



## Queen Street's Iconic Spiral Stairs – Created in 1850 and Still Moving with the Times



Notman and Fraser Studio (1868), detail  
Courtesy TPL, Baldwin Room

What to do? The Asylum's later-renowned architect, John George Howard (1803-1890) wanted his stunning, 5<sup>th</sup>-storey dome visible from afar, while enclosing his unique, 12,000-gal. fresh-water reservoir. The 1840s' colonial defense ministry had granted 50 acres from their "Garrison Reserve" lands. That grant was conditional, however, on erecting a defensible structure.

With his mandate "to design a Building for the care (not incarceration)" for about 500, Howard added a lookout at the dome's peak to apprehend any further invading American forces crossing the Great Lakes border – as in the War of 1812-14, the 1837 Uprisings, and subsequently during the 1861 Fenian Raids.



Howard's solution? To design a corkscrew stair suspended above the reservoir to the dome's lookout peak. Architectural historian Douglas Richardson wrote (1977): "The building was reputedly one of the first on the continent with hot and cold running water. The dome was no empty skyline gesture: it housed a twelve thousand-gallon tank for this gravity-fed water system."

Winding around the tank, and then suspended over it, was a hanging spiral staircase — in Peter Stokes' words, "a magnificent example of the joiner's art."



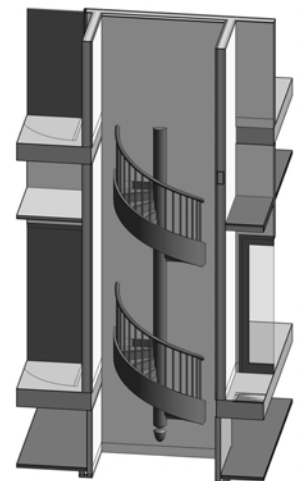
CAMH Archives images except where noted.



With the Friends of the Archives' advisory support, CAMH's Crisis and Critical Care Building, one of two rising on Queen Street for a 2020 opening, will provide a fitting new home within its clerestory light-well (concept drawing, right) for the spiral stair as an iconic service symbol.

Despite recurring issues, e.g. overcrowding and "deferred" upkeep, with later additions Howard's building served from 1850 until its controversial, 1976 demolition.

Much was lost to the wrecker's ball, such as our 1846 silver cornerstone plaque – retrieved in 2012. Yet this unique spiral stair was modified for preservation in 1976, relocated by a crane for display as a symbol of continuity in mental health care.



## “The Public Good”: Eugenics and Law in Ontario, 1910 to 1938

C. Elizabeth Koester, LLB, PhD

Institute for the History and Philosophy of Science and Technology, University of Toronto

Griffin Archival Research Award recipient, 2017

In the early twentieth century, interest in eugenics was universal. Seen as providing scientific solutions to social ills of the day like prostitution, venereal disease and the supposed rise in “feeble-mindedness,” its principles were based on improving humanity through selective breeding, as widely carried out with plants and animals. Thirty American states as well as Alberta and British Columbia implemented legislation requiring certain “unfit” individuals (a term used at the time) to undergo reproductive sterilization. Others passed legislation requiring pre-marital certificates of medical “fitness.” Ontario never followed suit.

Although current interest in the history of eugenics remains high, a relatively small number of studies have focused on Canada, and an even smaller number on Ontario. This is likely a result of the view that *not too much* happened here, especially compared to the better-known stories of Alberta and British Columbia. Yet considering what is known about the history of eugenics writ large, one would have expected that this most populous and industrialized province would have been a leader in implementing Francis Galton’s novel eugenic gospel. Consequently, historical assumptions about the popularity of eugenic ideas, especially in societies like Ontario experiencing a raft of social problems related to urbanization and immigration in the early decades of the twentieth century, do not appear to hold up.

Yet further excavation of that history, based on legal sources and archival materials not previously considered in depth or together by the field’s scholars, uncovers evidence of significant eugenic interest and activity in Ontario after all. Not only were many attempts made to legislate eugenic solutions to sundry social problems, prospectively involving marriage restrictions and sterilization of those deemed “unfit,” but also recommendations to take such legislative action were made by one Royal Commission after another. There was even a renowned criminal trial in which a young woman, charged with obscenity under the *Criminal Code* for the act of distributing birth control information, was found not guilty on the grounds that her activities served the “public good,” partly on the basis of explicitly eugenic arguments made by her defense team.

My dissertation focusses on the period from 1910 to 1938 and three specific legal processes. The first involves the story of Dr. Forbes Godfrey, MPP, who between 1910 and 1921 introduced eight private members’ bills in the legislature – four to implement sterilization and four to implement marriage restrictions. All eight failed to pass.



LATE DR. FORBES GODFREY  
Member Provincial Parliament,  
1907 to 1932. Cabinet Minister,  
1923 to 1930; Medical Health  
Officer, Town of Mimico, 1911 to  
1931.

After his eight failed Private Member’s Bills on eugenics – four each for sterilization and marriage restrictions – Dr. Forbes Godfrey became a Public Health champion as Ontario’s first Health Minister in 1924, notably for industrial health measures such as protecting miners from silicosis, public health clinics in remote areas of Ontario, and free immunization programs for Ontario schoolchildren. Photo & caption per Town of Mimico History blog: <http://mimicohistory.blogspot.com/2011/05/>

Second is the story of three Royal Commissions, established in 1917, 1929, 1938, recommending eugenic solutions to the problems they were set up to consider. Once again, none of these proposals was adopted. Third is the fascinating story of Kitchener-area industrialist, A. R. Kaufman and the Parents’ Information Bureau that he incorporated to promote birth control and sterilization. Those efforts led to a 1936 criminal prosecution against Miss Dorothea Palmer, one of Kaufman’s workers, who was arrested leaving the house of a family to whom she had provided birth control information. Sensationally over several months, this “Eastview Trial” was reported in media across North America and beyond, and was compared at the time in significance and interest to the (U.S.) Scopes Monkey Trial concerning the teaching of evolution a decade earlier.

Taken together, these episodes indicate that the Ontario and by implication Canadian stories are considerably richer than has previously been understood. Moreover they reflect the fact that, rather than being at opposite ends of a spectrum, the trajectories of eugenics in Ontario and Alberta were actually much more similar than has generally been understood.

As a former practicing-lawyer-turned-historian, I was delighted to find that the Archives of the Dana Porter Library, University of Waterloo, contain an absolute gold mine relative to the Eastview Trial. Donated by Kaufman and his lawyers, these files include the nuts of bolts of the preparation for Palmer’s defense, such as legal memoranda, drafts of arguments and opening and closing statements, as well as transcripts from the trial. I am very grateful as well for the CAMH “Friends-of” Archival Research Award that allowed me to spend all the time I needed to review this fascinating and extremely helpful material.

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## Notice of Annual General Meeting to be held on Wednesday, May 22, 2019

NOTICE is hereby given that the 29<sup>th</sup> Annual General Meeting of the Friends of the CAMH Archives will be held on Wednesday, May 22, 2019 at 6:00 p.m. in the Training Room, Paul Christie Community Centre, at the CAMH Queen Street site. Light refreshments. All interested are cordially invited to attend.

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## Hewton, Griffin and Rae-Grant Archival Research Awards for 2019

(1) **Connor Brenna**, BSc – MD candidate (2021),  
Faculty of Medicine, University of Toronto

### INAUGURAL Dr. QUENTIN RAE-GRANT AWARD: The Histories of the Opioid Crisis and Medical Assistance in Dying in Canada

This project will support the continuation of work in the University of Toronto Department of Psychiatry under the supervision of Dr. Pier Bryden, which centres on the history of mental health and addiction in Canada. The broad focus of this work is health history research, which our group is currently integrating into the University of Toronto MD Program curriculum.

In the summer of 2018, I produced two ~2500-word written vignettes on the histories of Medical Assistance in Dying (MAiD) and the Opioid Crisis in Canada (as well as an additional vignette on the history of ideas surrounding anatomical dissection, organ donation, and the body after death). I was fortunate to be able to consult several Toronto-based experts on these topics in order to ensure that the produced content was historically accurate and included every angle of each topic. The continuation of this work in the summer of 2019 will focus on expanding the historical topics represented in these vignettes, increasing the historical depth each vignette is able to offer through the use of archival materials in the research process, publishing the vignettes in a peer-reviewed academic journal, and integrating the vignettes into the University of Toronto MD Program curriculum as educational tools for first- and 2nd-year students.

Subsequently we will undertake a qualitative analysis study of student uptake and experience for guiding the future of this project. I wish to further incorporate archival research in producing these vignettes to enhance their ability to tell a story that is both interesting and well-founded.

To this end, I intend to search for relevant archival material in the archives at CAMH, Sunnybrook Hospital and

the University of Toronto, as well as other archives through Ontario's Archival Information Network.

(2) **Efrat Gold**, PhD candidate, Adult Education and Community Development, OISE, University of Toronto

### HEWTON AWARD: Canadian Psychiatric History – Post-World-War-II Psychiatry in Montreal

Following the Holocaust, many survivors found themselves institutionalized in psychiatric hospitals, often for the rest of their lives. There is agreement among disciplines studying this group that the trauma of living through and surviving the atrocities of the Holocaust caused higher rates of mental illness in this population, such as depression, schizophrenia and PTSD. The sad irony often missed by these analyses, however, is how mass confinement in concentration camps led to another form of imprisonment as many survivors spent the remainder of their lives confined in psychiatric institutions. Clearly there are differences between confinement in a death camp and a psychiatric hospital; this study looks into the psychiatric practices these institutionalized Holocaust survivors experienced.

The limited scholarship about those who remained in internment long after WWII signify a need for academic attention and review. Within this psychiatric context, Canadian laws are examined against standard psychiatric practices employed at McGill University's *Allan Memorial Institute* (AMI), its sister hospital the *Royal Victoria Hospital* (RVH), and *Jewish General Hospital* (JGH), from post-WWII records from the 1940s until practices changed in the 1970s. This research aims to contribute to advancement of knowledge by filling an important gap in Canadian medical history – namely, *what is the relationship between the advancement of the field of psychiatry in post-WWII Canada and the historical context within which it occurred?* I will examine budgets, progress reports, memos, letters, notes etc. to weave together revised histories and tell important stories which make up our rich Canadian history. As a Canadian immigrant and descendent of Jewish Holocaust survivors, I am deeply invested in this Canadian psychiatric history.



*Ravenscrag* (1893), opened as the Allan Memorial Institute for Royal Victoria Hospital and McGill Psychiatry Dept., 1944

I have been working with Nikolas Lamarre, student archivist at McGill University, examining materials from the AMI. I will continue researching with archival materials from the AMI, RVH and JGH, including budgets, grant proposals, progress reports and patient records (as accessible), for beginning to understand the role of these hospitals and uncover the identities of those who were institutionalized during that time, why they were there, what types of research was happening, and on whom. I also hope to elicit financial connections between research and patient care.

**(3) Suvendrini Lena, MD, MPH, FRCPC, CSCN (EEG) – Neurologist, CAMH and Women’s College Hospital; independent researcher–writer, Toronto**

**HEWTON AWARD: An Interdisciplinary, Immersive Theatre Installation on Schizophrenia entitled “On ECT”**

I am currently artist-in-residence at The Theatre Centre in Toronto, working on an exciting, interdisciplinary and immersive theatre piece on schizophrenia entitled, *On ECT*. This piece has received the support of the Toronto Arts Council and the Ontario Arts Council, and will receive a full professional production for a three- week run in 2019. The production is the culmination of four years of work. I have been engaged in archival research, original writing and theatrical experimentation together with a committed, innovative team of theatre artists since 2014.

This unconventional play tells the story of Dr. Chauvet, a young immigrant psychiatrist who develops psychosis and then chronic schizophrenia. Chauvet’s illness is treatment resistant, and he suffers all the marginalization and isolation that so often befalls those who suffer from this illness. Twenty years after the onset of the illness, he has failed multiple treatments and his son Eduard, who barely knows him, must make difficult treatment decisions while struggling to come to know and relate to his father. A third character, Ether, one of Chauvet’s voices, is a composite of women who have inhabited the hospital for over 100 years.

Archival research is relevant to this work in three specific ways:

1. Ether: This character inhabits the piece as a voice Dr. Chauvet hears. She is a composite character built from words, images and gestures of women institutionalized from 1880-1920. I would like to extend the survey to allow her to present a hundred year span. This will require permission to access archives of case records from Queen Street from 1920-1980 at the Archives of Ontario.

2. A Whisper Wall will be a central element of the theatrical installation. This is inspired by the wall built and inscribed by patients around the Queen Street site, and photographically archived by Thomas Lackey in 2007. In theatrical form the wall will come to life, whispering the words of patients over time. Dr. Chauvet and audience

members are able to hear the wall speak. The words spoken will be inspired by and responsive to words uncovered in the institutional archive and through ‘survivor’ creative and biographical writings (original text will be used only with direct permission).

3. Archival material will not be used directly in the creation of this work of art – rather, it will be transformed into original artistic representation, through sound and video playing over a ‘whisper wall,’ text spoken by Ether within the analysis aspect of the installation, and exploring the history and use of ECT, past & present.

Throughout our process we are responsive to issues of representation and appropriation of voice as relating to those experiencing mental illness. The analytical aspect of this work draws from interviews with people living with schizophrenia, psychiatrists and mental health advocates.

**(4) Eli Remington, BA, MSc. – PhD candidate, Law and Legal Studies, Carleton University, Ottawa**

**GRIFFIN AWARD: Forensic Psychiatry in the 2<sup>nd</sup> Half of the 20<sup>th</sup> Century: Concept and Measurement of Risk to Balance Legal Rights**

In 2014, Canada’s Not Criminally Responsible on Account of Mental Disorder (NCR) regimen was the subject of a number of reforms under the Harper administration: (i) the victim’s perspective would be weightier in rendering the disposition of those found NCR; (ii) public protection would become the central concern for the management of NCR subjects; and (iii) the creation of the “high-risk” designation would increase potential wait-times between case reviews to three years while simultaneously increasing the restrictions on those classified as such. Although the last of these changes will likely be challenged on constitutional grounds, a broader examination highlights the relative infancy of the new NCR system. Indeed, its introduction in 1992 significantly altered the arrangement that had existed, largely untouched, since Canada’s codification of criminal law in 1892.

It is this broader history that is the focus of my doctoral research, informed largely from material available at the Library and Archives Canada and the CAMH Archives. The 1992 reforms are a product of a problem that emerged in the early postwar years. Specifically, the legitimacy of then standard practices around the “insane” were called into question. This destabilization was the product of a number of factors: Canada’s mid-century efforts to modernize its criminal code; the decoupling of insanity and capital punishment; developments in the field of psychiatry and the deinstitutionalization movement; and, a number of War-related effects ranging from an influx of psychiatric patients, many of whom were veterans, to an emergence of human rights as a response to the atrocities of the Holocaust. The problem proved to be a formidable task, evidenced by the delays in reform. [Continued]

My research thus far suggests that many of the difficulties lay in reconciling the differences between legal and medical expertise that would enable a productive relationship between the two. The 1954 hearings of the Royal Commission on the Law of Insanity, for instance, epitomize early efforts that were characterized by incompatible discourses: law's preoccupation with responsibility prevented engagement with psychiatry's focus on illness.

Developments in each field over the ensuing decades, however, helped to bridge this gap. On the one hand, law became increasingly rights-oriented. The *Universal Declaration of Human Rights* in 1948 marked the beginning of this framework at the international level, while the introduction of the *Canadian Charter of Rights and Freedoms* in 1982 enshrined a number of new constitutional rights domestically. On the other hand, the rise of forensic psychiatry in the second half of the twentieth century proved instrumental in establishing the concept and measurement of risk, serving as a counterbalance to legal rights. My ongoing research will form the basis of a journal publication.

**(5) Julia Skelly, PhD – Visiting Scholar, Simone de Beauvoir Institute, Concordia University, Montreal**

**HEWTON AWARD: An edited volume of Essays on Addiction and Emotion (or Affect) in Visual Culture**

I was recently offered a book contract by Bloomsbury Academic for my project, *Skin Crafts: Affect, Violence and Materiality in Contemporary Global Art*. The first chapter in the book will examine the textile artworks of Mexican artist Teresa Margolles, whose art has been concerned with using fabric to bear traces of violence in Mexico. The exhibition catalogue for *What Else Could We Talk About?* has been particularly helpful, as a critical engagement with the ongoing stigmatization of addiction is crucial for this case study. Although I won't be able to travel to Mexico to undertake research, funding from the Friends of the Archives will allow me to do research at various libraries and archives in Toronto, Ottawa, Kingston and possibly Halifax.

While I write *Skin Crafts*, I will also be editing a volume of essays on addiction and emotion (or affect). Addiction has historically been associated with "negative" affects such as shame and remorse. This edited collection will consider visual material that depicts the consumption of addictive substances with particular attention to emotions that are represented, as well as the expected and perhaps unexpected emotions of viewers. My chapter in the book will discuss Indigenous artist, James Luna's performances, which were often concerned with his own alcoholism. I will be submitting a book proposal to Duke University Press which has previously published a range of titles concerned with affects such as depression and anger. A book about addiction and emotion is long overdue and will fill a gap in the

literature. The working title for the book is *Craving/Feeling: Addiction and Affect in Visual Culture*. *Skin Crafts* is on schedule for 2021, and I hope that *Craving/Feeling* will be published in 2021–22. As customarily with research funding from the Friends of the Archives I will have all relevant publications sent to the CAMH Archives or Library.

**(6) Filippo Sposini, MA – PhD candidate, Institute for the History and Philosophy of Science and Technology (IHPST), University of Toronto**

**HEWTON AWARD: The Introduction by Law of the Process of Certification of Insanity as a Medico-legal Procedure – 1853 in the UK, 1873 in Ontario**

The hospitalization of people deemed insane in purpose-built institutions spanned the modern Western world. From the beginning of the 19<sup>th</sup> century until the first half of the 20<sup>th</sup>, no Western country spared in the rapid construction of asylums and an apparently insatiable demand for institutional accommodation. During the second half of the 19<sup>th</sup> century the asylum world witnessed a revolution in the documentation of madness – a process of surveillance that provides important sources for historical research. Of particular relevance was the introduction by law of the process of certification, in 1853 in the UK and 1873 in Ontario, as one route of asylum admission. In its original form, it required three medical practitioners personally to examine the subject in the presence of two witnesses. Once the examination was completed, each doctor was required to fill a standardized form, "Form K – Certificate of Insanity".

In spite of the medical, legal, and social impact of the certification process, we still know very little of how this procedure was actually conducted, how it evolved over time, and what kind of expertise it required. Information from the certificates of insanity were transcribed to the medical case books and admission registers, providing the raw data upon which medical superintendents drew their early aetiological and pathological theories of insanity.

Focusing on Toronto's "Lunatic Asylum" during the period, 1851 to 1918, I want to explore the introduction of certificates of insanity, the evolution of the certificates' layouts, required questions, examination practices, location, and people involved in the process. Inasmuch as certification represented a fundamental step in the process of confinement, certificates of insanity constitute a unique source for examining the changing definition of sanity and insanity. The primary sources for this project are available from the Archives of Ontario, which I plan to visit during 2019. This research will constitute the basis of a paper as part of my PhD program, which subsequently I will submit for publication.

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**Hewton, Griffin and Rae-Grant Funding Awards to Support Archival Research in 2020**

The Friends of the CAMH Archives (FoCA), dedicated to the history of Canadian psychiatry, mental health and addiction, have established three endowment funds. These endowments annually provide funding in memory of their late colleagues, Ms. E.M. (Lil) Hewton and Dr. J.D.M. (Jack) Griffin, OC, and – inaugurated last year through the generosity of the Laidlaw Foundation – the Dr. Quentin Rae-Grant Scholarship.

The purpose of these funding awards is to provide financial assistance to students, and others not necessarily associated with an academic institution, who propose to undertake archival research on an aspect of the history of mental health, including addiction, in Canada. The FoCA Board at its discretion may approve awards to a maximum of \$2,500 each.

There is no application form. Candidates are invited to submit a letter of intent, not exceeding 500 words, together with a budget and résumé, not later than November 30, 2019. These research awards are conditional on the recipients agreeing to submit progress reports within one year, and a final report including a financial synopsis within two years of receiving their financial allocation.

For examples of the archival research projects (formerly “Bursaries”) previously awarded, please refer to that feature as included in the SPRING editions of our past years’ Newsletters, indexed at:

<https://www.camh.ca/en/health-info/camh-library/camh-archives/friends-of-the-archives>

To apply for a 2020 award, please submit an application by the November 30, 2019 deadline to:

Sydney Jones – President, Friends of the Archives

CAMH, 1001 Queen Street West  
Toronto, Ontario M6J 1H4

Please note that electronic submissions are preferred, via: [John.Court@camh.ca](mailto:John.Court@camh.ca)

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**Friends of the CAMH Archives (FoCA)**



On March 28<sup>th</sup> Dr. Leon Sloman (2<sup>nd</sup>-right), a distinguished Psychiatrist, FoCA member and a CAMH Archives scholarly researcher, received his unique 50-Year Service Award from CAMH Executive presenters, (l. to r.) Tracey MacArthur, Dr. Catherine Zahn and Carrie Fletcher. CAMH photo 110171.

Centre for Addiction and Mental Health  
1001 Queen St. West, Toronto, Ontario M6J 1H4  
Tel. 416-535-8501 x.32159  
[Friends.Archives@camh.ca](mailto:Friends.Archives@camh.ca)

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**Membership Renewal Notice for 2019**

**New & renewal memberships and donations are encouraged via our safe, secure, online partner:**



<https://www.canadahelps.org/en/charities/the-museum-of-mental-health-services-toronto-inc/>

**Or by surface mail:**

Name: \_\_\_\_\_ Prefix: \_\_\_\_\_

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\* Membership: \$ 30.00 or \$25.00 for students & seniors, on a calendar year basis (currently valid through Dec. 31, 2019)

\* Donation: \$ \_\_\_\_\_ (optional, at your discretion)

Total: \$ \_\_\_\_\_

**\* An Income Tax receipt will be provided for your membership remittance plus any additional donation.**

**Please consider remitting online or, alternatively, by mailing this form together with a cheque, payable to “Friends of the CAMH Archives”**

**Surface mailing address:** Friends of the CAMH Archives, 1001 Queen Street West, Toronto, Ontario M6J 1H4