

**WHITE SUPREMACY, CHINESE SCHOOLING, AND
SCHOOL SEGREGATION IN VICTORIA:
THE CASE OF THE
CHINESE STUDENTS' STRIKE, 1922-1923***

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In September 1922, the Victoria School Board moved to segregate the Chinese students enrolled in the district. On September 5, the first day of classes, the principals of the Boys' Central and the George Jay Schools called the Chinese students out of their classes, lined them up, and marched them down to the schools which had been set aside for the Chinese only.¹ Much to the surprise of the Victoria School Board and its officials, the Chinese community did not passively acquiesce to this discriminatory move. When Principal J.A. Cunningham of Boys' Central School and his charges reached the segregated King's Road School,

a Chinese boy holding the reputation of being the quietest and most studious in the class shouted something in the Oriental lingo, and like a flash the parade disbanded, leaving Principal Cunningham in the middle of the roadway and wondering how he could overcome the difficulties of the situation.²

Similar events took place with the students from the George Jay School.³ The Chinese community had organized a student strike against the public school system of Victoria in an effort to pressure the school board into allowing their children to return to their former schools. Despite various attempts at resolution in the coming months, the deadlock between the Chinese community and the Victoria School Board lasted for the rest of the school year. To maintain the strike, the Chinese community even established its own school for the children involved. Consequently during the 1922-23 school year, "less than six" Chinese students attended the public schools in Victoria, compared to 216 the previous year.⁴

School segregation can be seen as a particular instance of white supremacy: the political and social system predicated on the supposed existence and natural dominance of a white "race."⁵ In British Columbia, white supremacy was often expressed in the notion that B.C. was, and should be, a white man's country. Non-whites, including the Chinese, were by definition alien to this country. White supremacist opinion consequently represented the Chinese to be morally, culturally, and biologically different from whites. For example, shortly before

World War One, a commentary in *British Columbia Magazine* presented its readers with the following characterization of the "Oriental."

Racially he is as opposite to the Anglo-Saxon in life, thought, religion, temperament, taste, morals, and modes, as ice is to fire. AND HE CAN NEVER BE OTHERWISE. There is the test; this is the touchstone that irrevocably fixes the difference. He cannot be changed, even by centuries of contact, any more than the leopard can change his spots. He may adopt certain of the white man's vices, because to him these seem virtues; but he will not take up any of the white race's virtues, because these seem, either as vices to him or negligible trifles. So that, to begin with, in this review you may set it down as unalterable that, racially, the yellow man can never become a white man.⁶

Opinions of this sort made socially constructed divisions of the human species into groups such as "Anglo-Saxons" and "Orientals" appear natural, at the same time that they rationalized the dominance of one over the other. Such opinions were often used to exclude the Chinese and members of other groups from participation in white society and to justify discriminatory measures directed against them. For example, in 1885, in order to defend extending British Columbia's disenfranchisement of the Chinese to the federal level, Sir John A. Macdonald told the House of Commons that the Chinese immigrant "has no British instincts or British feelings or aspirations," and that the Chinese in Canada constituted "an Asiatic population, alien in spirit, alien in feeling, alien in everything."⁷ Discriminatory measures, like disenfranchisement, in turn codified and reinforced representations of the Chinese as Other.⁸

The result was that, by the turn of the century, a patchwork of discriminatory legislation, petty regulations, and racist social practices effectively circumscribed the daily lives of the Chinese residents of British Columbia. Amongst other things, these measures limited their sectors of economic activity, sanctioned their places of residence, and deprived most of them of family life.⁹ The Chinese lived in "A World of Their Own,"¹⁰ more often than not, effectively isolated from meaningful interaction with white society. Thus for some whites, like the *Victoria Daily Colonist's* 1902 labour columnist, T.H. Twigg, school segregation seemed to involve little more than "carrying into the schools what already exists in every other institution of society—the branding of Chinese as Ishmaelites."¹¹

Even though it was not the only instance in which Chinese children attending public schools in British Columbia were segregated,¹² the 1922-23 dispute between the Chinese community and the Victoria School Board poses some of the most important questions for our understanding of how white supremacy functioned. The sustained and organized response of the Chinese community evident in this dispute suggests that white supremacy should not be seen as a static, one-way system. Rather it points to the fact that discriminatory legislation, government regulations, and racist social practices were continually being chal-

lenged by affected groups. For example, racist legislation was at various times in full effect, suspended pending court challenges, unenforceable, or being systematically ignored.¹³ Far from being static, white supremacy, therefore, needs to be understood as a dynamic system continually in flux. The advantages of such an understanding become apparent through an examination of the factors shaping the response of the Chinese community during the 1922-23 Victoria school segregation controversy as well as those shaping the actions of the school board.

The ever-changing nature of white supremacy would have been readily apparent to Chinese children attending Victoria public schools before 1922. Few of these children could have escaped school segregation, or threats of school segregation, at some point in their careers. School segregation was first proposed in 1901, and put into effect for all the Chinese students in the district between 1902 and 1905.¹⁴ Partial school segregation in the lower grades, either for all Chinese students, or for those who were older than the average for their grade levels, was in effect during much of the period between 1908 and 1922.¹⁵

Chinese resistance to school segregation in large measure accounts for this shifting pattern. As early as 1902, Chinese merchants whose children attended public schools in Victoria directly intervened with the school board to respond to calls for school segregation.¹⁶ Segregated classes had to be closed, due to lack of enrolment, in 1904 and again in 1916.¹⁷ In 1907 and 1908, legal challenges were made to segregation and exclusion of Chinese students from the district.¹⁸ In 1921-22, older Chinese students in segregated schools may have deliberately subverted school discipline to protest segregation.¹⁹

Pressure for school segregation also varied in its intensity and in its nature. Most often calls for school segregation were motivated by the supposed moral and physical threat that the Chinese posed to white children. For years Chinatown had been vilified as the moral opposite of white society, as a breeding ground for depravity and disease.²⁰ Chinese children, it was often feared, would spread the contagions of Chinatown to white children.

The moral and physical threat to their white classmates that Chinese students could supposedly transport from Chinatown was well summarized by Vancouver City Council in 1914 when it called for school segregation. This call was in response to an incident in which a Chinese servant, who was also a public school student, was accused of murdering the white woman who employed him. Council stated that

by being indiscriminately thrown into association with Orientals many years their senior, our children are wantonly exposed to Oriental vices at an age when revolting incidents may be indelibly stamped upon their minds. Furthermore the health of our children is endangered by such close association with Oriental children, many of whom hail from habitations where reasonable sanitation and cleanliness are not only despised but utterly disregarded. In some cases, these Orientals come

into our public school classrooms with their apparel polluted with the fumes of noxious drugs and germs of loathsome diseases on their persons.²¹

School segregation, it was argued, was essential for the protection of white children.

The physical threat of disease probably motivated residents in the area of Victoria's Rock Bay School to call for school segregation in 1901,²² while the threat posed by alleged improper sanitation was certainly an issue when the Victoria Trades and Labour Council resurrected the matter the following year.²³ This theme was returned to in 1922 by Municipal School Inspector, George H. Deane, when he reintroduced the subject to the Victoria School Board. "There is a danger in these Chinese boys, many of whom cannot even speak English, coming from the unsanitary living quarters downtown and mixing with other children with no attempt at segregation," he told the board. "We know that it is not only a tendency with the Chinese to live in insanitary quarters, but a practice."²⁴

What most captured the imaginations of white parents was the moral threat posed by older Chinese students in the lower grades.²⁵ Thus, school segregation again became an issue in Victoria in 1908 when white residents threatened to pull their children out of the Rock Bay school²⁶ after one of the older Chinese students was expelled for "employing his spare-time in drawing obscene pictures in the exercise books of little white children."²⁷ White girls were believed to be particularly vulnerable to the threat of older Chinese boys. There was a brief scare in 1909 over the risks facing white girls teaching English in Chinatown,²⁸ and similar concerns motivated the Vancouver City Council's call for school segregation in 1914. But the fears that underlay these concerns were made the most explicit in popular fiction. One novel, published in serial form in the *Vancouver Sun* in 1921, described the unusually "hopeless despair" felt by two parents who woke up one morning to discover that their daughter had eloped during the night:

Pretty Eileen Hart, the pride of her mother, the apple of her father's eye, and only eighteen years old, had run away and married—a Chinaman. The horror of it turned them sick. She had been better dead. Eileen, with her beauty, her daintiness, her originality—they had always been specially proud of this and her daring—was now Mrs. Wong Fu!²⁹

Since Eileen had met Wong Fu, an older student, at school, where she was seduced by his more worldly ways, the distraught father placed the blame squarely on "this *damned system of co-education*" and "co-education with the spawn of these yellow dogs."³⁰

However, not all white British Columbians accepted that the Chinese constituted a real physical and moral threat. School personnel in particular often

questioned this notion. For example, in 1902 in response to the Trades and Labour Council's pressure to effect school segregation, Victoria's Superintendent F.H. Eaton noted that far from causing problems, the Chinese children were "getting on very well" and that "they were obedient, attentive, and studious, and often set a good example in these things to the other children of the various rooms."³¹ According to the *Victoria Daily Colonist*, he was using even stronger language a few months later when he referred to reports that the Chinese were causing problems as "pure fabrications."³² In 1914, Principal Cunningham of the Boys' Central School questioned the school board's policy of segregating primary students. He noted that the Chinese students "make good use of the educational chances available in the higher grades, and are docile and easy to teach," but pointed out that they entered the higher grades with little fluency in English. "Hence," he informed the board, "it is no remedy to establish a separate graded school for the Chinese, who would thus never thoroughly learn English or western ways."³³

In fact, white attitudes towards the Chinese were to a large extent class-based. Before the First World War, it was mainly working-class organizations, and politicians pandering to the working-class vote, who called for school segregation.³⁴ The drive towards school segregation in 1902 was spearheaded by the Victoria Trades and Labour Council. In 1907-8, it was the Asiatic Exclusion League, an organization actively supported by white trade unions, that pressured for action against Chinese students who were supposedly using schools to evade the immigration head tax. These concerns were motivated by fears that the Chinese were cheap labourers who were undercutting the wages of white workers. Indeed, working-class opinion was so inimicable to the Chinese that it is likely that otherwise class-conscious white workers did not see their fellow Chinese workers as workers at all.³⁵ During the summer of 1907, fears that Chinese labourers were using the school system to circumvent the immigration head tax led the Victoria School Board to refuse admission to Chinese students unless they spoke sufficient English as "to be amenable to the ordinary regulations of school discipline,"³⁶ thus effectively barring recent Chinese immigrants from the district. In January 1908, it ruled that it would admit only native-born Chinese students who met the English test.³⁷ Fear of competition from cheap Chinese labour even led the provincial government to pass an order-in-council complaining that Chinese students were only using the educational system "to increase their efficiency and to render them better able to compete with white labour."³⁸ By contrast, upper-class whites living in Victoria, themselves often the employers of Chinese servants and industrial workers, probably saw the Chinese as no threat at all, but merely a rather exotic aspect of life in British Columbia.³⁹ They may well have been somewhat bemused by calls for school segregation.⁴⁰

However, even those whites who opposed the excesses of white supremacist opinion shared the view that the Chinese were alien. They, too, took for granted that B.C. was a white society. For example, when he criticized the board's

policies in 1914, Principal Cunningham commented that the problem of how best to provide for the Chinese students was one "which is inevitable with so many children of Chinese nationality residing and growing up in a white country."⁴¹

Class-based attitudes began to shift during the First World War. Increasingly, it was the white middle classes, rather than the working class, which saw the Chinese as a threat.⁴² The problem for white opinion was that the Chinese were no longer just cheap labour, but were entering other fields of endeavour. The contradiction was summarized by *The Daily Colonist* in 1922: "So long as Orientals, or the members of any foreign race, are property owners in British Columbia our municipalities cannot refuse to provide for the education of their children."⁴³ In a political and social system predicated on the rights of property-owners, the Chinese, although a "foreign race," were now property-owners. This posed more of a problem for white property-owners than white workers. In this respect it should be noted that it was the Board of Trade and the Chamber of Commerce whose calls for school segregation, and laws barring the Chinese from owning land, led to the actions of the school board in 1922.⁴⁴ As the *Daily Colonist* editorial pointed out, it was the children of Chinese property-owners who were being segregated. Most of the Chinese children in the public schools of British Columbia during this era were likely the sons and daughters of merchants or professionals. This was for the simple reason that most of the Chinese children in Canada by this time came from this class.

Discriminatory immigration measures maintained male Chinese workers as cheap labour by transferring the costs of reproducing their labour to China. This was primarily achieved through the head tax on Chinese immigration (raised to \$500 by 1904) which, however much it inhibited male labourers from entering Canada, effectively barred their wives and dependent children from immigrating.⁴⁵ Merchants and their families, by contrast, were specifically excluded from the head tax provisions. The net effect of these measures was that most of the Chinese families in Canada, and much of the second generation, would have been from the merchant class.⁴⁶

That school segregation was primarily directed against the children of Chinese merchants becomes apparent from the response of the Chinese community in Victoria to the school board's decision to impose segregation. From the very beginning of the 1922-23 school segregation controversy, the Chinese Consolidated Benevolent Association (CCBA) played a key role in organizing this response. The CCBA, whose membership theoretically included all the Chinese living in Victoria, had always been controlled by the merchant-elite of the community. It was formed in 1884 by a group of Victoria merchants who received a charter from the Chinese Consulate in San Francisco, and a year later it incorporated under the B.C. statutes.⁴⁷ It functioned as "a *de facto* Chinese government in Canada,"⁴⁸ not only operating welfare institutions such as a Chinese hospital, but also resolving disputes internal to the community and providing support for those Chinese caught in disputes outside the community.⁴⁹ It was in this latter role that it first became involved in the 1922-23 school

segregation issue. At a school board meeting early in 1922, the CCBA directly challenged Inspector Deane's charges of improper sanitation on the part of Chinese students.⁵⁰ During the summer, after the board announced its plans to proceed with segregation, the CCBA, this time in conjunction with other Chinese organizations, again protested.⁵¹ It was the CCBA that organized the students' strike and established the Victoria Overseas Chinese Resist School Segregation Association (*Weiduoli Huaqiao Kangzheng Fenxiao Tuantihui*), an *ad hoc* organization which was to co-ordinate the fight against the school board in the coming months.⁵²

The students' strike and ensuing deadlock must have come as a surprise to the trustees of the Victoria School Board. While they were well aware that the Chinese were opposed to segregation,⁵³ from their point of view they were merely extending to the middle grades an existing system of partial segregation already in effect in the lower grades. The response of the Chinese must have seemed extreme to say the least. Indeed, throughout the segregation dispute, the Victoria Chinese community demonstrated a high degree of solidarity. When segregation was first proposed, the school inspector granted special permits which allowed twenty Chinese students to attend integrated classes on the grounds that their English was good enough.⁵⁴ Despite this, the twenty children granted permits also boycotted classes.⁵⁵ For a time in October, five Chinese students showed up for class at the King's Road School, but they too withdrew after a while.⁵⁶

What the school board had not taken into account was the depth of Chinese resentment of school segregation. In particular, second-generation Chinese Canadians, who may have made up to 85% of the students attending Victoria schools,⁵⁷ had a great deal to lose. The stakes involved for them were made clear by Low Kwong Joe, the President of the Chinese Canadian Club, an organization of second-generation people. In a letter to the *Victoria Daily Times*, he admitted that for several years Chinese in Victoria had accepted the principle of separate classes for the Chinese students in the lowest grades on the grounds that "segregation would enable the children better to acquire a knowledge of English." Quite the contrary had proved to be the case, however. Now the Chinese were being asked to accept segregation up to the level of the high school entrance class. According to Joe,

If we accept this we have no reasons to expect any better result, so the next step will be on the grounds of imperfect knowledge of English we will be prevented from the entrance classes or the High School. You can therefore see, Mr. Editor, how serious the question is for us. It is not the 200 children now affected that we have to think of, but the whole of our future is involved in this question. We cannot afford to take any other attitude than the one we have taken.

We ask ourselves this question: What can be the purpose behind this movement? Can it be the intention to prevent us securing an English education so that our children can be permanently ignorant, so that they

must remain labourers to be exploited? Being ignorant of the language we will be unable to take our part by the side of other Canadians, and we will then be pointed out as those who refuse to learn the customs or social life of the country—in fact, refuse to assimilate. It will have been forgotten by then that it was not because we did not want to learn, but because certain narrow-minded autocrats have taken upon themselves the responsibility of preventing our learning.⁵⁸

In other words, second-generation Chinese Canadians saw school segregation as an attempt to prevent them from learning English. This not only threatened to maintain their separation from white society; it also threatened to make the second-generation children of merchants into cheap labour like most of the first generation. In addition, by maintaining the pariah status of the Chinese, it also laid the basis for their potential expulsion from Canada.⁵⁹

Throughout the 1922-23 school segregation crisis, the Chinese Canadian Club played an important role in exposing the school board's agenda. The racist nature of the school board's actions had been evident to the Chinese in Victoria from the beginning of the dispute. This was apparent in several letters to the editor published in the English-language papers. For example, one Chinese letter-writer saw the school board's actions as "purely and simply a matter of discrimination," while another asked what the reasons for the board's actions were: "Surely they are not moved to act simply out of racial prejudice," he commented ironically.⁶⁰ However as the deadlock continued, it was the Chinese Canadian Club that took on the role of responding to the school board's allegations in the white newspapers. For example, when the school board claimed that segregation was necessary because Chinese students were retarding the progress of white students, the Chinese Canadian Club published a list of the names, ages, and class rankings of ninety-four Chinese students, formerly attending non-segregated schools, who were above their class averages. In addition it published the names of another seventeen students who were below their class averages but were two years younger than their classmates. It pointed out that in these classes, "all questions and answers are given in English, and that the Chinese children could not stand so high up in their classes unless they understand the questions asked them, and could answer intelligently."⁶¹

Collecting the kind of information that the Chinese Canadian Club used to respond to the school board indicates that there was a high degree of organization and solidarity within the Chinese community. This organization and solidarity is also apparent in the other element of the Chinese community's response to segregation: the creation of a Chinese-language school for the children involved in the strike. Plans for the creation of the *Weiduoli Bu Zhonghua Yixue* (Victoria Chinese Free School) were first discussed on October 5, 1922, when some of Victoria's most "prominent Chinese residents" met to discuss the formation of a Chinese-language school since "the school board persists in upholding school segregation."⁶² By the end of October, quite detailed plans for the Chinese Free

School were announced. The school, which would not charge tuition, had been "specially established to support the students on strike against school segregation." It would hold classes in the CCBA building and be divided into two grades—a "national grade" for students ages seven to twelve, and a higher grade for students thirteen to eighteen. Its staff of seven teachers and one principal would teach a curriculum which would "normally" include Chinese language, calligraphy, arithmetic and English.⁶³

Chinese nationalism was an integral element in the school. This was evident in its "Guiding Principles" which stated, "Established in order to support understanding of Chinese [language] amongst the students of the western schools on strike to resist school segregation, the school will nourish knowledge amongst the overseas people of the homeland's common written characters and stimulate the overseas people to have the idea that patriotism wipes out shame."⁶⁴ In other words, the school was primarily intended to instil Chinese nationalist feeling and knowledge of written Chinese amongst the striking students in order to strengthen their resolve while the strike lasted.

It may be that the nationalist character of this school was the result of expediency. A white sympathizer of the Chinese, Harry Hastings, claimed that the Chinese had "no intention of establishing their own English schools at an additional cost to themselves when they are already paying more than their share through the school tax."⁶⁵ In addition, the Chinese would have drawn upon readily available resources to create such a school. At this time the Chinese community of Victoria had its own network of day and evening Chinese-language schools.⁶⁶ The existence of this network of Chinese schools was even apparent in the announcement of the creation of the Chinese Free School which made careful provision to insure that the school would not take away students from any existing schools.⁶⁷ Because of this network, a Chinese-language school would have been easier to establish. But the nature of the school also points to the fact that, during this era, the Chinese community used Chinese nationalism instrumentally to challenge white hegemony. Indeed the Chinese community had invented a common identity as Chinese largely in response to the threat of white-supremacist exclusion.

Although white opinion portrayed the Chinese in Canada as monolithic, they did not see themselves as such. Most of the Chinese immigrants to Canada came from Guangdong province in South China. However, they spoke several, often mutually unintelligible, dialects of Cantonese and Hakka. Their loyalties tended to be based on their county of origin, rather than any broader identification.⁶⁸ Settlement patterns in Canada further compounded these centrifugal tendencies as people from the same districts, speaking the same dialects, grouped together in certain localities, or else established monopolies in certain industries or trades, in order to survive in the new world. It was only very slowly that institutions such as the CCBA, or pan-local organizations such as the clan associations, "invented" a common identity as Chinese.⁶⁹

The promotion of literacy in written Chinese was an important element in overcoming the barriers of dialect and home origin. For over two thousand years written Chinese had made possible the political unification of China. Through written texts, officials, who would need interpreters to speak face to face, could communicate effectively. Written Chinese fulfilled the same function amongst the Chinese communities of Canada. As written Chinese could be understood without reference to spoken languages, it provided a common language accessible to all the Chinese in Canada.

Life in a country like Canada placed a premium on literacy. The ever-changing nature of white supremacy meant that previously barred areas of endeavour might suddenly open up, thus providing work or new opportunities for investment. By the same token, a district, or economic sector, that had earlier welcomed the Chinese might suddenly become hostile. In the former case, one's economic well-being could depend upon accurate information and in the latter case, one's very survival might depend upon it. Chinese-language newspapers, like *The Chinese Times*, provided this kind of information.⁷⁰ The fact that literacy in Chinese allowed for confidential communications with family or business partners in China would have provided an added incentive to learn how to read and write.

At the same time, the periodic efforts of white supremacy to further restrict the Chinese provided an incentive to organize beyond the local level. Such organization in turn presupposed a common identity and a common language. The utility of organizing beyond the local level was apparent in the 1922-23 school segregation dispute. One of the first acts of Victoria's Resist School Segregation Association was to write to other communities, and even China, to request support.⁷¹ In response, the Vancouver Chinese Benevolent Association established the Vancouver Resist School Segregation Rear Support Association to raise money and provide moral support to the Chinese in Victoria. It also held several public meetings which claimed that unless school segregation was stopped in Victoria, it would not only spread to Vancouver schools, but all sectors of Chinese endeavour in Canada.⁷²

Knowledge of written Chinese thus became a resource for survival in the new world at the same time that it provided a common language and common identity. Chinese-language schools, therefore, were inseparably nationalist and anti-racist institutions. This is apparent in the case of the Chinese Public School, the most important and oldest of the Chinese language schools in Victoria. The Victoria Chinese Public School had originally been established under the auspices of the CCBA as the Lequn Yishe (Happy Masses Free School) in 1899.⁷³ The school itself was formed as the result of a burgeoning consciousness of being Chinese amongst the merchant class. Quoting an anonymous Chinese, the *Victoria Daily Colonist* claimed that the school was created because "we are Chinamen wherever we go...and find that, in view of the international commercial relations now opening up, it is necessary to have an education in Chinese as well as English."⁷⁴ In 1907-8, this school was called upon to provide for the schooling

in Chinese and English of those students who were refused entry into the Victoria public school system. Consequently it became overcrowded and a new building was established, this time with the help of the Imperial Qing government. For a short time it was called the Imperial Chinese School, although the name subsequently was changed to the Chinese Public School.⁷⁵

The school's importance is indicated by its enrolment. From 1908 to 1923, between 43 and 127 students a year attended the school.⁷⁶ For example, in 1914-15, it enrolled ninety students in six classes. The four upper classes were held during the evening as they were made up of students who attended the white public schools during the day. The two lower classes were held during the daytime.⁷⁷

For the Chinese, this school was a "public" school in the true sense. This was not only reflected in its name but also in its practices. It charged no tuition, was open to all Chinese children, and its activities were regularly followed in the Chinese-language press.⁷⁸ It was financed through the revenues of, and answerable to, the local Chinese government: the Chinese Consolidated Benevolent Association. In addition, it sought to instil in its students a collective consciousness through public speaking and observance of Chinese holidays such as Confucius' birthday. Its teachers were brought over from China and its language of instruction was Cantonese, even though most of its students spoke local dialects.⁷⁹ Its curriculum also appears to have been closely modelled on that of schools in China, as the school was inspected by official educational delegations from China on a number of occasions and pronounced up to standard each time.⁸⁰

White supremacy provided an additional incentive for Chinese-language schools in Canada to be similar to their counterparts in China. The conditional nature of the Chinese presence in Canada meant that Chinese entrepreneurs or professionals might easily find their ambitions blocked in Canada, in which case, China could provide the best area of endeavour. It is likely that both white society and first-generation Chinese pressured second-generation children to seek fame and fortune in China.⁸¹

White supremacy is also important in explaining an additional feature of the Chinese Public School. In comparison to the Chinese attending the white public schools, the Chinese Public School appears to have enrolled a higher proportion of girls. In 1915, for example, of the school's ninety students, sixty-two were boys and twenty-eight girls. In 1914-15, the segregated school board school on Fisguard Street enrolled eighty-one boys and only seventeen girls. The next year at Rock Bay, there were forty boys and five girls.⁸² Although it is no doubt true that some Chinese girls did not attend schools of any kind during this era,⁸³ and that the schooling of girls was devalued by Chinese patriarchy, it appears that the Chinese schools may well have been less hostile to Chinese girls than white schools. This points to the fact that white supremacy had a different effect on Chinese males compared to Chinese females. This differential effect can be seen in the gender imbalance created by immigration patterns.⁸⁴ It can also be seen

in the discussions of school segregation which, as should be apparent, were gendered. Thus school segregationists often spoke of "Chinese boys" in contrast to "white boys and girls" and since white girls were perceived to be particularly at risk from Chinese boys, for example, the City of Vancouver had called for segregation in 1914.

Much of the gender imbalance amongst Chinese students in the white school system can only be accounted for by the racist violence which was a constant reality facing the Chinese in British Columbia. Women and children, the Chinese believed, were especially vulnerable to this violence. As the market gardener Sing Cheung Yung explained to the 1902 Royal Commission on Chinese and Japanese Immigration when asked why he left his family in China, "the people in this country talk so much against the Chinese that I don't care to bring them here."⁸⁵

Racist violence was certainly a constant reality confronting Chinese students in the white public schools. A number of incidents of such violence are reported in the English and Chinese-language newspapers throughout this era. At the turn of the century assaults on Chinese occasioned negative newspaper comments in both Vancouver and Victoria.⁸⁶ These assaults could have tragic results as was evident in 1904 when a Victoria Chinese youth had to have his leg amputated after being run over by a streetcar following an assault by a group of white boys.⁸⁷ In 1908, white boys were reported to be making "an organized attempt to prevent Chinese pupils from attending the Rock Bay and Central Schools."⁸⁸ Again in 1915, a Chinese schoolgirl was so seriously injured when she was stoned by a group of white boys that she required major surgery to save her life.⁸⁹ In 1922, tensions were sufficiently high in Vancouver that a snowball fight at Lord Strathcona School, on the edge of Chinatown, ended in the stabbing of a white boy.⁹⁰ Several years later, going to and from school was still an ordeal for Chinese students. One student who attended school in Vancouver recorded in his autobiography: "We had trouble with the white kids on our way to and from school. We walked in groups for protection, the small kids following closely behind the bigger, stronger boys."⁹¹ Given this kind of violence, the Chinese community inevitably kept its youngest children and girls out of the white public schools, but allowed them to attend Chinese institutions in the relative safety of Chinatown. Therefore it is not surprising that the Chinese Public School's classes for its youngest students were day classes, nor that more Chinese girls attended it proportionately than attended the white public schools.

From the foregoing it is apparent that white supremacy needs to be understood as a complex system, one whose many dimensions were continually being challenged by the Chinese and other groups. School segregation was an on-again, off-again phenomenon as it swung back and forth between Chinese resistance and white opinion. White opinion about the Chinese itself was in constant flux as it varied considerably in intensity and content with time and class origins.

To acknowledge that white supremacy was in constant flux is not to render it any more palatable as a system. Rather it is to try to come to terms with its true

horror: to recognize that for Chinese Canadians, their presence in British Columbian society was always contingent, and subject to potential renegotiation and exclusion. For the Chinese in Canada, coming to terms with white supremacy at least in part involved the creation, through the devices of literacy and Chinese-language schooling, of a domain separate and distinct from that of white society. This domain existed largely beyond the ken of white society and proved to be the greatest resource available to the Chinese in resisting white oppression. Its existence made possible their invention as a community, and enabled organized, community-wide, politically-conscious challenges to white domination such as the 1922-23 students' strike. The fact that this Chinese domain, and its institutions such as *The Chinese Times* and the Victoria Chinese Public School, are still present in British Columbia is a testament to the persistence of the Chinese community in challenging supremacy. It is also a testament to the fact that the creation of a realm open to the full participation of all the peoples of Canada remains unfinished.

NOTES

- * An earlier version of this paper, "White Supremacist Fictions and Schooling in British Columbia, 1900-1925: The Case of Chinese School Segregation in Victoria," was presented at the Fifth Biennial Conference of the Canadian History of Education Association/Association canadienne d'histoire de l'éducation, University of Western Ontario, London, Ontario, October 1988. I am particularly indebted to J. Donald Wilson for his careful reading of this paper and for providing me with the benefit of his profound knowledge of the field. I would also like to thank Frances Boyle, Vincent D'Oyley, Bill Maciejko, and Celia Haig-Brown for their comments on various drafts of this paper, as well as for their continuing encouragement.
1. "Chinese Pupils Start 'Rebellion'," *Victoria Daily Times*, Sept. 6, 1922, 2.
 2. *Ibid.*
 3. *Ibid.*
 4. British Columbia, Department of Education, *Annual Report of the Public Schools of the Province of British Columbia, 1922-1923* (Victoria: King's Printer, 1923) [henceforth *Annual Report*], F45, and "Orientals Health Menace in Schools, Inspector Asserts," *Victoria Daily Times*, Jan. 12, 1922, 18.
 5. White supremacy is in this respect a particular form of racism. In this paper, the usage of the term "racism" is intended to follow that of Robert Miles, who has argued that "racism 'works' by attributing meanings to certain phenotypical and/or genetic characteristics of human beings in such a way as to create a system of categorization, and by attributing additional (negatively evaluated) characteristics to the people sorted into these categories." See Robert Miles, *Racism* (London: Routledge, 1989), 3. "Races" should be understood as "socially imagined rather than biological realities" (*Ibid.*, 71). See also Ashley Montagu, ed., *The Concept of Race* (New York: Free Press, 1964).
 6. Ernest McGaffey, "British Columbia and the Yellow Man," *British Columbia Magazine* 8, 3 (Mar. 1912): 198.

7. Canada, House of Commons, *Debates*, Vol. XVIII (Ottawa: King's Printer, 1885), 1582, 1589.
8. For a discussion of how European representations of the people of the Near East have made them Other, see Edward W. Said, *Orientalism* (New York: Vintage, 1979).
9. These measures and many of their consequences are documented in several histories of the Chinese in Canada and histories of racist discourse in B.C. See David T. H. Lee (Li Donghai), *Jianada Huaqiao shi [A history of the Chinese in Canada]* (Taipei: Zhonghua Da Dian Bianyin Hui, 1967); W. Peter Ward, *White Canada Forever: Popular Attitudes and Public Policy Toward Orientals in British Columbia* (Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1978); Harry Con et al., *From China to Canada: A History of the Chinese Communities in Canada*, ed. Edgar Wickberg, *Generations: A History of Canada's Peoples* (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart Ltd., 1982); Anthony B. Chan, *Gold Mountain: The Chinese in the New World* (Vancouver: New Star Books, 1983); Peter S. Li, *The Chinese in Canada* (Toronto: Oxford University Press, 1988); Patricia E. Roy, *A White Man's Province: British Columbia Politicians and Chinese and Japanese Immigrants, 1858-1914* (Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press, 1989). Two important doctoral dissertations are: Gillian Creese, "Working Class Politics, Racism and Sexism: The Making of a Politically Divided Working Class in Vancouver, 1900-1939" (Ph.D. diss., Carleton University, 1986), and Kay Anderson, "'East' as 'West': Place, State and the Institutionalization of Myth in Vancouver's Chinatown, 1880-1980" (Ph.D. diss., University of British Columbia, 1987). Paul Yee's *Saltwater City: An Illustrated History of the Chinese in Vancouver* (Vancouver: Douglas & McIntyre; Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1988), while intended for a non-academic audience, provides superb insights into the historical experiences of the Chinese in Canada.
10. Roy, *A White Man's Province*, 13.
11. Cited by Mary Ashworth, *The Forces Which Shaped Them: A History of the Education of Minority Group Children in British Columbia* (Vancouver: New Star Books, 1979), 58.
12. School segregation was also in effect at various times in Vancouver, New Westminster, and Nanaimo. Two excellent studies are Ashworth, "Chapter Two, The Chinese," in *The Forces Which Shaped Them*, 54-90 and David Chuenyan Lai, "The Issue of Discrimination in Education in Victoria, 1901-1923," *Canadian Ethnic Studies/Études Ethniques au Canada* XIX, 3 (1987): 47-67. Lai provides a particularly detailed account of segregation in Victoria. See also Lee, *Jianada Huaqiao shi*, 357-58; Ward, *White Canada Forever*, 62-64, 127-28; Wickberg, *From China to Canada*, 128-30; and Roy, *A White Man's Province*, 24-27, 276n31. On segregation in Victoria, see also Liu Guangzu, "Weibu Huaqiao sanshi nian fendou shiji," [The record of accomplishments of thirty years of struggle by the Victoria Overseas Chinese] in *Jianada Weiduoli Zhonghua Huiguan/Zhonghua Xuexiao chengli qishiwu/liushi zhouniantekan* [Special publication commemorating the seventy-fifth anniversary of the founding of the Victoria Chinese Consolidated Benevolent Association and the sixtieth anniversary of the founding of the Chinese School] (Victoria: Chinese Consolidated Benevolent Association, 1960), Part IV, and on Nanaimo, see "Jishi Dong Ya xuetong," [Angry glares at East Asian students] *Chinese Times (Da Han gongbao)*, Nov. 8, 1921, 3. Since 1907, the *Chinese Times* has been published in Vancouver by the Zhigongdang, a.k.a. the Chinese Free

Masons. During the era under consideration here, it was continually publishing news about the Chinese communities across Canada. It paid particular attention to racist violence, anti-Asian discrimination, and calls for exclusion. This makes it one of the most important sources on white supremacy during this era. Fortunately, an English-language index of the paper's news columns on the Chinese communities of Canada, including some translations of variable quality, are available through the Chinese Canadian Research Collection (CCRC) located at UBC Special Collections. The CCRC contains much of the background research for *From China to Canada*.

13. Such was the case with the Coal Mines Regulations Act, which supposedly kept the Chinese out of the coal mines. See Roy, *A White Man's Province*, 77-81, 134-42, and 169-72.
14. "Chinese Pupils Will Sit Alone," *Victoria Daily Colonist*, Nov. 13, 1902, 3 and Ward, *White Canada Forever*, 63.
15. See "Chinese Question to Again be Considered," *Victoria Daily Colonist*, Oct. 14, 1908, 7; "Secures Quarters for Chinese Pupils," *Victoria Daily Colonist*, Oct. 15, 1908, 2; "Chinese Problem Solved," *Victoria Daily Times*, Oct. 15, 1908, 3; and "Education of the Chinese Arranged," *Victoria Daily Colonist*, Oct. 24, 1908, 3. On its first day of opening, only sixteen out of an expected forty students showed up at segregated facilities rented in Chinatown. "Chinese School is Opened Today," *Victoria Daily Times*, Nov. 2, 1908, 2. At this time there were fifty-four Chinese and two Japanese enrolled in the district. See "Chinese Question to Again Be Considered," *Victoria Daily Colonist*, Oct. 14, 1908, 7. This "Fisguard Street School" remained in operation from 1908 through to 1915. See British Columbia, Department of Education, *Annual Report, 1908-1909*, A XX; *Annual Report, 1909-1910*, A XXI; *Annual Report, 1910-1911*, A XXV; *Annual Report, 1911-1912*, A XXIX; *Annual Report, 1912-1913*, A XXXIV; *Annual Report, 1913-1914*, A XXXVI; *Annual Report, 1914-1915*, A XXXVIII. In 1915-16, this school was closed and the Chinese students moved to Rock Bay school which was closed quite quickly due to "a lack of enrolment"; see *Annual Report, 1915-1916*, A 43 and A XLI. The Rock Bay School re-opened in 1919, with 44 Chinese students (43 boys, 1 girl) and by 1921 had 171 (167 boys, 4 girls) students in 3 divisions. See *Annual Report, 1919-1920*, C12; *Annual Report 1920-1921*, C12; and *Annual Report, 1921-1922*, C15. The annual reports do not make clear whether these segregated classes applied to immigrant Chinese or the native-born. In fact there are some indications that the Rock Bay School may have contained both while earlier schools had not. See, for example, "Chinese Segregation," *Victoria Daily Colonist*, Oct. 11, 1922, 4.
16. "The Chinese Enter a Protest," *Victoria Daily Colonist*, June 11, 1902, 3.
17. See Ward, *White Canada Forever*, 63 and *Annual Report, 1915-1916*, A 43.
18. See, for example, "Victoria West School Plans," *Victoria Daily Times*, Sept. 24, 1907, 6 and "Government to Defend Action," *Victoria Daily Colonist*, Sept. 24, 1907, 7.
19. See "Says Chinese Are Menace in Schools," *Victoria Daily Colonist*, Jan. 12, 1922, 9 and "No More Chinese Teachers Here," *ibid.*, Aug. 30, 1922, 5. This report of disciplinary problems is in such contrast to other assessments of the Chinese that it suggests an unusual problem. Chinese schoolchildren were under tremendous pressure from their own community to act properly in school. On a number of occasions the Chinese Benevolent Association in Vancouver held meetings with Chinese students attending white public schools at which no less a person than the

- Chinese Consul lectured them on the need to behave. See "Zhonghua Huiguan zhixun xuesheng jishi" [Chinese Benevolent Association instructs students in important matters], *Chinese Times*, Sept. 7, 1920, 3. See also "Lin Lingshi Bugao" [An Announcement from Consul Lim], *ibid.*, Nov. 8, 1922, 2-3.
20. Anderson, "'East' as 'West'," thoroughly documents how Vancouver's Chinatown was constructed in white opinion as the antithesis of white society.
 21. City of Vancouver, *Council Minutes*, City of Vancouver Archives, Vol. 10, Apr. 8, 1914, 122, cited by Anderson, "'East' as 'West,'" 152.
 22. "To Exclude the Chinese," *Victoria Daily Colonist*, Feb. 14, 1901, 8. On the issue of motivation, see Roy, *A White Man's Province*, 24.
 23. "Chinese in Schools," *Victoria Daily Colonist*, Mar. 13, 1902, 2. See also, "The World of Labour," *ibid.*, Apr. 20, 1902, 9.
 24. "Says Chinese are Menace in Schools," *ibid.*, Jan. 12, 1922, 9 and "Orientals Health Menace in Schools, Inspector Asserts," *Victoria Daily Times*, Jan. 12, 1922, 18.
 25. Older Chinese boys in the public school were a recurring issue. These were English as a Second Language students who were placed in primary classes. Most often, they were only one or two years older than the average white student in the class. In some instances, however, they were as much as ten years older, being sixteen to eighteen-year-olds.
 26. "Will Have Separate School for Chinese," *Victoria Daily Colonist*, Apr. 4, 1908, 2.
 27. "Orientals in the Schools," *ibid.*, Mar. 28, 1908, 3. See also *ibid.*, Mar. 28, 1908, 1 and 3.
 28. "Says Danger Has Been Magnified," *ibid.*, July 30, 1909, 7. See also Lai, "Discrimination," 54.
 29. Hilda Glynn-Ward, *The Writing on the Wall*, with an introduction by Patricia E. Roy (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1974), 85. This novel has been called the worst piece of literature in Canadian history. See Terrance Craig, *Racial Attitudes in English Canadian Fiction* (Waterloo, Ontario: Wilfrid Laurier University Press, 1987).
 30. Glynn-Ward, *The Writing on the Wall*, 84-85. Emphasis in the original.
 31. "Chinese in The Schools," *Victoria Daily Colonist*, Mar. 13, 1902, 2.
 32. "Chinese in the Schools," *ibid.*, Nov. 12, 1902, 6. The teachers in the district also felt the Chinese caused no problems. See also Eaton's comments at the Nov. 12, 1902 meeting of the school board to the effect that the case for segregation had not been proven. See "Chinese Pupils Will Sit Alone," *Victoria Daily Colonist*, Nov. 13, 1902, 3. Similar opinions were expressed by officials of the Vancouver School District in 1907 in response to calls for segregation. The *Vancouver Daily Province* reported "the opinion of the school authorities" that "the Oriental children are model pupils and exceedingly apt. It is stated that they are well dressed and cleanly, and give practically no trouble to the teaching staff." See "Orientals in City Schools Do Not Exceed 150," *Vancouver Daily Province*, Sept. 13, 1907, 1.
 33. "Chinese Children in Public Schools," *Victoria Daily Times*, Feb. 2, 1914, 12.
 34. This was apparent in the platforms of the Labour candidates in the 1902 local elections in Victoria. See "With the Labor Candidates," *Victoria Daily Colonist*, Dec. 21, 1902, 3.
 35. Gillian Creese, "Exclusion or Solidarity? Vancouver Workers Confront the 'Oriental Problem'," *BC Studies*, 80 (Winter 1988-89): 24-51.
 36. "Chinese and City Schools," *Victoria Daily Times*, Aug. 31, 1907, 1.

37. "Again Urges Claims of Chinese Scholars," *Victoria Daily Colonist*, Aug. 13, 1908, 2, and "Chinese Question Is Knotty Proposition," *ibid.*, Sept. 11, 1908, 2.
38. "Takes Action in Chinese Question," *ibid.*, Nov. 15, 1907, 7. The same issue was also raised in Vancouver during this era largely under the inspiration of the Asiatic Exclusion League. Ironically, the anti-Chinese and anti-Japanese riot of Sept. 7, 1907 may have moderated demands for segregation. It is also apparent most Asian students were concentrated in schools bordering Chinatown and the Japanese quarter. See "Orientals in City Schools Do Not Exceed 150," *Vancouver Daily Province*, Sept. 13, 1907, 1. However, older Chinese students in the junior grades were segregated in a special class at Central School. See Ashworth, *The Forces Which Shaped Them*, 72 and "Oriental Pupils in the Schools," *Vancouver Daily Province*, Feb. 12, 1908, 4.
39. Margaret A. Ormsby, *British Columbia: A History* (Vancouver: MacMillan of Canada, 1958), 303.
40. For example, when segregation was first proposed in Victoria, one trustee reportedly commented that "if our Anglo-Saxon civilization could not withstand the effects of educating a hundred or so of Chinese, it was time that the school board should be abolished." See "To Exclude the Chinese," *Victoria Daily Colonist*, Feb. 10, 1901, 8.
41. "Chinese Children in Public Schools," *Victoria Daily Times*, Feb. 2, 1914, 12.
42. For example, in the late 1910s and early 1920s, white merchants led a campaign to keep Vancouver's Chinese community from expanding into the Grandview-Woodlands area of East Vancouver. See Anderson, "'East' as 'West'," 206-9.
43. "Segregation in Schools," *Victoria Daily Colonist*, Oct. 14, 1922, 4.
44. See "Aim Resolutions Against Orientals," *Victoria Daily Colonist*, Nov. 29, 1921, 3; Wickberg, *From China to Canada*, 137.
45. The role of immigration regulations in maintaining a split labour market is explained by Li, *Chinese in Canada*, 33-52. An important discussion of the differential effect of immigration laws and the nature of work for Chinese women and men is provided by Tamara Adilman, "A Preliminary Sketch of Chinese Women and Work in British Columbia 1858-1950," in *Not Just Pin Money: Selected Essays on the History of Women's Work in British Columbia*, ed. Barbara K. Latham and Roberta J. Pazdro (Victoria: Camosun College, 1984), 52-78.
46. Intermarriage with white women would have been virtually impossible for bachelor Chinese males. Often there were legal hurdles. See, for example, "Sheng Zhengfu qudi huang bai tonghun" [Provincial Government outlaws yellow white intermarriage], *Chinese Times*, Apr. 10, 1917, 2-3.
47. Lee, *Jianada Huaqiao shi*, 176-78.
48. See Chan, *Gold Mountain*, 89.
49. *Ibid.*, 86-89.
50. "Weibu Zhonghua Huiguan shang xuewubu shu" [Victoria Chinese Consolidated Benevolent Association sends letter to school board], *Chinese Times*, Feb. 22, 1922, 3. See also Lai, "Discrimination," 55. One of the strengths of Lai's study is that he had access to the CCBA archives.
51. "Oppose Plan of Segregation," *Victoria Daily Colonist*, Sept. 9, 1922, 1. The fact that the CCBA joined with the Chinese Chamber of Commerce and the Chinese Canadian Club in making this protest suggests that merchants and second-generation Chinese were particularly concerned about school segregation. See also, "Show-down in School Crisis," *Victoria Daily Colonist*, Oct. 8, 1922, 3.

52. Lai, "Discrimination," 57. Formation of such *ad hoc* organizations was quite common during this era. For example, in 1923 many such groups were formed across Canada to protest the federal government's proposed Chinese Immigration Act. See Chinese Canadian Research Collection, Box 4, folder for 1923.
53. See "Board Does Not Yield to Plea," *Victoria Daily Colonist*, Aug. 30, 1922, 5.
54. Strike supporters firmly denounced the permit system as "one of favoritism, permits being granted to the wealthier ones with the intention of preventing cohesion amongst the Chinese." See "Chinese Segregation," *Victoria Daily Colonist*, Oct. 15, 1922, 4. Apparently one permit had been granted to the Inspector's insurance agent.
55. "Chinese Picketing Schools; Five Boys Start Work To-Day," *Victoria Daily Times*, Oct. 9, 1922, 1.
56. *Ibid.*, Oct. 9, 1922.
57. Letter from P. Lee, "Chinese Segregation," *Victoria Daily Colonist*, Oct. 15, 1922, 4.
58. "Chinese Segregation," *Victoria Daily Times*, Oct. 11, 1922, 4.
59. Lack of English had often been used to justify differential treatment. This was not only evident in school segregation but in other areas. For example, it was claimed that since the Chinese did not speak English, they were a safety threat in the mines. During World War I, by studying English the miners of Cumberland circumvented an attempt by the provincial government to get the Chinese out of the mines. See, for example, "Yaoyinmi kuangong zhizhao zhi shencha" [Examination of Cumberland miner's certificates], *The Chinese Times*, Sept. 5, 1916, 3.
60. See "School Problem," "Chinese in Schools," and "Chinese in Schools," three letters to the editor in the *Victoria Daily Colonist*, Sept. 10, 1922, 4. See also "Segregation," *Victoria Daily Times*, Sept. 14, 1922, 4.
61. "Chinese Segregation," *Victoria Daily Colonist*, Nov. 26, 1922, 14. For other interventions, see the letters, "Chinese Segregation," *Victoria Daily Colonist*, Oct. 15, 1922, 4 and "Chinese Segregation," *Victoria Daily Times*, Nov. 2, 1922, 4.
62. "Huaren kangzheng fenxiao zhi judong" [Activities of Chinese resisting school segregation], *Chinese Times*, Oct. 7, 1922, 3.
63. "Weiduoli bu Zhonghua Yixue zhaosheng jian zhang" [Brief rules of the call for students of the Victoria Chinese Free School], reproduced by Lai, "Discrimination," 61.
64. *Ibid.*
65. "Chinese Segregation," *Victoria Daily Colonist*, Oct. 13, 1922, 4.
66. See Lee, *Jianada Huaqiao shi*, 312-47, for a discussion of Chinese-language schooling amongst the Chinese communities of Canada.
67. "Zhonghua Yixue zhaosheng" [Call for students of the Chinese Public School].
68. This, for example, accounts for the stormy reception of Sun Yat-sen in 1910 when he spoke in Vancouver's Chinatown. He spoke a different dialect from the Sze-Yip people who were the majority there. See Chang Yung Ho's account of this meeting in Yee, *Saltwater City*, 40-41, 44-45.
69. Chuen-Yan David Lai, "Home County and Clan Origins of Overseas Chinese in Canada in the Early 1880s," *BC Studies* 27 (Autumn 1975): 3-29. On the use of the term "invent" here, see Roy Wagner, *The Invention of Culture* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1981).
70. See Chinese Canadian Research Collection, Box 4.

71. See "Zhonghua Huiguan suo jie zhongyao wenjian" [Chinese Benevolent Association office receives important letter], *Chinese Times*, Oct. 3, 1922, 3. Such activities led to fears amongst the whites of Victoria that a boycott of Canadian goods would be effected in China; see, for example, "Chinese Here May Retaliate," *Victoria Daily Colonist*, Oct. 16, 1922, 1.
72. For example, "Bokuan ju Weibu Kangzheng Fenxiao Tuan" [Funds assist Victoria Resist School Segregation Association], *Chinese Times*, Dec. 20, 1922, 2.
73. Previously, Chinese schools in Canada were really little more than spaces in the backs of shops where merchants taught basic literacy. Lee, *Jianada Huaqiao shi*, 323.
74. "A Chinese School," *Victoria Daily Colonist*, Jan. 18, 1899, 6.
75. Lim Bang, "Weibu Zhonghua Huiguan zhi yuange ji qiaoxiao chuangli zhi yuanqi" [The origins of the Victoria Chinese Consolidated Benevolent Association and the reasons for the creation of overseas schools], *Zhonghua Huiguan/Huaqiao Xuexiao jinian qikan*, Part IV, 1-5; Guan Qiyi, "Jianada Huaqiao jiaoyu shilue" [A Short History of Overseas Chinese Education in Canada], *ibid.*, Part IV, 17-18. See also "Benxiao xiaoshi" [A history of our school], *ibid.*, Part III, 54-58.
76. *Ibid.*, Part V, 26.
77. "Weibu Huaqiao Gongxue baogao ce" [Text of the report of the Victoria Chinese Public School], *Chinese Times*, July 13, 1915, 1.
78. Even though it was based in Vancouver, the *Chinese Times* regularly reported on the activities of the school, its graduation ceremonies, and social events. See, for example, "Weibu Huaqiao Gongxiao dierci qingyou jicheng" [Victoria Chinese Public School holds second annual picnic], *Chinese Times*, July 20, 1920, 3.
79. The *Chinese Times* reported that "every girl and boy who graduates from the first class can leave behind their local dialects and are fluent in Cantonese when reading and speaking." "Weibu qikao zhuzhong Shenghua Guoyu ying sheng zhi tese" [Special characteristics of the pronunciation of Cantonese and Mandarin at the Victoria end of term examinations], *Chinese Times*, July 17, 1915, 3. The writer complained that Victoria's Cantonese was not standard as it "suffered from the influence of the students."
80. For example, Cai Yuanpei, the principal of Beijing University, led such a delegation which inspected schools in Victoria and Vancouver in 1918.
81. See, for example, "'All For China'," *Victoria Daily Colonist*, Aug. 13, 1909, 4.
82. *Annual Report, 1914-15*, A XXXVIII and *Annual Report, 1915-1916*, A XLI.
83. See Yee, *Saltwater City*, 44-46.
84. During this era the male/female ratio amongst Chinese in Victoria was six to one; in other centres in B.C. it was as high as twenty to one. See *Census of Canada, 1921*, Vol. 1, 542.
85. Cited by Chan, *Gold Mountain*, 129.
86. "Youthful Viciousness," *Victoria Daily Colonist*, Nov. 16, 1899, 5 and "Ill Mannered Boys," *Vancouver Daily Province*, Jan. 15, 1901, 4.
87. "The Injured Chinaman," *Victoria Daily Colonist*, Apr. 6, 1904, 4.
88. *Victoria Daily Times*, Nov. 4, 1908, 5. This report was untitled.
89. "Huanu beiwu" [Chinese girl assaulted], *Chinese Times*, Feb. 26, 1915, 3.
90. "Huatong cishang xitong" [Chinese youth stabs western youth], *Chinese Times*, Feb. 4, 1922, 3.
91. Sing Lim, *West Coast Chinese Boy* (Montreal: Tundra Books, 1979), 23.