去，我們認同在種族歧視及偏見充斥的黑暗日子，仍然會有勇敢的人挺身而出對抗不公義。在1940年代早期，有一位華裔教師被禁止進入Crystal Pool，為此她的同事亦堅拒到這泳池游泳，直至她再次獲准使用泳池為止。當人們以行動顯示出堅持和決心時，我們的城市就會變成一個更好的地方，並且將會持續變得更好造福所有居民。

我邀請所有市議員和我一起立誓，令種族主義和歧視永遠不會再次在溫哥華市泛濫。讓我們一起保護平等、包容及獲得平等服務這些我們現在及將來都同樣推崇的原則。

公布建議採取的行動(由另一位市議會成員宣讀)：道歉的意義何在對一個在過去受到不公平對待的社群作出道歉是一項達致和解的程序，這程序讓社區了解到上一代所犯了的錯誤，並在過程中肯定及擁護我們作為一個公平及包容社區所推崇的信念及價觀。我們明白態度和偏見可能積存已久，從錯誤中學習是踏出謙虛的一步，同時亦可提醒我們挑戰永遠存在。

透過和解程序，我們可以肯定及擁護我們作為一個具包容性的社區所推崇的信念及價觀。以及尊重我們整體性的人權及為我們在採取主動防止歧視行為上作好準備，為了確保這項正式道歉並非紙上談兵，溫市政府已指示HDC顧問委員會在長期及短期的基礎上為實際行動提出建議，這些行動的作用並非只是修補以往過失，而是令這項道歉變得更有實質意義，防止不公義的行為永遠不會再發生。
HDC Advisory Group Membership

HONORARY MEMBERS:
Maggie Ip 葉吳美琪
Howe Lee 李悅後
The Honorable Randall Wong (retired BC Supreme Court Justice) 黃星翹(退休卑詩省高等法院法官)
Bill Yee (retired Provincial Court Judge) 余宏榮(退休卑詩省法院法官)

Members:
Eric Wong 黃亮彪
Fred Kwok 郭英華
Fred Mah 馬清石
George Ing 吳英超
Grace Wong 黃麗珠
Hayne Wai 韋業慶
Helen Lee 李麗芳
Henry Tom 譚樹康
Henry Yu 余全毅
Jean Barman
John Atkin
Queenie Choo 周潘坤玲
Sid Tan 周明輝
Terri Mew
Will Tao 陶維
William Ma 馬威廉
You are invited to attend a
COMMUNITY FORUM:
Historical Discrimination
Against Chinese People
in Vancouver

This initiative is in response to a
council motion directing staff to:
• research on past civic laws, regulations
and policies that discriminated against
Chinese residents in Vancouver;
• consult with the Chinese community, and;
• recommend steps and actions in support
of reconciliation, including a public
acknowledgement and formal apology.

As space is limited, registration is
required to attend the forum.
Please select one of the following:

Wednesday, May 17, 6 - 8 pm
Vancouver Public Library, Central Branch
350 West Georgia Street
Alma VanDusen and Peter Kaye Room

Wednesday, May 24, 6 - 8 pm
Vancouver City Hall, 453 West 12th Avenue
Ground Floor, Town Hall

Saturday, May 27, 10 am – 12 noon
SUCCESS Choi Hall, 28 West Pender Street
(conducted mainly in Chinese)

These forums will provide opportunities to
inform interested public on the preliminary
research findings and to gather feedback
on potential steps and actions which can
prevent discrimination against any
individual or groups in the future.

RSVP: historical-discrimination-
vancouver.eventbrite.ca

For more information: Phone 3-1-1
or email: hdc.info@vancouver.ca
HDC Storyboards

Storyboard 1: The Right to Vote and Citizenship

Storyboard 2: Head Tax and Banning of Chinese Immigration

Storyboard 3: Restricting Livelihoods

Storyboard 4: Segregation
THE RIGHT TO VOTE AND CITIZENSHIP

At the time of Vancouver's incorporation in 1886, City Council disqualified the Chinese to vote at municipal elections. (Photo 1)

During World War I, Chinese Canadians volunteered and served in the Canadian Armed Forces. (Photo 2)

By 1945, approximately 600 Chinese Canadians men and women had served in the Armed Forces. (Photo 3)

Chinese Canadian community celebrated the Allied victory at the end of World War II. (Photo 4)

In 1947, the BC government granted provincial voting rights to all Canadian-born Chinese in BC. The federal government followed in 1948. The City of Vancouver granted municipal voting rights to the Chinese in 1949.
温市政府多次游說聯邦政府通過歧視性的移民政策，包括藉著立法將華人拒諸門外。(圖片1) The City of Vancouver repeatedly lobbied the Federal Government to pass discriminatory immigration policies, including adopting formal legislation to exclude the Chinese. (Photo 1)

市府與其他反亞裔組織合力遊說聯邦政府將人頭稅由1885年的$50增加到1900年的$100，更在1903年增加到$500。 (圖片2) The City, with other anti-Asian groups, lobbied the federal government to increase the head tax on new arrivals from the original $50 in 1885, to $100 in 1900 and $500 in 1903. (Photo 2)

1900年代的反亞裔政治情緒及種族衝突最終導致1907年在華埠爆發的大型騷亂。 (圖片3) Anti-Asian political agitation and racial violence at the beginning of the 1900s led to a big riot in Chinatown in 1907. (Photo 3)

時至1923年，溫哥華的市長及市議會通過動議，建議聯邦政府合法地拒絕“亞洲人”進入加拿大。 In 1923, Vancouver's Mayor and Council passed motion advocating that the federal government legally barred 'Asiatics' from entering Canada.

同年聯邦政府引入《華人移民法》，亦稱為《排華法》。(圖片4) That same year, the federal government enacted the Chinese Immigration Act, better known as the Chinese Exclusion Act. (Photo 4)

在1924-1946年間，獲准進入加拿大的華裔移民不足100人。 In 1924-1946, fewer than 100 Chinese immigrants were allowed to enter Canada. During this period, the separation between the men in Canada and their wives and children in China created deep social isolation and anguish among both communities.

居於溫哥華的華人在1931年共有11,533名，佔總人口的5%。到了1941年，該數字下降至5,427，或總人口的2%。 In 1931, 11,533 Chinese lived in Vancouver, about 5 percent of the total population. By 1941, that number had decreased to 5,427 or 2 percent of the total population.

「排華法」到了1947年才被廢除。 The Chinese Exclusion Act was repealed in 1947.
RESTRICTING LIVELIHOODS

City policies and practices discriminatory against Chinese residents

The City of Vancouver used by-laws, licenses, formal labour regulations on work hours, and selectively enforced statutes to constrict Chinese livelihoods in industry, business and labour.

The City excluded Chinese from being employed by the City in 1890.

The City imposed anti-Chinese clauses in contracts to restrict access to business and employment.

Prohibitions of right of entry into professional associations were linked to the right to vote, so disenfranchisement of Chinese allowed the provincial government to keep Chinese out of professions such as law, pharmacy and medicine.

In 1914, the City introduced measures to license vegetable peddlers, most of whom were Chinese. The peddling levy was raised from $50 in 1914 to $100 in 1919, halving the number of Chinese peddlers in those years.

In 1923, the City Solicitor stood up to oppose discriminatory measures of geographic confinement of Chinese businesses to some areas of the city that was being considered by Council.

Vancouver alderwoman Helena Gutteridge supported the City Solicitor and opposed Council’s discriminatory policy on restricting trade license to “Orientals.”

The City hired its first Chinese worker in 1952.

City policies and practices discriminatory against Chinese residents

City policies and practices discriminatory against Chinese residents
 SEGREGATION

Men outside the Chinese Benevolent Association Building
Photo: Library and Archives Canada / Ronny Jaques
Copyright: Ronny Jaques; e010980490-v8.jpg

Segregation of the Chinese, including in housing, was long a primary goal of anti-Chinese organizers. (Photo 1)

In 1914, a resolution to remove Chinese and Japanese children from schools was brought to Vancouver City Council. The City Solicitor opposed the resolution and it was not enacted. (Photo 2)

Chinese children and their parents were barred from the Crystal Pool which opened in 1928 and was segregated until 1945. (Photo 3)

A Municipal Act in 1919 forbade Chinese restaurants from employing 'white waitresses'. In opposition, the waitresses held a public march outside of City Hall. (Photo 4)

Students in front of Strathcona school
Photo: University of British Columbia Library, Rare Books and Special Collections, Strathcona Elementary School kindergarten graduating class portrait, Yucho Chow Studio Wallace B. Chung and Madeline H. Chung Collection CC-PH-00435

餐厅内张贴了“只限白人”的告示。 “Whites Only” signage appeared in restaurants.

City policies and practices discriminatory against Chinese residents

City of Vancouver