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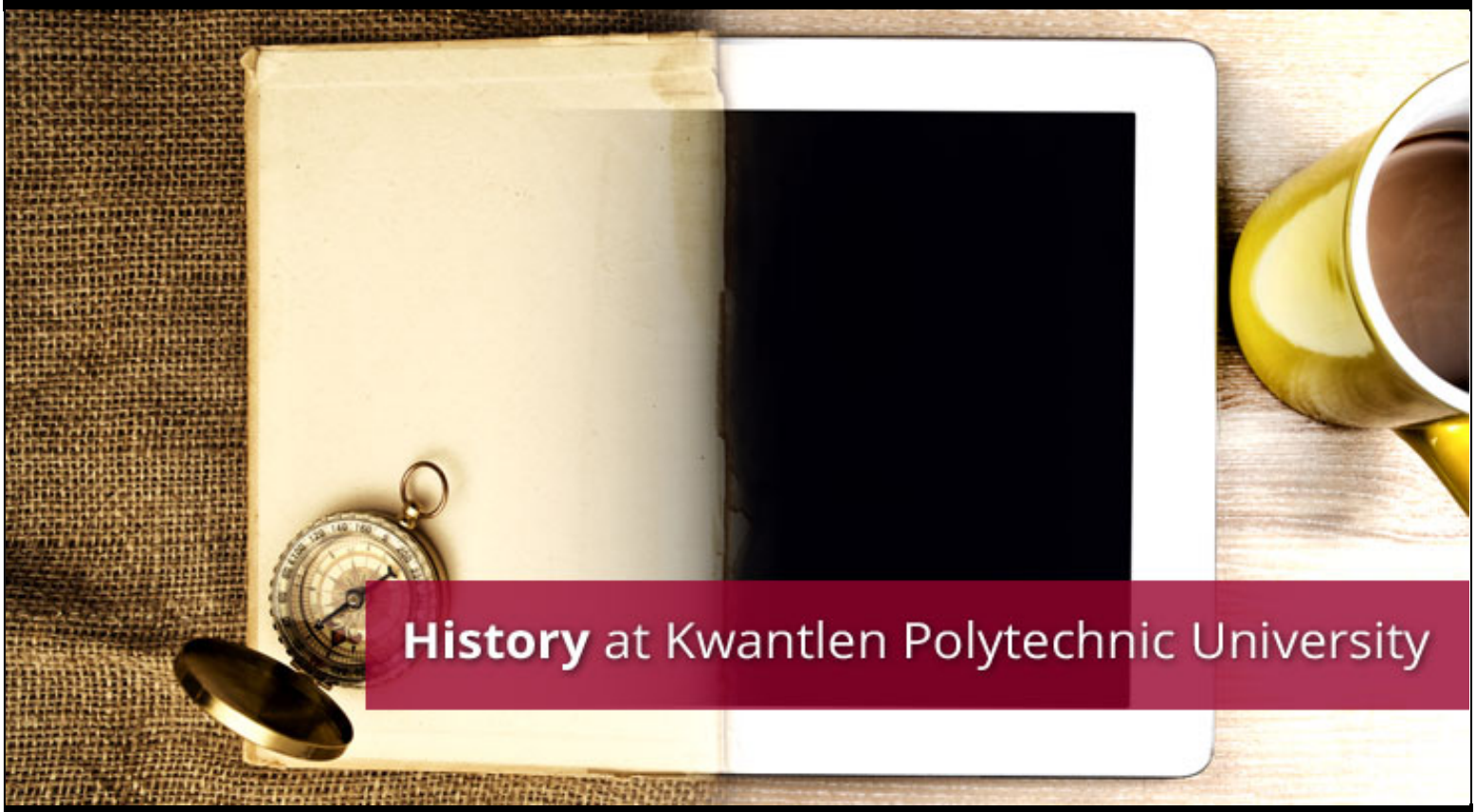

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The Emergent Historian **is produced by the Kwantlen Polytechnic University Department of History. Its annual publication provides us with a chance to showcase the very best of our students' work from the previous academic year.**

Kudos to each of the contributors this year; not only did they navigate the challenges of online learning, they were also able to produce the outstanding work included here.

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*These two papers are works of historical fiction

Segregated from Birth to Death: Chinese Burials within a Racist Canadian State

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HIST 4414 Race & Ethnicity in Canadian History (Eryk L. Martin)
January 2020

Death and burial rituals are essential in every culture on earth. Rituals show respect for those who once lived and show that care for them has not stopped. These rituals are not only informative of how one died, but also of how one lived. Undoubtedly this is the case when looking at Chinese immigrants to Canada. Chinese immigrants faced systemic discrimination and racism, as did many other minority communities. This discrimination affected every area of life, including death and burials. Evidence of this intolerance comes in the form of segregated burial areas in cemeteries, and graveyards, with the sole intent of keeping Chinese immigrants separate from white Canadians. The Canadian state enacted many racist laws with the sole intent of disrupting Chinese burial rituals. This paper examines Chinese burial customs to contextualize better the discrimination that Chinese immigrants faced. It looks at laws created by the Canadian state, practices done by Christian cemeteries, and actions taken by the community against Chinese burial practices. While this discrimination happened elsewhere in Canada, the focus of this paper will remain on British Columbia, and more specifically, the Lower Mainland and Vancouver Island. Finally, this paper looks at the treatment of Chinese burial rituals from the late 1800s to the 1940s. Before this, there was not a massive amount of Chinese immigration; after this period, Chinese people within Canada were gaining more respect because of the Second World War. While no longer actively segregated, these graveyards still bear the marks of the past and show that the historical injustice that Chinese immigrants faced did not end at death.

Discrimination in burial practices is a direct continuation of discrimination in daily life against Chinese immigrants. Immigration to Canada was often seen as a temporary endeavour by Chinese immigrants to make money to send back home to family.[1] The Canadian State also saw a cheap temporary labour force.[2] The arrival of Chinese workers into the area that would eventually become British Columbia dates to the late 1700s, but significant immigration did not occur until the gold

[1] Judy Maxwell, "Chinese Cemeteries and Grave Markers in B.C.: A Research Guide," *British Columbia History* 40, no. 4 (2007): 13.
[2] David Chuenyan Lai, *Great Fortune Dream: the struggles and triumphs of Chinese settlers in Canada, 1858-1966*. (Halfmoon Bay, BC, Caitlin Press, 2016), 22.

rush in 1858 that promised easy money.[3] This rate was also increased from 1880 to 1885, as many came to work on the Canadian Pacific Railway.[4] These immigrants were primarily men and worked under brutal conditions. When they died, no record of their death was created.[5] The Canadian government took advantage of these immigrants, particularly concerning the railway, using them for cheap labour and not caring when they were hurt or killed resulting from the dangerous work they were undertaking. They were massively underpaid for their work, especially in winters in which they would not be paid as snow prevented work on the railway.[6] While there were white immigrants who worked on the railways, Chinese immigrants still received the worst of the poor treatment. Not only were they experiencing the discrimination stated, but they were also viewed as taking jobs from white immigrants and citizens. They were further ostracized within the work crews as a result.7 Organizations such as the Workingman's Protective Association (WPA) formed to help further repress Chinese immigrants as they lobbied for additional restrictions, and against employers that hired Chinese workers.[8]

The most well-known form of discrimination towards Chinese immigrants is the Head Tax, introduced in 1885.[9] It was designed to keep Chinese immigrants out of Canada without entirely banning them. The Chinese immigration Act that followed in 1923 created an even tighter limit on Chinese immigration to Canada and all but stopped Chinese immigration until the Act was repealed in 1947.[10] The Canadian State had always made it clear that they did not want Chinese immigration to Canada when it was no longer economically valuable. While the head tax did slow the rate of Chinese immigration, it did not stop it.[11] Along with government policies, the white citizens of Canada were racist towards Chinese immigrants, as evidenced by the race riots of 1887,[12] and in 1907.[13] While this racism occurred across Canada, British Columbia saw a higher occurrence because

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[3] Zhongping Chen, "Vancouver Island and the Chinese Diaspora in the Transpacific World, 1788-1918," *BC Studies* 204, (2019/2020): 47.

[4] Lai, *Great Fortune Dream,* 21-25.

[5] Lai, *Great Fortune Dream,* 24.

[6] David Chuenyan Lai, *Chinese Community Leadership: Case Study of Victoria in Canada* (Singapore: World Scientific Publishing Co., 2010), 21-22.

[7] Douglas Edward Ross, "Barkerville in Context: Archaeology of the Chinese in British Columbia," *BC Studies* 185, (Spring, 2015): 162.

[8] Rennie Warburton, "The Workingmen's Protective Association, Victoria, B.C., 1878: Racism, Intersectionality and Status Politics," *Labour / Le Travail* 43 (1999): 105-106.

[9] Lai, *Great Fortune Dream,* 68.

10 Stephanie D. Bangarth, "'We are Not Asking You to Open Wide the Gates for Chinese Immigration': The Committee for the Repeal of the Chinese Immigration Act and Early Human Rights Activism in Canada," *The Canadian Historical Review* 84, no. 3 (2003): 399.

[11] Lai, *Great Fortune Dream,* 68.

[12] Lai, *Great Fortune Dream,* 71.

[13] C. Carstairs, "Deporting "Ah Sin" to Save the White Race: Moral Panic, Racialization, and the Extension of Canadian Drug Laws in the 1920s," *Canadian Bulletin of Medical History / Bulletin Canadien d'Histoire De La Medecine* 16, no. 1 (1999): 70.

of the higher Chinese population. These examples are just a select sample of the racism experienced in daily life for Chinese immigrants. However, they need to be recognized in order to appreciate the racism that existed with respect to death rituals.

To identify fully how Chinese burials were affected by the racism endured in daily life, the original burial customs must first be comprehended. Chinese burial rites are very different from western Christian customs. In some Chinese cultures, it is crucial that the cemetery is by a place of water and that the land is flat.[14] These elements are chosen to uphold the customs of *Feng Shui*. Without these elements, the burial site is believed to cast bad fortune on the descendants of those who have passed.[15] The deceased also have to be buried in the same place as the ancestors of the family,[16] not unlike family burial plots in some western Christian cultures. In China, families of the deceased tend to the graves of their ancestors, leaving offerings of food for the spirits.[17] The traditional belief is that if the spirits of the ancestors are comfortable, the family will experience good fortune.[18] If the spirits are uncomfortable, they will have a negative influence on the descendants of the family. It is often mentioned in sources that the death rituals were of more importance to Chinese families, yet it is imperative to understand that death and burial are a major part of all cultures. There is no evidence to suggest that Chinese immigrants cared more about their rituals than other groups in Canada at this time. Dispelling this notion is critical to avoid the misinterpretation, common in contemporary accounts, that Chinese immigrants were fanatical in their beliefs.

Immigrants to Canada would continue to follow the cultural traditions that they had performed in China. To be buried with the ancestors was not easy once an immigrant had come to Canada, so some modifications to the rites occurred. Immigrants would first be buried in a cemetery for seven to ten years to allow for natural decomposition.[19] After this, the bodies were disinterred by expert bone collectors[20]. These men would then clean the bones in water to remove any remaining soft tissue and then dry the bones by sunlight before they were packaged and returned to China.[21] The bones would be returned to the father's homeland, where they would be reburied in a family gravesite. Chinese immigrants across Canada would participate in this practice. They would often send the bones of the deceased to Vancouver Island, where they would be shipped to China every

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[14] National Film Board of Canada, *From Harling Point.* Montreal: National Film Board of Canada, 2003. [9:40]
[15] *From Harling Point* [8:35]
[16] Lai, *Great Fortune Dream,* 119.
[17] Maxwell, *Chinese Cemeteries and Grave Markers in B.C.,* 13.
[18] Maxwell, *Chinese Cemeteries and Grave Markers in B.C.,* 13.
[19] Terry Abraham and Pricilla Wegars, "Urns, Bones and Burners: Overseas Chinese Cemeteries," *Australasian Historical Archaeology* 21 (2003): 59.
[20] Maurice Conrad Guibord, *The Evolution of Chinese Graves at Burnaby's Ocean View Cemetery: From Stigmatized Purlieu to Political Adaptations and Cultural Identity*. [ProQuest Dissertations Publishing, 2013], 33-34.
[21] *From Harling Point* [14:40]

seven years after enough remains had been gathered to justify the costly endeavour.[22] The Chinese Consolidated Benevolent Association (CCBA), formed in 1884,[23] organized the shipment of these bones back to China.[24] They also bought a cemetery, Harling Point in Victoria, at which to store the bones until it was time for the next shipment.[25]. The practice of sending the remains home to China only ended in 1937, at the outbreak of the second Sino-Japanese War.[26] After 1949, the Maoist regime forbade the return of remains from foreign countries, and this, combined with fewer Chinese immigrants following older traditions, ended the practice permanently.[27]

When looking at race and cultural issues, it is necessary to remember that not all immigrants participated in traditional Chinese practices for a multitude of reasons. Some did not participate because they had converted to Christianity and followed Christian burial practices.[28] Others did not want to send remains home, as it would mean that they could not visit their loved one's graves.[29] However, being buried according to white Canadian Christian beliefs did not protect against discriminatory practices. Burials of Chinese immigrants were allowed in white cemeteries; however, like other minorities, their graves were always separated from white Canadians graves. In Burnaby's Ocean Park cemetery, the graves were segregated and put into the pejoratively named "Mongolia" section.[30] In Vancouver's Mountain View cemetery, they were also segregated, though more discreetly than at Ocean Park.[31] Segregated sections were always put in the worst sections of the cemetery, often at the back of the cemeteries to keep them away from public view.[32] This discrimination is only what those who remained in those cemeteries experienced.

As mentioned previously, immigrants would be buried in cemeteries to allow for the bodies to decompose before they were disinterred. This practice was penalized by the Canadian government repeatedly. The Chinese Regulation Act of 1884 banned the exhumation of graves, but it was evident in the language used in the law that this was created with the intent of controlling Chinese people

[22] Lai, *Great Fortune Dream,* 119.
[23] Guibord, *The Evolution of Chinese Graves at Burnaby's Ocean View Cemetery,* 28.
[24] Guibord, *The Evolution of Chinese Graves at Burnaby's Ocean View Cemetery,* 33.
[25] Lai, *Great Fortune Dream,* 119.
[26] Maxwell, *Chinese Cemeteries and Grave Markers in B.C.,* 13.
[27] Maxwell, *Chinese Cemeteries and Grave Markers in B.C.,* 13.
[28] *From Harling Point* [16:38].
[29] *From Harling Point* [15:45].
[30] Guibord, *The Evolution of Chinese Graves at Burnaby's Ocean View Cemetery,* 23.
[31] Guibord, *The Evolution of Chinese Graves at Burnaby's Ocean View Cemetery,* 43.
[32] Guibord, *The Evolution of Chinese Graves at Burnaby's Ocean View Cemetery,* 43-44.

only.[33] In 1888, the exhumation of graves was prohibited without permission from the coroner.[34] While this does not seem racially motivated, it was clear that Chinese immigrants would not get that permission in racially charged times. The statute also stated that a fine would have to be paid, somewhere between ten and one hundred dollars, should someone exhume a grave without a coroner's permission.[35] Exhumation of graves has always been a subject of debate within history, yet the laws passed had an unambiguous meaning. They explicitly targeted the burial practices of Chinese immigrant communities without even the slightest attempt to understand the context. Chinese culture also abhorred those involved with the disinterment of remains, believing them cursed.[36] The bone collectors were shunned in Chinese society as well as Canadian. This shunning shows that Chinese immigrants were not removing human remains without any thought or as an act of grave-robbing; instead, the practice held substantial cultural and spiritual meaning. The laws banning the practice then show that the Canadian government intended to create as hostile an environment as possible.

To combat the racism experienced in Christian graveyards, Chinese only cemeteries such as Harling Point in Victoria were purchased by the CCBA. The cemetery complied with Feng Shui's customs was the closest port to China and, therefore, most accessible to transport back to the homeland. As well, because it was a Chinese-only cemetery, it meant that the process of disinterment could be done more privately. Despite the efforts undertaken by the Chinese community, the practice drew the ire of white Canadians. White neighbours complained and protested the cemetery. These same white protesters interrupted the first funeral procession, including one brandishing a rifle, despite the property being wholly owned by the CCBA.[37] Those who lived near the cemetery said that it would bring the market value of their houses down.[38] They complained of a foul smell coming from the cemetery due to drying the bones in the sunlight; that the vapours were negatively affecting their health.[39] Many were horrified at the idea of the disinterment of the bodies, a taboo that lives on today.[40] The health department was called in an attempt to shut down the cemetery. The health department later affirmed that it was raw sewage leak in the neighbourhood, not the drying of bones, causing the smell in the community, showing that prejudice can cause misinformation to

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[33] Government of British Columbia, "An Act to Regulate the Chinese Population of B.C. 1884," BC Archives NW 348.711 B862 1884.

[34] British Columbia. *The Revised Statutes of British Columbia, 1897: Being a Consolidation and Revision of the Statutes Applicable to British Columbia, and within the Power of the Legislature to Enact* (Victoria, B.C: Printed by Richard Wolfenden, printer to the Queen's Most Excellent Majesty, 1897), 921.

[35] *The Revised Statutes of British Columbia, 1897*, 921.

[36] Guibord, *The Evolution of Chinese Graves at Burnaby's Ocean View Cemetery*, 34.

[37] Lai, *Great Fortune Dream*, 121.

[38] *From Harling Point* [18:05].

[39] *From Harling Point* [17:45].

[40] Guibord, *The Evolution of Chinese Graves at Burnaby's Ocean View Cemetery*, 34.

spread.[41] Further, Haring Point was not the first cemetery that CCBA had purchased. The first purchased land was in 1891 in Victoria[42]. When Chinese mourners came to it, they were violently chased off by white Canadians and did not return to the area.[43] Even though this was private property and not infringing on the rights or well-being of anyone within the areas, white Canadians made it clear that they were intolerant of what was happening and would refuse to allow it to continue. They would later reduce their protests, but they were never subtle in their attempts to rid the community of Chinese gravesites.

While the experiences at Harling Point show concrete evidence of historical racism, some argue that segregating gravesites and cemeteries, as in the previous examples, is not inherently racist. Many religions and cultures wanted separate cemeteries because the beliefs regarding burial practices differed. In 2017, a report by the Vancouver city council[44] argued exactly that. Many people did indeed want to have separate parts of cemeteries to remain with their kin. However, this is a vast oversimplification of the realities of the situation. Reports such as the one mentioned fail to consider choice. Chinese immigrants did not choose to be segregated, nor did they choose where in the graveyard they were buried. In Mountain View Cemetery, for example, the Chinse Benevolent Association (CBA) had purchased lots, but were still segregated at the back of the cemetery without their input.[45] In some cases, these forms of segregation exposed Chinese areas in cemeteries to significant environmental damage. For example, in Victoria's Ross Bay Cemetery, the isolated area of the cemetery dedicated to the Chinese immigrants was below sea level and close to the beach. When powerful storms hit the area in 1909, the cemetery walls were breached, and Chinese graves were washed away into the ocean, the remains never recovered.[46]

Segregation was also achieved by organizing the cemeteries in ways that hid their Chinese occupants. Burnaby's Ocean Park and Vancouver's Mountain View cemeteries always had segregated areas away from the front of the cemetery.[47] Administrators often left Chinese plots offcemetery maps, guaranteeing that their sections would remain obscured from public view.[48] Limits on information could extend to individual plots as well. Ross Bay has graves known as "China man #1" and "China man #2" instead of identifying information.[49] This lack of identifying information is continuing the trend of not acknowledging the lives of Chinese immigrants that the

[41] *From Harling Point.* [18:09].
[42] Lai, *Great Fortune Dream,* 120.
[43] Lai, *Great Fortune Dream,* 120.
[44] Canadian Electronic Library. *Historical Discrimination Against Chinese People in Vancouver* (Ottawa, ON: Vancouver City Council, 2017), 13.
[45] Guibord, *The Evolution of Chinese Graves at Burnaby's Ocean View Cemetery*, 44-45,
[46] Lai, *Great Fortune Dream,* 120.
[47] Guibord, *The Evolution of Chinese Graves at Burnaby's Ocean View Cemetery*, 43-44.
[48] Guibord, *The Evolution of Chinese Graves at Burnaby's Ocean View Cemetery*, 38.
[49] Kim Lunman, "Ceremony Sweeps Decades of Dirt from Chinese Graves," *The Globe and Mail,* April 9, 2001.

railways had started. This attitude of indifference towards Chinese immigrant deaths only continued. The report by the city of Vancouver that claims that segregation of graves was not racist goes on to state that the city levied fines against the disinterment of Chinese Canadian remains,[50] a practice that only affected the Chinese immigrants and was put in place without regard to the cultural practice that the immigrants were performing.

Segregated burials are no longer a product of Canadian racism. Today in Canada, individuals can be buried as they like. However, this does not fix past problems. Those who were buried during the times of segregation remain in segregated graves. The graves that were washed away from Ross Bay can never be returned. What is perhaps the most significant oversight of this issue is the lack of research in this area. Reports created as late as 2017 still mention burial practices in passing.[51] Death rituals are a minimal area of inquiry within the broader context of Chinese Canadian history but still deserve examination. More subtle forms of racism need to be acknowledged as they are often the more pervasive forms. Racism against burial rituals is racism against a vital part of a culture, no matter which culture. Showing this level of discrimination towards Chinese immigrants, Canadians, and the Canadian State, showed that they were adamantly opposed to Chinese immigration. Chinese people in Canada faced racism from birth through death within Canada, and the segregated gravesites remain a reminder of this fact.

[50] *Historical Discrimination Against Chinese People in Vancouver*, 13.
[51] *Historical Discrimination Against Chinese People in Vancouver*, 13.

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The First Outbreak of Minamata Disease & its Consequences

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HIST 3140 Environment & Society in East Asia (Jack P. Hayes)
March 2021

The first cases of Minamata disease were documented in the early 1950s, and these were considered to be the first examples of methyl mercury (MeHg) poisoning by the consumption of contaminated fish. MeHg chloride was one of the byproducts made by one of the plants at the Chisso chemical factory near Minamata Bay, and this chemical contaminated the nearby bodies of water. In order to meet growing demand and increase production, the factory had also "expanded the manufacturing plants and changed the drainage site from Minamata Bay to the mouth of the Minamata River."[1] This allowed the pollution to spread into even more areas, including the surrounding waters of the Shiranui Sea. The factory continued to release MeHg into the waters until 1968. Fishing in the affected areas was not restricted or prohibited, so many residents were exposed to poisoning for nearly 20 years. As of 2000, the official number of affected patients reached 2264. However, the estimated number of suspected cases is as high as 200,000, as this was about the same number as the population in 1960 surrounding the Shiranui Sea.[2] Although the disease is known for the serious debilitating effects on the body, this paper will focus more on the lack of response from the successive Japanese governments, and how that affected Minamata residents during this time. This paper will also mostly focus on the first outbreak in Kumamoto, rather than the second outbreak in Niigata.

Many sources suggest that both the prefectural and central governments initially failed to take effective measures for preventing further contamination, even though there was already strong evidence showing that the disease came from polluted fish in Minamata Bay. In 1957, for example, Ito Hasuo, the head of the Minamata Public Center, actually fed cats with fish from Minamata Bay, and succeeded in giving them the disease. His experiment "decisively proved that fish in Minamata Bay were polluted and were the cause of Minamata disease."[3] Despite these findings however, the governments did not close the Minamata Bay fishery.

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1 Shigeo Ekino et al., "Minamate Disease Revisited: An Update on the Acute and Chronic Manifestations of Methyl Mercury Poisoning," *Journal of the Neurological Sciences 262*, no. 1 (2007): 131.

2 Ekino et al., "Minamata Disease Revisited," `132-*133*.

3 Harutoshi Funabashi, "Minamata Disease and Environmental Governance," *International Journal of Japanese Sociology*, no. 1 (2006): 10.

Additionally, in November 1956, researchers from the Kumamoto University School of Medicine reported that the disease was "not contagious but rather a food poisoning incident caused by the consumption of contaminated fishes from the Minamata Bay Area."[4] They also reported that it was caused by a heavy metal, and that it was likely from a factory's effluent. However, most Minamata residents were "hardly informed of these conclusions."[5] But at the same time, there also seemed to be growing suspicion that that Chisso's factory could be the source of the contamination. The Minamata Fishery Cooperative even petitioned Chisso to "stop the discharge of polluted effluents"[6] in January 1957 after a dramatic decrease in fish sales, but to no avail.

Around March of 1957, the Kumamoto prefectural government considered using a certain law known as the "Food Sanitation Act," because this was previously used in Shizuoka in 1949 for "an episode of shellfish poisoning by an unknown etiological agent."[7] Legally, the prefectural government already had enough authority to apply the act, but instead, they asked the federal government's opinion before making any decisions. In September of that year, the reply came from the Chief of the Public Health Bureau of the Ministry of Health and Welfare of Japan, recommending that the prefectural government should "continue [the] policy of warning against the ingestion of fish and shellfish caught in a specified area of Minamata Bay because it may lead to the occurrence of the unknown disease of the central nervous system."[8] But, they also added that it was "impossible" to apply the Food Sanitation Act, because there was not enough evidence that "all" fish and "all" shellfish were poisoned.[9]

Although the federal government claimed that it was "impossible" to apply this act, many argued that it still should have been used, and that it would have saved more lives. Normally, when the Food Sanitation Act is used for a food poisoning case, the 'Health Center' of the local government is required to investigate the cause of any outbreak and to take preventative measures. So typically, the affected area and the residents are investigated carefully; and when the cause or transmission of poisoning is identified, the sale/distribution of the food must be prohibited. But unfortunately, due to the federal government's reply, the Health Center was not able to investigate the area and the residents. Consequently, many residents continued to eat the contaminated fish, without knowing much critical information.[10]

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[4] Toshihide Tsuda et al., "Minamata Disease: Catastrophic Poisoning due to a Failed Public Health Response," *Journal of Public Health Policy* 30, no. 1 (2009): 57.

[5] Tsuda et al., "Minamata Disease," 57.

[6] Funabashi, "Minamata Disease and Environmental Governance," 10.

[7] Tsuda et al., "Minamata Disease," 57.

[8] Tsuda et al., "Minamata Disease," 57.

[9] Tsuda et al., "Minamata Disease," 57.

[10] Tsuda et al., "Minamata Disease," 57-58.

In 1990, officials from the Japanese government explained that they did not use the Food Sanitation Act in 1957 because "the etiological agent (methylmercury) had not been yet identified." While it was true that the agent was not confirmed at the time, the actual cause (ingestion of the contaminated fish) was already known as early as 1956. And, according to the Act, when the cause or transmission is identified, then the public health authorities are required to take the preventative measures, even when they do not know the specific agent which caused the poisoning.[11] In "The Global Lessons of Minamata Disease," Masazumi Harada provides a hypothetical example on how the Act would ideally be used, and questions why the Act was not used at the time:

> Let us say, for instance, that we have a case of food poisoning in a lunch catering business. As soon as it is known that people were being poisoned by the box lunches the business would be closed down according to the Food Sanitation Law. In such a case, authorities would not wait for the identification of the causal substance within the lunches. They would not allow the sale of the box lunches to go on, simply because they did not know the exact source for the poisoning that was affecting people. However, in the case of Minamata disease, although it was clear that fish and shellfish were the source of the illness, no one took any action…[12]

Some scholars also suggest that the social conditions at the time were not adequate for the scientific research. For example, Funabashi suggests that the difficulties included the "lack of autonomy of the research team and the poor circulation of important information." In other words, the Kumamoto University research team did not have a very good framework for their investigation. The Kumamoto Prefectural Office also did not provide the team with "sufficient support concerning research resources and channels for obtaining information."[13] Even the university research team had very limited knowledge of the chemical processes used at Chisso's plant, and the actual chemicals used at the factory. Additionally, Chisso and the Ministry of International Trade and Industry (MITI) tried to "intervene repeatedly in the research process and succeeded in rendering the true research results ineffective in the social and political process." Also, Funabashi adds that the administrative organization "decisively manipulated the research activity through intervention in the research framework at crucial times." The Minamata disease/Food Poisoning Survey Team in the Food and Sanitation Investigation Council also had an unexpected dissolution in November 1959, which also prevented the "investigation of the source of causative substances."[14]

The 1950s and 1960s were also a time of major economic growth in Japan, and the emphasis on industrial development might have made it a higher priority than research for the contamination.

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[11] Tsuda et al., "Minamata Disease," 58.

[12] Masazumi Harada, "The Global Lessons of Minamata Disease," in T. Takahashi eds., *Taking Life and Death Seriously: Bioethics From Japan* (Amsterdam, 2005), 304-305.

[13] Funabashi, "Minamata Disease and Environmental Governance," 12-13.

[14] Funabashi, "Minamata Disease and Environmental Governance," 13.

As Tsuda et al. point out, Chisso generally had "great influence in Japanese industry and society" during these years; they had lots of support from the local government as well as the MITI. On the other hand, fishermen in the South Kyushu area were seen as "poor," and did not carry any political power "locally or nationally." Also, the Chisso factory was producing "80 to 90 percent of octanol," one of the main ingredients in plastics; and plastic products were highly important for Japan's exports. The country had to deal with many trade and budget deficits after World War II, and Kumamoto's prefectural government also dealt with a severe financial deficit.[15] Hikaru Kobayashi also suggests that Minamata disease was "in a sense a product of Japan's period of rapid economic growth during the 1960s." He notes that during this time, factors such as the "scientific understanding of the environment, environmental measurements, decontamination technology and anti-pollution administration" were still in their early stages. So in a way, it was not surprising that the government wanted to put Japan's economic growth first.[16]

Another possible factor behind the lack of action might be because the Japanese medical community misunderstood or was not familiar with the Food Sanitation Act yet. As previously mentioned, when doctors recognize a case of food poisoning, it needs to be reported to the local Health Centers for further investigation. Although there were doctors trying to find the specific etiologic agent, "not one doctor in Kumamoto Prefecture" actually reported the initial outbreak as food poisoning. But if it was reported the case as food poisoning, then the government would have likely been less reluctant to use the Act. Some even suggest that the Ministry of Health and Welfare of Japan (MHWJ), the ones responsible for health policy, also misunderstood the Act. Otherwise, they would have applied the Act around the same time that the transmission (contaminated fish) was identified.[17]

This unfamiliarity with the Food Sanitation Act also seemed to have caused other similar situations, outside of the Minamata outbreak. Another example was from 1955, when there was an "arsenic-poisoning caused by powdered milk." The Act was applied for this case; but before that, a professor in pediatrics investigating the case actually delayed reporting the incident for multiple weeks. He "continued to look for the specific cause of the poisoning without reporting the incident, even after a particular manufacturer's contaminated powdered milk had been associated with the clinical cases." There was also an incident in 1968 which involved "polychlorinated biphenyl and dioxin-contaminated rice oil." In this case, the professor investigating also delayed notification "until he

[15] Tsuda et al., "Minamata Disease," 61-62.

[16] Hikaru Kobayashi, "Minamata: How a Policy Maker Addressed a Very Wicked Quality Policy Problem," *Water International 43*, no. 3 (2018): 405.

[17] Tsuda et al., "Minamata Disease," 62.

could present his data at an academic conference." The delay ended up slowing the public health response for months, and the rice oil was never recalled either.[18]

There almost seems to be some pattern of a delayed public health response when it comes to food poisoning, even after the cause is identified; and this was not limited to just the 1950s and 1960s. In 2000 for example, there was an outbreak of "*staphylococcus aureus* food poisoning" caused by a low-fat milk. Even though the product and the manufacturer had already been identified, the municipal office "delayed application of the Act for several days," and while they continued to look for a certain pathogen in the milk. And in 2008, there was also a pesticide-poisoning case "associated with Chinese-style dumplings," where a hospital doctor did not notify any of the public health authorities for nearly a month, because the specific agent was still unknown.[19] These cases show how crucial precautionary measures can be in an outbreak, even when the specific details have not yet been figured out.

Because of the severe and debilitating nature of the disease, it might be easy to overlook the social consequences (such as discrimination) caused from the lack of informing Minamata residents about critical information. For example, Fumikazu Yoshida goes over the antagonisms that grew between Minamata residents, including "rumor-induced damage." Because the residents were not informed that the disease was not contagious, the rumor of it being a "communicable disease" spread more easily. Consequently, plenty of marriages were broken off, and many lost their jobs as well due to discrimination. This discrimination was not just against the people suffering from the disease, but also anyone who was born in Minamata. So, it became common for the residents who left Minamata to hide their origins.[20] There was even anger from residents being directed at the sufferers who were applying for certification as patients, and they were "criticized for causing the situation by claiming to be Minamata disease patients in order to get money."[21]

As Yoshida explains, there was plenty of conflict between disease sufferers themselves because of the different amounts of compensation, between "sufferers and non-sufferers, sufferers and administrative authorities, and the public and supporters of the sufferers." Aside from the government's lack of action, the conflicts could also be partly from the Minamata's large dependency on Chisso. The company played a big role in making Minamata prosperous before, so the city heavily depended on Chisso "in all spheres of life, including politics and economics." And when people started to suspect that Chisso was causing the pollution, it turned Minamata into a "chaotic

[18] Tsuda et al., "Minamata Disease," 62-63.

[19] Tsuda et al., "Minamata Disease," 63.

[20] Fumikazu Yoshida, "Environmental Restoration of Minamata: New Thinking Brings New Advances," *Sustainability Science* 2, no. 1 (2007): 87-88.

[21] Yoshida, "Environmental Restoration," 88.

society" that had to deal with "prejudice, discrimination, criticism, slander, backlash… envy, ostracism," and so on.[22]

Though the Japanese media have been criticized for not giving enough coverage on the initial outbreak, Minamata disease patients were also very afraid of the topic being picked up by the media. Many of them were worried that if more people knew about it, it meant that the patients would "incur the opposition and anger of Minamata citizens," like mentioned before. For example, when Harada did a home visit to Minamata disease patients in 1961, one patient was concerned that the "'the public, which had almost forgotten about the disease, will be reminded and our fish will not sell.'" Another patient goes over how his son was ostracized at school, because he had to take care of his younger siblings while his mother was in the isolation ward. The son had to miss "morning cleanup and morning assembly at school," and as punishment, he was forced to "stand in the middle of the athletic field" for being late. However, his teacher never actually asked the son's reasons for being late in the first place.[23]

Harada also states that the panic in Minamata reached its height when the patients were moved to an isolation ward, as it was still believed to be a contagious disease. Unsurprisingly, these patients (along with their families) were often shunned by the other residents. Even the fishers who "demanded that Chisso stop emitting its effluent" directed their anger at the patients, because their anger was often suppressed by the police, and they had no other outlet. Another example of discrimination comes from another patient's daughter. When she would go to a store, it was common for others to announce that "'the patient's daughter has come'" as she entered. Any of the loud voices in the store would then become whispers as well. And when the daughter paid, the staff "accepted money with the tips of their fingers as though it were contaminated." It was also common for people to avoid her when she was seen walking outside, and she was unfortunately bullied at school as well.[24] This might be part of why some scholars have argued that the term "Minamata disease" should just be replaced with "methylmercury poisoning" instead.[25]

It is clear that the conditions surrounding the first outbreak of the disease were quite harsh, but there seemed to be a larger response for the 1965 outbreak in Niigata. This was considered to be the second major outbreak of the disease, and it took Japan by surprise a lot more compared to the first case. This time, the Japanese media was also "more sensitive" to pollution issues in general, because there was a lot of environmental destruction that occurred in the 1960s. So the discovery of the Niigata

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[22] Yoshida, "Environmental Restoration," 88.

[23] Harada, "Global Lessons of Minamata Disease," 320.

[24] Harada, "Global Lessons of Minamata Disease," 322.

[25] Nobuo Ishihara, "The Term "Minamata Disease" Should Be Replaced By The Term "Methylmercury Poisoning"," *Trace Elements and Electrolytes* 35, no. 1 (2018): 47.

case was "reported immediately and as top news on the front page of all the major newspapers." Scientists also had more information to work with, as knowledge and research accumulated from the Kumamoto incident. Niigata also had the advantage of having a few powerful organizations such as trade unions, and medical cooperatives for example. These groups then played an important role in "developing an effective antipollution movement." Additionally, the Niigata prefectural government made a "more serious and effective effort" to resolve the issues, and they have not been accused in the Niigata Minamata disease trials (unlike the Kumamoto office for the first case). These, along with other factors, led to Japanese society as a whole reacting very differently to the second outbreak in Niigata.[26] The majority of this paper focuses only on information from the first outbreak, but I hope that it shows how different the public response can be if the governments take more effective measures with respect to these issues.

[26] Funabashi, "Minamata Disease and Environmental Governance," 15.

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Ekino, Shigeo, Mari Susa, Tadashi Ninomiya, Keiko Imamura, and Toshinori Kitamura. "Minamata Disease Revisited: An Update on the Acute and Chronic Manifestations of Methyl Mercury Poisoning." *Journal of the Neurological Sciences* 262, no. 1 (2007): 131-144.

This article gives a historical review of the Minamata outbreak, but also provides an update on the effects of the MeHg poisoning. It was mostly used for the paper's introduction.

Funabashi, Harutoshi. "Minamata Disease and Environmental Governance." *International Journal of Japanese Sociology* 15, no. 1 (2006): 7-25.

Funabashi's article goes over what conditions are needed for proper environmental governance by using the case of Minamata disease as his main example. It was used for multiple points throughout the essay, including the body and the conclusion.

Harada, Masazumi. "The Global Lessons of Minamata Disease: An Introduction to Minamata Studies." In *Taking Life and Death Seriously: Bioethics from Japan,* edited by Takao Takahashi, 299-355. Amsterdam, 2005.

This book chapter also gives an overview of the course of Minamata disease, as well as its consequences. It was used for the section on the social consequences on Minamata residents.

Ishihara, Nobuo. "The Term "Minamata Disease" Should Be Replaced by the Term "Methylmercury Poisoning"." *Trace Elements and Electrolytes 35*, no. 1 (2018): 47-50.

As the title suggests, this short article argues that Minamata Disease should be renamed as methylmercury poisoning, and it was used for a point in one of the body paragraphs.

Kobayashi, Hikaru. "Minamata: How a Policy Maker Addressed a Very Wicked Water Quality Policy Problem." *Water International* 43, no. 3 (2018): 404-423.

This article also goes over the course of the disease and how the consequences were dealt with by the government and the public. The author also previously worked in Japan's Ministry of Environment. The article was used for one of the body paragraphs.

Tsuda, Toshihide, Takashi Yorifuji, Soshi Takao, Masaya Mirai, and Akira Babazono. "Minamata Disease: Catastrophic Poisoning due to a Failed Public Health Response." *Journal of Public Health Policy* 30, no.1 (2009): 54-67.

This article also goes over the history of Minamata disease but analyzes it using the public health response as their main focal point. This was used for many examples throughout the paper, especially when discussing the government's lack of an effective response.

Yoshida, Fumikazu. "Environmental Restoration of Minamata: New Thinking Brings New Advances." *Sustainability Science 2*, no. 1 (2007): 85-93.

Yoshida's article mainly focuses on Minamata's process of recovery from the contamination, but it also has good examples of the negative effects on Minamata residents and the conflicts that arose. It was used for the part on discussing the social effects on Minamata patients and residents.

Counterfactual Ephemera: London, 1983

Kacey Hughes
History 1105: Changemakers (Kyle Jackson)
November 17, 2020

The actual identity of the individual within my assigned photograph [figure 1] – which was taken by photographer Clare Muller on the streets of London in 1983 – remains a historical mystery.[1] But henceforth, I will be referring to this individual as Simon Lewis: combining a popular first name in Britain around the time that he was born[2] and a relatively common British surname.[3] Within this essay, I will explain the ephemera that I have created and outline the ways in which the artifacts relate to my larger counterfactual reconstruction of Simon Lewis' possible personal history. Although the absolute truth is unknown, much can be inferred about Simon based upon the historical context in which he lived. Simon's life can be understood through his experiences as a black youth in Britain towards the end of the twentieth century, and his active involvement in the expanding hip-hop subculture in 1980s Britain.

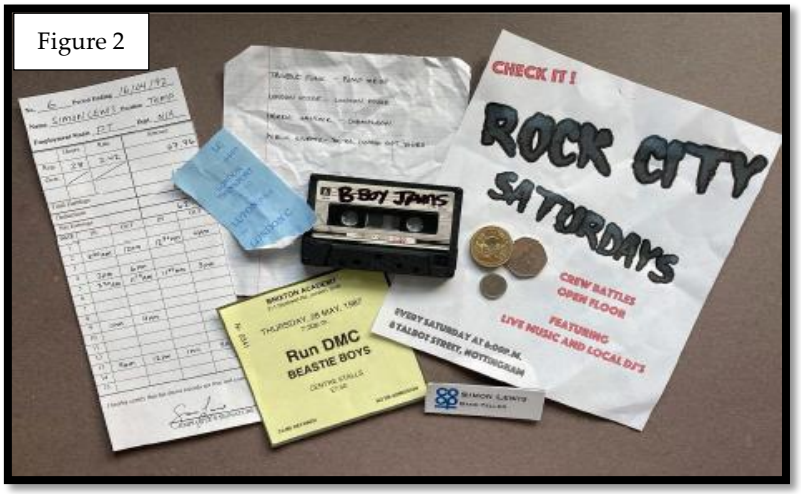
Figure 1

[1] Lucy Alford and Clare Muller, *Breakdancing: Let Colin and Venol Show You How* (London, Hamlyn, 1984).
[2] Office for National Statistics, *Top 100 Baby Names in England and Wales: Historical Data* (August 15, 2014), https://www.ons.gov.uk/peoplepopulationandcommunity/birthsdeathsandmarriages/livebirths/datasets/babynamesenglandandwalestop100babynameshistoricaldata.
[3] Tom Embury-Dennis, "The 25 Most Common Surnames in Britain," *The Independent*, November 18, 2016.

Based on his age in the 1983 photograph, Simon was born sometime in the early 1970s. Decades earlier, immediately following the end of the second world war, there was a marked increase in immigration to the United Kingdom from Commonwealth nations,[4] including a "massive influx of black immigrants to the UK from the Caribbean."[5] It is quite plausible that one or both of Simon's parents would have immigrated to the country during this period of time.[6] Simon, however, was likely to have been born in Britain – as by the 1970s, due to increasingly discriminatory immigration policies, the majority of black youth within the United Kingdom had been born there.[7] It is also reasonable to assume that Simon grew up in a low-income family with working class parents; as immigrants to the United Kingdom in previous decades had been "steered into low-paying jobs" and "were typically denied access to better paying jobs or job training programs."[8]

Throughout the 1970s and 1980s, there was a great deal of both income and employment inequality in Britain, which impacted those in ethnic minority groups most severely.[9] I believe it can be assumed that such a widespread issue would have affected Simon and his family.

Figure 2



[4] Peter Fryer, *Staying Power: The History of Black People in Britain* (London, 2018), 378-379.
[5] Raymond Codrington, "Homegrown: Race, Rap and Class in London," in K. Clarke and D. Thomas, eds., *Globalization and Race: Transformations in the Cultural Production of Blackness* (Durham, 2006), 180.
[6] For the purposes of this reconstruction, I have chosen to suggest that Simon's family may have immigrated to theUK following the second world war, based on statistical probability and information encountered during research. However, I would also like to acknowledge the historical depth and complexity of the Black experience in Britain.The presence of Black people in Britain for several centuries prior indicates that the potential history I have put forward is only one of many possibilities.
[7] David Hesmondhalgh and Caspar Melville, "Urban Breakbeat Culture – Repercussions of Hip-Hop in the United Kingdom," in T. Mitchell, ed., *Global Noise: Rap and Hip-Hop Outside the USA* (Middletown, 2002), 88.
[8] Codrington, "Homegrown," 180.
[9] Blackaby, Leslie, Murphy and O'Leary, "The Ethnic Wage Gap and Employment Differentials in the 1990s:Evidence for Britain," *Economics Letters* 58, no. 1 (1998): 101.
[10] Stephen Edgell and Vic Duke, "Radicalism, Radicalization and Recession: Britain in the 1980s," *The British Journal of Sociology* 37, no. 4 (1986): 479.

Additionally, the "international recession dating from the mid-1970s inaugurated a severe economic crisis in Britain"[10] which had a lasting impact on the nation and "provided painful experiences for working citizens."[11] Given the economic circumstances of the time and place in which he was born, it seems likely that Simon would have learned to be frugal from a young age. He would have witnessed both of his parents working low-paying jobs, in poor conditions, and struggling to provide for their family.

All of this relates to the first piece of ephemera [figure 2 above] that I have created for Simon: his coin collection. I have included British currency from the 1980s – including a two-pound coin from 1986, a five pence coin from 1983, and a fifty pence coin from 1985 – all of which would have been in circulation during Simon's youth. In the 1980s, new coins were being created and "the issue of pocket money for children"[12] became commonplace. Britain in the 1980s saw a general increase in consumerism[13] because of "global changes in capitalism… and technology."[14] It is very plausible that the rise of consumer culture – and the accompanying desires to spend, purchase, and own – would have affected Simon during his formative years. Considering that Simon was likely not from a wealthy family and would have understood the importance of money, he collected all the coins and notes he could find, saving to purchase clothing, music, and other items.

Simon grew up within the expanding British hip-hop subculture of the 1980s. Hip-hop, having originated in the United States in the 1970s, quickly spread to the United Kingdom. [15] By the early 1980s, London was the nexus of this new, emerging hip-hop scene.[16] While much of Simon's life was impacted by the cultural landscape of London, it is possible that Simon was born and lived his early life in the town of Luton. Two known individuals that appear alongside Simon in the original photograph by Clare Muller – Colin and Venol – were born and raised in Luton.[17] Luton is a smaller town just outside of London, held in poor regard by the general public and best known for its multicultural, working class population.[18] Given that the world of breakdancing and hip-hop was, at that particular time, a street-level and community based phenomenon[19], it is plausible that Simon

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[11] Kenneth O. Morgan, "Britain in the Seventies – Our Unfinest Hour?" *French Journal of British Studies* 22 (2017):5.
[12] Stephen Brooke, "Living in 'New Times': Historicizing 1980s Britain," *History Compass* 12, no. 1 (2014): 2.
[13] Orazio Attanasio and Guglielmo Weber, "The UK Consumption Boom of the Late 1980s: Aggregate Implicationsof Microeconomic Evidence," *The Economic Journal* 104, no. 427 (1994): 1269.
[14] Brooke, "Living in 'New Times,'" 24.
[15] Brenda Jackson and Sharon Anderson, "Hip Hop Culture Around the Globe: Implications for Teaching," *BlackHistory Bulletin* 72, no. 1 (2009): 22.
[16] Codrington, "Homegrown," 184.
[17] Alford and Muller, *Breakdancing: Let Colin and Venol Show You How,* 10-11.
[18] Esther Rootham, Abby Hardgrove and Linda McDowell, "Constructing Racialised Masculinities In/ThroughAffective Orientations to a Multicultural Town," *Urban Studies* 52, no. 8 (2015): 1524-1525.
[19] Neil Kulkarni, "Feeling Fresh: UK Hip Hop," *Google Arts & Culture.* Museum of Youth Culture, London.

would have developed a relationship with fellow break dancers Colin and Venol if they had lived in the same area. I have included a bus ticket from Luton to London as the second piece of ephemera, as this is a route that Simon was likely to have travelled frequently. It is also possible that Simon may have moved to London as a young adult,in an effort to be as close as possible to the epicenter of hip-hop culture.

Hip-hop culture had a particularly strong hold in urban population centres, like London, as the oppressive cultural conditions in these areas were similar to those that had led to the initial formation of the hip-hop subculture in the United States.[20] However, the cultural landscape of Luton does not seem so dissimilar from that of London – and it is understandable that the subculture could have been thriving in both places simultaneously. Also, based on proximity, there would have been constant social interchange. The riots that occurred in 1981 in Britain's inner cities – in response to ongoing racism and police brutality that targeted minorities – while concentrated in larger cities, would quickly spread to other areas, including Luton.[21] Therefore, regardless of where Simon was born and raised, he would have been faced with a tumultuous social climate – one rife with racism, inequality, and division.

Some of Simon's frequent trips to London would have been to see live performances, particularly those by American rap and hip-hop groups who helped spread hip-hop – both the musical genre and the subcultural movement – throughout the United Kingdom.[22] Run DMC andThe Beastie Boys were two particularly popular groups in the 1980s that had considerable influence on Simon and his peers.[23] The third piece of ephemera that I have created from Simon's life is a ticket from a performance by Run DMC and The Beastie Boys, which took place at London's Brixton Academy on May 28th, 1987.[24] This show, and others like it, had a significant impact on the proliferation of hip-hop within a British context, and they were widely attended by British youth, like Simon, through the 1980s and beyond.

While it is U.S. hip-hop that had perhaps the most substantial impact in Britain during this time, there were a variety of other musical influences that Simon would have grown up listening to.[25] The fourth and fifth pieces of ephemera I have created relate to the music that Simon would have

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[20] Codrington, "Homegrown," 182.
[21] Fryer, *Staying Power,* 402-406.
[22] Hesmondhalgh and Melville, "Urban Breakbeat Culture," 8.
[23] Lucy Alexander, "Run DMC: (1DD Edition)," *The Times,* March 29, 2001.
[24] David Sinclair, "Review: Run DMC/The Beastie Boys at Brixton, 1987," *The Times,* May 25, 2005.
[25] Hesmondhalgh and Melville, "Urban Breakbeat Culture – Repercussions of Hip Hop in the United Kingdom," 87.

been exposed to and the technology that he would have utilized at that particular time. Cassettes would become the norm during the 1980s,[26] and "cassette tapes… traded in school yards"[27] was one of the ways in which the phenomenon of hip-hop was popularized among youth. Also, the 1980s saw an increase in music technology that enabled individuals to sample music and record their own tapes.[28]

The playlist, which accompanies Simon's cassette tape – titled 'B-Boy Jams' – demonstrates the variety of musical influences that Simon would have experienced. The inclusion of Public Enemy shows the prevalence that U.S. hip-hop groups had during this time. Herbie Hancock and Trouble Funk represent the influences that earlier forms of music, like jazz, funk, and disco, had on the development of hip-hop and breakdancing.[29] I have also included a track by London Posse, as they were considered one of the most influential groups in the early UK scene.[30] London Posse was one of the first British rap groups to develop a sound and image that was culturally specific to the UK,[31] and their lyrics and content would have been meaningful and relatable to Simon and other British youth.

When the hip-hop culture originally took root in the United Kingdom, it consisted of multiple interconnected elements, including breakdancing, rapping, DJ'ing, and graffiti.[32] Simon and the other young boys photographed by Clare Muller were an early crew of British break dancers. Breakdancing, or B-boying, is "a complex phenomenon that encompasses elements of artistic creation, cultural expression, and the construction of identity"[33] – and as a practice, it reflects the role of hip-hop as a form of activism and rebellion for marginalized youth.[34] Competition was an important element within the hip-hop subculture.[35] In break dancing, this manifested in the form of dance battles between individual dancers and crews. Simon and his peers would have competed in a number of these battles, including some of the weekly battles held at the popular

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[26] Dominic Sandbrook, "Nineteen Greaties: From Margaret Thatcher to Microwaves, How the 1980's Fast- Forwarded Us into the World of Today," *The Sun*, October 2, 2019.
[27] Codrington, "Homegrown," 184.
[28] Hesmondhalgh and Melville, "Urban Breakbeat Culture," 94.
[29] Hesmondhalgh and Melville, "Urban Breakbeat Culture," 90.
[30] Garry Mulholland, "London Posse," *Uncut,* August 2013.
[31] Sam Berkson, "Hip Hop World News: Reporting Back," *Race & Class* 59, no. 2 (2017).
[32] Jackson and Anderson, "Hip Hop Culture Around the Globe," 22.
[33] Helen Simard, "Breaking Down the Differences Between Breakdancing and B-Boying: A Grounded Theory Approach" (Dissertation, Université du Québec à Montréal, 2014), 21.
[34] Kulkarni, "Feeling Fresh: UK Hip Hop".
[35] Simard, "Breaking Down the Differences Between Breakdancing and B-Boying," 49-51.

Rock City nightclub in Nottingham.[36] The sixth piece of ephemera I have created is a flyer that advertises 'Rock City Saturdays,' which were hosted at that venue throughout the 1980s.[37] Nightclubs "had an unusual importance in British youth culture,"[38] and would have been a focal point of activity within the breakdancing community and broader hip- hop subculture.

As Simon entered adulthood in the early 1990s, the employment and economic prospects for ethnic minorities had improved "only marginally"[39] since previous decades. Simon would have faced a number of the difficulties that had likewise affected his parents. The impact of policies enacted by Margaret Thatcher and the Conservative government throughout the 1980s remained, and there was widespread inequality in "educational outcomes," housing, income, and employment that negatively impacted those in minority populations.[40] Additionally, the government removed minimum wage protections in the early 1990s – leading to an increase in the number of people in low-paying positions, as well as part time or temporary shift work.[41] I have chosen to include a time card for Simon as the seventh piece of ephemera, demonstrating that he likely had to work these sorts of part time positions, for wages that were below the previous national minimum. It is quite possible that Simon would have had challenges finding regular employment. He may have struggled to support himself, given the economic situation within Britain as a whole, and the various socio-economic and cultural factors that would have impacted Simon specifically.

During this period of time, London experienced a particularly "steep decline in employment."[42] Unemployment was most prevalent within Britain's large cities, and there was a "steady drift of jobs to surrounding towns and rural areas."[43] Simon would have had better chances finding employment within his home town of Luton. This would also enable him to remain close to the cultural hub of London. With the final piece of ephemera – a nametag from Simon's job at a local

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[36] Dave Wade, "When the Breakdancing Craze Swept Britain," *BBC News,* October 25, 2015.
[37] "History – Rock City," https://www.rock-city.co.uk/history/, accessed November 9, 2020.
[38] Hesmondhalgh and Melville, "Urban Breakbeat Culture," 98.
[39] Blackaby, Leslie, Murphy and O'Leary, "The Ethnic Wage Gap and Employment Differentials in the 1990s: Evidence for Britain," *Economics Letters* 58, no. 1 [1998]: 101.
[40] Scott-Samuel, Bambra, Collins, Hunter, McCartney and Smith, "The Impact of Thatcherism on Health and Well-Being in Britain," *International Journal of Health Services* 44, no. 1 [2014]: 59.
[41] Dan Finn, "The National Minimum Wage in the United Kingdom," *Graue Reihe des Instituts Arbeit und Technik* 2005-01, (2005): 15.
[42] Ivan Turok and Nicola Edge, *The Jobs Gap in Britain's Cities: Employment Loss and Labour MarketConsequences* [Bristol, 1999], 4.
[43] Turok and Edge, *The Jobs Gap in Britain's Cities,* 5.

bank in Luton – I suggest that he may have made such a decision. Despite the fact that unemployment was widespread during this period,[44] "financial and business services" were two industries that experienced rapid growth.[45] Employment rates in these sectors were also the fastest growing in rural areas and smaller towns, like Luton.[46] I believe that it is plausible that Simon could have returned to his hometown – where job opportunities were more abundant – and found an entry level job as a bank teller, working within the expanding financial services industry.

While the actual circumstances of the life of Simon Lewis cannot be known, I hope to have provided some insight into what his experience may have been like. It is apparent that Simon would have encountered a number of unfair hurdles throughout his lifetime based upon the historical context in which he lived. However, I do not intend to have framed Simon as simply a sympathetic caricature, or a victim that suffered at the hands of an unjust, inequitable society. My aim has been to celebrate Simon's role as an active member of the expanding hip- hop subculture in 1980s Britain, acknowledging his role as a pioneering young artist and activist who played a small part in the development of hip-hop into the globally relevant "artistic, social, and cultural phenomenon"[47] that it is today.

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[44] Codrington, "Homegrown," 182.
[45] Turok and Edge, *The Jobs Gap in Britain's Cities*, 11.
[46] Turok and Edge, *The Jobs Gap in Britain's Cities*, 12.
[47] Marcyliena Morgan and Dionne Bennett, "Hip-Hop & the Global Imprint of a Black Cultural Form," *Daedalus* 140, no. 2 (2011): 179.

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The Statue of Captain George Vancouver: An Educators' Guide*

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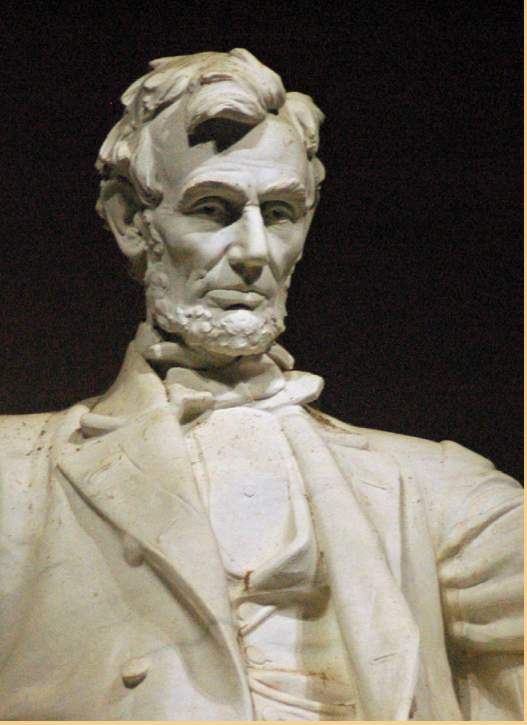
HIST 4400 Applications of History (Tracey J. Kinney)
March 2021

Because formatting was a key piece of this assignment, the editors have chosen to include the original PDF submission in its entirety. Only the pagination has been altered.

Donn B.A. Williams et al, *Statue at City Hall*, c. 1941?, City of Vancouver Archives, Vancouver, accessed March 4, 2021, https://searcharchives.vancouver.ca/side-view-of-capt-vancouver-statue-at-city-hall.

Statue of Captain George Vancouver



Jeff Kubina, *Lincoln Memorial,* c. 2007, Creative Commons CC BY-SA 2.0, accessed March 4, 2021, https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Lincoln_Memorial.jpg.

D. Gordon E. Robertson, *Statue of Sir Wilfrid Laurier,* c. 2010, Creative Commons CC BY-SA 3.0, accessed March 4, 2021, https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Laurier_statue,_Ottawa.jpg.

Statues and Commemoration

All across the world, statues are commissioned and erected in commemoration of certain people, or events. Perhaps a person did something that earned them particular renown. Or maybe, an event took place that was significant enough for people to deem it worth remembering. A common way to commemorate these is through the building of statues. In North America, there are hundreds of such statues throughout Canada and the United States. Think of the Lincoln Memorial in the U.S., or the Wilfrid Laurier Memorial in Canada. All of these statues are commemorating national heroes or people of note.

But outside of their original purposes, they can also hold additional meanings to the public. Some historians believe that, like museums and heritage sites, statues are just a continuation of the ancient traditions of storytelling. Just like how legends and myths pass down in history through the oral tradition, people can ascribe these same myths and legends to statues.[1] Others hold the belief that building statues and monuments contribute to the creation of a shared national identity, and heritage.[2]

Statues can hold many different meanings to different groups of people, and it can change over time. As new generations of people replace the previous ones, the original ideas and meanings embodied by the statues may not hold true for the newer generations.

Discussion Questions

- Think of a famous statue anywhere in the world, in any country. What do you think the statue represents to the people?
- Do you think it is important to Canada's national identity to have statues and monuments?
- In what ways would a statue have a different meaning to two different groups of people?

[1] David Glassberg, "Public History and the Study of Memory," *The Public Historian* 18, no. 2 (Spring 1996), 21.

[2] Robert Aldrich, "Commemorating Colonialism in a Post-Colonial World," *E-rea* 10.1, 2012, https://journals.openedition.org/erea/2803?lang=en, accessed March 4, 2021.

George Vancouver (1757–1798)

George Vancouver was a British explorer who was remembered for conducting an extremely difficult survey of the the Pacific Coast of North America. Before his work in the Pacific, he spent many years on voyages in the Caribbean as an aide to the famous Captain James Cook, and rose up the ranks. Finally, in 1791, he was put in command of an expedition to the area that is now known as the Pacific Northwest. He arrived there in April 1792, and for the next few years, he would carefully map and survey the coast and the different inlets and channels in the area, naming many different places. After sailing back to England in 1795, his health began to diminish and he died in 1798.[3]

He is seen today as being a colonialist rather than a discoverer. Much like Christopher Columbus, he did not discover anything that was not already known by humans. The indigenous peoples of the Pacific Northwest were already living there, and were intimately familiar with the land. Rather, historians today hold the view that he was a facilitator of "colonial intervention." By mapping out the region in detail, he made it easier for the British Empire to settle there, and impose their authority on the land.[4]

Once the British settled in the region, his work was not forgotten. The City of Vancouver was originally established as a small settlement called Granville in southwest British Columbia. Once it was incorporated as a city in 1886, it changed its named to Vancouver. This was done to honour the British explorer, who had surveyed much of the land the city was built on.[5]

Unknown, *Probably George Vancouver*, c. 1796–8?, oil on canvas, 43.2" × 33.5", National Portrait Gallery, London, accessed March 4, 2021, https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Probably_George_Vancouver_from_NPG.jpg.

George Vancouver, *The Coast of N.W. America*, c. 1798, 81 × 63 cm, G.G. & J. Robinson, London, accessed March 4, 2021, https://www.oregonencyclopedia.org/articles/vancouver_george/.

Discussion Questions

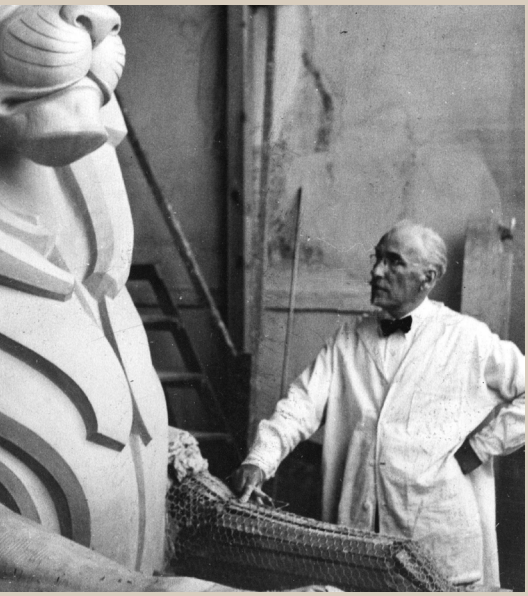
- Why do you think that British explorers claimed to "discover" places in which people were already living?
- If you are starting a settlement or colony in an unknown land full of unknown people, in what ways would a map help you?
- Do you think it was necessary for the residents of Granville to change the city's name after incorporation?
- Why did the settlers in British Columbia not consult the indigenous peoples when naming their settlements?

[3] The Editors of Encyclopaedia Britannica, "George Vancouver," *Encyclopaedia Britannica*, June 18, 2020, https://www.britannica.com/biography/George-Vancouver, accessed March 3, 2021.

[4] Daniel Clayton, "On the colonial genealogy of George Vancouver's chart of the north-west coast of North America," *Ecumene* 7, no. 4 (October 2000), 371–2.

[5] Chuck Davis, "Vancouver," *Encyclopaedia Britannica*, March 19, 2020, https://www.britannica.com/place/Vancouver, accessed March 4, 2021.

Jack Lindsay, *Statue of Captain George Vancouver in front of City Hall*, c. 1940-8, City of Vancouver Archives, Vancouver, accessed March 4, 2021, https://searcharchives.vancouver.ca/statue-of-george-vancouver-in-front-of-city-hall.



Townley, Matheson and Partners, *Photograph of Charles Marega*, c. 1938, City of Vancouver Archives, Vancouver, accessed March 4, 2021, https://searcharchives.vancouver.ca/photograph-of-charles-morega.

Origin of the Statue

As the City of Vancouver was about to celebrate its 50th anniversary, the Vancouver Canadian Club commissioned a life-size sculpture of the British explorer who mapped the region nearly one hundred and fifty years ago. Thus, it was decided that George Vancouver, the man after which the city was named, was to have a statue of himself placed in front of Vancouver's City Hall. Sculpted by artist Carlo (Charles) Marega, the full bronze statue of Captain George Vancouver was installed in 1936.[6]

According to the city's public art registry, it has been said that the statue bears little resemblance to the actual Captain George. This is because the artist referenced a maquette, which in turn was copied from a painting, which also was copied from another painting.[7]

Originally hailing from Italy, Carlo Marega was a renowned local artist, who was famous for sculpting many well-known statues and memorials in British Columbia, such as the "lions" on the Lions Gate Bridge of Vancouver. He himself was later commemorated in 2017 with a plaque for his contributions to the artistic and cultural heritage of the province.[8]

Discussion Questions

- Is it necessary, or required for cities to erect statues when commemorating people? What other ways are there of commemoration?
- Do you think it is important for the statue of George Vancouver to resemble the real life Captain Vancouver? Why?
- Between George Vancouver or Carlo Marega, who do you think contributed more to the heritage of the City of Vancouver?

[6] City of Vancouver, "Captain George Vancouver," *City of Vancouver Public Art Registry*, https://covapp.vancouver.ca/PublicArtRegistry/ArtworkDetail.aspx?ArtworkId=1, accessed March 3, 2021.

[7] City of Vancouver, "Captain George Vancouver," https://covapp.vancouver.ca/PublicArtRegistry/ArtworkDetail.aspx?ArtworkId=1, accessed March 3, 2021.

[8] Parks Canada, "Government of Canada Recognizes the National Historic Importance of Charles Marega (1879-1939)" *Government of Canada*, December 7, 2017, https://www.canada.ca/en/parks-canada/news/2017/12/government_of_canadarecognizesthenationalhistoricimportanceofcha.html, accessed March 3, 2021.

Defacing of the Statue

On June 11 2020, the statue was vandalized. In the wake of police brutality and anti-racism protests sparked by the George Floyd incident in May 2020, protesters in Vancouver splashed both sides of the statue with paint. This was part of a series of demonstrations in Canada and the United States, where statues of historical figures in cities all over the continent were also vandalized.[9]

Many controversial statues, such as this one, date back to the early twentieth century. Western nations built them to help construct national identity and heritage, but they also worked to entrench and legitimize colonial rule.[10] After World War II, many nations all over the world decolonized, and in doing so, tried to remove all the symbols and reminders of colonialism. For example, the Vietnamese and Algerians renamed streets and removed statues that celebrated French historical figures, because it was a reminder of the oppression they suffered at the hands of the French.[11]

So why was the statue of George Vancouver targeted in particular? Today, it is consensus among academics that many historical Canadian figures were responsible for committing "horrific atrocities against Indigenous people."[12] Captain Vancouver directly helped and made possible the colonial settlement of British Columbia, in turn making him a contributor to these historical atrocities. In recent times, as more and more people have become aware of the ugly colonial past of Canada, the statues have increasingly become seen as reminders, or even celebrations of this unfortunate history.

In the past, perhaps the statue was seen as something for Vancouver residents to be proud about, since it was building a new shared heritage for people in Vancouver. However, in recent times, it is apparent that people have much more mixed opinions about the statue.

A few days after the defacing, the City of Vancouver responded by announcing the development of a "commemorations policy" for reviewing "statues, street names, and other city assets," in an attempt to re-examine its colonial past.[13]

The statue still stands today.

Daily Hive, *George Vancouver statue covered in blue paint*, c. 2020, Daily Hive, Vancouver, accessed March 4, 2021, https://dailyhive.com/vancouver/george-vancouver-statue-city-hall-defaced?auto=true.

Discussion Questions

- Think of a statue of a historical figure you have seen in person. Did you ever question the significance of the person depicted? Why or why not?
- When a statue is vandalized in this way, what exactly is it do you think the vandals are trying to attack?
- Do you think there is merit in comparing the situation of the Vietnamese and Algerians under French colonialism to the situation of the indigenous peoples of British Columbia today?
- After considering the historical background of George Vancouver and the statue, what is your opinion on the statue? Do you think it should still stand?

[9] Amy Judd, "Statue of George Vancouver vandalized outside city hall," *Global News*, June 11, 2020, https://globalnews.ca/news/7054134/statue-george-vancouver-vandalized/#:~:text=The%20statue%20of%20George%20Vancouver%20outside%20city%20hall%20was%20vandalized,clean%20it%20up%20Thursday%20morning, accessed March 3, 2021.

[10] Srushti Gangdev, "B.C. law professor says Canada needs to review colonial legacy of public monuments," *Global News*, June 11, 2020, https://globalnews.ca/news/7057986/mary-ellen-turpel-lafond-statues-colonial-history/, accessed March 4, 2021.

[11] Daphné Budasz, "Colonial memory and the social role of history," *EUIdeas*, July 6, 2020, https://euideas.eui.eu/2020/07/06/colonial memory-and-the-social-role-of-history/, accessed March 4, 2021.

[12] Aldrich, "Commemorating Colonialism," https://journals.openedition.org/erea/2803?lang=en, accessed March 4, 2021.

[13] Vincent Plana, "Vancouver to address "structural racism" in review of city's statues and monuments," *Daily Hive News*, June 17, 2020, https://dailyhive.com/vancouver/vancouver-policy-review-statue-street-names?auto=true, accessed March 3, 2021.

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Vancouver, City of. "Captain George Vancouver." *City of Vancouver Public Art Registry*. https://covapp.vancouver.ca/PublicArtRegistry/ArtworkDetail.aspx?ArtworkId=1 [accessed March 3, 2021].

Vancouver Planning Department, *Statue of Captain George Vancouver,* c. 1985?, City of Vancouver Archives, Vancouver, accessed March 4, 2021, https://searcharchives.vancouver.ca/statue-of-captain-george-vancouver-vancouver-city-hall.

Historical Biography: Petrus of Saint-Denys: Chronicle of a Child Crusader

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June 2021

Note: This paper has been written as a work of historical fiction; the annotated bibliography discusses the sources utilized in greater detail.

Few individuals give me cause to labour in retelling their stories over a pitcher of ale and fistful of bread, and fewer still compel me to put quill to parchment. Yet in this candle-lit room sit pages in waiting of a story to be told, and the ale has all but vanished from the flagon before me. Curious. How I, Benoit of Paris, humble servant of Christ, wish Petrus were here to assist me in this indulgence. Forgive my gluttony, my Lord. Nonetheless I will pour one for my closest brother and dearest friend whose whereabouts remain a mystery, but whose legacy shall be retold for centuries to come through this testament to his piety – that which has been unrivalled among those of such young age and short stature. Perhaps one day Petrus too may return bearing the cross of our Lord upon the breast of a tunic which has graced the Holy Lands of Palestine and all lands hither and thither; although, hope fades with every rotation of the sun around our Earth. It has been five years since we parted ways at the mouth of the great sea which stood between us and Jerusalem. Five years of praying that that the True Cross would be wrested from the hands of those Saracens, whose raping and pillaging of the Holy Lands begs condemnation by all, and at last returned to us Christians: so the venerated Urban II decreed some years ago in the name of Christ.

This recounting of events and the life of my dear Petrus mustn't begin where our journey ended, but where his began. During our many nights spent together I would come to learn of Petrus' early years before our meeting, and I share these now with you.

Seventeen years ago, some time between the brisk airs of Advent and the feast of Epiphany, in the town of Saint-Denys some two or three leagues north of Paris on the edge of the fertile Beauce plains, Petrus was born into a kingdom ravaged by desperate poverty and hunger. Petrus was one of nine children, four of whom were born still. With the passing of each new moon came an apparent surge of mouths to feed. Some mouths were those of suckling babes crying out for nourishment, whereas others were simply the mouths of greedy lords whose demands for increasing rents put great strain on these already tenuous relationships. For all the great advancements enjoyed by our parents and

their parents on the fields like the new plow that is drawn by our sturdy horses, why still do we struggle to feed our hungry? When did it come to pass that one must work harder each day and receive little in return? Nonsense, I say.

To continue: as the son of farmers who, for generations, had weathered the downtrodden and increasingly precarious conditions of life on the land, Petrus would bear witness to the depravity endured by those drifting from the teachings of God. By his very survival in those early years in life wherein great numbers of children perish, Petrus' early baptism days after his entering into this world undoubtedly saved him from an early grave.

I recount the curious nature of those common folk who waxed and waned in their devotion to Him as if each change in season brought forth a change in loyalties. In my years I witnessed numerous heretical sects emerge with their false doctrines, encouraging the work of the Devil behind closed doors and cursing all of Christendom in their sacrilege. Monasteries would fall under the rule of local strongmen, more oft than not having little knowledge of the Christ's teachings. Undoubtedly, these places of shelter and refuge for the poor were slipping into the powerful hands of corruption. Where protection was afforded by Him to those who showed zealous devotion and modest living, the baronial lords stand guard over those who have yet to flee towards the city. Have we, the prized creatures of divine creation, turned our backs on He who gave us life? Do we show our devotion to Him through the selling of offices to the highest bidders with the sharpest swords but dullest wits? Is this why my dearest Petrus remains lost at sea, or stranded upon the shores of Palestine?

Nonetheless, in his early years, Petrus hearkened to stories of war and destruction shared among those descendants of warriors who had heeded the call of the most Holy Urban II lit a fire beneath him and all who bore witness to these tales. For it has been told that Christ as Lord and King has had his inherited kingdom stolen from beneath him at the hands of pagans and heretics, and thus, thousands of Christendom's greatest knights convened at Constantinople, and in the 1099th year of our Lord, returned Jerusalem to our rightful hands at the behest of His Holiness Urban II who beckoned for us to the fraternal aid of our brothers to the east to patch the void that lay between our churches.

In the years that followed, Petrus would take note of the men who made their way through and around Saint-Denys, destined for far-off lands in the name of His Holiness Innocent III who called upon us Christians no less than two or three times to combat heresy and descend upon Palestine to return to Christendom that place where Christ rested – if my memory serves me well. Few would return with tales of glory, more yet with tales of shame and devastation. Indeed, garments and arms soaked in the blood of our adversaries told their own stories and had long since dried upon the walls on which they hung, under which Petrus would hear these daring narratives retold time and time

again. How could a child like this, innocent as he may have been in age, gaze upon these relics which had been to the edge of the Holy See and back and not feel invigorated with the spirit of our Lord? At the very least, the failures of recent quests and stories of massacre cast doubts upon the young minds of those whose lives offered little salvation. Alas, it is my suspicion that these circumstances and the hope of escape would be the first to rouse Petrus' interest in the Holy cause.

Petrus and my paths would soon thereafter converge under the unusually warm circumstances of Eastertide MCCXII when the annual Lendit Fair commenced in his town of Saint-Denys along the winding Seine River. Around this time, the annual cycle of food production recommenced alongside the season of games, tournaments, and flowers, all of which were proudly on display during these celebrations. I recall Petrus' speaking of an unusually large crowd for this fair – much larger than in any of his prior years. Tavern keeps did not complain about their increased patronage, which by all accounts had been steadily on the rise for many years prior as our numbers have swelled beyond the capacity of our keeps, and indeed beyond the capacity of our fields! We reckoned that in all our time we have failed to see so numerous a people move across our land! And yet it is was among these masses of strange faces and familiar tongues wherein I would come to meet dear Petrus as the triumphant voice of a shepherd boy no taller than the stone he stood upon captured our attention: none other than Stephen of Cloyes himself, as he would come to be known.

It was at this moment Petrus' fate would be sealed, entirely enamoured with the teachings of his peer. As if speaking for Christ himself, this young Stephen of Cloyes commanded the unusually young crowd of onlookers and instilled within them a sense of dramatic urgency for our Christian kingdom in crisis. Petrus, who at this time was as ripe with zealous vigour as he was with youth all too common among the young, was enthralled with this shepherd's words:

> Brothers and sisters! Companions from the centre of Chartres who bore witness to my tales in the early days on the heels of Innocent's preaching of the Albigensian war, and the new faces whom I am pleased to now be present with: the year draws nigh when we, the children of God, the powerless and rootless pueri, the serfs and stragglers with no homes or no cause beyond that which serves our Lord through not blasphemous indulgence and battle, but through poverty and chastity, put forth for all to see our selfless reclamation of the Holy Sepulcher wherein our eyes and hearts are set. No longer shall we the hapless and destitute look to men with arms to protect our Christian villages while the often-fallible church relishes in their splendor afforded no less by the burden of our taxes! Many knights in plated armour, blades in hand, hearkened the calls of Rome's bishops for militant action across the reaches of this Francia and that Holy Roman Empire, those Kingdoms of Germany and from the papal states wherein promises of indulgence were made to all those in their sacrifice. But I say what of these promises?! What of these stories of holy wars and honourable battles for the cross retold by peasants and pilgrims alike as they seek shelter and food across these lawless lands? What of these papal calls for war which leave us fatherless and yet still void of the Holy Land? Nay…

And with one hand on his crook, this gifted young orator reached to his breast pocket and from there drew a piece of parchment. Petrus' eyes were locked in this moment as if entirely transfixed by some force larger than he or I. I recall this vividly. Stephen continued:

> A letter to the King of France no less! Handed to me by Jesus Christ himself with promise of victory; victory which many nobles failed at before us, for their capitulation of Christ's teachings to their desire for glory damn them from the start. Would Christ appear to those whose cause he did not believe was true and good? Nay; God has chosen us the poor as his apostles. From my origin in pestilent Cloyes to hither in the crowded commons of Saint-Denys, I have told and retold this story for all who care to listen, and from these willful listeners came the mass we witness here today. How numerous and pious are we, the famished children of God! Pray no more in agony and want, for peace nor death as an escape from this chaos! Heed the word of Christ which I share with you all, not in want of fame and glory, but in want for peace and love for all!

And with these final words, awe enveloped all of us in attendance, particularly our dear Petrus. As if compelled by the hands of Christ himself, Petrus was invigorated with a new sense of purpose, attending young Stephen's every need as the prophet he was.

Petrus would continue to garner support for this cause as he joined Stephen in his retelling of this encounter with Jesus throughout the town of Saint-Denys. Before long, nearly all of the town's young gathered as if preparing for some great battle, wherein Stephen of Cloyes with Petrus at his side spoke with the voice of Christ, informing all that our congregation would set forth from the bounds of Saint-Denys to the more spacious and accommodating rallying point: the town of Vendôme.

For days Petrus and I continued by way of the Seine en route to Vendôme, amassing support from all across the country as we hastily moved forward, Eastertide giving way to Pentecost, and the annual pilgrimages commencing. Children from varying backgrounds, languages, dresses, and customs, were one in our shared feelings, and one in our minds. So too were we one in our garments, sporting a cross sewn on the right shoulder when possible under coats of cotton. Unlike those before us, the clothes from this new fibre, replaced the thick woollen cloaks which nearly doubled the weight of the small children bearing them.

Innumerable were we upon our arrival at Vendôme, oriflammes held high; what a sight to behold. Our encampment sprawled within and outside of the city, with monks and priests alike joining us. Vendôme was not unique in the sense that the hunger and instability which plagued our kingdom halted not at the walls of our encampment, but permeated the bellies of our ranks. Petrus spared no pains in attempting to quell dissent among our people and to console those children crying for their

parents and for a morsel of bread. Traders in caravans heading this way and that would oft stop to spare what little they could, as even those of increasing wealth struggled on long legs of their trips.

Several weeks would pass as our numbers swelled, conditions not improving nor declining. By all accounts we were some 30,000 strong when we left Vendôme. Our destination remained Jerusalem.

And with that Petrus' real journey began. It has been said that the innumerable children making this great exodus from their hometowns, which often retained their inhabitants for the entirety of their lives, paid no mind to the desperate pleas of their parents who saw the futility in our quest. For Petrus and his family, one less mouth to feed was a welcome conciliation. For other families, those few who were blessed with moderate fortunes and wealth, there was no conciliation offered to them, for our peers came from all echelons of society, rich and poor, boys and girls alike, their backs equally turned from the only lives they knew.

Some days (or possibly weeks, I cannot recall) after our departure from Vendôme, an envoy sent by King Philip II Augustus brought word of the king's decree: that all children had been ordered to return home. How little this influenced our majority, Petrus in kind. Like a gnat on an ass, this envoy was swiftly placated, and we continued onwards. Some children, however, primarily those motivated by want of food over fear of persecution, took this decree to heart and turned this way and that hoping to be on the right direction home. It was thus made abundantly clear that we were not alone in our efforts, for it was suggested that pueri from the coast of Spain to the far north in the Rhineland were being drawn forth in great numbers from their little towns and villages scattered throughout the reach. Our purpose, however, was not concerned with these tales which seemed grander than those shared beneath the armaments of our elders, but rather on our blistered feet and the holes in our bellies.

For days we moved onwards, being almost entirely dependent on the charity of others in these foreign lands to feed our numbers as we endured the intense heat. These efforts always fell short of our growing needs for life's basic necessities, but that is all we've known. The only novelty in these experiences were the changing songs sung by new birds and the different roads traveled; nothing of suffering was new for Petrus and our friends. Alas, many a league were littered with the bodies of children whose tiny feet could no longer support the increasingly burdensome load of hunger and homesickness. Having now earned the respect of Stephen of Cloyes, Petrus (and I by the nature of our friendship) would be spared from the worst excesses of this starvation through his service to the shepherd boy. But supplies were short, and even those closest to Stephen struggled to keep moving. Nonetheless, the virulence of these deaths led to almost a complete loss of discipline amongst us and, most shamefully, increasing irreverence towards Stephen of Cloyes, he who has touched the hand of Christ.

For another hundred or so leagues Petrus and I continued while our congregation replaced its lost ones with new pueri almost instantaneously, finally reaching the port city of Marseilles some weeks after our departure with nearly as many pueri as had left Vendôme. It was at this time Petrus recalled stories from his village of the great city of Marseilles where so many before us had departed for the sea. Young as he was in age but aged and experienced in vice, Petrus made note of the relative security afforded this wealthy city on the water. A detailed account of Petrus' time here is necessary.

By this time the heat was nearly unbearable, and the wet breeze coming off the water did little to cool us. The hottest year in memory of those alive, it was said. Unlike some of towns we passed through whose handful of abodes did little if anything in terms of accommodating our numbers, Marseilles was well-equipped to provide reprieve from some of these harsh conditions. The wealth of this port was astounding and unlike anything we had seen before. Traders with coloured skin akin to what I can only describe as sand came to-and-fro. Alongside some of these most unusual people, Petrus and I were given shelter from the sun at an inn near the outskirts of the city while other children sought shade and sleep wherever they could find it. For what seemed like an eternity we remained there in Marseilles. Petrus and I, having never seen the sea, knew not what constituted unfavourable conditions, but it was made clear to us through the retelling of stories of treacherous journeys near and far that no wooden ship, big nor small, could weather the waves which rose and sank above the shoreline in times of storm. I was terrified thinking of this foreign substance dancing with the wrath of God, but not Petrus.

The hospitality of Marseilles was not unlimited, and soon thereafter, children slowly began to leave, perhaps due to hunger or the complete collapse of morale. Up and down the docks Petrus would walk, inquiring about how we may secure safe passage across the sea. Men of unprecedented wealth would scoff at Petrus' questions, making reference to those warriors before us who so naively approached the sea as if it were one more town to conquer. I needed not be convinced of the terror which was the vast blueness between us and Jerusalem. It was during one of these walks where Petrus would be approached by two wealthy merchants who offered vessels for the passage of those who still desired, and for the cause of God without charge. Returning to Stephen, Petrus would share these tidings, and our numbers were counted. 5,000 strong we were by the time of this offering. Whether the remaining children perished here in Marseilles or along their return journey home, we do not know.

Petrus then made arrangements with these two strangers for seven vessels on which those who remained and who wished to embark on the last leg of the journey would travel. By my writing of these tales which Petrus and I shared, you the reader may wonder why I returned safely while my dearest friend remained lost at sea. Simply I could not find it within me to board those rickety ships

and wave goodbye to all I have known. Rather, I remained on the shores with the large crowd of observers who saw our group off after their preparations were made for the perils of the sea. Petrus' devotion to the cause and to the shepherd boy Stephen was thus greater than mine, and this is where our paths diverged. Perhaps my greatest regret in life has been not stepping foot on those ships and sailing for Palestine. If I joined Petrus, at least I would know what came of my greatest friend. But here I sit wondering, and so I have sat for five years hence.

In the weeks that passed after Petrus' sailing I toiled along foreign roads trying to find my way home, with little more than skeletons marking my route. Through barren towns littered with the remnants of what I only assume to be our Jewish contemporaries, as Petrus had informed me, I would walk with thoughts of him running through my mind. Did God claim Petrus and our companions as tithe for our wrongdoings in times past? Were they taken as payment for the wrongs of our King Philip II Augustus, or His Holiness Innocent III? It reflects poorly upon my character to question the authority of both divine beings as I take leave of my duties to write this tale, but where must I turn for guidance during these times of clashing powers? Uncertainty prevails.

Petrus, my closest friend of few short years, whose tales and fables inspired all who were lucky enough to be graced by his presence, I do pray for your safe return home. Perhaps in my writing I have secured your fate as prescribed by God, but our descendants must know of your journey, however short it may have been. Unlike those unlucky few who before us set forth in disarray and misguided intent, how I pray that you pueri succeed in your endeavours, to return to Christendom the True Cross of Christ, and to unite with our Eastern brothers in shared love for Christ.

I leave the remaining pages to be filled upon your return so as to document the remainder of what I can only pray is a successful pilgrimage to the Holy Land.

With love in this 1217th year of our Lord, 37th year of our King Philip II Augustus, 2nd year of His Holiness Honorious III,

Benoit

Annotated Bibliography:

Backman, Clifford R. *Worlds of Medieval Europe*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2003.

Backman was an invaluable source of information relating the times I was examining. The 10th chapter, "The Reform of the Church," provided details regarding the status of the church, state(s), and related institutions from the 11th to 13th centuries and how these influenced would-be crusaders. I thus relied on this source for discussions of Pope Urban II and his calls for the first crusade and the impacts this had on subsequent generations. Additionally, discussions of the 2nd and 3rd crusade as relative failures influenced by biographer's recollection of these past events.

Bongars, Jacques. *Gesta Dei per Francos*, 1, pp. 382 f., trans in Oliver J. Thatcher, and Edgar Holmes McNeal, eds., *Medieval Sourcebook.* New York: Scribners, 1905.

This account of Pope Urban II's speech at the Council of Clermont, taken from our course readings, provided details for my biographer's recounting of Pope Urban's speech as passed down through the generations. Ideas of fighting Muslim's for recontrol of the Holy Sepulcher as well as coming to the defence of their (my subject's and others in the western Kingdoms) eastern brothers were woven into the biography based on this source.

Dickson, Gary. *The Children's Crusade: Medieval History, Modern Mythistory.* Hampshire: Palgrave MacMillan, 2008.

Dickson's work provided more temporal details about the origins of the children's crusade including what life may have looked like around this time. I thus utilized this source to situate the journey in time and space, specifically in reference to the seasonality and how this was interpreted by individuals of this time. The general makeup of the crusade as not *just* children was also drawn from this source, including other poor and destitute individuals. Additionally, the overpopulated cities which many of the supporters came from were taken into consideration.

Gray, George Z. *The Children's Crusade: An Episode of the Thirteenth Century*. New York: Hurd and Houghton, 1870.

The first eight chapters of this book were consulted in great detail and were critical to my structuring of the biography. General discussions of the previous crusades as "failures" were reflected in the stories told by Stephen of Cloyes as recounted by my biographer. Notions of confusion in Europe amidst times of war and bloodshed, the supremacy of war, turmoil, and lawlessness, and the general conditions of abject poverty were reflected throughout the biography. The path taken by these characters, as deduced by Gray, were compared against other sources for this biography. The importance of Stephen of Cloyes as a character were integral to my writing, including his stories of speaking directly to Jesus Christ and his treatment as a saint/prophet. Furthermore, discussions of tales of war passed down through generations were weaved into the biography. Details regarding the attire and the general mood of the movement were taken from this source as well, including the mood and atmosphere throughout the discussed towns/cities.

Orme, Nicholas. "Childhood in Medieval England, c. 500-1500." https://www.representingchildhood.pitt.edu/medieval_child.htm [accessed May 24, 2021].

I have included this source in addition to the ones listed above as Nicholas Orme is a scholar of medieval history whose name appeared many times during my research. While the source was for medieval England, I utilized it to get a better idea of what life as a child in Europe would have been like around this time. This included the high rate of mortality and the general suffering that was all too common during this period, reflected in my biographer's story.

Munro, Dana C. "The Children's Crusade." *The American Historical Review 19*¸ no. 3 (1914): 516-524.

Author Dana Munro tackles the children's crusade from an angle which is critical of the modern (~1900s) historian's susceptibility towards romanticism of history. The author parses out the two movements which took place around the same time (one in France, one in Germany), and I focused on the French movement centred around Stephen of Cloyes. Details regarding his life as a shepherd as well as the general excitement of all his followers was gleaned from this source. A detailed chronicle of events was provided in this source as well which I compared to others for clarity's sake.

Raedts, Peter. "The Children's Crusade of 1212." *Journal of Medieval History, 3,* no. 4 (1977): 279-323.

This article brings our attention to the specificities of the children's crusade itself, since the fragmented historical accounts leave us with much to be interpreted. Discussions of Stephen of Cloyes including his encounter with Jesus were utilized as comparison against other sources. Details regarding the demographic makeup including the size of the children's crusade and its members (not all children/pueri) were included in my biography. Orders from the King, the general feelings of hunger, and the blossoming of heretical sects around the year 1200 were used. Raedts' discussion of life for farmers including the precarity of their work influenced the details of my story. Additionally, the poverty of many characters throughout my biography was influenced by this article. Perhaps most importantly, details regarding the failures of past crusades and the subsequent interpretation of the Children's Crusade as a pilgrimage and not a march to war was greatly helpful.

Riley-Smith, Jonathan. "Crusading as an Act of Love." *History, 65,* no. 214 (1980): 177-192.

Riley-Smith's article took an interesting perspective on the crusades as acts of love. Throughout the article Riley-Smith mentions how promises of indulgence made by pope Urban II, his notions of brining fraternal aid to Christians in the east, returning Jerusalem to Christ after it has been stolen from him, and the general notions of laymen receiving salvation through these endeavours influenced the ways in which I wrote Stephen of Cloye's sermons. The strong bonds formed during these journeys, as told by Riley-Smith, formed the basis of my author's friendship with the subject.

Riley-Smith, Jonathan. "Rethinking the Crusades." *First Things: A Monthly Journal of Religion & Public Life,* no. 101 (2000): 20-23.

This short article by Riley-Smith further detailed the crusades as pilgrimages proclaimed by Pope's on the behalf of Christ. The notion of wearing a cross on the breast of one's coat was taken from this work, and the ideas of lofty promises of indulgence and salvation were suggested here. The general ideas of wiping out heretics and enemies of Christendom were also influential.

Tyerman, Christopher. *Fighting for Christendom: Holy War and the Crusades.* Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004.

The first two chapters of Tyerman's work provided definitions for the crusades and further explored the role played by Pope Urban II in instigating the first crusade. Additionally, the consequences of this preaching were mentioned to have been remembered decades later, and this made its way into my biographer's remembrance of events. Details regarding the crusade of 1212 including the weather patterns, outbursts of popular religious enthusiasm, as well as the general notion that these individuals likely did not see themselves as crusaders (mission not issued by the papacy but by Stephen as Cloyes) guided my writing.

Tyerman, Christopher. "Reshaping the Eastern Mediterranean: Egypt and the Crusades, 1200-1250," in *The World of the Crusades: An Illustrated History*. New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2019.

This source provided more details on the sense of Christendom in crisis which my biographer discussed throughout his writings. Proclamations of devotion to the cause of liberating the Holy Land and the return of the True Cross were leveraged in this regard, and details regarding geographical locations of the Children's Crusade were implemented. Critically, the usage of the word "pueri" by my biographer came from this source's description of the word, meaning to some "children" and to others "the powerless and rootless." Thus, "pueri" was used in my author's biographical writings to mean both interchangeably.

Teaching Document Postcard Analysis: Imperial Japan and World War I Propaganda

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HIST 3370 History of Modern Japan (Jack P. Hayes)
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Part 1: Introduction

Contents

Several adversities faced Japan as the nation strove to become a dominant imperial power in East Asia and the Pacific. Japan had been experiencing domestic hardships in the early 20th century such as increased dependence on exports, internal struggles amongst citizens, and political unrest. Competitive American and European Empires were advancing in Asia and the Western Pacific Ocean. Propaganda began to circulate during World War I as a means used by many rivals to discourage alliances, including with Japan. Global prejudice was common as rival nations refused to view Japan as an equal among imperial nations. The increased racialized messages further exacerbated negative views on Asian cultures globally.[1] Japan sought global recognition - first projected as a means to achieve equality with white powerful nations, then striving for dominance through expansion of its own empire.

[1] Conrad Totman, *A History of Japan*, 2nd ed. (Malden, MA: Blackwell Publishers, 2004), 427-8.

Part 2: Anglo-Japanese Alliance

The first Anglo-Japanese Alliance was formed in 1902. Its intent was for mutual benefit with regards to trade, but the nations also had mutual aspirations around their interests in China. A primary common goal between the two nations was to prevent Russian expansion.[2] Partly in retaliation for this agreement, an alliance was formed between France, Germany, and Russia.[3] Figure 1 demonstrates a commemorative Osaka Beer Brewing Co. label, illustrating both nations' flags in appreciation of the Anglo-Japanese alliance, 1905.[4] The British Empire was a dominant presence in the region and would be a positive ally for Japan in their attempt to achieve imperial status. Additionally, throughout World War I German prisoners were forced to work in Japanese breweries.[5]

Japanese postcard displaying relations with Britain (1905)

Figure 1: *"Greetings from one of Your Fair Allies." Osaka Beer Brewing Company, 1905. http://www.oldtokyo.com/anglo-japanese-alliance-c-1905/*

[2] Totman, *A History of Japan*, 356.

[3] "Allied Powers: World War I." Retrieved from https://www.britannica.com/topic/Allied-powers-World-War-I

[4] "Anglo-Japanese Alliance, c. 1905." Old Tokyo (n.d). Retrieved from Anglo-Japanese Alliance, c. 1905 | Old Tokyo

[5] Jeff Alexander, *Brewed in Japan: The Evolution of the Japanese Beer Industry* (Vancouver, BC: UBC Press, 2013), 81.

Part 3: Britain's Plea to Japan

British postcard displaying Britain's outreach to Japan for assistance (1914)

Figure 2: *"Postcard Anglo-Japanese Alliance at Russo-Japanese Wartime," early 1900s. https://japanwarart.ocnk.net/product/1112*

The Imperial German Navy was a threat to Japanese interests in China in the early 20th century. The British Empire requested assistance from Japan during unfolding events in WWI, as symbolized in figure 2. The postcard presents Great Britain as the domineering man, towering over Japan, represented as a fragile geisha.[6] Though it was not compulsory to aid Britain in the war it proved to be beneficial for Japan. Japan's primary event during this time was by interfering with the German Empire in the South Pacific in 1914. This was accomplished with the opportunity to advance on German territories of mutual interest. Japan was victorious and attained its goal of acquiring additional territories and decreasing local and foreign competition.[7] Japan also seized this opportunity to present China with 21 Demands while the other imperial nations were preoccupied.[8]

[6] "Postcard Anglo-Japanese Alliance at Russo-Japanese Wartime," early 1900s. https://japanwarart.ocnk.net/product/1112

[7] Totman, *A History of Japan*, 428.

[8] Totman, *A History of Japan*, 429.

Part 4: German Propaganda: Britain's Aspiration for Global Dominance

In 1915, initial negotiations were made between Japan and the German Empire regarding control and interests in Asia should Germany be victorious at the end of the war. Unknown to the British Empire which had presented a better offer, which Japan also accepted, Japan entered secret treaties in the same attempts to gain imperial status no matter the outcome of war.[9] Figure 3 presents German propaganda emphasizing the British Empire as a poisonous spider, as its sole focus is global domination, and that allies will also be conquered post-war time. Represented in the postcard are France (in the spider's mouth), and the US (Uncle Sam) as foolishly aiding, while Germany (eagle and U-boat cutting the web) are forbidding British imperial expansion.[10]

German propaganda portraying British global dominance (1915)

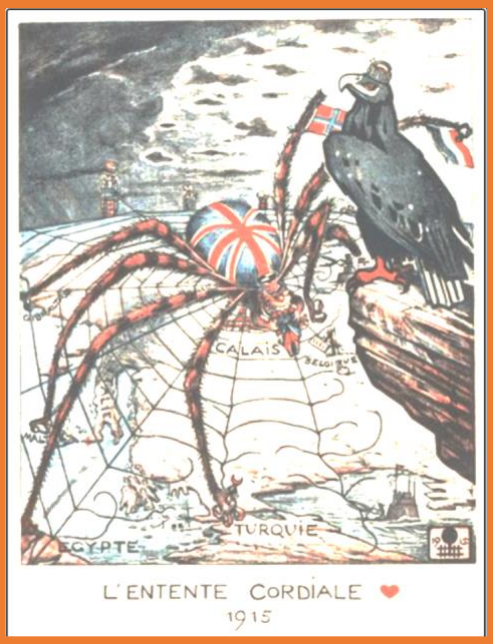

Figure 3: *"L'Entente Cordiale 1915." Eugen von Baumgarten, 1915. https://digital.library.cornell.edu/catalog/ss:19343435*

[9] Jack Hayes, "World War I & Versailles & Colonial Japan: WWI and Siberian Intervention" (audio lecture, Kwantlen Polytechnic University, January 26, 2021).

[10] "L'Entente Cordiale 1915." Eugen von Baumgarten, Cornell University Library Digital Collections, 1915. L'Entente Cordiale 1915 - Cornell University Library Digital Collections: Persuasive Maps: PJ Mode Collection

Part 5: German Propaganda: Suppression of Japan

German postcard propaganda – "to stir up discontent" between Japan and their allies (1916)

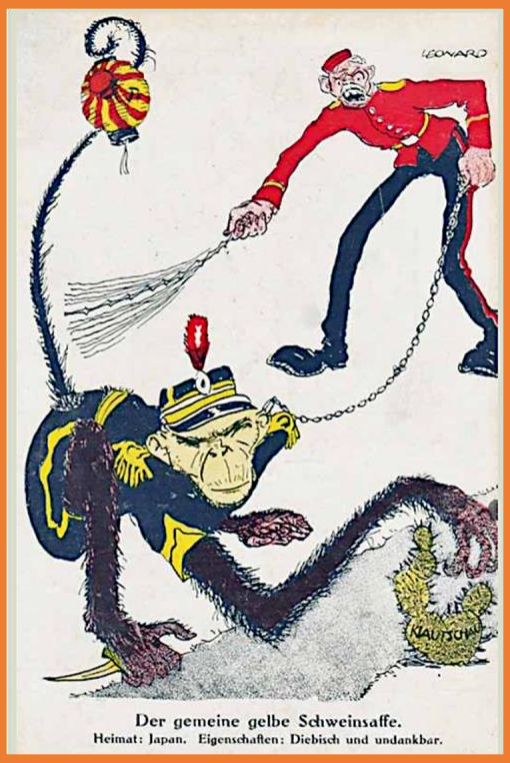

Figure 4: *"Der Gemeine Gelbe Schweinsaffe." Leonard, 1916. Artist Postcard Leonard, Der gemeine gelbe | akpool.co.uk*

Discrimination and the undermining of Japan's ability to become an equal power, through propaganda continued throughout World War I. Figure 4 is an example of long-standing racial stereotypes directed against non-white nations. "Der gemeine gelbe Schweinsaffe" ("the common yellow pig monkey") is printed on the bottom of this German postcard.[11] This is an attempt by German propaganda to represent Japan as a leashed "little monkey." The postcard is two-fold as it demonstrates Germany's view that Japan's allies were misusing Japan's support, as well as Japanese imperial motivations needing to be controlled.

11 "Der Gemeine Gelbe Schweinsaffe." Leonard, Akpool.co.uk, 1916. Retrieved from https://digital.library.cornell.edu/catalog/ss:19343435

Part 6: World War One – Peace Treaty of Versailles 1919

The Treaty of Versailles was signed on June 28, 1919, marking the end of the First World War. It was documented as a peace between the Allied Nations and the Central Powers. Even though figure 5 shows Japan an integral part of the conference, the outcome of the Peace Treaty did not fare well for Japan.[12] Although Japan contributed to and arrived victorious during World War I the country did not acquire status amongst the other imperial nations. This is believed to be influenced largely by prejudicial views by white nations such as Australia and USA. These racist views further hindered Japan through the creation of anti-Japanese immigration laws.[13] Japan had proved it was worthy competitor, and one can speculate that this competition was viewed as something to be feared and abolished. Emperor Taishō was featured in the centre of the postcard alongside leaders from Italy, France, Great Britain, and the United States. Out of those featured, the only one in attendance at the conference in France was US President Woodrow Wilson.

Figure 5: *"Victorious Great Powers at the Paris Peace Conference, 1919," 2019. http://www.oldtokyo.com/victorious-great-powers-at-the-paris-peace-conference-1919/*

[12] "Victorious Great Powers at the Paris Peace Conference, 1919." Old Tokyo, 2019. *http://www.oldtokyo.com/victorious-great-powers-at-the-paris-peace-conference-1919/*

[13] Totman, *A History of* Japan, 429-430.

Part 7: Early 20th Century Japan

There were greater opportunities of interest to Japan during the early 20th century. The late Meiji Era and the early Taishō Era brought great advancements in imperial aims. Japan had used its stance during the First World War to expand its influence and limit competition and rivalry. World War I brought relatively small losses and continual gains for Japan, which participated not for global betterment, but for solitary progress. During the war, all nations attempted to use coercion for personal gains. Similarly, Japan invoked secret treaties with both the Allied Powers and with Germany for trade and territorial privileges. As it was a goal for Japan to become an imperial nation, they also used the opportunity when competitive nations were preoccupied to advance on China. This proved to be detrimental long term as Japan was criticized even by its allies for its domineering role.

The Anglo-Japanese Alliance was later terminated due to its potential conflicts viewed by the League of Nations.[14] Mainly there were fears from many of the countries regarding increased control over trade, increased wars, or imperialism – depending on the nation's view – which can be seen through the World War I post cards. For example, the United States did not want to lose trade opportunities as it was their belief the alliance between Britain and Japan would preclude their interests with China.

Part 8: Conclusion

These postcards reveal a number of arguments for suppressing Japanese imperialism. Primarily, Japan was not recognized as an imperial nation due to its lack of global power prior to the 20th century. This was partially related to racial prejudices as they are a non-white nation and thus were viewed as inferior. This was continuously demonstrated as Japan made advancements evidenced by developments and victories and yet was not considered an equal nation despite equal achievements.[15] Secondly, once Japan's achievements were recognized, Japan was considered either as a threat or as an instrument of other imperial powers, as evidenced by the propaganda

[14] Antony Best, "The 'Ghost' of the Anglo-Japanese Alliance: An Examination Into Historical Mythmaking," *The Historical Journal 49,* 3 (2006): 818.

[15] Ōkuma Shigenobu. "Illusions of the White Race (1921)," *Asia for Educators, Columbia University, n.d.* Asia for Educators (columbia.edu)

featured above. Considering the outcome of the Treaty of Versailles did not favour Japan, it may not be presumptuous to assume that the Imperial Nations misled Japan for their own advancements similar to the way that Japan benefited from the opportunity presented during the Great War as a means to gain territory in China.

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Figure 1: "Anglo-Japanese Alliance, c. 1905." Old Tokyo (n.d). Retrieved from http://www.oldtokyo.com/anglo-japanese-alliance-c-1905/

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Controlling Artistic Expression: The Evolution of Japanese Censorship through Art

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The rapid modernization of Japan in the late 19th century and into the 20th century brought a plethora of changes to all aspects of Japanese lives, particularly in the way that Japan, and the Japanese people, wanted to be viewed by the outside world. One of the underlying reasons for the island nation to seek such dramatic changes was the desire to be recognized as equal to their Western counterparts, and as such, Japanese leaders chose to imitate variations of Western ideology and laws. Heavily influenced by their Western neighbours[1], the Meiji Era introduced several restrictions on its citizens; unfortunately, Japanese art was not spared from the immense number of changes made during this time. Traditional art, such as woodblock prints, performing arts, and filmography, to name a few, were heavily affected by the strict, yet vague, censorship restrictions of, first, the Tokugawa Shogunate, and later, under the Meiji State, Article 259 of the 1880 Penal Code and Article 175 of the 1907 amendment of the Penal Code. Under these regulations, the once seemingly relatively liberal expressions of art, body, and sexuality were gradually limited, although some artists and theatres managed to push the restrictive limits and get away with not being punished.

This paper will explore a selection of art forms that were affected by the development of censorship regulations and laws, and examine the evolution of Japanese art forms to understand the affects censorship had on artistic expressions. Each art form will be examined individually in two eras, the late-Edo to early Meiji period (pre-1880), and Post-Pacific War Era. The divide in timeline will allow for a deeper understanding of the extent of the freedom of expression prior to Japan encoding it into a new national legal framework, and then how the American Occupation and postwar environment affected these laws to fit later own agendas. The end of this essay will briefly look at some scenarios in which the law was brought up in court through a selection of famous cases in which authors and artists challenged the law.

[1] Mark McLelland, "Sex, Censorship and Media Regulation in Japan: a historical overview," *University of Wollongong Research Online* 1, no. 1. (2015): 402.

During the Edo-period (1603 – 1867), as there had yet to be an official set of national laws, restrictions were enforced by the regional *bakufu*. During this period, the art sector was predominantly driven by *chonin* (working class men) and merchants traveling across the country who sought out "pleasure quarters" in which to spend their increasing amount of disposable income. To society, these pleasure quarters were often stigmatized as *akubasho,* or evil places, due to the morally questionable events that occurred within the walls which directly challenged traditional Confucian teachings. Takahashi describes them as "sites of negotiation between the subordinate classes seeking freedom and the ruling classes trying to impose control."[2] The grey area described highlights the main concern of the Tokugawa regarding future restrictions – the blurred class distinction, rather than the act of sex itself. For the *chonin*, the social limitations of Japanese hierarchy prevented them from experiencing the luxury of the upper classes. Instead, these pleasure quarters allowed them to purchase such an experience for one night and transcend the social barriers to enjoy a taste of life, luxury, leisure, and elegance as fanciful elite members of society surrounded by entertainers and courtesans.[3] Occasionally, visits from samurai also happened, though they were reluctantly permitted by the authorities.[4]

The 1690s-1720s was a period of blossoming *chonin* culture and *kabuki* quickly became heavily ingrained in Edo's popular culture, one of many entertainment options at the pleasure quarters.[5] *Kabuki* began as a theatrical side show for prostitutes but faced numerous obstacles and adaptations throughout the changing socio-political environment of modern Japan. Actors in *kabuki* wore visually splendid attire that echoed the novelty of the upper class they were trying to imitate through their acting. One of the earliest restrictions placed on *kabuki*, or art in general, was the prohibition of the mentioning of named samurai on stage or in script prints.[6] This restriction was meant to maintain the dignity of the samurai and to respect the Tokugawa regime. Another restriction that heavily impacted *kabuki* was the removal of women and young men from the stage to "protect public decency by limiting promiscuous performances"[7] and to control the vivid portrayals of love scenes. It was also part of the efforts to prevent soliciting the audience. Most famously, following the 1714 Ejima-Ikushima affair wherein an actor was caught involved with a high-ranking shogun's lady-in-waiting, efforts to distance samurai from the simple pleasure shared by the *chonin* were strengthened

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[2] Yuichiro Takahasi, "Kabuki Goes Official: The 1878 Opening of the Shintomi-Tamura" (1995), quoted in Rachael Hutchinson, ed., *Negotiating Censorship in Modern Japan* (London: 2013), 14.

[3] McLelland, "Sex, Censorship and Media Regulation," 402; see also, Rachel Payne, "Early Meiji Kabuki Censorship," *Japan Forum* 19, no. 3. (2007): 318.

[4] Rachel Payne, "Censorship and Patronage in Meiji Kabuki Theater," in *Negotiating Censorship in Modern Japan*, ed. Rachael Hutchinson (London, 2013), 14.

[5] Payne, "Early Meiji Kabuki Censorship," 320.

[6] Payne, "Early Meiji Kabuki Censorship," 319.

[7] Payne, "Early Meiji Kabuki Censorship," 319.

and samurai attendance were prohibited. This was followed by a spike in anti-*kabuki* propaganda encouraging distaste for the theatre from the upper-class.

The late 17th century also saw restrictions placed to prevent depictions of local gossip or "stories of topical interest"[8] for the same reasons. The limitations put in place during this time sparked the popularity of new genres: *fidaimono* (period pieces), *sewamono* (domestic pieces), and *jidaimono* (pieces involving false identity). While *sewamono*-type *kabuki* chose to depict and reflect on the daily lives of the urban middle class, *jidaimono kabuki* relied on the use of recent scandals and gossip while giving their characters a different name and identity. *Fidaimono* can be compared to fairy tale re-enactments in that they feature heroes and historical figures from the warrior aristocracy. These three sub-genres of *kabuki* allowed for playwrights to be create and push the boundaries of their limitations. Often, it was due to the mundane nature of the presentation that allowed for it to bypass censure and censors.

Starting in the 1800s, *kabuki* experienced a back-and-forth with government regulations. For the first thirty years or so, the "Bunka Bunsei" era was a time of (relative) cultural freedom, experimentations, and individualism.[9] Following these three decades, the Tempo Era (1830-1844) saw an increase in inflation, corruption, mixed with a year of bad harvest. The negative social environment created another sub-genre of *kabuki* to reflect life at the time, *kizewamono*. It featured a significantly darker concepts including murder, rape, and incest echoing the equally turbulent society outside the theatre walls. Prostitutes, gangsters, and blackmailers were often depicted as the anti-heroes in the genre of *kizewamono* who were forced by external circumstances to perform unlawful acts to survive.[10] The year 1841 saw a sudden change in the government's attitude towards *kabuki*, leading to restrictions being tightened and censors in place on the grounds of "moral depravity," as well as the lavishness of *kabuki* culture being limited. This year also saw the *sanza* (three of Edo's remaining authorized theatres) relocated to a remote area on the northern outskirts of Edo from the city's center with a new set of regulations regarding size and building designs. Edo generally contained the strictest regulations as it was the country's capital, with the intensity fading outwards from the city. In September of 1868, however, the relocation of the *sanza* were repealed, followed by granting complete social status, *shin-heimin*, or new commoners, to all their actors. One of the first official, in-text regulations came in August 1872 by the Department of Religious Affairs issuing the *Ongyokukabu Sansoku*, or "Three Regulations of Musical and Theater Entertainment." It read:

[8] Payne, "Early Meiji Kabuki Censorship," 319.

[9] Payne, "Censorship and Patronage," 14.

[10] Payne, "Early Meiji Kabuki Censorship," 336.

> Since nō, kyōgen and other forms of music and dance influence people's emotions and manners, they must adhere to the following rules:
>
> - All disrespectful and blasphemous references to the Emperor are forbidden.
> - Plays extolling kanzen chōaku (rewarding good and chastising evil) are encouraged and excessive lewdness and wickedness harmful to public morals must be avoided.
> - Theaters should revise the customs and practices employed when actors were considered as being outside society, for they must now act in a way appropriate to their new social status.
>
> (*Tokyo Nichinichi shinbun*, 25 August 1872)[11]

The third point in the regulation implies its expectation of theatres to reform and self-censor as "responsible social institution[s]"[12] – a common theme from the government from this point onwards. In September of that year, all theatres were required to apply for a performance license and needed to pay taxes on their earnings. This marked the beginning of official state relations with the theatre and its acceptance into mainstream society.

Commonly found alongside *kabuki* theatres were *ukiyo-e*, or woodblock prints, that patrons had the option to purchase as souvenirs of their favorite courtesans and *kabuki* actors as a memento of their time there. These prints were created using a stamping technique in which intricate designs would be carved into a block of wood, ink rolled over one colour at a time, and pressed onto paper, hence the name "woodblock print." In addition to creating simple souvenirs, the woodblock print method was also used to produce *shunga* or "spring pictures," a type of erotic art, amongst an array of other uses. These would depict a variety of graphic images depicting scenes of autoeroticism, male/male partnership, female/ female partnership, male/female partnership, or group pleasuring.[13] It is estimated that around half of all woodblock prints from the 17th century featured erotica.[14] The prints varied in colour and depictions of characters, causing the authorities to periodically restrict certain colours and characters as they were "wary of the influence it might have on ordinary townspeople."[15] In contrast, the samurai and upper classes disapproved of them and the pleasure quarters they came from due to the ambiguousness in class distinction, leading to the restrictions to be put in place. Unfortunately, there were no national authorities yet to enforce such constraints across the entire country.

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[11] Payne, "Censorship and Patronage," 19.

[12] Payne, "Early Meiji Kabuki Censorship," 340.

[13] McLelland, "Sex, Censorship and Media Regulation," 402.

[14] McLelland, "Sex, Censorship and Media Regulation," 403.

[15] McLelland, "Sex, Censorship and Media Regulation," 403.

Figure 1. Utamaro, Kitagawa. *Taikoki Shizugatake Shichibonyari komyo no zu* (Pictures of the Famous Seven Spearmen of Shizugatke), c. 1804. Accessed 03 April 2021. https://samurai-world.com/seven-spears-of-shizugatake/

One of the most famous cases of *ukiyo-e* censorship was that of *Ehon Taikoki* (*The Illustrated Chronicles of the Regent*) in 1804. This case resulted in the artists Kitagawa Utamaro, Kitagawa Tsukimaro, Utagawa Toyokuni, Katsukawa Shuntei, Katsukawa Shun'ei, and their writer-illustrator Jippensha Ikku being sentenced to a fifty-day house arrest and required to pay a large fine.[16] The print in question was the collection named *Taikoki Shizugatake Shichibonyari komyo no zu* (*Pictures of the Famous Seven Spearmen of Shizugatke*) which clearly depicted Hideyoshi's daimyo in battle with identifying insignia on their persons (Figure 1 above). Its bright colours and easily recognizable characters raised parallels to images associated with the floating world, which was "despised" by the upper classes and officially censured by the authorities on a regular basis.

The 16th century warlord, Toyotomi Hideyoshi's biography was adapted into *ukiyo-e* style illustrated books printed in full colour, going against the Tokugawa edicts that "forbade the representation of 'political subversion, sexual and social [im]propriety and excessive luxuriance contrary to the frugal spirit of Neo-Confucian morality'."[17] The biography itself was extensively published between 1797 and 1802, and adapted for *kabuki* and *joruri* theatre starting from 1799 onwards; none of these instances faced censorship which demonstrates that using Hideyoshi's biography in the

[16] Davis, "The Trouble with Hideyoshi," 282.

[17] Sarah E. Thompson and H.D. Harootunian, "Undercurrents in the Floating World: Censorship and Japanese Prints" (1991), quoted in Davis, "The Trouble with Hideyoshi," 282.

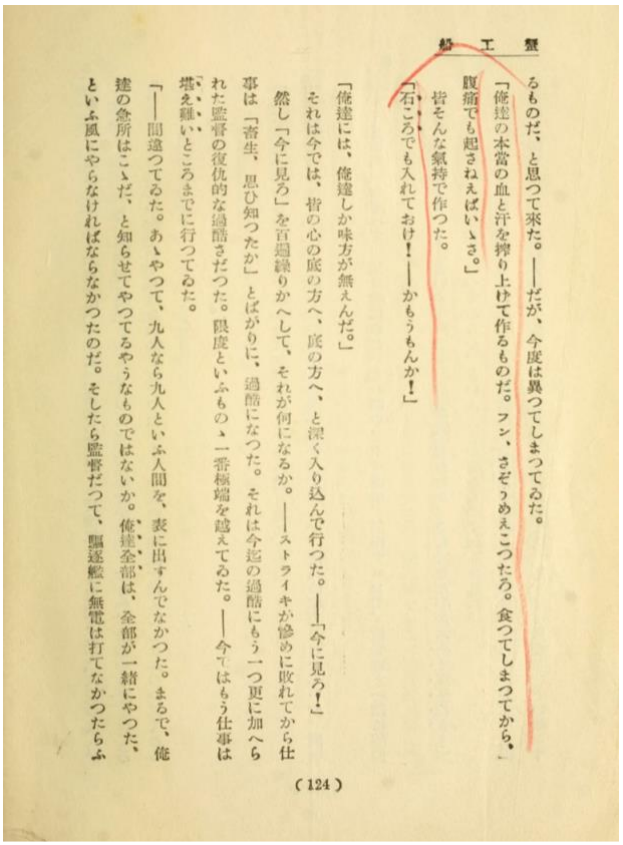

Figure 2. "Kanikosen" ["The Crab Cannery Ship"]. Kobayashi, T. [c.1929]. From Library of Congress. https://blogs.loc.gov/international-collections/2018/04/japanese-censorship-collection-

"Even those fishermen, who may just be ordinary workers, were driven to their wits' end. They finally all understood from this experience who their enemies were and that those enemies were complicit in exploiting workers. Every year, as the crab fishing season came to an end, it was customary to produce cans of crabmeat to be sent to the Emperor. However, no effort was ever made for the traditional purification process when preparing the imperial gift. When this happened in the past, the fishermen had thought the manager was committing an awful act—but this time they felt completely different."

entertainment sector of popular culture was not the issue. The government found that the style of publication was the main concern as *ukiyo-e* style illustrations were generally reserved for images relating to pleasure quarters, or *shunga*, as previously mentioned. By depicting the warlord in this style, the artists created images that could be interpreted as "indirectly referencing known military lineage in the present."[18] This brings into question the status and loyalties of the individuals. Moreover, this style of illustration visually aligned the warlord Hideyoshi, his wife, and their vassals with an artistic style known for entertainment and desire. In doing so, the art was viewed with the implications that Hideyoshi was not to be viewed as significant historical persons, but simply an object of spectacles to their social inferiors, the *chonin*. As Davis explains: "these printed materials, reproduced in hundreds (and more likely in thousands) of copies, made history into a pageant, treated heroes like actors and courtesans and made them into familiar ukiyo-e commodities of desire."[19] The authorities, likely horrified by the mockery of someone they considered to be equal to a national hero, halted the production of the print, restricted sales, and confiscated the woodblocks from the publishers.

Another staple aspect of society that has a long and intertwined history with the government is literature. For many, writing is a creative outlet that allows for the authors to create fanciful stories for others to enjoy, however leisurely reading was a cause for concern from the government. Any publications made during the Meiji Era was subject to review from the country's Home Ministry, a powerful administrative branch of the Japanese government. If any passage or attempted

[18] Davis, "The Trouble with Hideyoshi," 309.

[19] Davis, "The Trouble with Hideyoshi," 310.

publications submitted were found to be offense – whether it be towards the government, the Head of State, or towards the public's morality – were marked with *fuseji*, or "covering letters"[20] (figure 2). Authors were required to rewrite the marked passages before having their work released. Authors were also given the opportunity to submit their work for review prior to publication for a clean, *fuseji*-free copy to be released into circulation, preventing their work from being confiscated, or even banned, in the future.

Prior to 1866, the concept of public libraries was yet to have been introduced into Japanese society. Thanks to Fukuzawa Yukichi's *Things Western* publication, the idea was established in the minds of the Japanese people, and by 1872, the first government-sponsored public library, the *Tokyo Shojakukan* (Tokyo Library), later renamed *Teikoki Toshokan* (Imperial Library) came into existence[21] – it is considered to be the earliest and best-known library in Japan. Its purpose was to "assist the education of men of talent and cultural advancement,"[22] and as a result, rules were put in place restricting what the government perceived to be thoughtless or frivolous use of the library, such as leisure reading.

In 1875, the Imperial Library became Japan's depository library for the Home Ministry, and divided all incoming documents into three categories: *ko*, materials considered acceptable to be shared with the public; *otsu*, materials that were considered inappropriate for public, such as "pillow books" from the Edo period, or erotic stich-bound books; and *hei*, material deemed to be of little or no value, including non-book materials, calendars, and other printed materials were required to be submitted as part of the programme. *Otsu* material was cataloged by the staff and generally unbeknownst and inaccessible to the public; however, it was occasionally accessed by those with a particularly good reason for the need to use it and reflects the closeness of the individual with the library staff to gain the knowledge of the book in the first place, in addition to being granted access to it.[23] The Education Ministry required that all libraries report to them, and in return, the Ministry issued a set of guidelines and restrictions to preserve the public's morality. Libraries were divided into two groups: research libraries, whether public or academic, to support scholarly needs; and popular libraries that contained a small, carefully selected collection for vocational studies or recreational readings. Generally, scholars were given the freedom to indulge in literature, while casual readers were thought to require supervision of material intake as "their minds were more susceptible to dangerous thoughts."[24] As such, the Education Ministry believed that "bad books" (ones that would

[20] McLelland, "Sex, Censorship and Media Regulation," 406.

[21] Sharon H. Domier, "Banned Books in the Hands of Japanese Librarians: from Meiji to Postwar," in *Negotiating Censorship in Modern Japan*, ed. Rachael Hutchinson (London, 2013), 93.

[22] Domier, "Banned Books," 95.

[23] Domier, "Banned Books," 96.

[24] Domier, "Banned Books," 94.

cause social and moral unrest) should be censored and only "good books" which promoted good moral behaviours should be promoted. This was later echoed in the Tokyo Library's 1885 report stating: "the library will not permit the public to view obscene material."[25] Despite this, according to Otaki Noritada's research, no books were officially banned from the library prior to 1887.[26]

Kabuki theatre, woodblock prints, and literature are three examples of the types of regulations citizens were expected to adhere to leading up to 1880. Prior to the enactment of the Penal Code, restrictions varied by region and no formal consequences was set in place for those who did not comply. The *Code Pénal* (Penal Code) and *Code d'instruction Criminelle* (Criminal Instruction Code) were part of the French justice system that the Japanese introduced in 1880 and adapted to construct their own Penal Code during the Meiji Era.[27]. Article 259 of the 1880 Penal Code contains the first mention of punishment for the public display or sale of *waisetsu*, or obscenity, which was later carried over to its 1907 revision that is still used today. It states:

> Article 175
> (Distribution of Obscene Objects)
>
> > A person who distributes, sells, or displays in public any obscene document, drawing or other objects shall be punished by imprisonment with work for not more than 2 years, a fine of not more than 2,500,000 yen or a petty fine. The same shall apply to a person who possesses the same for the purpose of sale.[28]

The development of this concept of censorship was of particular interest in the summer of 1943, two years before the end of the Second World War, when a meeting of Allied Combined Chiefs of Staffs gathered to discuss the details of occupation and censorship which was to be drafted by the War Department together with the Navy Department.[29] A message was sent by the War Department to the Commander-in-Chief of the Southwest Pacific Area, Douglas McArthur, in May 1944 outlining the Department's directives to introduce civilian censorship "to obtain information of value in prosecuting the war effort and gauging the state of public opinion and morale, to aid in carrying out the policies of the military or other governments in the area and the governments of the United Nations."[30] The Department intended to limit the island nation's freedom of communication by

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[25] Domier, "Banned Books," 95

[26] Domier, "Banned Books," 95.

[27] McLelland, "Sex, Censorship and Media Regulation," 403.

[28] Act 175. Japanese Criminal Code, *Penal Code*. Japan: 1907. Website, http://www.japaneselawtranslation.go.jp/law/detail/?id=1960&re=02&vm=04

[29] Monica Braw, "Ideals and Goals of the U.S. Occupation Planning and Censorship," In *The Atomic Bomb Suppressed: American Censorship in Occupied Japan*, (New York, 2015), 21.

[30] Braw, "Ideals and Goals," 22.

targeting their mail, telegrams and telephones, filmography, and photo distribution on the grounds of "assist[ing] in the enforcement of the free and factual dissemination of news based upon United Nations standards."[31] As a result, the Supreme Command for the Allied Powers (SCAP) was created to oversee and maintain these censorship regulations during the Occupation Era.

To an extent, the regulations outlined in the *Censorship Requirements of Newspaper and Magazines – Pre-censorship of First Issue* are very similar to the regulations set out by the Home Ministry during the Meiji Era. The process for a writer to publish their work during the Occupational Era first required them to first produce their work typed, and printed in two copies, one of which would be sent to the censor office. The office will then go through a minimum number of prescribed steps for approval depending on which of the four general categories the piece falls under: "objectionable material" (8 steps), "controversial or questionable material" (31 steps), "sensitive" material, or "unobjectionable" (does not violate any rules). If the work is approved, it will be marked with a stamp. Any part requiring alteration or deletion would also be marked accordingly, similar to the Home Ministry's use of *fuseji*. Only when the second copy is returned can the author begin publications. According to *Basic Plan for Civil Censorship*, any violations are required to be judged by military tribunal, which is not feasible by any means.[32] Rather, authorities opted for suspension, as in the case of *Asahi* when they labelled the use of atomic bombs as a war crime, or in more severe cases, confiscation, such as in the case of *Tokyo Keizai Shimbun* (Tokyo Times Newspaper).[33] These two methods were the most lenient warnings as a suspension would restrict sales, and therefore income, for the entirety of its duration, while a confiscation can lead to the publishers being monitored and kept on file for future investigations,[34] and results in the disposal and waste of a scarce and valuable wartime resource – paper.

This type of pre-censorship technique was also used for *kasutori* (a sub-genre of erotic performances) scripts between 1945 and 194735. These scripts were sent to the Civil Censorship Department (CCD) like many performing arts or literature-based activities of this era, such as *kabuki* and *shingeki* scripts. The name *Kasutori* is derived from a type of distilled beverage, whose name was later borrowed fora genre of post-war pulp, erotic, and escapist literature (*kasutori bunka*). Within the CCD, a native Japanese speaker would evaluate the language to ensure the submitted scripts were appropriate for presentation. The officials who created this procedure were only familiar with Western-style theatre

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[31] Braw, "Ideals and Goals," 24.

[32] Braw, "Punishment for Violations," 82.

[33] Braw, "Punishment for Violations," 82-83.

[34] Braw, "Punishment for Violations," 83.

[35] David Jortner, "Imposing the Standards of Boston on Japan: Kasutori performance, censorship, and the occupation," *Theatre History Studies* 33, (2014): 130+.

and were ill-prepared to analyze alternative performance genres such as *kasutori* and soon found the process put in place bottlenecked efficiency.[36]

Despite new and altered censorship regulations being introduced during this time, there were no explicit rule regarding sexuality, only that representing sexual relations between two individuals are banned. This led to kissing scenes being cut out from movies and the word "kiss" being banned from the title.[37] Ironically, these restrictions led to the elimination of the taboo discussions regarding marital sex through the SCAP's support of the liberation of women, reforming of family law, and sexual education through the lens of democratization and freedom. The increase of pulp magazines throughout 1946-1950 helped to increase this awareness through an increase publication of *fufu seikatsu* (marital sex guides). Occasionally, the Civil Information and Education Sector (CIE), who were responsible for encouraging democratic thoughts, would request for a "democratic display of kissing."[38] Generally, SCAP and CIE worked together to filter "critical" or "controversial" content, in addition to promoting the agendas during the Occupation Era; they did, however, leave moral censorship in the hands of the Japanese government which caused varying degrees of confusion amongst the citizens. One example of such confusion can be seen in the 1947 release of *One Wonderful Sunday* (*Subarashiki Nichiyōbi*). Film regulations included the restrictions of displaying relationships between Western military men and Japanese women, representation of the economic effects of war, or critiques against the Head of State, however producer Kurosawa vividly portrayed the desperate situation of post-war Tokyo (war orphans, homelessness, poverty, and the veiled presence of the US military,[39] to name a few) through the eyes of a young Japanese couple. How was it that a film littered with details and themes going against Occupation policy was even allowed to be released, let alone become a hit? Hitchinson argues that this film can be seen from two perspectives, and that the context from which it is viewed in will heavily affect the censorship decision. In other words, SCAP viewed the film as problematic due to the details and the themes within it, but decided to allow it to premier as it was not critical of the Allied occupation; instead, the film demonstrated the reality of post-war building.[40] This attitude towards this film also demonstrates SCAP's transition from pre-production censorship (reading scripts) to post-production censorship (analyzing the film as a whole), proving that binary censorship (if it contains x it must be censored) is not plausible.

The concept of censorship has existed within Japan for centuries in varying forms from regional restrictions to being encoded into law in the 20th century. The *kabuki* shows, *uiyo-e* prints, and literary

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[36] Jortner, "Imposing the Standards of Boston on Japan," 3.

[37] McLelland, "Sex, Censorship and Media Regulation," 405.

[38] McLelland, "Sex, Censorship and Media Regulation," 407.

[39] Rachael Hutchinson, "Kurosawa Akira's One Wonderful Sunday: censorship, context and 'counter-discursive' film," *Japan Forum* 19, no.3 (2007): 384

[40] Hutchinson, "Kurosawa Akira's One Wonderful Sunday," 383.

censorship of the Tokugawa and early Meiji Eras, in hindsight, foreshadowed Japan's artistic future, but also helped to shape the arts due to political involvement. As seen in the interwar and post-war era, this type of censorship continued to evolve with the political environment and even helped to create new, arguably more popular, sub-genres such as *kasutori* and *kasutori bunka*. To avoid being censored, artists had to navigate through the system and, often, self-censor; however the continuation of traditions through contemporary trends makes the definition of "self-censorship" even harder to define.[41] Censorship has affected all aspects of artistic expression in Japan and to be able to avoid the censures returning submitted work is arguably an artform itself.

[41] Payne, "Early Meiji Kabuki Censorship," 325.

Annotated Bibliography

Act 175. Japanese Criminal Code, *Penal Code*. Japan: 1907. Online source: http://www.japaneselawtranslation.go.jp/law/detail/?id=1960&re=02&vm=04

Published in 1907, the Penal Code was amended from its original 1880 version. The Penal Code was modelled after several European styles of law, namely the French in its original version. It serves as the official set of rules for Japan, laying out each restriction and their respective punishments if broken. This translation of the Japanese Penal Code in English helps, firstly, to understand the content, and secondly, to serve as the basis of this essay to explore the affect it has on Japanese art, and the precursors to its official enactment in law. Article 175 outlines the specific restrictions around distributing, selling, or displaying "obscene" objects, drawings, and documents, and its corresponding punishment, ranging from being issued a fine to serving time in jail.

Braw, Monica. "Punishment for Violations." In Braw, *The Atomic Bomb Suppressed: American Censorship in Occupied Japan*. New York: Routledge, 2015.

This chapter of Braw's monograph provided insight on the extent of the punishments in place for those who defied government rules regarding censorship in US Occupational Era of Japan from the American and Allied point of view. Braw draws on old documents from this time as her basis to the chapter. It introduced the *Basic Plan for Civil Censorship in Japan*, a brief writeup on the American's post-war plan surrounding Japanese censorship, and censorship rules. This helped to understand how censorship in post-war Japan was not only a continuation from the Tokugawa era, but was also influenced by external sources. This chapter also covers the consequences and punishments for those who broke the rules and provides examples of specific cases of when it happened.

Braw, Monica. "Ideals and Goals of the U.S. Occupation Planning and Censorship." In Braw, *The Atomic Bomb Suppressed: American Censorship in Occupied Japan*. New York: Routledge, 2015.

This chapter of Braw's e-book introduces the plans of the United States with the Allies for the occupation of Japan, in the years leading up to the end of the war. It details the correspondence between the State Departments and the Upper Staffs, such as Commander-in-Chief Douglas McArthur and Chief of Staff Admiral William Leahy. Written in a linear timeline, Braw paints the picture in the years and months leading up to the Occupation by drawing on letters and documents of the time. This chapter also speaks on the topic of civilian censorship, why that was necessary, and their plans to ensure it happens. By providing case studies of instances where newspapers and magazines were censored, it shows how these restrictions were like in practice, and how the process of censuring worked.

Davis, Julie Nelson. "The Trouble with Hideyoshi: censoring *ukiyo-e* and the Ehon Taikoki incident of 1804" *Japan Forum* 19, no. 3 (2007): 281-315.

This article draws on the specific case study of Ehon Taikoki to demonstrate the censorship of ukiyo-e during the Tokugawa Era. It describes the specific edict that forbade the representation of political members or sexual and social indecency in an offensive way. This article considers the importance of ukiyo-e in the art world and explains how, despite the innocence of depicting a battle scene of a 16th century warrior, the genre and manner in which it was drawn in caused more concern. Davis draws her credentials as the Assistant Professor in the Department of History of Art at the University of Pennsylvania. She was a Monbusho fellow at Gakushuin University as well as at the Sainsbury Institute of the Study of Japanese Art and Cultures.

Domier, Sharon H. "Banned Books in the Hands of Japanese Librarians: from Meiji to Postwar." In Hutchinson, Rachael. *Negotiating Censorship in Modern Japan*. London: Routledge, 2013.

This chapter provides an overview on Japanese libraries from the Meiji to postwar era of Japan. It goes into detail about book censorship and how they are divided into categories depending on its acceptability for public consumption. This chapter also speaks on the double standards and selectiveness of learning for individuals depending on the type of learning (academic, leisure, or "frivolous"). This chapter was helpful to provide the necessary information to compare the similarities of Tokugawa literature censorship and other forms of censorship during this period. Domier is an East Asian Studies Librarian at the University of Massachusetts, who received her Bachelors in East Asian Studies from the University of Alberta., as well as a Master's degree from there. She was also awarded a scholarship for Japanese Language and Culture studies and a graduate scholarship from the Japanese government. Together, these qualifications prove her credentials on this topic and demonstrates her knowledge in this department.

Hutchinson, Rachael. "Kurosawa Akira's One Wonderful Sunday: censorship, context and 'counter-discursive' film." *Japan Forum* 19, no 3 (2007): 369 – 389.

This article was a case study on the 1947 film *One Wonderful Sunday* by Kurosawa Akira. This film is compared to others that he released during the censorship period of the US Occupation in Japan. The film itself details a date out in the city through the lens of a young couple in post-war Japan. It is interesting to note that although this film breaks numerous censorship rules, it was still allowed to be shown, and in fact received praise from the American Censors. This is important to note as it showcases how the censorship committee themselves began evolving their censorship techniques and how the types of media produced changed with it. Hutchinson's credentials in this topic hail from her position as an Assistant Professor in Japanese Studies at the University of Delaware as well as co-editing other Japanese-related articles and books including, *Negotiating Censorship in Modern Japan*.

Jortner, David. "Imposing the Standards of Boston on Japan: Kasutori performance, censorship, and the occupation." *The University of Alabama Press* 33 (2014): 130+.

This essay speaks about the effects of the American Occupation in Japan on the traditional theatrical performance of *kasutori*. It describes the extensive censorship process for the scripts prior to production, with involvement of a native Japanese speaker to check for slangs and inappropriate words that may have been disguised. It also highlights the assumption of the CCD towards smaller theatres to abide by the regulations, which allowed for this genre of theatrical performances to continue throughout the Occupation Era.

McLelland, Mark. "Sex, Censorship and Media Regulation in Japan: a historical overview." *University of Wollongong Research Online* 1, no. 1. (2015): 402-413.

This article provides a brief overview of the censorship regulations of Japan regarding sex and media, as stated in the title. It describes the various genres of media and sexual expressions from the Tokugawa period through to the modern era of the mid 20th century. The article beings by explaining the censorship of woodblock prints, *kabuki* culture, and pleasure quarters. It moves onto explaining the laws put into place during the Meiji Restoration, and the effects and influence of the Allied troops on Japan post war. This information is crucial to the essay as it provides an outline of the media regulations of Japan throughout several centuries. McLelland is a professor of Japanese Studies, and Gender and Sexuality studies at the University of Wollongong in

Australia. Following his graduation from Cambridge, he lived and worked as a Monbusho scholar at the University of Tokyo, Japan, and later obtained his PhD in Japanese Studies in Hong Kong. As he is also part of the Hong Kong University Press advisory boards for the journals *Sexuality* and *Porn Studies*, his knowledge of the broad spectrum of gender in addition to Japan provides his article with authority on this topic.

Payne, Rachel. "Censorship and patronage in Meiji *kabuki* theatre." In Hutchinson, Rachael, ed. *Negotiating Censorship in Modern Japan*. London: Routledge, 2013.

This chapter speaks about *kabuki* theatre culture and the adaptations they made during various censorship regulations. It details a "back and forth" of the government disapproving the theatre's production and the theatres abiding to (some) of the restrictions and pushing their boundaries again when the regulations were lessoned. As this focuses on the Meiji Era, there were no set laws in place regarding censorship so it is interesting to see how certain theatres would push their limits and continue to perform, despite the regulations. This helped to understand censorship in the past and allows me to compare it to how it later evolved in the Occupation Era. It also demonstrates that censorship regulations is not a new concept to modern Japan, but has actually been in place for centuries.

Payne, Rachel. "Early Meiji *Kabuki* Censorship." *Japan Forum* 19, no. 3. (2007): 317-339.

Payne describes the history and evolution of *kabuki* in her article. It contains an overview of the *kabuki* theatres during the Tokugawa period, providing background knowledge for the rest of the article. Payne references several scandals and excerpts from primary sources to enrich her article and provide a more in-depth understanding for the readers. Despite it only focusing on the Meiji Era, this article provides numerous excepts to fully understand the complex relationships between the Tokugawa and the theatre.

A Female Astronomer in Late Twelfth Century Paris

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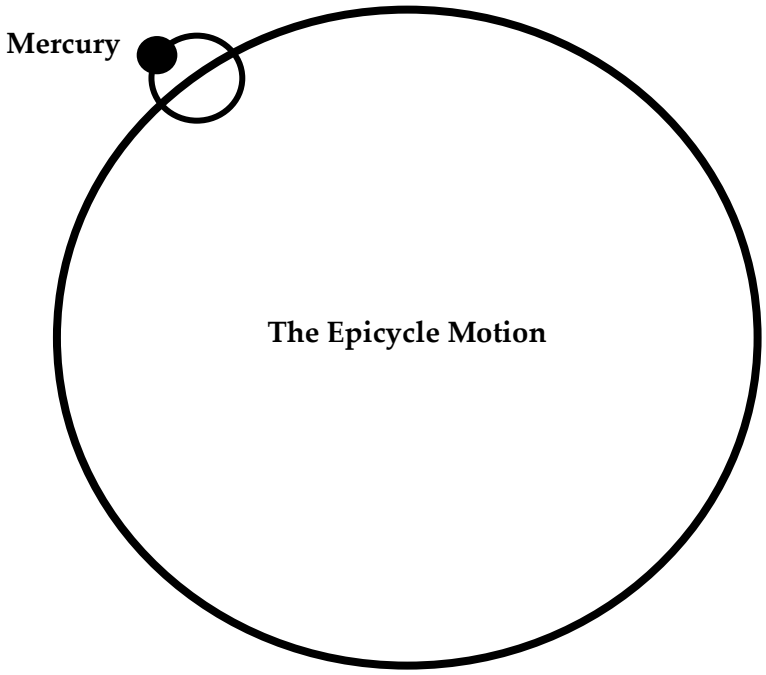
Note: This paper was written as a work of historical fiction; the annotated bibliography discusses the sources utilized in greater detail.

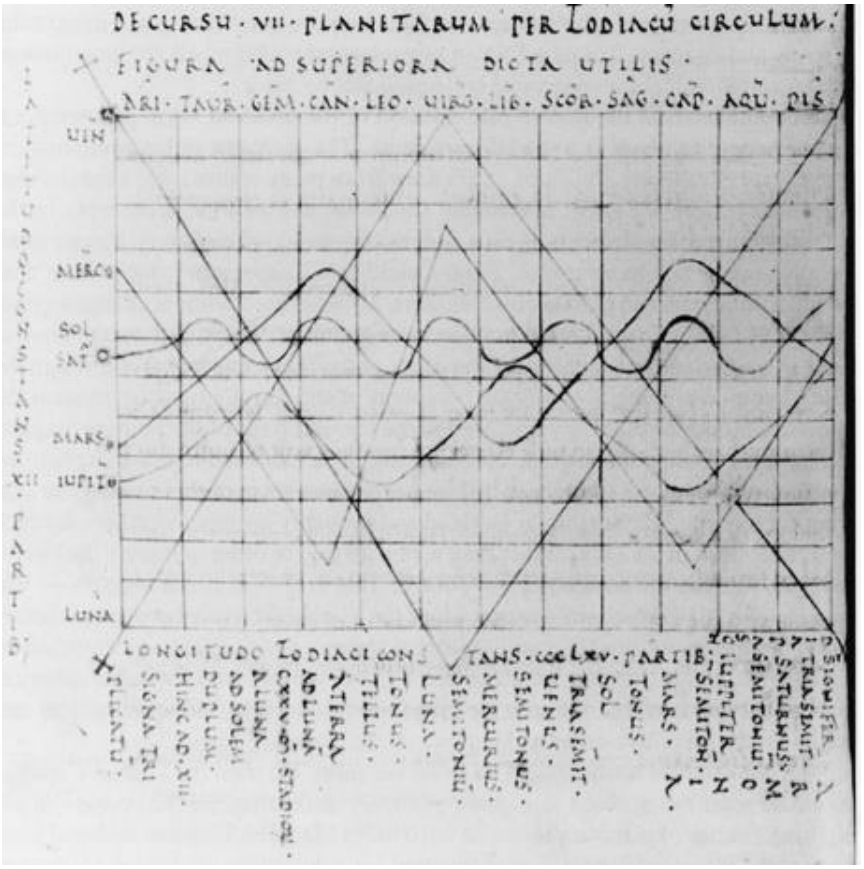
Mathilde Cormier was born in Paris in April in the year of our Lord 1168, to Henri Courtet, an instructor in philosophy at the School of Notre Dame soon to become the University of Paris, and Marie Courtet. She was of a slight figure with brown hair and eyes, and her thoughts were often so preoccupied as to prompt her to forget the person with whom she was speaking. If her mother had survived her childhood, it is likely that Mathilde would have been wed to a shopkeeper and used her mind, which was gifted with a perspective for the stars, on the simple tasks of the household. Yet it was the will of God that she should use her talented mind on something greater, in considering and observing the celestial spheres and the movements of the bodies found therein. The author of this work was a personal companion of the subject and often aided her in recordings and observations and is therefore ideally situated to record the events of her life and the discoveries she made in the workings of the sky.

Henri Courtet had himself been educated in a monastic school, with the intention of being trained for the clerical service. However, his mind was far too focused on the temporal realm to dedicate his life to the spiritual one, and he instead used the education he received to educate others. He met and wed Marie Lebeau, the daughter of a merchant, and became one of the first masters at the newly established University of Paris. The life of Marie Courtet was cut tragically short while she was delivering her second child, when Mathilde was yet ten years old. Unwilling to leave his only remaining family member alone, Henri Courtet brought the young Mathilde to his classes, where she received an education to rival the most dedicated of students. Henry had previously taught Mathilde how to read and educated her in logical reasoning, as well as basics of Latin, and the increased exposure to this material which she received in her father's classroom only sharpened her wit.

The translation of Ptolemy's *Almagest* from the Arabic to Latin by one Gerard of Cremona, and the arrival of a copy of this translation at the university became an important turning point in the life of Mathilde. The aforementioned document explains the composition of the universe, beginning with the four terrestrial elements of fire, earth, air, and water, and the celestial element of quintessence. Ptolemy ordered the heavens in ascending spheres, as the sphere is the most perfect of shapes, all of which centre on the Earth. The wandering and fixed stars can be seen moving across the sky as the celestial spheres rotate around the centre. It may seem illogical that the Earth, being so heavy, is not supported by anything, but with further thought it becomes unerringly logical: heavy objects move towards a centre point, which is the Earth itself, and therefore the Earth settles into itself and does not move. Moving around the Earth are the Moon, Mercury, Venus, the Sun, Mars, Jupiter, and Saturn, followed by the fixed stars on the largest celestial sphere, which rotates in the opposite direction of the wandering stars. As Ptolemy explains, these wandering stars follow epicycles on their larger rotations. The epicycle is the smaller circle which the celestial body follows along its larger circular path, as illustrated below. This smaller motion explains the retrograde motion of the wandering stars, which will occasionally appear to travel backwards in the sky. The *Almagest* built on an interest previously piqued by Bede's *Horologium*, which described the positioning and calculation of equinoxes.



Upon learning of the wondrous structure that existed in the heavens, just beyond her sight, Mathilde became fascinated with the movements of the stars. She learned to use an astrolabe to record the altitudes of the celestial bodies over time in tables, a copy of which is included below. Of especial interest to her was the retrograde motion of the wandering stars as they followed their epicycles, as



this seemingly complicated movement had such a simple explanation. She was also amazed by the orderly motion of these wandering stars in the sky, despite their occasional backwards motion.

Due to this fascination with the movements of the stars, Mathilde sought out the faculty of arts and letters, where astronomy was studied. One of the students there, Rénaud Cormier, the second son of a wealthy merchant, possessed a fascination with the sky which rivaled that of Mathilde. This kinship of spirits led to a marriage, and Mathilde continued her observations while Renaud continued his studies in efforts to attain his master's degree and become a teacher at the school. The majority of astronomical knowledge could be obtained from the Saracens in the East and in al Andalus. Consequently, Rénaud, and through him Mathilde, took it upon himself to learn Arabic in order to further his knowledge of the movements of the celestial bodies. This further learning of the documents of the Saracens led Mathilde to her second area of interest in the sky, the annular solar eclipse. According to Ptolemy, the Sun and the Moon possess the same angular diameter when they are furthest from the Earth. Based on this information, there should never be a time when the Moon is able to pass between the Sun and the Earth in such a way that the Sun's light is seen as a broad band around the much smaller body of the Moon. Yet the manuscripts of the Muslims described such an event on multiple occasions.

The observations which Mathilde was able to make allowed her to predict an eclipse occurring near Paris in the year of our Lord 1197. There was the possibility that the eclipse would be of an annular nature, and in order to observe such an unprecedented event from the best vantage, a group of students from the school determined to make an excursion to a broad plain to the south, about half a day's journey by cart. Having made the trip, they were awe-struck at the sight of the Moon interposing itself between the Sun and the Earth, moving partially in front of the Sun but never completely blocking its light. The event prompted fervent prayer for God's mercy in some viewers,

though the students who understood the physical processes behind the event focused more on praising the Lord for the order of His Creation. This disproving of part of Ptolemy's *Almagest* prompted further investigation and calculations of the respective sizes of the Sun and Moon, and a conclusion was reached among the students that Ptolemy must have been limited by the observational instruments of his time in his measuring of these celestial bodies, as it had been seen that the Moon was of a smaller size than the Sun. Mathilde recalled the superior explanation for the discrepancy: she recalled Ptolemy's description of the equant, a fixed point which formed the actual centre of the universe around which all of the celestial bodies rotated. As the Sun, Moon, and Earth all rotate around this central point, the aligning of all of these bodies in such a way that an annular eclipse could be observed must not have occurred during the time of Ptolemy. Yet at this time the paths of these bodies must be aligned in such a way that the observation of an annular eclipse is far more common. At this conclusion, the scholars were struck again by the complexity and wonder of the divine system of the heavens.

This sense of awe was only intensified by the events of that evening. On the return trip from the viewing, while travelling through a heavily wooded area in dwindling light, the howls of wolves were heard. Though the carter had a bow, the rest of the group was ill equipped to face a wolf, and the terror experienced was only sharpened when one of the students mentioned the rumours he had heard concerning werewolves in the area. The possibility of an attack from such cursed creatures drove the carter to urge his horse to a faster pace, but it awakened a philosophical debate among the scholars. Some saw the possibility as demonic; humans, made in the image of God, should not change into something that is not a reflection of the divine. Others saw them as a reflection of the dual nature of Christ, both God and man. Though the scholars reached the city without further incident, it was only through the mercy of the Lord. A caravan travelling on the same road a few days later was attacked, and the few survivors told of strange shifting creatures emerging from the mist.

Life at the school, though more safe than the woods, was not without peril. The students engaged in frequent conflicts with the townsfolk, culminating in five deaths in the year of our Lord 1200. King Phillip II was forced to intervene and define the rights of the students in the city. These conflicts posed a danger to Mathilde and her family: Rénaud had completed his masters by this time, and Mathilde had given birth to a son, also named Rénaud. This was followed in 1202 by the birth of a daughter, Marie, and a second son, Henri, after her father, in 1205. The care of her children and household increasingly took time away from her observations of the sky, though her interest never waned. The organization of the school became more established, and by the year of our Lord 1215 the University of Paris was established.

Despite the interference of life in her active study of the stars, Mathilde never lost her love of the celestial spheres. After her children had reached their majority and formed their own families, Mathilde returned to her observations. It was the will of the Lord that her demise be tied to her great love. While observing the passing of a comet, her home and many around it were engulfed in flames, yet she was transfixed by the comet and did not heed the warnings. This led to the tragic loss of both her brilliance and the numerous tables of observed celestial locations which she had recorded over the course of her life.

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Shyovitz, David I. "Christians and Jews in the Twelfth-Century Werewolf Renaissance." *Journal of the History of Ideas* 75, no. 4 (2014): 521-543.

This article revealed the cultural beliefs that surrounded werewolves; this includes the idea of them as cursed because of the demonic nature of shifting between human and inhuman forms, as well as the possibility of the werewolf reflecting the dual nature of Christ.

Ward, John O. “Ordericus Vitalis as Historian in the Europe of the Early Twelfth-Century Renaissance.” *Parergon* 31, no. 1 (2014): 1-26.

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Wikipedia. “Paris in the Middle Ages.” Last modified March 31, 2017. https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Paris_in_the_Middle_Ages. [Accessed June 2021].

This article provided me with information regarding the conflicts between students and the people of Paris, as well as the timeline of the university formation and the placement of astronomy within the school curriculum.

The Standard Family: War and Family Hardship*

William Waddacor
HIST 3340 The Civil War and Reconstruction (Bob Fuhr)
March 2021

**Students were assigned a single primary source (in this case letters written during the civil war by the Standards) for this analytical assignment.*

William and Jane Standard's letters give valuable insights into the motivations and opinions of many ordinary Americans towards the Civil War. The Standards were anti-war Copperhead Democrats, deeply hostile to President Abraham Lincoln, his administration, the Republican Party, and pro-war Democrats. To the Standards, the war was basically a major nuisance. They were not pro-slavery or pro-Confederate, but they were highly skeptical of the Republicans' radical abolitionism, and the conduct of the war effort. They took a relatively dim view towards the management of the war, had negative views of black people and abolitionism, and had a strong dislike of the Lincoln administration and its supporters. Thus, for the Standards, as shall be further elaborated below, the war was not an idealistic struggle, but rather a major infringement on their lives and liberty.

William and Jane Standard did not approve of the Lincoln administration's conduct of the war effort against the Confederate States. In fact, William Standard would have kept out of the war, had his pride not gotten in the way. William joined the Union Army not out of idealism, but rather a fear of being tarred as a coward if he did not join up.[1] Throughout the war, William and Jane's letters reveal their fatalistic attitudes towards the war effort, and a yearning for peace. During the years 1862, 1863, and 1864, William repeatedly wrote about his belief that the Confederate States could not be fully subdued by the Union. For example, in a letter of October 31, 1863, William wrote that "I don't believe that we can ever conquer the South, and therefore I don't want to fight them".[2] Jane was uncertain about the war's eventual outcome as well: "I don't think the north will ever whip the south, do you?".[3] She also questioned the human costs of the war, writing despairingly about the fact that so many lives were being lost in what seemed like a hopeless cause.[4] William was also very angry with the corruption and incompetence that plagued the Army and War Department during

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[1] Thomas Mason Roberts, ed., *"This Infernal War": The Civil War Letters of William and Jane Standard* (Kent, 2018), 6.
[2] Roberts, *"This Infernal War"*, 159.
[3] Roberts, *"This Infernal War"*, 74.
[4] Roberts, *"This Infernal War"*, 181.

the war. In a letter written in late 1862, he complained that "There is more rascality carried on in the war department among the officers than any honest man could think of. They think of nothing but office and money".[5] His complaints were well-justified, given the well-known cronyism of the Secretary of War Simon Cameron, and the fact that Standard's wages were almost never paid on time.[6] He also criticized battlefield tactics and organization, such as when he complained about the siege of Vicksburg in 1863, terming that battle "a slaughter pen", which he would avoid at all costs unless forced to fight there.[7] It is important to note, however, that William did appreciate some officers; he was fond of his first lieutenant, calling him a "nice man", and also wrote approvingly of Union general William Sherman, who was comfortable mingling with enlisted men like William, in contrast to other cold and distant superior officers.[8]

The simple and hard life of an enlisted man affected William deeply during the conflict, causing him much grief. As already noted, he was erratically paid by the U.S. Army during the war. Food, clothing, and discipline were other problems he encountered. The Union Army did not amply supply its forces, and so foraging for food became quite common, with William frequently having to "requisition" food from local civilians.[9] His clothing was often in tatters as well.[10] William even described his army service as "slavery".[11] A modern reader may chastise him and Jane for their complaints, given the conditions under which black slaves lived, but there is no denying that William and Jane Standard underwent tremendous suffering during the war, as does any soldier and his wife. Army service became so intolerable that William and Jane discussed some ways of leaving the fighting that were naive at best and a bit unhinged at worst. Being captured and exchanged by Southern guerillas was one idea concocted by the couple. William discussed it in a letter with Jane, saying that while it sounded appealing to be paroled out of the war, there was the danger of being either robbed by the Confederate partisans or arrested by Union sentries.[12] Despite Jane's encouragements to desert, William seems to have eventually given up on this idea.[13] Another idea of the couple was to flee to California. This they discussed quite a bit in the late summer and early autumn of 1863, with William encouraging Jane to sell off their farm and head on to California, while Jane indicated that she had asked a few people about their willingness to buy the couple's

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[5] Roberts, *"This Infernal War"*, 22.

[6] Roberts, *"This Infernal War"*, 21-22.

[7] Roberts, *"This Infernal War"*, 78.

[8] Roberts, *"This Infernal War"*, 19, 133.

[9] Roberts, *"This Infernal War"*, 32-33.

[10] Roberts, *"This Infernal War"*, 266.

[11] Roberts, *"This Infernal War"*, 23.

[12] Roberts, *"This Infernal War"*, 71.

[13] Roberts, *"This Infernal War"*, 72-73.

land, though in the end this came to nothing as well.[14] Thus, William and Jane Standard were not at all happy about the conduct of the war. The constant physical, emotional, and economic hardship that they faced both on the war front and the home front, combined with a sense of despair at the actions of government and military officials, led the couple seriously to consider fleeing their home and military service to escape the war. Their letters therefore show that the Civil War brought untold hardships on ordinary white American soldiers and their families, meaning that the war's significance to them was the fact that it degraded their livelihoods.

The Standards' letters also give some insights into their views on race, and how this subject was perceived by many ordinary white Union Army soldiers and their families. The Standards were not pro-Confederate or pro-slavery, but they were very anti-war and disdainful of the Republican Party's radical abolitionism. The Standards did undoubtedly have low opinions of black people generally, referring to them as "niggers" repeatedly in their letters. They also seemed not to fully understand the situation in the American South with regards to slaves. Likely their views were shaped by the fact that they would have met very few black people prior to the Civil War, as their home state of Illinois and home county of Fulton both had very few black inhabitants.[15] William would frequently refer to his time in the army as "slavery", indicating the fact that he did not mull over the differences between his military service obligations and actual slavery.[16] William also did not seem to be particularly concerned about the social structures of the American South, or have hostility towards Confederate troops and supporters generally. He would have friendly discussions with secession supporters in southern states.[17] He also spoke of having conscripted a local freed slave as a servant who would carry his sack and do other minor chores for him.[18] Later in the war, however, William did seek to become an officer in charge of a unit of black troops, probably due to the fact that as a commissioned officer he would have been paid more, though Jane did not seem very enthused with this idea.[19] William and Jane had ambivalent views towards slavery. In their letters, they never spoke approvingly of the Confederate States or slavery, but they seemed to be hostile to the Republican abolitionists. Timothy Roberts argues that the Standards' views about abolitionism "stemmed more from racial animosity and social alienation than from economic vulnerability".[20] This is only somewhat true, and Roberts arguably misses the main reason why the Standards were angry with Republican abolitionists: the human cost of the war was extraordinary. William in particular thought that the bloodshed resulting from this vicious conflict far outweighed

[14] Roberts, *"This Infernal War"*, 144-147.
[15] Roberts, *"This Infernal War"*, 3.
[16] Roberts, *"This Infernal War"*, 23.
[17] Roberts, *"This Infernal War"*, 54.
[18] Roberts, *"This Infernal War"*, 43.
[19] Roberts, *"This Infernal War"*, 161.
[20] Roberts, *"This Infernal War"*, 5.

any benefits that would arise with the abolition of slavery.[21] As he put it to Jane: "old Abe wants . . . to kill off all the northern men and boys, and the entire population of the south to satisfy his own appetite to liberate the slaves".[22] William's comments about Lincoln and the Republican abolitionists being willing to sacrifice hundreds of thousands of men and boys shows that he, Jane, and many other men in states that were aligned with Lincoln's Union government were seriously concerned about the fact that so many men in the prime of their lives were being killed or wounded by modern industrial warfare. Thus, the conversations between the Standards reveal that while they did not hate black people, they did not really understand their plight, and tended to have a low opinion of their abilities as a people. Their bigotry and prejudice was not the type of virulent hatred that existed in the Confederate States, but it also stood in stark contrast to the more progressive views of many Republicans. The main reason for their opposition to the abolitionist politics of Lincoln and the Republicans was that they saw such political beliefs as leading to a vicious conflict that had taken the lives of many white American troops. Therefore, race did play a major role in the Standards' view of the Civil War, though due neither to a virulent hatred of Africans, or a concern for their wellbeing—rather, race to the Standards was important in that it led to policies that they perceived as being deeply detrimental to the lives of white Americans.

Politics was arguably the topic that inspired the most passion among the Standards (possibly rivalled by William's debt issues and anger with the slowness of army paymasters in giving him his wages). The Standards were true-blue Copperhead Democrats, being anti-war, anti-Republican, and anti-Lincoln. William and Jane were forcefully opposed to radical abolitionist Republicans, whom they held responsible for continuing the bloody war against the Confederate States. As already noted, William made comments such as the one quoted above in which he expressed his belief that Lincoln and his Republican administration cared more about the liberation of slaves than the lives of the white Americans who were being slaughtered by industrial warfare. William expressed his hope that Lincoln would be defeated in the 1864 election, and that a new president would negotiate peace with the Confederacy, even if slavery was maintained in the South.[23] This belief that the Republicans were making extraordinary sacrifices on behalf of the cause of abolitionism, while delivering no discernable benefits to white Americans, meant that the Standards developed a very strong dislike of Republicans in general. Jane was disgusted when she learned that a friend and boarder was a Republican.[24] She was angry when she found out that her own father had become a staunchly pro-war Republican.[25] The Standards' anger towards Republicans was related to other problems that arose out of the war, such as the military draft and tax increases, which were

[21] Roberts, *"This Infernal War"*, 3.
[22] Roberts, *"This Infernal War"*, 3.
[23] Roberts, *"This Infernal War"*, 214.
[24] Roberts, *"This Infernal War"*, 124.
[25] Roberts, *"This Infernal War"*, 178.

connected to one another. There was a view among many that wealthy, elite Republicans were avoiding war service, and instead paying other men to take their place at the front, while lower-class families such as the Standards were serving honourably.[26] Still, despite this substitution scheme and the institution of the draft in Illinois, property taxes were raised in order to pay men to join up.[27] This scheme incensed Jane, who repeatedly proclaimed to William that she would never pay the new land tax, thinking it vile that while her husband had willingly joined, other men were forcing their fellow citizens to put up funds to entice other men to fight.[28] William had similar views, as he had written earlier in 1864 that he hoped that every abolitionist Republican would be forced to join up in order to end the war that they had started.[29] The anger that the Standards felt towards Republicans due to the party's abolitionism, the military draft, tax increases, and suspected Republican cowardice meant that neither William nor Jane shed any tears when Lincoln was assassinated in April 1865 by a Confederate sympathizer. Jane simply said "Will, I don't mourn his loss nor I don't rejoice".[30] Politics was by far the most significant aspect of the war to Jane and William. It was the most significant because it affected their lives more than army pay issues and freeing slaves from plantation owners. Every tax hike set the Standards back financially; every draft order meant that another friend or relative could be killed; every refusal by Lincoln to come to peace terms with the Confederate States prolonged the war, risking the death of William; and every year that war went on was another year in which William could not see his family. Thus, politics mattered to the Standards more than anything else during the war, as every political decision had consequences for the Standard family.

In conclusion, what can be said about the significance of the American Civil War to the Standard family? In brief, the Standards were not terribly concerned with the idealism or political motivations that had started the war. In fact, they scoffed at abolitionism and other Republican values. War, race, and politics were only significant to them in the ways that these issues affected them as a family. Poor army pay, lack of food, poor battlefield tactics, and lack of clothing made William's life a misery. The problems of the enslaved were only significant in that they kept William away from his family and home. Politics was only significant in that it prolonged the war and made the Standards' economic situation more precarious. The Standards thus only cared about those local and national issues that directly affected them as a family. A modern reader may criticize them for not showing the zeal to end discrimination that exists in the 21st century, but the Standards had so many hardships of their own to deal with that it is at least understandable why they held the war and the Lincoln

[26] Roberts, *"This Infernal War"*, 232.
[27] Roberts, *"This Infernal War"*, 232, 240.
[28] Roberts, *"This Infernal War"*, 240.
[29] Roberts, *"This Infernal War"*, 213.
[30] Roberts, *"This Infernal War"*, 255.

administration in such contempt. The American Civil War made life for a small farming family more unstable, and that was what made the Civil War significant to the Standards.

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Lotusland's Railroad: The Canadian Pacific Railway and its Contributions to the Development of Vancouver

Mattias Westhaver
HIST 1114 Forged in Fire: Canada since 1867 (Maddie Knickerbocker)
Spring 2021

From the Atlantic coast of Newfoundland to the Pacific coast of Haida Gwaii, Canada stretches over an immense amount of land. With such a vast domain under the control of one country, especially with the United States to its south which has always had a greater population, it is quite surprising that the Canadian government managed to create a united nation out of the disparate colonies of British North America, stretching from one sea to another sea. A railroad, which would provide improved infrastructure and achieve the goals of populating Western Canada with settlers and allowing faster travel, would prove instrumental in completing the national dream of an extensive Dominion.[1] In 1885, the Dominion of Canada accomplished this dream with a trans-continental railway stretching from Halifax to Port Moody, British Columbia. 1886 is when the first train arrived from Montreal and for a time Port Moody was thought to be the terminus of the Pacific.[2] However, the president of the Canadian Pacific Railroad (CPR), William Van Horne thought the site of Port Moody to be undesirable for a western terminus and so opted for Granville, a further 12 miles to the west. In 1887 a rail extension would bring the railway to the newly incorporated city of Vancouver; thus, truly completing the Atlantic to Pacific dream.[3] Vancouver being chosen as the Pacific terminus for the CPR would give the impetus for greater trade and development of the area; eventually turning the sleepy lumbering village of Granville into Vancouver, the Canadian metropolis on the Pacific.[4] From this point onwards, the CPR would have an important role to play in the development of Vancouver.

The extension of the CPR line to Vancouver contributed heavily to the development of Vancouver as a major Canadian city. In this short paper the great significance of the CPR in relation to

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[1] Omer Lavallé, "Canadian Pacific Railway," *The Canadian Encyclopedia*, March 6, 2008. https://www.thecanadianencyclopedia.ca/en/article/canadian-pacific-railway.

[2] Valerie Knowles, *William C. Van Horne: Railway Titan* (Toronto, ON: Natural Heritage, 2010), 53

[3] Norbert MacDonald, "The Canadian Pacific Railway and Vancouver's Development to 1900," *BC Studies: The British Columbian Quarterly* 35, (1977): 7.

[4] Ibid., 5-7.

Vancouver's early history will be outlined and discussed. Furthermore, it is the express purpose of this paper to prove using evidence that the CPR directly contributed to the development of Vancouver as a major city, displacing Port Moody as the Western terminus and eclipsing other settlements in the area as the largest population centre in British Columbia.[5]

The 23rd of May 1887 marked a prestigious day in the history of the young city of Vancouver. The first train arrived in the new terminus of the city. Only a year before Vancouver had been officially incorporated as a city and tragedy had followed only two months after incorporation when a fire devasted a large share of the city. Fortunately for the city, it was rebuilt quickly and a great impetus for this recovery was the Canadian Pacific Railway that shared in the development of Vancouver.[6] Norbert Macdonald, in his paper "The Canadian Pacific Railway and Vancouver's Development to 1900" states that, in the development of the city of Vancouver, the CPR had an immense role to play. Macdonald points out that in 1885, the CPR boosted the fortunes of Granville (soon to be Vancouver) when its directors declared their intention to establish the Pacific terminus "in the immediate vicinity of Coal Harbour and English Bay."[7] Prior to this declaration there was much uncertainty surrounding the prospects of Granville; many believed that Port Moody would be the terminus of the CPR. However, Port Moody had a geography problem. It was positioned at the eastern end of Burrard Inlet with very little leveled land in the vicinity. The CPR directors found Coal Harbour more appealing with its natural deep-sea harbour.[8] William Van Horne even named the future site of the Western terminus in honour of George Vancouver; Vancouver, a British naval officer and explorer whose surname had already been applied to Vancouver Island, had a city named after him. This, as Valerie Knowles suggests, in her biography of Van Horne, *William C. Van Horne: Railway Titan*, could also have been done due to Van Horne's affinity for historical figures of partial or full Dutch ancestry, which George Vancouver fit.[9] With the question of where the Western terminus would be settled in 1885 "the previous trickle of migrants to the area soon became a steady stream of enthusiastic settlers."[10]

1886 to 1892 became Vancouver's boom era, wherein the new city happily absorbed 12,000 migrants.[11] Furthermore, urban development advanced expeditiously during this time. Schools were

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[5] Norbert Macdonald, "Population Growth and Change in Seattle and Vancouver, 1880-1960," *Pacific Historical Review* 39, no. 3 (1970): 307.

[6] Macdonald, "The Canadian Pacific," 7.

[7] Ibid., 7

[8] George Woodcock, *British Columbia: a History of the Province* (Vancouver, BC: Douglas & McIntyre, 1994), 157

[9] Valerie Knowles, *William C. Van Horne*, 53

[10] Macdonald, "The Canadian Pacific," 7

[11] Ibid., 8.

built, police and fire departments were established, water lines, sewers, hospitals, and public parks were also constructed. In the industrial aspect of Vancouver's growth, the city diversified quickly, developing machine shops, small-manufacturing plants, and even telephone systems.[12] Macdonald points out why this happened so quickly. He states that the CPR ended Vancouver's isolation. It is true that any prospective settler "could always take the Northern Pacific Railroad to Portland or Seattle, and then catch a steamer heading north."[13] However, as Macdonald insists, there was little if any justification for this. What would become Vancouver was little more than thick woodland, scattered villages, and sawmills; what attraction would this bring to most settlers? Fortunately, for Vancouver, the CPR brough this desired attraction with the development of a railroad terminus and establishing the homeport for shipping services. Immigrants would soon flood in from Eastern Canada, the United States, Britain, and elsewhere.[14]

The rate at which Vancouver developed into a major city it quite eye opening when it is considered that prior to any railroad, the area was sparsely populated by non-Indigenous peoples. The early development of Vancouver from the 1880s on to the 1890s shows just how important the CPR was to putting Vancouver on the map, quite literally. Another good way to illustrate how quickly Vancouver developed after the railway is by looking at population statistics, as will be discussed next.

Despite British Columbia being as large as the original Dominion of Canada (in 1867), there were no more than 40,000 people; most of that population being comprised of the Indigenous peoples of the province.[15] The population of British Columbia would not reach 100,000 until the 1890s. Furthermore, as George Woodcock points out in his book *British Columbia*, European settlers would not constitute a majority in the province until the 1880s.[16] In 1884, Burrard Inlet had a population of 900, of which 300 lived in Granville, the settlement which had sprung up in what is now referred to as Gastown.[17] Furthermore, the population of the Burrard Inlet paled in comparison to the several thousand who lived in New Westminster and Victoria, respectively. In another work by Norbert Macdonald titled "Population Growth and Change in Seattle and Vancouver, 1880-1960", he compares the two cities of Seattle and Vancouver, providing very important demographic information. For example, according to a table Macdonald utilizes to show population growth, the population of Vancouver in the period 1890-91 was numbered 13,709 and in the period 1900-01 this

[12] Ibid., 8.

[13] Ibid., 8.

[14] Ibid., 8.

[15] Woodcock, *British Columbia*, 122.

[16] Ibid., 122.

[17] Macdonald, "The Canadian Pacific," 5.

jumped to 27,010: a 97% increase.[18] The Vancouver population would continue to rapidly expand. In 1911, the population reached 100,401 and 10 years later it climbed to 163,220.[19] The importance of these statistics is in adding perspective and a illustrating this rapid growth. Macdonald points out in the statistics that rapid growth took place until 1915, and thenceforth stabilized. Furthermore, it must be noted that these statistics only account for Vancouver proper. As Macdonald, stresses "much of the population growth of Seattle and Vancouver has been in residential and industrial suburbs. Although legally not a part of the city, these thickly settled ring areas are an integral component of the total urban community."[20] Therefore, while statistics for the population of the city proper are crucial for understanding change during this period, it does not account for the surrounding areas outside of the municipal boundaries.

As written earlier in this paper, May 23rd, 1887, was a significant milestone in the history of Vancouver, the CPR, and the Dominion of Canada as a whole. The minutes recorded from the city council session, which met on that date record the response from mayor Malcolm Maclean of Vancouver and other members of the council. The short speech that mayor Maclean gave is as follows:

Moved by Alderman D. Oppenheimer seconded by Alderman Humphries,

> I have much pleasure in moving that we adjourn this evening in honor [sic] of this day the 23rd of May 1887 as the proudest that has ever been chronicled in the annals of the Province and our fair City by the completion of the C.P.R. to its western terminus, binding the Atlantic to the Pacific and by the arrival of the first through train which is the beginning of the great future in store for us and sincerely trust on the 1st of July next we will be able to celebrate the day in a more befitting manner on the occasion of the Queen's Jubilee and further hope every one will put their shoulders to the wheel to make our celebration that day a commemorative one, to the Queen, ourselves, the C.P.R. and the Province at large.[21]

This piece of evidence from the very day that the first train arrived in Vancouver further solidifies the point on how important the CPR was to Vancouver. Thenceforth, an individual could take a train from Vancouver uninterrupted across the Rockies, Prairies to Eastern cities such as Toronto, Hamilton, Ottawa, and Montreal. With a railway, the province of British Columbia would no longer be so distant to many in Ontario and Quebec. A trip from Halifax to Vancouver would be drastically reduced into perhaps a week rather than taking much longer or going through the United States of

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[18] Macdonald, "Population Growth and Change," 301.

[19] Ibid., 301.

[20] Macdonald, "Population Growth and Change," 301.

[21] Darrin Pezer, trans. "Vancouver Commemorates Arrival of the First Train – May 23, 1887," *Transcribimus*, (2014). https://transcribimus.ca/may-23-1887/.

America. This primary source only gives a glimpse into the future importance of Vancouver in connect Eastern Canada to Western Canada.

Another important factor in the CPR's relationship with Vancouver's development was a very important land deal. In 1884, officials from the CPR began negotiations with the provincial government of British Columbia for more land and in return the CPR would establish the Western terminus in the vicinity of Coal Harbour. Robert A. J. McDonald in his work *Making Vancouver: Class, Status, and Social Boundaries, 1863-1913* shows that once the provincial government and CPR came to an agreement, the CPR received 6,458 acres of land; a notably large amount of land in what would become Vancouver. Furthermore, the CPR would receive land from private owners who "hoped to benefit from railway-stimulated growth."[22] While many railway companies received lands in Canadian and American cities, as McDonald points out, the amount of land that the CPR received in Vancouver was much larger than anything received in the United States.[23] Thus, the CPR became one of the largest landowners in Vancouver which Macdonald says in his journal article "marked the most significant land transaction in Vancouver's entire history."[24] The significance of the piece of evidence, and its connection with the CPR's hand in Vancouver's development, is that the real-estate boom which quickly ensued was started because of the CPR making Vancouver the Western terminus. Furthermore, the CPR shifted the focus of economic activity in the area from mainly lumber mills to urban growth.[25] In other words, the CPR turned Granville, that insignificant town hugging the Burrard Inlet, into a Pacific metropolis. This transition to a respectably large city only took a few decades compared to the small growth of population which had persisted around the Burrard Inlet for decades prior.[26]

The "All-Red Route" (otherwise known as the Canadian Australian Line) in the 19th century and part of the 20th century was a key British shipping route connecting. A line shipping line between Australasia and Britain, via Vancouver, was often titled "the last great link" in the British world, successfully minimizing distances between Britain's vast imperial territories.[27] Prior to the establishment of the All-Red Route, the CPR negotiated with the British government to provide a subsidized mail service between Hong Kong and Vancouver. An agreement was reached, the CPR contracted for the mail service, and in 1889 the CPR ordered three liners to service mail across the

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[22] Robert A. J. McDonald, *Making Vancouver: Class, Status, and Social Boundaries; 1863-1913*. (Vancouver, BC: UBC Press, 2000), 35.

[23] Ibid., 35.

[24] MacDonald, "The Canadian Pacific Railway," 11.

[25] McDonald, *Making Vancouver*, 37.

[26] McDonald, *Making Vancouver*, 37.

[27] Robert Aldrich and Kirsten McKenzie, eds. *Routledge History of Western Empires* (New York, NY: Routledge, 2019), 318.

Pacific.[28] This was intended to diversify the business and induce higher levels of traffic for the company. Although this mail line was small in comparison to itinerary of Sydney-Auckland-Suva-Honolulu-Victoria-Vancouver line established by the All-Red Route, the CPR still had an important part to play in it, alongside Vancouver[29] The importance of Vancouver to the All-Red Route and shipping between the British possessions in the Pacific (Including British Dominion's of Australia and New Zealand) and the British Isles was that it was the Pacific terminus for the intercontinental railway which would then carry passengers and cargo to the eastern ports of Canada from where people and goods would make the transatlantic journey to Britain.[30] The very fact that such a shipping line was possible is thanks to Vancouver and the CPR. It must be noted that the All-Red Route was "effectively an Australian line, ran by an Australian shipping firm" but this does not diminish the vital importance of Vancouver within the system. For instance, the very name of the shipping route, "All-Red", was in relation to it never leaving British territory while traversing land.[31] British territories were linked, and all shipping was undergone by British ships.[32] While many of the influences the CPR were more domestic, with regards to Vancouver's development, it also opened Vancouver to international trade and commerce.

Because of the Canadian Pacific Railway in British Columbia, the rather small lumbermill town of Granville, alongside Coal Harbour, was turned into Vancouver: home of the Western CPR terminus and metropolis of the west coast and a significant port in an international trading system alongside an inter-colonial mailing system within the British empire. Within 20 years of the construction of the CPR railway to Vancouver, the settlement went from an insignificant town of a few 100 people to a significant city of many thousands, even reaching 100,000 by 1911. With all this considered, it is indisputable that the CPR had an immense role to play in creating Vancouver, if not the pivotal role. In the present age, if anyone wonders how the largest city in British Columbia happens to be Vancouver, it is because of the CPR.

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[28] Knowles, *William C. Van Horne*, 60.

[29] Knowles, *William C. Van Horne*, 60; Aldrich and McKenzie, eds. *Routledge History of Western Empires,* 321.

[30] Aldrich and McKenzie, eds. *Routledge History of Western Empires,* 315.

[31] Ibid., 318.

[32] Ibid., 315.

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